The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom
Studies in Egyptology

Editor: W V Davies, Deputy Keeper
Department of Egyptian Antiquities
The British Museum

Editorial advisor: A F Shore

Already published:

The Egyptian temple; A Lexicographical study

Patricia Spencer
The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom

The Highest Titles and their Holders

Nigel Strudwick
## Contents

List of Figures viii  
List of Tables ix  
Acknowledgements x  
Abbreviations xii  

INTRODUCTION xiv  

PART I DATING CRITERIA 1  

1 CHRONOLOGY AND DATING CRITERIA 2  
  A. Chronology 2  
  B. Other Systems of Dating 4  
  C. Royal Names 6  
  D. Genealogies 7  
  E. When did an Official construct his Tomb? 7  

2 THE FALSE DOOR AS A CRITERION FOR DATING 9  
  General Introduction 9  
  Terminology 10  

I False Doors from Saqqara 12  
  A. The Cornice and Torus Moulding 15  
  B. The Number, Arrangement and Decoration of the Jambs 15  
  C. The Panel 18  
  D. The Panel Apertures 21  
  E. The Lintels and Architraves 22  
  F. Smaller Features 24  
  G. The Incorporation of Offering Lists into False Doors 26  
  H. The Relationship of False Doors and Chapel Types 29  
  I. Summary of Principal Conclusions 35
## Contents

### II False Doors and other features of Tomb Design at Giza

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Offering List in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period at Giza</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. False Door and Chapel Types at Giza which originated at Saqqara</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Other Types</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Conclusions</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART II PROSOPOGRAPHY

### PART III SIX HIGH ADMINISTRATIVE TITLES OF THE OLD KINGDOM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Selection of Titles in the Titulary of an Official</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminology and Other Notes</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 THE OVERSEERS OF THE GREAT MANSIONS</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Titularies of the imy-r hwt wrt</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Viziers</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Functions and Organisation of the hwt wrt</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The relationship of imy-r hwt wrt to imy-r hwt wrt 6</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Other Aspects</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 THE OVERSEERS OF THE SCRIBES OF THE KING'S DOCUMENTS</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Titularies of the Non-viziers</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Viziers</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Department of the King's Document Scribes</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Organisation of imy-r z3 ' nzwt</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Other Aspects</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 THE OVERSEERS OF WORKS</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Titularies of the Non-viziers</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. imy-r k3t nbt</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. imy-r k3t</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Conclusions on Titularies</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Viziers</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Organisation and Functions of the Overseers of Works</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Organisation of the Overseers of Works</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Functions of the Overseer of Works</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Contents

### 6 THE OVERSEERS OF THE GRANARIES

**General**
- The Titularies of the Non-Viziers
  - A. `imy-r šrnwty`
  - B. `imy-r šrnwty`
  - C. Conclusions and Discussion of Variants

**The Viziers**
- The Administration of the Granaries
  - A. The Organisation of the Overseers of the Granaries
  - B. Other Aspects

**Conclusions**

### 7 THE OVERSEERS OF THE TREASURIES

**General**
- The Titularies of the Non-viziers
  - A. `imy-r pr-hd`
  - B. `imy-r prwy-hd`
  - C. Conclusions on Titularies and Discussion of Variants

**The Viziers**
- The Administration of the Treasury
  - A. The Overseers of the Treasuries
  - B. Other Aspects

**Conclusions**

### 8 THE VIZIERS

**General**
- The Titularies of the Viziers
  - A. Summary of results from Previous Chapters
  - B. Other principal Title Groups
  - C. A Comparison of the Titularies of Provincial Viziers
  - D. The Career Structure of the Vizier

**The Organisation and Functions of the Vizierate**
- A. The number of contemporary Viziers
- B. The Functions of the Vizier

**Conclusions**

### PART IV CONCLUSION

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**INDEX OF NAMES**

**INDEX OF TITLES**

**INDEX OF OTHER WORDS AND PHRASES**
# List of Figures

1. A False Door with names of its Principal Parts .......................... 11
2. Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (1) ......................... 31
3. Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (2) ......................... 32
4. Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (3) ......................... 33
5. Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (4) ......................... 34
6. Two Principal Chapel types at Giza in the Fourth Dynasty .......... 42
7. West wall of the Tomb of mry-ib (G2100-I-annexe) ...................... 45
8. West wall of the Tomb of ssm-nfr I (G4940) .............................. 46
9. West wall of the Tomb of nfr-b3w-pth (G6010) ......................... 47
10. Location of Viziers in the Mortuary Temple of Pepy II ............... 65
List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Old Kingdom Chronology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>List of Well-dated False Doors from Saqqara</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Principal Component Elements of Short Offering Lists</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chapels of Private Individuals with two False Doors at Giza</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Schemes of West Wall Decoration of Officials in Table 4</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Principal Chapels with one False Door at Giza</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>List of holders of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r hwt wrt</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Principal Titles of non-viziers who held imy-r hwt wrt</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Principal Titles of holders of hm-ntr hqt and hbt h3</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Certain titles of Viziers who held imy-r hwt wrt</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Titles incorporating the element hwt wrt (6)</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>List of holders of imy-r zš ' nzwt</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Principal Titles of non-viziers who held imy-r zš ' nzwt</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>List of Overseers of Works</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Principal Titles of Non-viziers who held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Principal Titles of holders of imy-r k3t nzwt</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Principal Titles of non-viziers who held imy-r k3t nbt</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Principal Titles of holders of imy-r k3t</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Distribution of Overseers of Works by date</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>List of Overseers of the Granaries</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Principal Titles of holders of imy-r šnwty</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Principal Titles of non-viziers who held imy-r šnwty</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>List of Granary Titles in the titularies of Tomb Owners</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>List of Overseers of the Treasuries</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Principal Titles of holders of imy-r pr-ḥd</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Principal Titles of non-viziers who held imy-r prwy-ḥd</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Treasury Titles held by Tomb Owners</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>List of Viziers</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Principal Titles of Memphite Viziers</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Frequency of the more important Honorific Titles</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Principal Titles of Provincial Viziers</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Distribution of Old Kingdom Viziers by date</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

This book is a modified and corrected version of a thesis presented to the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy in June 1983 under the title 'Aspects of the Administration of the Memphite Region of Egypt in the Old Kingdom'. My research was supervised by Professor A.F. Shore, and examined by Professor H.W. Helck in November 1983.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Shore for his efforts on my behalf while a postgraduate student at Liverpool. Without his guiding hand and depth of knowledge, many pitfalls and errors could not have been avoided. To Professor Helck I am indebted for many valuable comments made during my examination, most of which I have tried to incorporate into this book. My thanks are also due to Dr. C.J. Eyre for reading through the text of the thesis and making many suggestions for improvements.

I should like to thank Professor W.K. Simpson and Dr. E.J. Brovarski for their kindness in making the Reisner material in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston available to me during a study visit, and permitting me to refer to much of it in this book. I am also very grateful to Dr. Mohamed Saleh, Dr. J.-L. de Cenival, Mme. C. Ziegler, Dr. C. Lilyquist, and Dr. S. Schoske for information about pieces in their charge. My study of monuments in Egypt has been greatly assisted by many members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation, in particular Dr. Ahmed Moussa and Mr. Said el-Fikey. I owe a great debt to the Egypt Exploration Society, which, by giving me the opportunity to take part in its fieldwork, has allowed me to examine much material in its original setting; it has also permitted me to mention unpublished material from the tomb of nfr-sšm-pth at Saqqara and to reproduce illustrations from James, The Mastaba of Khenertika called Ikhekhi. Credit must also be paid to the Griffith Institute, Oxford for allowing me to refer to unpublished manuscripts in its care, and to use plans from the Topographical Bibliography.

The use of computers in the research for this book would have been impossible without an immense amount of help from the Computer Laboratory of the University of Liverpool. To all members of staff there I extend my grateful thanks.
Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Mr. W.V. Davies for his recommendation of this book to Routledge and Kegan Paul International, and to Mr. P. Hopkins, director of that company, for undertaking to publish it. I wish to thank the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford for a grant from the Laycock Fund towards the cost of production of this manuscript.

My greatest single debt is to my wife, who has been a great strength to me in the different stages of the production of this book. She has also read it through on several occasions, saving me from countless errors of all descriptions; without her, this book could not have appeared in its present form.

Lastly, I must express my gratitude to my parents. They have always done their utmost to help me pursue my interest in Egyptology, and have encouraged me immeasurably while researching the present work. I would like to dedicate this book to them.
Abbreviations

The majority of abbreviations used in this work follow those employed in Helck and Otto (ed.), Lexikon der Ägyptologie. Only those which do not appear therein are given below.


de Cenival, Chefs de travaux - de Cenival, J-L., "Les chefs de travaux dans l'ancienne Égypte (1)", Ecole pratique des hautes études IVe section, sciences, historiques et philologiques Annuaire 1962/63, 225-31


Abbreviations


Kees, Vezirat - Kees, H., "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Vezirats im Alten Reich", NGWG N.F. 4 nr. 2 (1940), 39-54.


Mostafa, Opfertafel - Mostafa, Maha M.F., Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich, HAB 17, Hildesheim 1982.


The purpose of this book is to study a group of the highest civil administrative titles of the Old Kingdom from the standpoint of the memphite region. Previous studies of the administration of this period have tended to concentrate on the nature and functions of the lower-ranking officials rather than the higher; there are no works devoted principally to such offices as that of the Vizier or Overseer of Works in the Old Kingdom. The desire to fill this gap has resulted in the present work.

The term 'memphite' is used to refer to the central administration of the period based in the capital city of Memphis; this is to be contrasted with the provincial administration which developed in the course of the Old Kingdom. The officials whose monuments provide the bulk of the material used in this study were all buried in what may be termed the cemeteries of Memphis, comprising principally the sites of Giza and Saqqara, and to a lesser extent Meydum, Dahshur and Abu Roash.

The selected titles encompass five important areas of the administration of the Old Kingdom: the legal system, the scribal bureaucracy, the organisation of labour and of the granaries and treasuries. To these must be added the supreme office in the land, that of the Vizier. One chapter is devoted to each of these areas, with similar methods used so as to examine the titles from similar standpoints.

Dating is clearly of central importance to a study confined as this is to one particular period, particularly because of the need to monitor changes over relatively short periods of time. Part I of this work was originally intended to summarise the dating criteria to be used in the prosopographical section; it has since been augmented by an examination of the potential of the false door for the purposes of dating, and many criteria thus obtained have not been analysed or consistently applied before.

The Prosopography aims to give the provenance, bibliography and titles of all Old Kingdom officials who bear one or more of the titles forming the principal subject of this work, and to discuss their dates. Although such a collection of material can never be truly exhaustive, every effort has been made to secure reasonably
Introduction

complete data for all these officials; in particular, the records of the Harvard-Boston excavations at Giza have been examined, as well as the actual monuments themselves still standing in Egypt and in museum collections.

Much of the data analysis for this work has been carried out with the aid of computers. A summary of the methods used will be found in the author's paper 'An Application of Information Retrieval and Analysis in Egyptology' in Proceedings of the 1982 Computer Applications in Archaeology Conference (Birmingham 1982). The present version of this book has been produced using an Apple Ile computer and a Juki 6100 printer.

The methods of production have suggested that some of the conventions normally used in works of this type be modified. For typographical simplicity, the transliterations $i$ and $r$ replace $i$ and $r$. Words which would ideally appear in italics have been emphasised by the use of bolding.

Unless indicated otherwise, numbers in brackets following names of officials refer to the reference numbers to be assigned to them in the Prosopography (Part II).
PART I

Dating Criteria
1 Chronology and Dating Criteria

The general use of dates such as 'fourth dynasty', 'fifth dynasty' and so on is frequent and perhaps permissible when the scope of the work in question is a large part of Egyptian History. In a study devoted to the Old Kingdom alone, an attempt must be made to pinpoint the dates of individual officials and monuments. On occasions when this has been carried out, the results have been encouraging.¹

There are a number of criteria to which one may refer for help in the dating of Old Kingdom officials and their monuments. Many of these have been summarised by Baer, and his account is recommended as a general exposition of this subject.² Some additional comment may be offered on his criteria, and some further ones discussed.

A. Chronology

For the length and order of the reigns of kings, the figures in the Turin Canon are generally accepted without comment, as this document forms the basis of the overall chronological structure of Egyptian History before the New Kingdom.³ The chronology adopted in this work may be found in table 1.

The standpoint adopted here as to the usefulness of cattle-counts found on contemporary monuments is that the period between them was sometimes one year, sometimes two and sometimes perhaps even longer. As far as the Egyptians were concerned, the dates of these countings of the cattle were well known, and the fact that they were not always conducted at regular intervals was not

¹ For example, the dating of the 'princes' at Dahshur by Schmitz (Königsohn, 141-58) and that of r'-wr at Saqqara by el-Fikey (The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara, 44-6).
² Rank and Title, 44-51.
³ Gardiner, The Royal Canon of Turin, passim.
Table 1

Old Kingdom Chronology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Years in Reign</th>
<th>Dates B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zanakht</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>? -2594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netjerychet</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2593-2575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekhemchet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2574-2569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaba</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2568-2563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huni</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2562-2539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneferu</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2538-2515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khufu</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2514-2492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djedefre</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2491-2484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khafre</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2483-2461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?Nebka/Wehemka?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menkaure</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2459-2442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepseskaf</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2441-2438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?? ?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2437-2436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weserkaf</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2435-2429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2428-2417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neferirkare Kakai</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2416-2407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepseskare Izi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2406-2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neferefre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neweserre Ini</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2498-2388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menkauhor Ikauhor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2387-2380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djedkare Izezi</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2379-2352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenis</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2351-2322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teti</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2321-2310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neferzahor/Meryre Pepy I</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2309-2264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merenre Nemtyemzaf I</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2263-2257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neferkare Pepy II</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2256-2167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merenre Nemtyemzaf II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasties Seven to Eight</td>
<td>25 (total)</td>
<td>2165-2141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of Dynasty Nine</td>
<td></td>
<td>2140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All reign lengths and dates are approximate.

important. As such, their usefulness for precise dating is somewhat limited.¹

The reading of eleven years for the reign of Neweserre in the Turin Canon follows that of Gardiner in his publication of that papyrus. A figure of perhaps ten years is given for the reign of Neferirkare on the basis of the unfinished state of his pyramid complex. The short reigns given in the Turin Canon for the minor

¹ The Egyptian term translated 'cattle-count' is here read as rnp zp, irrespective of what it may have been at later periods (see Edel, JNES 8 (1949), 35-9).
fourth dynasty kings are included, although the existence of a reign between those of Shepseskaf and Weserkaf cannot be proven from the monuments.

The other contentious point is the length of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I. The total for both, arrived at by deducting the better-known reign lengths and the total for dynasties seven and eight from the Turin Canon figure of 181 years for dynasties six to eight, is perhaps about sixty years. In the Canon, the year figure for Teti is destroyed, while that of Pepy I is given as twenty. The highest cattle-counts known for each king are respectively \textit{rnpt (m-)bt zp} 6 and \textit{rnpt m-h\textit{t} zp} 25.\(^1\) The latter is the only known example of a king having more cattle-counts than years in the Turin Canon, and thus there may be an error in the papyrus. Alternatively, the apparent gap between the entries for the two kings in the Canon may have furnished an explanation for this discrepancy. At the risk of interpreting the cattle-counts too rigidly, these figures may perhaps indicate reigns of about twelve years for Teti and up to fifty for Pepy I.

The same is true for \textit{sd} festivals, known for the reigns of Netjerychet, Neweserre, Djedkare, Pepy I and Pepy II. The thirty year period often found in later times cannot be attested until the late Old Kingdom at the earliest, and so their use is also limited.\(^2\)

B. Other Systems of Dating

There have been but two serious attempts to establish systematic criteria for dating monuments of the Old Kingdom. Baer (\textit{Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom}) has attempted to show that a relatively standardised system of ranking (or ordering) of titles on a monument was established in the early fifth dynasty and continued to the end of the Old Kingdom. Within that period, the system was changed from time to time, and because of these changes, reflected in the order of the titles in (usually) funerary inscriptions, the titularies of many officials show characteristics of various periods, and many of those who antedate or postdate this system will not fit any of these periods. To establish the basic ranking charts for the Old Kingdom, a number of reasonably well-dated officials were chosen, each of a slightly different date and whose title sequences were not similar. This set of sequences was used as a basis for the period in which they lived. To these were added further similar examples which enabled these periods to be defined more closely.\(^3\) Apart from the problems of this system outlined by Baer,\(^4\) there are objections of a methodological nature. The

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^1\) Respectively, Anthes, \textit{Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub}, Taf. 9 (Gr. 1); \textit{Urk.} I, 95.16.
  \item \(^2\) cf. Hornung-Staehelin, \textit{Studien zum Sedfest}, 62-5, 82.
  \item \(^3\) Baer, \textit{op. cit.}, 221-40.
  \item \(^4\) \textit{op. cit.}, 10-12.
\end{itemize}
Chapter 1 - Chronology and Dating Criteria

first concerns his base charts for the different periods.\(^1\) Particular criticism can be made of the choice of k3i and m3-nfr for this purpose. Little of the evidence Baer gives concerning k3i is conclusive enough for him to be allotted a reasonably certain date,\(^2\) and the choice of m3-nfr for his period VI\(F\) appears to be almost arbitrary.\(^3\)

Baer has perhaps also attempted to be too precise in the spans of time he gives to each period. It is logical to expect that there would be a certain amount of overlap between the various periods as the new sequences took effect, but it is a little dangerous to propose actual year limits, even though they are only estimates. This is particularly true for the long and (as far as dates are concerned) relatively poorly-documented reign of Pepy II. The dates of change in these periods can only be very approxi-

Another difficulty is that of the extent of agreement between the charts of individual officials and the base ones. One may sometimes question the assignation of tombs to certain periods, as the ranking charts of some officials belong no more to the period suggested by Baer than to another.\(^5\)

A more general problem can be best expressed in the words of a reviewer:

At any period in history the officials of a society are surely so conscious of their ranks and titles that no fixed list is required for their classification.\(^6\)

We are never likely to know whether this is true for the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom, although given the importance and power of titles to those people it is always possible that such a system did exist, although perhaps not quite as formalised as Baer would have us believe.

The work of Kanawati (The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom) is based on the premise that people of a similar class at a similar time would have had tombs of broadly similar area. If tomb area is directly related to wealth, which would vary at different periods in the Old Kingdom, such a thesis must then assume that everyone would put exactly the same proportion of their wealth into their tomb, and does not take into account the possibility that preparation for death might well have been more important to one man than to another, rather as size of house nowadays does not

\(^{1}\) op. cit., 224.
\(^{2}\) op. cit., 138-9 (505).
\(^{3}\) op. cit., 77 (171), where the date is initially given as VI\(?\), where the date is initially given as VI\(?\).
\(^{4}\) This problem is illustrated by the doubt placed on the time of the change from period VB to VC (in the reign of Djedkare) as a result of recent work on the tomb of sndm-ib; inti (see the Prosopography (120) for more detail).
\(^{5}\) In this context one may quote the examples discussed in the Prosopography below of ihy (15) and 'nh-m-''k3i (31).
\(^{6}\) James, JAOS 83 (1963), 120.
automatically reflect the owner's income and wealth.

As his basic criterion is tomb area, only those officials whose tombs are adequately preserved could be included. A large number of men are thereby removed from consideration. Officials are divided into four categories: viziers and high, middle and low officials. By assigning dates to a number of officials in each class, a graph may be drawn showing the fluctuation of tomb size in the Old Kingdom. Further officials may be dated by attempting to fit their tomb areas onto the relevant graph.

Unlike Baer, Kanawati discusses individually the date of only a few of his officials,¹ and in consequence it is not always possible to verify some of the arguments he uses. A more serious criticism is that nowhere does he explain how the groups of titles which are given as characteristic of each of his classes of official have been obtained. It would also seem that there are a large number of men of the same class but with different tomb sizes from the same reign, for example the higher officials of that of Djedkare.² Consequently it may well be asked whether there really is any consistent pattern apparent, if supposedly similar officials of the same date had widely differing tomb sizes, although it would be conceded that in general there must have been some correlation between wealth and lavishness of tomb.

The study of the change in size of private tombs in the Old Kingdom should not be too closely associated with the dating of these tombs. A system of ranking titles is likely to have been a feature of many official transactions and also an accepted part of an official's titulary, although personal whim may have had some effect on the order in which the titles were inscribed in a tomb chapel, for example in repeating titles of which the owner was especially proud.

C. Royal Names

An occurrence of the name of a king alone or as part of a title or building name should only be taken as a terminus ante quem non for dating purposes. This matter is discussed by Baer and Junker,³ and there is indeed little that can be added to this, particularly with regard to temple titles. The expression im3hw hr (king) is considered to show that the man in question was actually contemporary with the named ruler. There is some evidence that this might not always be the case, most frequently in connection with Wenis.⁴ It is perhaps possible that such a feature was confined to certain cults (perhaps indeed only that of Wenis) which lasted well beyond the Old Kingdom. This is preferable to using these examples to cast doubt on all other occurrences of this phrase.

¹ Egyptian Administration, 10-34.
² op. cit., 19-21.
³ Rank and Title, 45-7; Giza XII, 19-23.
⁴ For one example see Baer, op. cit., 44-5; for others, see Altenmüller, SAK 1 (1974), 1-18.
D. Genealogies

The information available for establishing relationships in the Old Kingdom is rather sparse, and it may be contrasted with that available for the Middle and New Kingdoms, where representations and enumerations of whole families are not uncommon. Because of the commonness of many Old Kingdom private names, it is a dangerous matter to attempt to link individuals from different tombs. Most of the genealogies noted in the following pages have been established before, and new ones are only proposed when there is a good degree of similarity of site, titles, style, tomb design and, of course, names.\(^1\)

The separation in date of two generations of the same family is an unknown quantity. The figure of twenty to twenty-five years is here adopted very tentatively as an average figure, although in many cases this will be far too short.\(^2\)

With regard to royal genealogies, the view of Junker is followed, that, in the fourth and fifth dynasties, only the presence of titles with the epithet \(\text{ni-ti.f}\) in the titulary of an official is indicative of true royal filiation.\(^3\)

In addition, some assumptions need to be made with reference to the point in the lifetime of a king, particularly those of the fourth dynasty, at which his children by different wives may have been born. Nothing is known about the privileges and status of the crown prince or heir designate; he would presumably have been married, but did he practise polygamy, as he certainly would once he became king? There is no evidence for any of the princes of the fourth dynasty having been polygamous, and we will assume that this applied also to the crown prince. His wife at that time was likely, although again an assumption, to be the woman who was later his chief queen. By inference from these premises, king's sons not of the principal queen are only likely to have been born during the reign of the ruler in question, which gives us a very useful point of departure for the dating of some officials of the fourth dynasty.

E. When did an Official construct his Tomb?

We cannot say at what age a man may have built his tomb, but there is some evidence as to the point in his career at which this happened. It is important to stress that we use the term "build" very loosely, in fact more often meaning the time when the decoration was applied, since, as clearly happened at Giza, there need be no relation between the dates of construction and decoration. Texts in the tomb of \(\text{snm-ib; inti}\) at Giza show that the tomb

---

1 One such example is the probable relationship between \(\text{k3i-m-tannt}\) (146) and 'nh-izziz (26).
2 This follows Bierbrier, The Late New Kingdom in Egypt, xvi.
3 Giza II, 31-4. His discussion is now supplemented by that of Schmitz (Königssohn, 58-64).
was probably not even under construction at his death since it took his son fifteen months to complete it.\footnote{Urk. I, 65.5} Other texts in the tomb show $\text{sndm-ib}$ addressed as vizier by Djedkare, and thus he had clearly reached the peak of his career without building a tomb. Other tombs show that the owner was promoted after all or part of the decoration of the tomb had been completed (for example, see $\text{hfr-hwfw}$ I and $\text{sfn-fr}$ III in the Prosopography below), but as the majority were decorated in one phase only, we conclude that an official probably waited a long time before building his tomb, perhaps until he felt he had reached the likely peak of his career; at what point in his life this was remains unclear, although one cannot imagine that it was particularly early.

\footnote{Urk. I, 65.5}
General Introduction

For many of the officials studied here, the dates arrived at by the use of standard criteria summarised in chapter 1 do not provide a close period of time to which they may be assigned. The frequent survival of the false door of many officials suggests the use of this object as a possible criterion for dating by establishing dates for the appearance and development of certain well-defined physical features based on securely dated examples. The principal among these are the cornice and torus moulding, the jambs, the panel, the lintels and architraves, and several lesser features as well as the use of offering lists. Associated topics are the position of the false door in relation to the rest of the tomb, and the types of tomb-chapel in which particular classes of false door appear.

Previous work on false doors has generally concentrated on broad details of their development. The principal study in this context is by Rusch, the major drawback of which is the use of many dates which are very vague and are now no longer regarded as valid. Other accounts are by Reisner, Badawy, and Hassan. The account of Badawy is much concerned with the function and general development of the door, and in this context one may add studies by Müller, Junker, and Fischer, particularly with reference to its relationship to the stela.

The very recent work on the Old Kingdom false door by Wiebach (Die altÄgyptische Scheintür) is again principally devoted to the overall development, functions and locations of the door, as well as...
as the status of its owners. The section on dating is brief (pages 17-21), and consists of a critique of Rusch's system, with the conclusion that this produces useful criteria on only a few points. Wiebach makes no attempt to date carefully many specific features of false doors, but is again content to describe them in general terms.

False doors will here be discussed in two groups, those coming from the necropolis of Saqqara and those from Giza. Examples from Dahshur seem to be closely related to those from Saqqara and will consequently be considered as part of that group. Such a division is employed because of the recognised differences between examples from both groups.\(^1\) To quote but two such differences: in the fourth dynasty, very different chapel types are evident at the two sites;\(^2\) secondly, the false door with torus moulding and cornice appears at Saqqara in the early fifth dynasty,\(^3\) but is found only occasionally at Giza before the beginning of the sixth dynasty.\(^4\)

Terminology

Figure 1 presents the terms as used here to describe the principal elements of a false door. Three particular points require further explanation: 'CORNICE' indicates the cavetto cornice to be found above the architraves of doors, although a second is occasionally found within the outer one. 'TORUS' or 'TORUS MOULDING' indicates the roll around the outer edges of the door intended to represent original fibrous binding. It is always found in conjunction with a cornice. The terms 'ONE-JAMB DOOR', 'TWO-JAMB DOOR' and 'THREE-JAMB DOOR' describe a false door with respectively one, two or three pairs of jambs.

\(^1\) Wiebach, op. cit, 19, with references.
\(^2\) Compare the plans of the chapels of mtn (LD, Text I, 142 (6)) and h'f-hwfw I (Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 19).
\(^3\) That of pr-sn, reign of Sahure (Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. IX).
\(^4\) The earliest well-dated example is that of sndm-ib; inti (Mariette, Mastabas, 505-7).
Chapter 2 - False Doors: General

Figure 1: A False Door with names of its Principal Parts

Key to Parts:

1 Cornice 2 Torus
3 Panel 4 Apertures
5 Jambs 6 Architrave
7 Lintel 8 Central Niche
Section I: False Doors from Saqqara

The study of false doors from this site will be built around a base list of examples (Table 2) which may be dated using criteria other than those derived from features of false doors. Most of these officials will be discussed below in the Prosopography; some, however, do not bear titles to be discussed in this study and consequently will not appear there. These are mtn, šry, pr-sn, ny-‘nh-shmt, pth-špss (fifth dynasty), hnmw-ḥtp, nfr, k3ḥ3i, nfr-sām-pth, šhntyw, irw-k3-pth, ḥmt-r', and pth-špss (sixth dynasty). For those marked @, the dates of Baer may be consulted. Of the others, general stylistic features cause mtn and šry to be dated to the fourth dynasty, while hnmw-ḥtp, nfr, k3ḥ3i, nfr-sām-pth, šhntyw and irw-k3-pth were buried in the area of Saqqara that was later to be occupied by the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis. Although the causeway did not pass over the tombs of nfr and k3ḥ3i, it is perhaps likely that no more tombs were built in the immediate area following this construction. They all may thus be dated to the period mid-fifth dynasty to the reign of Wenis. An approximate date for ḥmt-r' is suggested by the presence of cartouches of Wenis and Teti in her tomb. In discussion of specific points, the doors in this list will be augmented with less well-dated examples that illustrate the features in question. At the end of each subsection, a list will be given of the officials in the Prosopography whose dating has been assisted by the use of this particular feature.

---------------------
1 All references to Rank and Title: pr-sn 72 (144), ny-‘nh-shmt 86 (221), pth-špss (fifth dynasty) 75-6 (164), pth-špss (sixth dynasty) 76-7 (168).
2 Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, 44-5.
### Table 2
List of Well-dated False Doors from Saqqara

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date/Owner</th>
<th>Published Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtn</td>
<td>LD II, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-late 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry</td>
<td>Assemblage of parts, Fischer, <em>Varia</em>, 28, fig. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śry</td>
<td>Lower part, Cairo, CG 1384; Upper part, Lepsius, <em>Auswahl</em>, Taf. IX (upper)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sahure**

| pr-sn *    | Petrie-Murray, *Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. IX. |
| ny-śnh śmt | Cairo, CG 1482. |

**Neferirkare**


**Neweserre**

| pth śps | BM Stelae I², pl. XVII. |

**Mid 5 - Menkauhor**

| ph-n-wi-k3i * | LD II, 48. |
| ntr-wsr      | Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. XX. |
| nfr and k3h3i| id., *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 28-9, 32, 36, 39. |

**Djedkare**

| pth-htp I *  | Murray, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII. |
| śntym *      |                                |
| irw-k3-pth * |                                |
Table 2 continued

Wenis

'nh-izzi *  Mariette, Mastabas, 191.
3ht-htp *  Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. XXVIII-IX.

Late 5

ptḥ-ḥtp II *  Paget-Pirie, Ptah-hetep, pl. XXXIX.

Early 6 - Teti

k3i-gmni *  von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai II, Taf. XXXIV.
nfr-sšm-r' *  Capart, Une Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah, pl. XI.
sšbw; ibbi *  Cairo, CG 1565; Mariette, Mastabas, 412-5.
nfr-sšm-ḥpt *  Capart, op. cit., pl. XCIV.
ḥmt-r' *  Hassan, Saqqara III, fig. 2, pl. II.
mrrw-k3i *  Duell, Mereruka I, pl. 62

Early Pepy I

nfr-sšm-ḥpt *  Unpublished (Door in later rooms).
ḥnty-k3i *  James, Khentika, pl. XIX, XIII.
mhw *  Saad, ASAE 40 (1940), pl. LXXXI.

Mid - late Pepy I

ptḥ-špss *  Murray, op. cit., pl. XXVIII.
r'-wr *  el-Fikey, The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara, pl. 5, 9, 21.
mry-tti *  Unpublished (son of mrrw-k3i).
zzī *  Mariette, Mastabas, 420.

Merenre - early Pepy II

mrri *  Hassan, Saqqara III, fig. 17b.
'nb-mry-r' *  Unpublished (son of mhw).

Mid Pepy II

ḥnmw-ḥtp *  Jéquier, Pepi II III, fig. 63.

Later Pepy II

ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' *  id., ib., fig. 60.
tti *  id., ib., fig. 70.

* indicates false door with cornice and torus moulding.
Chapter 2.I.A - The Cornice and Torus

A. The Cornice and Torus Moulding

The presence or absence of these features is perhaps the most obvious difference between many false doors. Rusch used it as the basis of his system of differentiation, as did Wiebach.¹

Wiebach has noted that the cornice and torus appear first in the early to middle fifth dynasty in both royal and private contexts.² In her list appear several examples, the dating of which cannot yet be closely ascertained (ty, for example). The earliest example in table 2 with a cornice and/or torus is that of pr-sn (omitted by Wiebach) of the reign of Sahure or slightly later. From the time of ph-n-wi-k3i onwards almost all the well-dated examples exhibit a torus and cornice, the only exceptions being those of hnmw-htp, nfr and k3h3i. These men are of much lower rank than most of the others, and it would thus seem that this newer type of false door was at first reserved only for the most important officials (its appearance with nfr-s3m-pth, sbyntyw and irw-k3-pth from the same group of tombs probably indicates that they were the latest tombs in this group). The owner of the earliest example (pr-sn) must thus have been particularly favoured to have had such a door at this early date.

In the sixth dynasty, the addition of a torus and cornice may be considered as the norm. Before this date it was very much an indication of the importance or favoured status of an individual.³

This feature has been of assistance in deciding dates for:

'nḥ-ḥ-mˈ-k3i (31)    k3i (136)    k3i-m-šnw (144)

B. The Number, Arrangement and Decoration of the Jambs

The earliest examples in table 2 are most closely related to the deep niche as found in the third dynasty:⁴ in the niche of mtn, there is a large difference in depth between the panel and the figures on the walls of the chapel. It is likely that this original arrangement of the niche and walls either side of it gradually developed into the false door with two pairs of jambs. In the example of mtn, the figures on the outer level of the niche face away from the centre, but the slightly later examples of mry and sry show them facing towards it. The outer figures of mtn and mry are larger than the inner ones. In all cases the figures are surmounted by columns of inscription. Thus the two-jamb door had

¹ Respectively, ZAS 58 (1923), 106 ff., Taf. A (without cornice), 113 ff., Taf. B (with cornice); Scheintür, 8-10. Wiebach has also provided a discussion of this feature, its date of appearance and meaning (op. cit., 128-41).
² op. cit., 133-5.
³ Wiebach has arrived at a similar conclusion, op. cit., 134.
⁴ For example, that of hˈ-b3w-zkr (Cairo, CG 1385; Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. I).
evolved by the end of the fourth dynasty.

The early fifth dynasty doors of pr-sn, ny-'nh-shmt and w3š-pth all exhibit two jambs in an arrangement which becomes regular. An undecorated false door with two jambs seems to have been situated in the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir. The decoration of the jambs of pr-sn is different from that of the other two examples (and from most doors of the fifth and sixth dynasties) in that the inner jambs feature several small registers with figures of his family. Members of the families of ny-'nh-shmt and w3š-pth appear on their false doors but in conjunction with the large figure of the deceased.

The door of ph-n-wi-k3i, which has cornice and torus, has three jambs of varying width, only one pair of which bears a figure of the deceased. The inner ones bear elements of a palace-facade panelling design. That of nfr-wsr has two jambs without figures of the deceased. The inscriptions on each jamb, unlike the earlier examples, are of an even length, that is, they all terminate at the same distance from the bottom of the false door. The inscriptions on the door are all of similar length, although the arrangement in single columns is unusual.

The doors of the high officials of the reign of Djedkare and later (pth-htp I, 'nh-izzi, 3ḥt-ḥtp and pth-htp II) all exhibit jamb inscriptions of even length, with a figure of the deceased at the bottom of each. The doors of the two viziers pth-htp I and 3ḥt-ḥtp have three jambs, the others two. pth-htp II unusually replaced the normal standing figure on the outer jambs with representations of himself carried in a palanquin and seated in a booth; nfr-sām-r' is also seated in a booth on the inner left jamb of his false door.

The false doors of ḫnmw-ḥtp, nfr and k3ḥ3i are unlike these. The inner jambs are very wide and contain a large figure of the deceased (not unlike the style of the earlier part of the dynasty), but the outer jamb is narrow with one column of inscription only which reaches to the bottom of the door.

It is apparent in the fifth dynasty that as the cornice and torus were introduced, the inscriptions, size and decoration of the jambs of false doors became more regular: the length of the texts became even and the figures of the deceased on each jamb became equal in height. This development may be illustrated by the sequence of the doors of ph-n-wi-k3i, nfr-wsr and pth-ḥtp I. The number of jambs was not standardised, but may bear some relation to the rank or means of the owner, because the largest doors with cornice and torus seem at first to belong to viziers only (it will be noted that pth-ḥtp II does not bear the title of vizier on his false door). Officials of lower rank continued to use door types which owed more allegiance to early fifth dynasty examples.

Further door types may also be found in the fifth dynasty. Those of ḫ'-mrr-ḥtp, sḥm-'nh-ḥtp, k3i-pw'-r', and 'nh-m'-r' have jamb inscriptions of even length with a figure of the deceased

1 Borchardt, Nefer-ir-ke3-re', 30-1, Abb. 33, referring also to some fragments of a false door from a temple of Sahure.
below, but do not seem to have a torus and cornice. The first two examples have three jambs, the others two. From this combination of features it should be concluded that the introduction of these false door features took place not suddenly but over a period of time. The torus and cornice concept, although it had been in existence for longer, took more time to become a standard feature of false doors than did the new layout of the jambs and their inscriptions. These false doors are therefore transitional examples and presumably belong to the middle and later fifth dynasty. None of them belongs to a vizier.

In the sixth dynasty, the false door with cornice, torus moulding and three jambs of equal length each with a similar disposition of texts became the standard type for all officials. Examples from the reign of Teti all exhibit these features. A similar pattern was followed down to the early part of the reign of Pepy II. Two doors of viziers however from this period employ only two pairs of jambs (r'-wr, zzi) showing some variation to be possible even for the highest officials.

In the reign of Pepy II, the false doors from the cemetery surrounding his pyramid at South Saqqara show changes from the above form. Two or three jambs are used, but they tend to be narrow with only one column of inscription each. The trend is towards a simplification of the door. The examples of ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r' and tti date from the end of the reign; that of ḫnmw-ḥtp cannot be dated so closely, nor can the additional examples of nhri, nfri, r'-ḥr-k3i and dgm. Some examples have an extra jamb and architrave outside the cornice. A figure of the deceased appears occasionally on the jambs, usually at the bottom of the second, or middle, one.

In summary, the practice of using unequal length jambs with figures of the deceased of varying size began in the fourth dynasty and continued at least to the middle of the fifth. At that time, the cornice and torus moulding began to make its appearance on the doors of the highest officials which brought with it the development of even length inscriptions and smallish figures of the deceased on the jambs. This latter feature is sometimes found in the later fifth dynasty without the cornice and torus. In the sixth dynasty the cornice and torus false door with this new style of jamb is the norm, but changes are apparent at South Saqqara in the reign of Pepy II. Jambs are therefore a more useful criterion for dating fifth than sixth dynasty false doors.

---

1 Respectively, Mariette, Mastabas, 118-20; Simpson, Sekhem-ankh-ptah, pl. B; Mariette, op. cit., 278-9; id., ib., 282-4.
2 Respectively, Jéquier, Pepi II III, fig. 62; id., ib., fig. 62; id., Tombeaux, fig. 138; id., ib., fig. 134.
3 For example, ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r'; also nhri, dgm and r'-ḥr-k3i above.
Chapter 2.I.C - The Panel

This feature has assisted in the dating of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iy</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-irs</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb-ib; sndm-ib</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3-nfr</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-pth</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-r'</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hzzi</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-r'</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'-mrr-pth</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-'nh-pth</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df3wi</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssmw</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. The Panel

The overall shape of the panel shows relatively little change in the course of the Old Kingdom. In the fourth dynasty it is squarish, extended slightly to incorporate an offering list (mtn, mry, ëry). In the early fifth dynasty, panels are sometimes extended to include a figure of the wife of the owner (ny-'nh-shmt), or a second representation of himself (w38-pth). Panels of the middle and later fifth dynasty are again squarish (ph-n-wi-k3i, ntr-wsr, 'nh-izzi), while those of the end of the fifth and early sixth show a tendency towards a slight elongation (pth-htp II, mrrw-k3i, nfr-ssm-r', ūnty-k3i). Some examples dating to the reign of Pepy I are indeed very elongated (nfr-ssm-pth (later example), r'-wr, pth-spss), although there are other approximately contemporary examples that are again squarish (mhw, zzi, mrri).

With the exception of the noted elongation in the reign of Pepy I, these variations are rather subtle. However, from the middle of the sixth dynasty to the First Intermediate Period there existed a panel shape which is quite distinctive and apparently confined to this period only:

This will be referred to as the 'T' shaped panel. The earliest example (shown above) seems to be on the false door of ppy-ddi, found in the tomb of ūnty-k3i. The owner is presumably the son of ūnty-k3i who bore the same name; the general style and workmanship suggest that it was not made along with the rest of the tomb, and so perhaps dates to the end of the reign of Pepy I, about the middle of the sixth dynasty. Other examples are found in the tombs around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara, such as the group discussed on the previous page, and there are obvious First

1 James, Khentika, pl. XLII.
Intermediate Period examples from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery.\textsuperscript{1} That this form had ceased to exist by the early twelfth dynasty may be illustrated by the form of the false door of ihy,\textsuperscript{2} although examples of the older form may also be found alongside this newer one.\textsuperscript{3}

The most frequent scheme of decoration on the panel at all times is a seated figure of the deceased at the left-hand side facing right, with the left arm clasped to the chest and the right extended towards an offering table. The earliest exception to this is the panel of the false door of w3s-pth, on which are found figures of the deceased on both the left and right-hand sides, facing each other. That on the right is in the reverse of the attitude described above, but that on the left has his left arm extended towards the table with the right on his lap.

The doors of ph-n-wi-k3i and ntr-wsr, probably quite close to each other in date, replace the table scene with three or four vertical columns of text. This feature seems to be confined to a short period in the middle of the fifth dynasty. In the later fifth dynasty, the usual attitude is found on the panels of 'nh-izzi, nfr, k3h3i and hnmw-htp, although that of pth-htp II has the arms extended to the Table rather than folded to the chest.

The oldest type of depiction is the most frequent in the sixth dynasty, the only exceptions among the well-dated examples being the panels of s3bw; ibbi and his son pth-śps. The panel of s3bw has two figures, the left-hand of which has the less common of the two attitudes described above, and the right-hand one shows the deceased with his left hand extended to the table and the right holding a cup to his lips. This latter type is that found on the door of pth-śps, only differing in that there it is on the left. This presumably shows a family or sculptural tradition.

There are more interesting variations found among the less well-dated examples. For instance, the panel of the door of nn-hft-k3i, on which his wife is also shown, depicts the owner on the right facing left (in conventional attitude).\textsuperscript{4} The doors of k3i-pw-r' and 'nh-m-'-r' also depict the deceased facing left.\textsuperscript{5} These two officials can date no earlier than the reigns of Djedkare and Menkauhor respectively, and their tombs are both quite close to each other. The panel of the false door of h'-mr-r-pth is not dissimilar.\textsuperscript{6} These may all reflect a style current at the times their tombs were built (for further similarities see above pages 15-17).

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{1} The clearest are those that mention the pyramid of Merykare: gmi-n-m-h3t (Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 27B), htpi (Quibell, Excav. Saqq. (1906-7), pl. VI (2)), inpw-m-h3t (id., Excav. Saqq. (1905-6), pl. XV).
\textsuperscript{2} Firth-Gunn, op. cit., pl. B3.
\textsuperscript{3} ipi (Quibell, op. cit., pl. XIII), mentioning Merykare.
\textsuperscript{4} Cairo, CG 1484; Mariette, Mastabas, 307-9.
\textsuperscript{5} Respectively, id., ib., 278-9 and 282-4.
\textsuperscript{6} id., ib., 118-20.
\end{flushright}
Only two well-dated examples represent the wife of the deceased in addition to the owner himself, those of śry and ny-'nh-shmt. Again, such representations are more frequent among the less well-dated examples: ṭnti, k3i-ḫp, k3i-m-qdi, wr-ir-n-pth, wr-dd-pth,1 and nn-ḥft-k3i (see previous paragraph). It is likely that the whole group (with the exception of ṭnti who is clearly earlier) are of middle to late fifth dynasty date, the latest being wr-dd-pth; his false door was found in the tomb of k3i-m-snwy and šhtpw, whose dating is discussed in the Prosopography. One unusual example is the panel of in-b3.2 The style of this panel is very similar to many of the poorer examples from Giza,3 and the owner was of much lower rank than those officials already mentioned.

It is not clear why a depiction of the owner's wife is found only occasionally. Expense in the saving of a separate false door may be one explanation (compare the aforenoted poorer examples from Giza). It may also show special respect or affection, particularly as many Old Kingdom tombs show no trace of the deceased's wife.

No example is known to the author of a door of the fifth or sixth dynasties with cornice and torus that represents the husband and wife together on the panel. This would seem to be more evidence for the greater standardisation of this type of false door.

There are at least two panels from Saqqara which show the deceased standing. These are sšm-nfr; ḫb3 and m3-nfr.4 Both men were associated with the pyramid of Djedkare, and it is possible that they may have been close to one another in date. Both false doors have cornice and torus, and are overall rather similar, although that of m3-nfr employs two jambs to sšm-nfr's three. There seems to be no further evidence of this panel feature at Saqqara, and it may have been an idea of the later fifth dynasty which did not meet with much acceptance and was not used thereafter.

The early examples of the loaves on panel offering tables are small, reaching only as high as the level of the deceased's chest (mṛy, śry and perhaps also ṭnti5). The normal fifth dynasty form, developed by the time of ny-'nh-shmt and mš3-pth, was for the loaves to reach the level of the shoulders or thereabouts. Late fifth and some early sixth dynasty examples show this still to be the case (ḥtp II and š3bw). However the panels of mrrw-k3i and ḫnty-k3i have offering loaves reaching level with the top of the head of the deceased, and this would seem to remain so until the reign of Pepy II, when the previous level was resumed (mrr, ny-ḥb-ṣd-nfr-k3-r').6

1 Respectively, id., ib., 88-9; Martin, Hetepka, pl. 21; LD II, 100 c; BM Stelae II2, pl. XXVIII; Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 62 (right).
2 Martin, op. cit., pl. 25 (30).
3 Examples, Junker, Giza XII, 73, Abb. 4.
4 Respectively, Mariette, op. cit., 399-400; LD II, 65.
6 It has recently been suggested that this idea which originated as loaves on offering tables became understood as an image of a field of reeds, see Worsham, JARCE 16 (1979), 7-10.
Chapter 2.I.C - The Panel

The principal text on the panel is located above the head of the figure(s), and gives the name and one or two titles, usually in horizontal lines. Occasionally the text appears in vertical columns (w38-PTH), perhaps due to the dictates of space.

The offerings that appear with the offering table are usually of the 'a thousand of ....' type, mainly bread, beer, alabaster, clothing, oxen and fowl. Extra elements are occasionally found, as in the case of PTH-HTP II. These offerings are usually located beneath the table of bread, but in some examples from South Saqqara they appear with the texts at the top of the panel (NY-HB-SD-NFR-K3-R', TTI). Representations of funerary equipment (chests, pots and the like) are only found from the second half of the fifth dynasty onwards (the panel of HNNW-HTP is one of the earliest examples), and the quantity that appears may to some extent be due to the amount of free space left on the panel after the rest of the decoration had been cut - for example, one may contrast the offerings on the square panels of MRRW-K3I and HNTY-K3I with the oblong ones of NFR-S3M-PTH (later example) and R'-WR.

The general trend was thus for the panels of false doors to receive a wider variety of decoration as time progressed. However, the pose of the deceased on the panel was quite standardised except for a few isolated examples. Offering lists on the panel are discussed separately below.

Features of the panel design have been used in the dating of these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HZI</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3I-PW-R'</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B'-MRR-PTH</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TITW</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3M-NFR; HB3</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. The Panel Apertures

The terms 'narrow' and 'wide' will be used to describe individual examples, 'narrow' generally referring to those with a width of less than 15 cm.

The apertures of M'TN do not appear to be very wide, but those of MRY and SRY are each almost half the size of the panel itself, and most importantly feature a palace-facade type decoration. Examining the preserved fifth dynasty examples, one finds those of NY-NH-SHMT to be wide (approximately 30 cm.), and decorated with depictions of his children. Children and offering bearers form the decoration of the even wider apertures of W38-PTH (approximately 38 cm.). PH-N-WI-K3I (exact dimensions unable to be ascertained from publication) and NTR-WSR (approximately 27 cm.) employ wide apertures on their false doors, and those of the former are decorated with a palace-facade design. Similar decoration is found in the wide apertures of HNNW-HTP (approximately 19 cm.). Those of NFR and K3H3I are also wide, varying approximately between 19 and 36 cm., and decorated with a mixture of the palace-facade design and depictions of children and dependents. In the later fifth dynasty however, it appears that the highest officials were tending towards the use of narrower apertures, for example those of
'nh-izzi and pth-htp II. That this was not yet standard practice is demonstrated by the variations among other false doors probably of the later fifth dynasty: the door of h'-mrr-pth has wide apertures (approximately 44 cm.), that of shm-'nh-pth narrow (approximately 15 cm.) but decorated ones, and those of k3i-pw-r' and 'nh-m-'r are narrow and undecorated. In the sixth dynasty, narrow apertures seem to be the rule; the exact width varies but is nearly always too small to be decorated.

It is not clear exactly when the change from wide to narrow apertures took place, but the fact that it seems to coincide with the appearance of the cornice and torus moulding suggests that it might be part of a general move from the varying forms of the first half of the dynasty towards a new and more standardised one.

The appearance of small apertures is surely connected with the size of the jambs associated with different door types. The panel is normally situated on the lintel located on top of the inner jambs, and as one feature of the false door with cornice and torus was narrower jambs with fewer columns of inscription, the amount of space left after the panel was cut was more restricted.

Some of the panel shapes found from the late fifth dynasty onwards may be as a result of a deliberate effort to avoid wide apertures on the doors. If this be true, it suggests that the paramount feature to the officials of this time was the arrangement of the jambs, lintels and apertures. This might explain the inordinately large panel of s3bw; ibbi, perhaps designed to fill out the space left by the uncommon arrangement of both the inner and middle jambs 'supporting' the panel area; also the panel of nfr-s3m-pth could have been filled out with extra offerings to avoid leaving large apertures which were not the custom of the time. It is of course also possible that s3bw; ibbi wished to have a large panel on his door and the jambs were arranged accordingly.

This feature is of use in determining the date of the following:

'nh-m-'k3i (31)  m3-nfr (54)  k3i-pw-inpw (141)
k3i-m-qdi (145)  bb-ib; sndm-ib (43)  shm-'nh-pth (124)

E. The Lintels and Architraves

1. Figures of the Deceased

The earliest depiction of the owner to appear on a lintel or architrave of a false door is that of ny-'nh-s3m (early fifth dynasty), who is shown seated at the left-hand end of both. w3s-pth is represented on the right-hand end of his architrave, and also on the additional one above the offering list. The doors of ph-n-wi-k3i and ntr-wsr appear to have no figures at all on them, nor does that of hnmw-htp. pth-htp I is shown seated on the

1 Respectively, Mariette, Mastabas, 118-20; Simpson, Sekhem-ankh-htpah, pl. B; Mariette, op. cit., 278-9; id., ib., 282-4.
lintel, while 3ht-htdocs and pth-htdocs II appear only on the architraves, the former seated, the latter standing.

For the sixth dynasty, s3bw; ibbi is represented on the right-hand end of both elements, standing on the architrave and seated on the lintel. hmt-r' has a similar arrangement, but on the left. mrrw-k3i and hnty-k3i are not shown on the lintels of their doors, although the smaller doors of the latter have a standing figure on the left-hand side of the architrave; pth-sspss appears standing on the left side of the lintel, r'-wr is seated on the left of both, mrrw stands on the left of the architrave and zzi is seated on (at least) the left of the lintel. Figures on either element of false doors from South Saqqara are very rare - a notable exception may be found on that of nhri, probably because of the presence of an offering list.

The depictions on the architrave and lintel seem to assume the same orientation as the figure on the panel, and where there are two figures, that on the lintel/architrave is probably aligned with the more important one.

Standing figures of the deceased do not seem to appear before the later fifth dynasty, and tend to be the more common form on the architrave during the sixth dynasty. Overall, figures are found more frequently on the architrave than the lintel.

2. The texts

The earliest doors from Saqqara do not divide the texts on the lintel and architrave into horizontal lines in the manner of later practice. The orientation of these texts, once a reasonably consistent pattern for the design of false doors had been established, usually follows that of the figures (if any) at the end. If there is no such figure, the texts face in the direction of the figure on the panel (mrrw-k3i, hnty-k3i), or, as found on some fifth dynasty lintels, there may be two such texts which begin in the centre, reading ←—, or which begin at the outer ends and read → ← (ph- n-wi-k3i, pth-htdocs II).

Such criteria as based on lintels and architraves have been useful for dating 3ht-htdocs (4).

------------

1 Jéquier, Pepi II III, fig. 62
2 A good illustration of this may be found on the door of nn-htdocs- k3i: the lintel/architrave figures are to the right facing left, thus emphasising his position rather than that of his wife (Cairo, CG 1484; Mariette, Mastabas, 307-9).
F. Smaller Features

1. Relief.

The fourth dynasty material (mtn, mry, ṣry) is decorated in raised relief, and of the well-dated examples from the early and middle fifth dynasty, only those of w3s-pth and pth-ṣps seem to have been decorated in sunk relief. That sunk and raised relief existed alongside each other is shown by the employment of both types in the doors from the tomb of nfr and k3h3i. Towards the end of the dynasty, sunk relief began to be used by the most important individuals, for example, nbt, a wife of Wenis.¹

In the sixth dynasty, all the false doors that can be certainly dated to the period are cut in sunk relief. To summarise: raised relief was the norm in the fourth and the greater part of the fifth dynasties for the doors of the most important officials, who form the bulk of the examples used here. Sunk relief began to be used at least by the time of Neweserre, and gradually became the predominant form by the end of the fifth dynasty.

Some of the sunk relief of the fifth dynasty may be attributed to the need for speedy completion of the monument. The tomb of w3s-pth was built for him by his son, as was that of dw3-r' at Dahshur, also in sunk relief.² Perhaps the quicker execution of sunk relief and the consequent cheapness may account for the change in the sixth dynasty, but it is more likely that it came to be used for the most important parts of the tomb, those which would identify its owner, and which it was essential to protect against damage or usurpation. Thus offering lists were often cut in sunk relief while the rest of the decoration was raised, for example on the false door of hnmw-htp.³ Therefore, although sunk relief was not a feature that first appeared in the design of the new false door with cornice and torus, it gradually became an accepted part of the design.

This feature has been of assistance in the dating of:

'nh-m-'-k3i (31)  k3i-pw-inpw (141)  ty (157)

2. Decoration of the Central Niche.

Excluded deliberately under this heading are the offering lists discussed below. The decoration most commonly found in this niche consists of one column of text, comprising names, titles or offering formulae, which appears in the middle fifth dynasty, well-dated examples being pth-ṣps, ph-n-wi-k3i, ntr-wsr, hnmw-htp and pth-htp I. It does not seem to be found on any doors of certain late fifth to sixth dynasty date, and is thus a feature not normally

¹ Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), 94-5, fig. 1; relief type obtained from examination of original.
² Cairo, CG 1389.
³ Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. XVI.
associated with cornice and torus doors with the exception of some early examples. This feature also occurs on the less well-dated false doors of k3i-m-nfrt, htp-k3i, and ny-‘nh-r.1

The original inspiration for this feature is uncertain. It may perhaps be derived from the figure of the deceased surmounted by a text found in the central niche of doors of the fourth and early fifth dynasties (mry, sry and probably ‘nh-irs2); these may also have inspired decoration such as that of h‘-b3w-pth,3 whose door niche has three columns of titles, his name and a figure.

This feature has been used to assist dating h‘-inpw (101).

3. The Incorporation of Additional Scenes

Examples of this are not common. Certain doors from the early fifth dynasty include representations of children with or below the figures of the deceased (ny-‘nh-shmt, m38-pth), but the above heading is intended to cover those doors of which a complete jamb or more is devoted to scenes which more normally find their place on other walls of a tomb.

The earliest such example is the door of pr-sn, the inner jambs of which each contain four representations of children or dependents. Most others are less well-dated. That of k3i-hp has many representations of offering bearers and dependents on the jambs.4 The outer jambs of the false door of ztm are composed of five registers of butchers and offering bearers;5 below the large figures on the door of df3wi are three registers of offering bearers and butchers;6 and the large outer jambs of the false door of shm-k3i contain similar scenes, with the addition of seated figures of the deceased at the top.7 In all but the example of pr-sn, the false door forms the sole decorated surface in the tomb, and these scenes are in fact those that are almost obligatory in any Old Kingdom decorated tomb-chapel, namely offering bearers and butchers.8 Thus the false door contained all the essential elements of a tomb.

With the exception of that of pr-sn, these doors are all examples of the older type, with wide jambs and very large figures of the deceased. Such a similarity of design suggests that they may be all of kindred date, perhaps middle to later fifth dynasty,
after which certain of the false door features they exhibit disappear.

This feature has been useful for dating:

\[\text{ztw} (115) \quad \text{wr-k3-pth} (41) \quad \text{df3wi} (167)\]

G. The Incorporation of Offering Lists into False Doors

Two types of offering list are found. The first consists of a list not arranged according to what will be termed the 'canonical list', and the second lists that are. The order of the canonical list is discussed principally by Barta,\(^1\) and this form was followed, with certain additions, from the early part of the fifth dynasty (a little later than at Giza) until late in the sixth.

1. Uncanonical Offering Lists

Such examples are only ever found on the panel of the false door, and they can be further divided into two sub-groups, those which antedate the introduction of the canonical list and those which exist alongside it. The former type is more common at Giza than at Saqqara. These early panel lists serve the same function as the later canonical lists (to provide the deceased with an idealised set of offerings to replace the real ones should they cease), and their increasing complexity in the fourth dynasty may be illustrated by comparing the examples of \text{mttn} and \text{mry}. More developed examples may be found on the panels of \text{hwti}, \text{tnti}, \text{nb-irs}, and \text{k3i-pr},\(^2\) all of which would seem to date from the late fourth to early fifth dynasty, antedating the canonical list which makes its first Saqqara appearance in the tomb of \text{w3s-pth}.

The second sub-group of offering lists is much more selective in its choice of elements, consisting principally of the seven sacred oils. The earliest well-dated occurrence of this is on the panel of \text{ny-nb-shmt}, of the reign of Sahure. Other examples come from tombs which cannot be as easily dated. Table 3 attempts to illustrate the range of these items; the examples in this table are not necessarily in order of date. It is clear that, in addition to oils, these short lists sometimes include cosmetics and certain agricultural products, but items in the latter category do not appear very often and in no consistent pattern by date - \text{ntr-nfr} is usually dated to the sixth dynasty (Cairo Catalogue), while that of \text{spdw-htp} is uncertain but perhaps mid-fifth dynasty (below, in the Prosopography under \text{h'-mrr-pth} (106)). These have a degree of affinity with the pre-canonical lists mentioned above. Most of the

\(^{1}\) \text{Opferliste}, 47-88, particularly the table on pages 47-40. A less systematic presentation is given by Hassan, \text{Giza VI}\(^2\), passim.

\(^{2}\) Respectively, Cairo, \text{CG} 1392; Mariette, \text{Mastabas}, 88-9; \text{id.}, ib., 109-10; Fischer, \text{JNES} 18 (1959), pl. IV.
Table 3

Principal Component Elements of Short Offering Lists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nn-hft-k3i</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr-nfr</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr-ir-n-pth</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-nfrt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-qdi</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hp</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spdw-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwb-htp</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Columns:

1 sntr  2 sti-hb  3 hknw
4 sft    5 nhnm  6 h3tt
7 tw3t  8 msdmt  9 w3dt
10 m'h  11 irp  12 d3b
13 Others: 1) ztw
2) sht hdt, sht w3dt, hbnnt, š't, d3rt

References:

a Cairo, CG 1484; Mariette, Mastabas, 307-9.
b Cairo, CG 1465. c Cairo, CG 1447.
d BM Stelae I2, pl. XXVIII. e Mariette, op. cit., 247-9.
f LD II, 100 c. g Martin, Hetepka, pl. 21.
h Mariette, op. cit., 211. i Cairo, CG 1415.
j Epron-Wild, Le tombeau de Ti III, pl, CLXXXII, CLXXXIV

other individuals probably date to the period around the middle of the fifth dynasty, notably nn-hft-k3i who is probably depicted in the mortuary temple of Sahure. The most questionable conventional date is Baer's assignation of k3i-m-nfrt to his period VIE, as this tomb exhibits more features of fifth dynasty date, for example the jambs, apertures and relief of the false door. The example of ty is in many ways the most interesting of the group, as his is the only door of the newer design with cornice and torus to bear any type of offering list. His date is by no means certain, but such a mixture of features associated with older and newer door styles suggests that his example was made during a period when the newer

1 Borchardt, S'ašhure' II, Bl. 17 (top left).
2 Early to middle reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 142 (523).
Chapter 2.I.G - The Offering List

type had only just come into use, which was, as seen above, around
the middle of the fifth dynasty.

It is thus suggested that the use of small uncanonical offering
lists of this type was a feature of the middle of the fifth
dynasty, from perhaps the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare to that of
Djedkare, with sporadic examples from slightly later times.

2. Canonical Offering Lists

The origin and development of the canonical list cannot be seen as
clearly at Saqqara as at Giza, whence comes more material of the
formative stages in the fourth and early fifth dynasties (below
Chapter 2.II.B). In all the very early Saqqara offering lists, the
selection of the individual offerings shows a large degree of
fluctuation, which was drastically reduced by the advent of the
canonical list. The linen list had established itself on the right
of the panel by the time of mtn, but it seems to have ceased to be
a part of the decoration of the door by the end of the fourth
dynasty, from which period probably come the additional examples of
ms-ż3, ſnti, ūht, and kṣi-ṣpr (see above page 26).

The canonical list seems to have made its debut at Saqqara above
the architrave of the false door of wšš-pth, a little later than
its appearance at Giza. It is usually considered that the 'normal'
position in the Old Kingdom for the large canonical offering list
is on one of the walls of the chapel adjacent to the false door.
There are however no examples of this practice at Saqqara until the
reign of Neweserre at the earliest (ntr-wsr), and it is therefore
likely that the offering list was located on the false door for a
while after its first appearance at Saqqara. All early examples of
such lists are found in the tombs of very important officials, as
seems to have been the case with most important developments, such
as the door with cornice and torus moulding.

The tomb of ntr-wsr is also among the first to use this newer
design of false door. There does not seem to be a single example
of such a door with cornice and torus which bears a canonical
offering list on any of its parts, whereas we will see that they
are not uncommon on the older pattern of door. The new door and
the canonical offering list seem to have been mutually exclusive.

As the false door without cornice and torus continued in use
until the later part of the fifth dynasty, it is likely that offer­
ing lists on such doors will date to a similar period, from the
reign of Neferirkare at the earliest to some point near the end of
the dynasty.

Such offering lists are found on most parts of the false door,
with the largest number being on the panel. It is evident that in
most cases the jambs would receive a full list and the panel an
abbreviated one, logical in terms of the space available.2 In only

1 Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XXI, XXIII.
2 Some full jamb lists: ny-ňḥ-r (BM Stelae I2, pl. XXVI(2, 3)),
itti; ſňḥ-irs (Murray, op. cit., I, pl. XVIII). That of r'-mry-pth is partly in the central niche (Mariette, Mastabas,
Chapter 2.I.G - The Offering List

the example of *ty* is there a short panel list and a jamb list, although that of *htp-ht* does begin on the panel and is continued on the right outer jamb.  

1 The only full panel lists are those of *k3i* and *htp-hr-ht*, and probably *z3s* and *hnmw-htp* (when restored - the latter two lists extend onto the right-hand panel aperture).  

2 When placing a list on the panel, the most important part of the list was clearly the first twenty or so elements, comprising the oils, cosmetics and royal offerings.

We can only guess at the reasons prompting one arrangement in favour of another. Most often, lists were carved on the door since this was the only surface in the tomb to be decorated.  

3 Otherwise, the restriction of the offering list to certain areas must have been due to the particular requirements of the owner for decoration elsewhere, and also to current practice. In fact the unique position for an offering list on the lintel of *h'-mrr-pth* may have been due to his concern not to interfere with the arrangement of the jambs in the style of the new false door - even length inscriptions and a figure of himself at the bottom of each jamb.

Precise dating of most of the examples quoted above is not really possible without the use of further criteria, and the reader is referred to general discussions of date, such as those in Baer, Rank and Title, from which it does not seem unreasonable to place most of them in the period of the reigns of Neferirkare to Djedkare, the earliest being that of *ty*, and the latest probably *h'-mrr-pth* and *itti; 'nh-irs*.

This discussion of offering lists has been of assistance in the following cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>izi (17)</th>
<th>ny-k3i-'nh (75)</th>
<th>k3i-pw-inpw (141)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>itti; 'nh-irs</em> (21)</td>
<td>h'-mrr-pth (106)</td>
<td>k3i-m-qdi (145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-irs (25)</td>
<td>k3i (136)</td>
<td>ty (157)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m-''k3i (31)</td>
<td>k3i-'pr (139)</td>
<td>dw3-r' (162)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H. The Relationship of False Doors and Chapel Types

By examining the changes in chapel types and the classes of false door found in them, it may be possible to establish some sort of relationship by date of these two features. A summary of overall

154-5).

Some abbreviated panel lists: *ny-k3i-'nh* (Petrie-Murray, Mephistite Tomb Chapels, pl. III (middle)), *df3wi* (id., ib., pl. XIV).

1 Respectively, Cairo, CG 1380 and Zayed, ASAE 55 (1958), 130-1.

2 Respectively, Murray, op. cit., pl. VII; Boeser, Leiden I, Taf. XVII-XVIII; Mariette, op. cit., 366; Cairo, CG 1423.

3 Only in the tomb of *hnmw-htp* is there another offering list in addition to the one noted above on the door (Petrie-Murray, op. cit., pl. XVII(1)).

4 Mariette, op. cit., 118-20.
developments in chapel design in the course of the Old Kingdom is
given by Baer. Most of the chapels discussed below belong to the
officials whose false doors have been used as the basis of the
preceding discussion.

1. Summary of Principal Chapel Types

In the fourth dynasty, the plans of chapels seem to be of what is
known as the true cruciform type, to be found, for example in the
tombs of mtn and ph-r-nfr (figure 2.a and b). Examples from the
early fifth dynasty show a wider range of chapel types. The modi­
fied cruciform and 'L'-shaped chapels made their appearance, for
example in the tomb of k3i-pr (figure 2.c), but the cruciform
chapel was still in evidence (that of 'nh-irs, figure 2.d). Another
new type is the east-west chapel, found in the tomb of pr-sm (figure 2.e). The principal orientation of chapels prior to
this was north-south, and the new type was thus a major innovation.

In the middle of the dynasty, the cruciform chapel was still
used (pth-bsp, figure 2.f), but the east-west form became more
frequent. There seem to have been two variants on this scheme, one
with the main offering room at the end of a north-south corridor
(ty, figure 3.a), and more complex ones in which the main room was
reached through other smaller ones, as in the examples of ph-n-wi-
k3i and ntr-wsr (figure 3.b and c).

The well-dated tombs of the later fifth dynasty show an increas­
ing tendency towards the use of the complex and east-west chapels,
as may be found in the mastabas of pth-htp I and 3ht-htp; hmi
(figure 3.d and 4.b), but with others still of the north-south type
('nh-izz, figure 4.a).

The east-west chapel became the principal form in the sixth
dynasty. The extent of the complexity of the tomb-plan presumably
depended on the status and means of the tomb-owner. The tombs of
k3i-gmn, mrrw-k3i and hnty-k3i are good examples of very complex
chapels (figure 4.c and figure 5.a). However, as may be seen from
the chapel of r'-wr, older forms still existed, even in the tombs
of the very highest officials (figure 5.b). Little has been pre­
served of the chapels from the cemetery of Pepy II at South Saqqara
to enable conclusions to be drawn about the plans of tombs built
there.

2. Relationship of these Chapels to the False Door

The most far-reaching development in chapel design in the fifth
dynasty was the introduction of the east-west offering room. The
majority of such chapels contain the new type false doors with
cornice and torus moulding, while most of the older false doors are
found in north-south chapels. Like the new false door, it is
possible to trace the origin of the east-west chapel to a royal
monument. An elongated example of such a chapel seems to have been

----------------------

1 Rank and Title, 48-9, with references.
Figure 2: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (1)

a. From PM 32, pl. XLIX
b. From PM 32, pl. L

c. From PM 32, pl. XLIX
d. Drawn from Mariette, Mastabas, 109

e. Mariette, op. cit., 299
f. Drawn from Mariette, op. cit., 111

Plans are not necessarily to the same scale
Figure 3: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (2)

Plans are not necessarily to the same scale

a. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, Bl. 1

b. From *PM* 32, pl. XLIX

c. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XXXII

d. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 351
Figure 4: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (3)

a. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 190
b. From *PM* 32, pl. LXIV

c. From Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, pl. 51

Plans are not necessarily to the same scale
Figure 5: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (4)

a. James, *Khentika*, pl. III

b. Drawn from el-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara*, fig. 2

c. Drawn from LD Text I, 142

d. Drawn from Petrie-Murray, *Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. XXIV

Plans are not necessarily to the same scale
Chapter 2.I.H - Chapel Types

the central feature of the Menkaure pyramid temple, and an abbreviated version appears also in the temple of the Mastabat Faraoun. The standard location for this chapel and the false door seems to have been established in the mortuary temples at Abusir. It is thus highly probable that such a scheme evolved in royal monuments, and shortly afterwards began to be used by the highest officials, and later all ranks of tomb owners.

The new chapel type and false door form are thus closely associated. False doors must be included in this group which resemble the newer ones in all respects except their lack of torus and cornice (examples above pages 16-17). There are several other chapels of the east-west type which contain false doors of the older form, for example that of df3wi (figure 5.d). The door in this tomb contains an offering list on the panel and so cannot be considered to be of the new type. The chapel is a very simple one, but shows the outlines of the east-west type in its overall shape.

Perhaps another variant of the east-west offering room is to be seen in those chapels which consist of a small square room at the end of a corridor, as in, for example, the tomb of ss3mw (figure 5.c). These are similar to that of ty above (figure 3.a), but are simpler. In most of these tombs, the offering room is not very long, perhaps suggesting that the room was the east-west chapel at a very early stage of development.

I. Summary of Principal Conclusions

The frequency with which the above criteria are used in this work justifies the following summary:

Torus and Cornice: This appeared in the early fifth dynasty, and is found mainly from the reign of Neweserre. Until the later fifth dynasty it is confined principally to viziers and high officials. It became the usual type in the sixth dynasty.

Jambs: One or two pairs normal in the fourth to middle fifth dynasties, usually wide and decorated with a very large figure of the deceased, often with the addition of figures of his family. There were several columns of text per jamb, the length of which varies on different jambs. After the mid-fifth dynasty, jambs became narrower and of equal length and width; the figure of the deceased became smaller. Three pairs are found with the highest officials. This type is usually,

1 Brinks, Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches, Taf. 8.
2 id., ib., Taf. 10.
3 id., ib., Taf. 12, 13, 15.
4 Comparable examples may be found in the tombs of tp-m-'nh (Mariette, Mastabas, 196), ḫtp-k3i (Martin, Heteuka, pl. 4) and ptḥ-wsr (Mariette, op. cit., 115).

35
but not always, found with the torus and cornice. Two or three equal width jambs were normal in the sixth dynasty. In the reign of Pepy II, jambs became very narrow, usually with only one column of text.

Panel: Squarish for most of the Old Kingdom. In the period of the reign of Teti to Pepy I, some examples are very elongated. From the middle sixth onwards they are often 'T'-shaped, particularly in the reign of Pepy II. They were normally decorated with a seated figure of the deceased at the left. The deceased's wife appeared on some fifth dynasty panels. Some middle fifth dynasty examples replaced the normal table scene with a text. Later fifth ones occasionally showed the deceased at the right side of the panel and sometimes in a standing position.

Apertures: Wide from the middle fourth to middle fifth dynasties, in which period they were frequently decorated. Most doors with torus and cornice have narrow apertures, especially from the late fifth dynasty onwards.

Lintels: If present, the figure of the deceased followed the alignment of that on the panel. Some standing figures are found in the later fifth dynasty. Early texts are not split into distinct lines.

Relief: Generally raised until the later fifth dynasty, thereafter sunk. Sunk relief became associated with torus and cornice doors.

Central Niche: The use of a vertical column of text is a feature of false doors of the mid-fifth dynasty.

Extra Scenes: Not common, confined to the early to middle fifth dynasty. Not found on doors with torus and cornice.

Offering Lists: The presence of these on false doors generally indicates a period before the later fifth dynasty. Not found with torus and cornice doors. Short lists on the panel of an uncanonical nature are confined to fourth to mid-fifth dynasty examples. Canonical lists may appear almost anywhere on the door and usually belong to the period of the reigns of Neferirkare to Djedkare.

Chapel Types: In the fourth dynasty, cruciform chapels with deep niches were normal. The 'L'-shaped chapel appears in the early fifth dynasty. Both these chapel types usually contained the older-style false doors. The first developments in the direction of the east-west chapel appeared in the early fifth dynasty. False doors of both older and newer types are found in these chapels. The east-west chapel
gradually took precedence from the middle fifth onwards, especially
in the tombs of the highest officials, although the older types are
still found. In the late fifth and sixth dynasties, the east-west
chapel was the norm, with the torus and cornice false door; chapel
plans were often very complex.

Section II: False Doors and Other features of Tomb Design at Giza

A. Introduction

The nature of the material from Giza, and the extent of its rele­
vance to the subject of this work, necessitates a different treat­
ment from that given to doors from Saqqara. At the latter site,
the officials in question were generally of the higher ranks, and
their spread is relatively consistent from the middle fifth dynasty
to the end of the Old Kingdom. At Giza, however, the majority of
relevant officials buried there date to the fourth and early fifth
dynasties, after which period the number declined; the majority of
burials after this time were of lesser men, particularly in the
sixth dynasty. As the purpose of this study is to shed more light
on the dating of the highest officials of the Old Kingdom, it is
apparent that the site of Giza must receive attention principally
for the earlier period; examples of false doors from later times
will be discussed at less length.

B. The Offering List in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties

At Giza, we encounter the problem that there are fewer tombs that
can be independently dated than at Saqqara, and it is thus not
possible to produce a list of examples of the fourth and early
fifth dynasties around which to build groups of similar false
doors. To obtain a possible sequence for the chapels under consi­
deration, it is necessary to utilise other features, the most
prominent of which is the offering list found in most chapels of
the period in question. This discussion works from the premise,
which however may not always be correct, that a particular design
practice would become more complex as time progressed.

The early development of the offering list at Giza may be seen
on the slab-stelae: it would seem likely that the number of ele­
ments in these offering lists increased with time, the earliest
examples, those from cemetery G1200, such as k3i-nfr (G1203)\(^1\),
having but five, while later ones had many more, such as that of
wp-m-nf\(\text{rt} \) (G1201 - twenty) and ss3t-shntyw (G2120 - thirty or
more).\(^2\) Common to them all is the presence of a linen list.\(^3\) The
tomb of the last-mentioned example has a mason's graffito of the

---

1 Reisner, Giza I, pl. 17b.
2 Respectively, id., ib., pl. 17a and 39a.
3 For this feature, see Smith, ZAS 71 (1935), 134-49.

37
twelfth cattle-count of an unnamed king. This is probably of the reign of Khufu, and if the main body of the mastaba were built at the end of that reign, then the decoration is unlikely to be earlier than the beginning of the reign of Khafre.1

Similar in some respects to the slab-stela of sâ3t-sântyw is the panel of nfr (G2110); the major difference is that it is incorporated into a false door.2 These resemblances may suggest a date for nfr shortly after that of sâ3t-sântyw, perhaps in the middle of the reign of Khafre.

It must be stressed that none of these can be referred to as being a 'canonical list', that is, the form which becomes the standard order in the fifth and sixth dynasties (see further above page 28). It is clear that at some point between the early fourth and the middle fifth dynasty the change from the older to the newer style of list came about. At Saqqara this was considered to have happened in about the reign of Neferirkare, but, as will be seen, the change began at Giza.

The earliest examples of lists with resemblance to the canonical one come from the Eastern Cemetery, from the tombs of h'f-hwfw I (G7130 + 7140) and mrs-'nh III (G7530). On the grounds of the former being a son of Khufu, it is unlikely that he would have decorated his tomb before the reign of Khafre. mrs-'nh perhaps married Khafre and may have died at the beginning of the reign of Shepseskaf, and so the decoration of her tomb probably dates to the reign of Menkaure.3 The lists of h'f-hwfw are found on the panel of his false door and the south wall of the chapel.4 Closer examination reveals that the two are complementary; using the numbers of the canonical list of Barta,5 the first fifteen elements are absent, but numbers sixteen to fifty-nine, with a few omissions, are in canonical order on the panel. The majority of elements sixty to ninety are found on the south wall, with perhaps six of them also featuring on the panel. There can be little doubt that this is a canonical list, and also that it shows signs of being very much an experiment. The conventional position of the list before this time was solely on the panel, but in this case to accommodate the number of elements required it had to be continued elsewhere. The lack of certain of these shows that the form was still very fluid. Both of these lists are arranged so that no physical divisions were placed between the individual elements, in common with the older examples.

The list of mrs-'nh III shows a further development. This is found on the south wall of Reisner's room b of her tomb,6 and comprises virtually all the elements of a standard offering list. Each element is for the first time placed in a small 'compartment'.

---

1 id., JNES 11 (1952), 127 (3), fig. 6 (G2120).
2 Reisner, op. cit., fig. 241.
3 Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, fig. 2; a less likely suggestion is that she died at the beginning of the reign of Menkaure, id., ib., 7-8.
4 Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 32, 31.
5 Opferliste, 47-50.
6 Dunham-Simpson, op. cit., fig. 9.
Further late fourth dynasty examples are found in tombs in the Khafre Quarry Cemetery, notably those of ny-k3w-r', dbhn, and shtm-k3-r',¹ which belong to the reigns of Menkaure to Sahure. This shows clearly that the development of the offering list in its canonical form took place in the tombs of members of the royal family. The exception to this is that of dbhn, but, as his biography shows,² this tomb and its site were given to him specially by Menkaure as a favour, and consequently it should be regarded as one would a royal tomb.³

The earliest canonical list that is evident from independently dated private tombs is that of ssm-nfr I (G4940), perhaps of the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare. There are several private non-canonical lists that seem to belong to the preceding period. Panels with offering and linen lists not dissimilar to that already noted in the tomb of nfr are also found in that of mry-ib (G2100-I-annexe).⁴ There is an important false door panel from cemetery G4000, that of snfrw-snb (G4240).⁵ This is significant as the linen list is omitted, and the decoration of the panel consists solely of about seventy-six individual offerings. This number is far higher than any previously found in a private tomb at Giza, and was clearly the next logical step from the panels of nfr and mry-ib. This list is not in a canonical order; the content and grouping of the elements is not unlike that of the later lists, but some items appear which do not survive in the canonical list, such as the smn goose and the prw drink. Given that snfrw-snb's mastaba contained a 'reserve head', it is likely that his tomb is not one of the latest ones in the cemetery, but may perhaps be of the period of the reign of Khafre to that of Menkaure, as may be mry-ib.

In the tomb of dw3-n-r' (G5110, unpublished), the only offering list appears to be that on the panel of the false door. It contains approximately twenty-three elements arranged in an uncanonical order. At the end of the first line of the offering list,

---

¹ Respectively, LD Erg., Taf. XXXV; LD II, 35; Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 122; LD II, 42 c; Hassan, op. cit., fig. 63.
³ Other offering lists of members of the royal family of the fourth dynasty use the older style. These are all from the Eastern Cemetery and their owners were thus probably related to Khufu and were very likely earlier than the individuals noted in the Khafre Cemetery. Those of htp-hrs, the wife of 'nh-h3f (G7510, unpublished), and mrt-itis (G7650, unpublished) are the only ones with linen lists. Unpublished fragments of the list of ddf-hr (G7210 + 7220) suggest that it may have been not unlike that of h'f-hfwf. For others see the list in Reisner, Giza I, 334-5. It is clear that a large degree of variation was indeed possible in the middle fourth dynasty, as one might expect given the number and pace of current developments in the list.
⁴ LD II, 19.
⁵ Reisner, op. cit., pl. 57b.
there is a falcon on a perch, presumably to be read idmy 'red linen', thus providing a link with the old linen list which by this time had disappeared from the tomb.¹ This form of list suggests that it was not one of the older examples in the cemetery, having affinities as it does with those of mry-ib and snfrw-snb.

There are at least three further tombs from the western field at Giza, conventionally dated to the early fifth dynasty, which have offering lists that are extensive but do not fit into the canonical pattern - ny-k3-nzwt I (G2155), sš3t-htp; hti (G5150), and whm-k3i.² The traces available of the list of ddf-ḥwfw (G III S) suggest that it also fitted into this group, but it is too damaged to be of direct assistance.³ One feature common to all these lists is that they were all on the south wall of the offering chapel. Furthermore, the panels of the false doors contained just a few offerings such as the oils and the occasional other element, but no linen list. The following conclusions all assume that the nearer the form of the offering list to the canonical one, the later its date.

This group of lists have much in common with that of snfrw-snb, all containing at least seventy elements not in canonical order, but including very many that were to be in the canonical list, and several that were not.⁴ It would appear that the list of ny-k3-nzwt I bears the most similarities to the canonical one in its order and selection of offerings. One important feature found for the first time in a private tomb is the noting of the number of portions of very many of the offerings, possibly also true for the list of ddf-ḥwfw. On such a basis it is likely that the list of sš3t-ḥtp is earlier in date than that of ny-k3-nzwt. With the exception of whm-k3i, all the officials would seem to be of the highest rank, very frequently 'king's sons' (in fact 'titular princes'). If the canonical list seems to have come into use in the non-royal cemeteries in or after the reign of Sahure, then the most likely date for the tomb of sš3t-ḥtp is the end of the fourth dynasty and for ny-k3-nzwt I the early fifth.

The offering list of sšm-nfr I (G4940) was perhaps one of the first in a private tomb to be based on the canonical form. This has a total of sixty-seven elements, but omits the first fifteen elements of the canon as well as some of the final ones.⁵ It is interesting to note that the list is not partitioned, but that the number of portions of each offering is indicated. These details emphasise that it is an early example, with still a few trappings of older lists.

¹ For idmy see Smith, ZAS 71 (1935), 139-42.
² Respectively, Junker, Giza II, Abb. 21; LD II, 25 (lower), also Junker, op. cit., Abb. 33; Kayser, Die Mastaba des Uhemka, fig. after page 23. The offering list of nzwt-nfr (G4970; Junker, Giza III, Abb. 9b) is substantially similar to that of sš3t-ḥtp and it is indeed likely that it was copied (id., ib., 71, 76).
³ id., Giza X, Abb. 25.
⁴ See Barta, Opferliste, 51-9.
⁵ LD II, 28.
Three further tombs provide possible examples of the first use of compartments in the lists of non-royal persons. \textit{k3i-nfr} (G2150) has a list of twenty-four elements in compartments on the east wall of his chapel.\textsuperscript{1} This is perhaps some sort of experiment with the new list, which may explain its unusual location and small size. The other examples are those of \textit{k3i-pw-nzwt}; \textit{k3i} (G4651), and \textit{k3i-sw\textdoublen d3} (G5340).\textsuperscript{2} These two tombs both have full offering lists on the south wall of their chapels.

It is probable that by the reign of Neferirkare or slightly later the canonical offering list had been established as the standard form in all cemeteries at Giza, appearing later in private tombs than those of the royal family. It thus suggests, as one might expect in ancient Egypt, that new developments were first used by the royal family, and were then a little later emulated by non-royal officials.

C. The Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period at Giza

In comparison with the false doors from Saqqara of the fifth dynasty, the examples found at Giza in the early period are much more simple, with generally less features useful for the purposes of dating. Consequently, the examination of the position of the false door in the chapels and the adjoining schemes of decoration assumes more importance.

Tombs of holders of relevant titles in the early period are found in the following Giza Cemeteries: G7000, G2000, G4000, the Cemetery en Echelon and the Khafre Quarry Cemetery. Of these, only the first and last seem to have been the places of burial of true members of the royal family; the others probably contained the tombs of the most important non-royal officials. Leaving aside for the present the Khafre Cemetery, the tombs of which are almost all rock-cut and probably obey different decorative rules, the chapels in these cemeteries are of two broad types, those with one niche or false door and those with two (examples figure 6). These two chapel types will form the basis of the discussion of the tombs of this period.

1. Chapels with Two False Doors

This chapel type appears first in the early fourth dynasty, reign of Khufu; a typical one of slightly later date is illustrated in figure 6a. An important example is the chapel of the second subsidiary pyramid of that king (G1b), which was undecorated.\textsuperscript{3} From

\textsuperscript{1} Reisner, \textit{Giza} I, fig. 260.
\textsuperscript{2} Respectively, Junker, \textit{Giza} III, Abb. 17; LD II, 85a, Junker, \textit{Giza} VII, Abb. 70. \textit{k3i-pw-nzwt} is probably early fifth dynasty since he was responsible for the false door of \textit{nfr-t-i3btt} (G4650) of the fourth dynasty, while \textit{k3i-sw\textdoublen d3} was probably the son of \textit{k3i-nfr} above.
\textsuperscript{3} Plan, Reisner, \textit{Giza} I, 211, fig. 20.
an inscription found near to the entrance to the mortuary temple of Khufu it would seem likely that the major constructions of that reign were being erected around the year of the eighth cattle-count, perhaps about the middle of the reign.\textsuperscript{1} A further example may be found in the tomb of 'nh-h3f (G7510), although the southern niche is far larger than the northern. A very elongated example is in the tomb of hm-iwnw (G4000); another is in the unassigned mastaba G2000.\textsuperscript{2}

These last three mastabas are all the largest in their respective areas of the cemetery. It would be logical for G7510 and G2000 to be the oldest mastabas in each section of the cemetery, although Reisner preferred to see G7510 as later than the others.\textsuperscript{3}

The position would then be that the largest mastabas at Giza were built for the most important people of the reign of Khufu, and that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Smith, \textit{JNES} 11 (1952), 126-7 (1), fig. 7 ('Cheops Temple').
  \item \textsuperscript{2} For plans of these three tombs see respectively, Reisner, \textit{op. cit.}, fig. 8; Junker, \textit{Giza} I, Abb. 18; Reisner, \textit{op. cit.}, fig. 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{op. cit.}, 148, 212.
\end{itemize}
they used in their tombs a special chapel type otherwise used only by one of the king's wives.

The two-niched chapel type was also used by the royal family of Khafre in their rock tombs, presumably in the reign of Menkaure and later. It made its first appearance in the tombs of non-royal individuals towards the end of the dynasty.

Table 4 is a list of the more important private chapels of this type, with very approximate dates, partly based on the above study of the offering lists. In all these examples, the space between the false doors is filled with some sort of offering scene, and usually the deceased is shown before a series of registers of offering bearers, butchers and the like.

Table 4
Chapels of Private Individuals with Two False Doors at Giza

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date/Name</th>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Source for False Doors and West Wall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late Dynasty 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-ib</td>
<td>G2100-I</td>
<td>LD II, 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-n-r'</td>
<td>G5110</td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Dynasty 4 - Early 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sš3t-htp</td>
<td>G5150</td>
<td>LD II, 23; Junker, Giza II, Abb. 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-nzw(t) I</td>
<td>G2155</td>
<td>id., ib., Abb. 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kši-nfr</td>
<td>G2150</td>
<td>Reisner, Giza I, fig. 257.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahure and later</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr I</td>
<td>G4940</td>
<td>LD II, 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kši-pw-nzw(t); kši</td>
<td>G4651</td>
<td>id., Giza III, Abb. 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzw(t)-nfr</td>
<td>G4970</td>
<td>id., ib., Abb. 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr-sn</td>
<td>LG 20</td>
<td>LD II, 83b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snnw-kši; kši</td>
<td>G2041</td>
<td>One part, Smith, Sculpture, pl. 45b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kši-swd_3</td>
<td>G5340</td>
<td>Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neweseerre and later</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr II</td>
<td>G5080</td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-b3w-p(t)</td>
<td>G6010</td>
<td>LD II, 58b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr</td>
<td>G4761</td>
<td>Junker, Giza VI, Abb. 6-12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djedkare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr III</td>
<td>G5170</td>
<td>Brunner-Traut, Die altÄgyptische Grabkammer Seschemnofers III aus Gisa, Beil. 3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43
Chapter 2.II.C - Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period

The decoration of the jambs of the false doors, of which there are usually only one pair, consists either of a figure of the deceased with texts above, or one or two registers of depictions of family or dependents. In the tomb of ss3t-htp, copied in that of nzwt-nfr, there is an additional figure of the deceased at the rear of the central niche.

The lintel and architrave usually contain simple decoration, with only one or two lines of text. The text on the architraves of ss3t-htp and k3i-nfr is laid out in the form of short vertical columns; this is perhaps a stylistic feature of the early fifth dynasty. The first figures of the deceased on architraves are in the tombs of nn-sdr-k3i (daughter of mry-ib) and k3i-swdj (son of k3i-nfr), and are thus not among the earliest examples.

The space between the false doors is decorated in a variety of different ways. There are three basic types, examples of which are as follows: mry-ib stands to the left of the northern false door facing left (scheme one), while ssm-nfr I is to be found at the right of the southern door facing right (scheme two), and then nfr-b3w-pth is seated at the right of the southern door facing right (scheme three). These are illustrated in figures 7-9.

Schemes one and two are effectively reversals of one another, although the first exhibits the more complex decoration, perhaps as the owners were of higher rank. Between the staff of the deceased in these examples and the other false door are several registers, depicting a selection of scenes including offering bearers, children, butchers and personified estates. That the degree of complexity may in some way be related to rank, and consequently royal favour and financial resources, is illustrated by the wall of the lowest-ranking official in either of the first two groups, k3i-pw-nzwt, which also possesses the least decoration.

The difference between these two and scheme three is more marked. There is no series of registers, but rather the deceased is seated at an offering table in the conventional position for such activity. This scene may be accompanied by a depiction of priests or dependents performing funerary rites (nfr-b3w-pth) and there may be an additional register with butchers (ssm-nfr III). There is almost always an offering list above the table scene, apparently transferred there from the previous location on the south wall.

If we correlate these three types with the list given above of chapels with two false doors, a definite pattern by date emerges (Table 5). Some examples do not fit exactly into this pattern. The position of nzwt-nfr is to be explained by the copying of his scenes from the earlier mastaba of ss3t-htp. The surviving details

1 Scheme three in fact has its origin in a royal tomb of the fourth dynasty, that of ny-k3w-r‘ (LD Erg., Taf. XXXV (upper)). This is further evidence that such developments frequently manifested themselves in the tombs of royalty some time before being adopted by private individuals.

2 Omitted from this table are nn-sdr-k3i, whose western wall has no decoration apart from the false doors, and k3i-swdj, where the decoration consists of a large palace-facade design.
Figure 7: West Wall of the Tomb of Mry-tp (G2100-I-annexe)
Figure 8: West Wall of the Tomb of Sma-nefer I (G5940)

Chapter 2.11.C - Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period
Chapter 2.II.C - Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period

Figure 9: West Wall of the Tomb of nfr-b3w-pth (G6010)

LD II, 58b.
Chapter 2.II.C - Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period

Table 5

Schemes of West Wall Decoration of Officials in Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Scheme 1</th>
<th>Scheme 2</th>
<th>Scheme 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mry-ib</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-n-r'</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3t-htp</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-nzwt I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-nfr</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3m-nfr I</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzwt-nfr</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr-sn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3nnw-k3i; kki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3m-nfr II</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-b3w-pth</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3m-nfr III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of the west wall of the tomb of dw3-n-r' are suggestive of scheme two in a period before its more frequent use. A possible explanation of this apparent inconsistency is that, as vizier and one of the most important people in the land, he would have perhaps been in a position to use new developments in a manner akin to that of the royal family. One objection to this is that s3t-htp, who was vizier a little later, shows the earlier scheme of decoration, but this tomb was in fact built before his promotion to the vizierate, when he would not have been granted the same privileges.

Scheme one, which originated perhaps in the reign of Menkaure, seems to have given way to scheme two by that of Sahure or a little later (s3m-nfr I). The change from schemes two to three can only be dated using the tombs of s3m-nfr II and nfr-b3w-pth, both probably of the reign of Newesperre. This last arrangement was the most enduring. A development of it was to use a false door with two, as opposed to one, pairs of jambs, one example of which probably dates to the sixth dynasty.

1 dw3-n-r' was depicted standing on the south wall, a practice seemingly never used again.
2 For s3m-nfr II see the Prosopography; the dating of nfr-b3w-pth derives from his relationship to iy-mry (G6020) and 'nh-špss-k3f (G6040). For the dating of this family see Baer, Rank and Title, 54 (21), 91 (258), 135 (491), 287 (21), 291 (258), 293-4 (491).
3 k3-hif, Junker, Giza VI, Abb. 31-7.
2. 'L'-shaped Chapels with One False Door

An example of this chapel type is shown in figure 6b. Those of most relevance to the subject of this work belonged to the children of Khufu buried in the Eastern Cemetery, and there is also the chapel of nfr (G2110) (see table 6).

These chapels all follow a similar plan except those of nfr-m3't, h'f-snfrw and nfr. The false door is to be found near the southern end of the west wall, with the principal decoration to the north of it. The deceased is at the extreme right of this area, in most cases with his wife, watching several registers of offering bearers, personified estates and butchers, with his titles above his head. Those of nfr-m3't and h'f-snfrw comprise a central palace-facade false door, with representations of the deceased and his wife either side. That of nfr has the false door at the north end with the deceased and wife seated at the south. All the false doors (where preserved) have only one pair of jambs.

The orientation of the scenes on the western wall in general follows that previously termed scheme one, making it clear that this was the original pattern adopted for the decoration of private tombs from the early to later fourth dynasty.

The unusual arrangement of the chapel of nfr is difficult to explain, but may to some extent be due to its being perhaps the earliest decorated chapel of a private individual who was not a vizier, and thus something of an experiment. All these examples antedate most of those with two false doors, suggesting that the former was superseded by the latter as the type used by the highest officials.

Table 6
Principal Chapels with one False Door at Giza

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Source for False Door and West Wall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3i-w'b</td>
<td>G7120</td>
<td>Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 14-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-m3't</td>
<td>G7060</td>
<td>LD II, 17a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddf-hr</td>
<td>G7220</td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-hwfw</td>
<td>G7140</td>
<td>Simpson, op. cit., fig. 32-3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-n-hr</td>
<td>G7550</td>
<td>LD II, 82a; cf. Reisner, Giza I, 328 (4) for description of unpublished part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-shm</td>
<td>G7660</td>
<td>LD II, 32 (left); cf. Reisner, op. cit., 328 (2) for description of unpublished part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddf-minw</td>
<td>G7760</td>
<td>LD II, 33b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-snfrw</td>
<td>G7070</td>
<td>LD II, 16 (lower).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ty</td>
<td>G7810</td>
<td>Unpublished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr</td>
<td>G2110</td>
<td>Reisner, op. cit., fig. 241.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Rock-cut Tombs

The number of rock-cut tombs which belong to officials relevant to this work is small, comprising principally many of the members of the families of Khafre and Menkaure, but also some later officials. A summary of Giza rock-cut tombs is given by Reisner. The plan of these tombs of the royal family is very different from the mastabas described above. However, the use of a pair of false doors is quite common, and the offering lists of these tombs are very much part of the pattern of development of the canonical offering list described above (page 39), while the western wall of the tomb of ny-k3w-r' shows the beginning of the type of decoration previously termed scheme three. The use of the false doors in these tombs for the purposes of dating is minimal, as they are rarely, if ever, decorated. The major decorated examples seem to be those of mrs-'nh III; the extent of the decoration in this rock tomb is more in keeping with that of the western and eastern cemeteries than that in the Khafre Cemetery.

Later rock-cut tombs of relevant officials are consistent neither in plan nor false door type. It would seem that the type of door is the same as that used in mastabas and exhibits no special forms in rock-cut tombs.

D. False Door and Chapel Types at Giza which originated at Saqqara

The principal import to be discussed here is the false door with cornice and torus moulding, which came into use in the middle of the fifth dynasty at Saqqara with the highest officials and became the commonest type by the beginning of the sixth.

Several relevant officials from Giza had false doors of this type. The earliest well-dated example is that of sndm-ib; inti (G2370), dated by his biography to the end of the reign of Djedkare. This was followed by those of his sons sndm-ib; mhi (G2378) and hnnw-nti (G2374 - unpublished). It is logical to assume that, although these men were not buried in the principal necropolis of that time, the fact that they were viziers meant that they would have the means or status to use the stylistic features employed by comparable men buried at Saqqara. Their tombs are also the first well-dated examples of the use of the east-west offering room at Giza, a form very much associated with this type of false door, and also the complex chapel.

Examination of the other examples of torus and cornice false doors show them to be generally similar to those from Saqqara. A good example of this is the door of the vizier idw I; nfr

1 Giza I, 219-47.
2 Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, figs. 7, 10.
3 Mariette, Mastabas, 505-7; further evidence from excavation records in Boston.
4 LD II, 75.
5 Plans, Reisner, Giza I, figs. 162, 164, 165.
which resembles the door of mhw from Saqqara. The Giza
doors of this type belonging to officials below the rank of vizier
tend to be less complex than those at Saqqara; for example many
have only one column of text per jamb, where two or more is normal
at Saqqara. The doors of q3r and ny-s'nh-3ḥt exemplify this
point.2

The Saqqara development of the so-called 'T'-shaped panel is
also attested at Giza, probably late in the sixth dynasty (above
page 18), although it is not found in the tombs of men studied in
this work.3 The immediate precursor of the torus and cornice false
door seen at Saqqara, typified by wide jambs, large figures of the
deceased and wide panel apertures, is found only once at Giza, that
of 'nh-hwfw.4 It is evident from the texts that this piece was
presented to 'nh-hwfw by the king (not named), and the fact of this
special origin may explain the use of a form not native to Giza, as
the king is very likely to have commanded the production of a door
according to the most fashionable type then in use, the principal
number of which were being made for tombs at Saqqara.

E. Other Types

The remaining type to be discussed will be termed the 'Giza Door',
so named because it is peculiar to this site, where it is extremely
common. Its characteristics are the use of two pairs of jambs,
which most frequently bear single vertical columns of incised
inscription, a wide architrave and a simple panel scheme.5

This door type seems to have evolved at some time after the
development of scheme three of wall decoration outlined above since
tombs are found with the same wall arrangement but which employ a
pair of these new doors in place of the old ones with single
jambs.6 It is possible that this false door type developed about
the middle of the fifth dynasty at the earliest. Some of the
relevant officials possess similar doors, such as 'nh-h3f; q3r, but
their further development is almost impossible to sequence because
of the difficulty of finding independent dates for many of the
tombs in which they occur.

1 Junker, Giza VIII, Abb. 34.
2 Respectively, Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, fig. 32; Hassan, Giza
III, fig. 109.
3 A typical example of this panel shape is on the door of ḫnni
(Junker, Giza XI, Abb. 40).
4 Boston MFA 21.3081; Reisner, Giza I, pl. 65b, dated no earlier
that the reign of Weserkaf by the presence of a sealing of that
king in the burial chamber, id., ib. II, 52, fig. 54 (G4520a).
5 Typical examples are those of hw3 (Junker, Giza IX, Abb. 11),
hnw (Hassan, Giza II, fig. 193) and ḫnnw-df3i (id., ib., fig.
48).
6 For example, the doors and west walls of irrw (Hassan, Giza
III, fig. 56-8) and sm3-'nh (id., Giza VI3, fig. 161).
Down to the later fifth dynasty, the development of the false door at Giza was separate from that evident at Saqqara, the other major Old Kingdom memphite necropolis. The site of Giza is most important for the original development of the offering panel and associated inscriptions into a form that may be recognised as the Old Kingdom false door; this happened in the fourth and early fifth dynasties, after which time major developments took place at Saqqara. This pattern may be correlated with the changes in the place of burial of the most important officials of the state. After the importance of Giza had declined as a result of the highest officials transferring their place of burial to Saqqara, false doors at Giza remained very much in the old style with one or two modifications until the further burial of important men caused the introduction of false door types found otherwise only at Saqqara. Acceptance of these doors by officials not of the highest rank at Giza took much longer than at Saqqara, and they only begin to appear in any number in the later sixth dynasty. This is due to the strength and persistence of the older type of false door. Other types of door are found at Giza in addition to those enumerated above, but their discussion has had to be curtailed due to a lack of relevance to the officials whose titles form the subject of this work.
PART II

Prosopography
This section attempts to collect and date all officials who held the titles imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r k3t (nbt) (nt) (nzwt), imy-r šnwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r pr-ḥd, imy-r prwy-ḥd, t3ty t3b t3ty and associated forms from the beginning of the fourth dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. A few clear First Intermediate Period examples are included to be able to compare them with the officials who lived in earlier times.

The entry for each official is laid out in the same manner. His name is given, and a reference number is assigned to him which will be used in this part and the discussions of titles to follow; it is always placed after his name thus: 3ḥt-hṭp (2). Any other names by which the official is known or which will used in this work are also given. Notes on sources and bibliography follow. Wherever possible, the entries in Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography (PM), are used, principally to avoid the need for a cumbersome number of references. The official's titles are listed, split into 'Relevant Titles', those discussed in the later chapters, and 'Other Titles', for the purposes of reference. A short account of the dating of the official in question is given next, to justify his approximate position in the lists at the beginning of the later chapters. Other discussions of dating are only referred to where they are useful; in the case of references to Baer, Rank and Title, only the principal occurrence is given, and the reader is requested to consult Baer's List of Dated Tombs (pp. 286-95) under the given number. The entry ends with a summary of the suggested date.

References in this Prosopography to chapter 2 on criteria concerned with false door and tomb design are necessarily many, and we will refer to the various sections by their numbers: 'Chapter 2.I.E.1' means 'Chapter 2, section I, subsection E, part 1'. These section numbers are incorporated into the page headings.
Prosopography - 3hi (1)

3hi 1

Source: Mastaba in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G4750.
Bibliography: PM 32, 137.
Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwwt nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r zē 'prw, [imy]-r // tnw, wr md šm'w, [r]h nzwt, hry-sāt3, hrp wsht, hrp nsty, z3b 'd-mr.

This mastaba has survived in very poor condition, inscriptional and representational material being in the form of fragments. The chapel is of the exterior type with an L-shaped plan and the false door at the southern end. No indications of the orientation and arrangement of this false door and the wall scenes may be gained. A similar example of an exterior chapel is that of nfr (84); that of 3hi has the false door in a more conventional position (at the south rather than north end of west wall), and may be consequently later in date. Parallels may be found for the architrave inscription1 in the tombs of sš3t-htp and k3i-nfr at Giza (above page 44), both of which are presumably to be dated to the beginning of the fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty or slightly later.

3ht-htp 2

Son of pth-htp I (49)

Source: Tomb to the west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, D 64.
Bibliography: PM 32, 599-600.
Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zē 'nzwt, imy-r šnwty, t3yty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wsht, imy-r wd'-mdw nb, imy-r niwt mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', imy-r niwt nfr-dd-k3-r', imy-r niwt nfr-swtn-k3w-hr, imy-r šm'w, imy-r gs-pr, wr md šm'w, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hrp wsht, hrp zē, hṛp zē īry sprw ?, hṛp zē nb, hṛy-tpt nzwf, z3b 'd-mr, smr wpṭy, shd hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', shd hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', shd hm-ntr ntr-swtn-k3w-hr, // nt nzwt.

For the family relationships and general time-position, see the discussion below of pth-htp I (49). Baer dates the tomb of 3ht-htp to his period UD, the succeeding one to that of his father.2 The appearance of the shd zwnw wnn-nfr in the tombs of both pth-htp I

-----------------------------
1 Junker, Giza I, Abb. 57 (1).
2 Later reign of Wenis to early reign of Teti, Rank and Title, 53 (13).
and 3ht-htp does not imply that they worked together as Helck assumes, but it does suggest that the difference in time between their periods of office may have been less than a generation of twenty-five years or so. On such a basis, 3ht-htp may be dated to the early reign of Wenis.

Suggested Date: Early reign of Wenis.

3ht-htp; hmi

Source: Tomb north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, usurped at a later date by nb-k3w-hr; idw (82).

Bibliography: PM 32, 627-629; for the separation of the titles of 3ht-htp and nb-k3w-hr, see Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 89-94.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zā' nzwty, imy-r šnwty, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz nhn, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r šwty pr-3, imy-r šwy pr-3, imy-r ga-pr, iry pt, iry nfr-h3t, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, mniw nhn, h3ty-', hry-sst3, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, hry-tp nhb, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, zā md3t ntr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n mrwt, shd hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis, šdšwty bity.

The tomb of 3ht-htp; hmi is one of five tombs of viziers in the Wenis cemetery, the others being those of ihy (15), iy-nfrt; š3nf (6), ny-'nh-b3 (70) and mhw (69). We will explore the hypothesis that they may all, with the exception of mhw, in whose tomb Pepy I is mentioned, have been viziers of Wenis buried around the pyramid of their king.

A type of tomb is found in the Wenis cemetery which does not have exact parallels elsewhere, notably in its use of what are probably storerooms and a large pillared court of a type different from that used in the tombs of the reign of Teti. Examples are the mastabas of 3ht-htp and ny-'nh-b3, as well as those of the queens nbt and hnwt. The general pattern of the chambers in the tomb of ihy, which lacks the court and storerooms, is quite similar. nbt and hnwt were almost certainly wives of Wenis, and one would consequently expect the construction of their tombs to have begun in his reign. On the similarity of tomb plans, the viziers may also be of the same date.

The disposition of the tombs would also seem to support this theory. With the exception of the very small later mastabas on the site, the two queens' tombs are the closest to the mortuary temple, and the large tombs of the officials are in two locations: one row,
including iy-nfrt, ihy and also the imy-r šm'w 'nh-wnis, is between these queens' tombs and the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid, while those of 3ht-htp and ny-‘nh-b3 are situated next to each other at the upper end of the causeway of the pyramid. It would seem possible that the tombs in each group could have been constructed simultaneously.

Only the tombs of 3ht-htp and ihy lend their title sequences to a date. Baer dates ihy to his period VIC (mid-sixth dynasty, see below); this is probably incorrect, but his date for 3ht-htp suggests that the tomb was built in the early to middle part of the reign of Wenis. The similarity of the mastaba of ny-‘nh-b3 suggests that its date too may be akin to that of 3ht-htp. ihy and iy-nfrt are less easy to date more closely. Their mastabas are separated from each other's by that of 'nh-wnis; if this name was given to him (or changed from another) after the accession of Wenis, his tomb is unlikely to have been constructed before the later part of that reign, perhaps together with the two neighbouring viziers' tombs.

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Wenis.

3ht-htp 4

Source: Tomb to the north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, about 150 metres south-east of the entrance to the Step Pyramid complex, E 17.

Bibliography: PM 3 2, 633-4.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt, imy-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis, hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', hm-ntr hwthr nbt iwn, hm-ntr hqt, hry-sšt3 n mdw'-mdw nb n hwt wrt, hrp wsht, hrp ẓ, hrp ẓ iry sprw, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-ṃr, z3b sḥd ẓ, ẓ n z3.

Two dates have been assigned to this tomb, the reign of Wenis or shortly afterwards, based on the presence of the name of that king's pyramid in his titles, and the later sixth dynasty.

The false doors from this tomb are of the type with cornice and torus moulding. The standing figure of the deceased on the upper lintel of the inner door may be compared to the example of k3i-pw-r' (143), in whose tomb Djedkare is mentioned, although sixth dynasty examples are sometimes found (Chapter 2.I.E.1). The chapel is of a squarish shape, and could thus be an early example of the east-west type, possibly built before the general standardisation of the form. These indications are very vague, but coupled with the location of the tomb seem to prefer the earlier of the two

1 PM 3 2, 616-7.
2 Period VC, later reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis; Rank and Title, 53 (14a).
3 Baer, op. cit., 53 (14).
Suggested Date: End of the fifth dynasty to early sixth.

**iy** 5

**Source:** Tomb at North Saqqara, south of the pyramid of Teti, east of that of Weserkaf, C 26 (LS 20).

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 565.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

**Other Titles:** imy-r mš', hry-sš3t n h3swt nbt, šhd imw, sd3wty ntr m imwwy.

The tomb of iy is the only one of the Old Kingdom found so far in this area of Saqqara, the others being of Late Period date. However, it is not improbable that when built it was considered as part of the main North Saqqara cemetery, located away from the main area, as is the tomb of k3i-m-sn (144), assuming this latter to antedate the pyramid of Teti (see further below).

This mastaba seems to be formed of a small east-west offering chapel, entered from a corridor. The false door is the only decoration. The plan of the chapel suggests the middle of the fifth dynasty at the earliest (Chapter 2.I.H). The closest parallels to the false door are found in the small cemetery mid-way on the Wenis causeway, for example those of hhmw-htp, mfr and k3h3i and 3ht-htp.1 In all probability these cannot be later than the reign of Djedkare, because of their position in relation to the Wenis Causeway, and the likelihood is of a similar date for iy.

**Suggested Date:** Mid to later fifth dynasty, perhaps about the reign of Djedkare.

**iy-nfrt; 33nf** 6

**Source:** Tomb in the Wenis pyramid cemetery at Saqqara, south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 616; very largely unpublished - personal examination of tomb.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zā ' nzwt, t3ty t3b t3ty.

**Other Titles:** imy-iz, imy-iz nhn, imy-r h3swt, mniw nhn, h3ty-', hry-sš3t, hry-sš3t n pr-dw3t, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n mrwt.

The relative and absolute datings of this cemetery have been discussed above in the entry for 3ht-htp; hmi (3). Confirmation of the approximate date suggested there would seem to be forthcoming

1 Respectively, Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, Abb. 26; id., The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay, pl. 28-30; Zayed, ASAE 55 (1958), 128-32, pl. II-V.

58
from the preliminary report on the site by Hölscher and Munro.¹

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Menes.

iwn-minw 7

Source:

Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 92.

Bibliography:

PM 32, 237.

Relevant Titles:

\[ t\dot{\text{3}}\text{ty} t\dot{\text{3}}\text{b} t\dot{\text{3}}\text{ty} \].

Other Titles:

\[ \text{// n iti.f, iry p't, wr 5 pr-dhwty, [hry-s\text{\textbar{3}}t3] pr-\text{[dw3t]} ?, hry-s\text{\textbar{3}}t3 [n iti.f], hrp 'h, hry-hb n iti.f, hry-hb hry-tp, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, z\dot{\text{3}} md3t ntr, smr \text{\textbar{3}}ty, smr \text{\textbar{3}}ty n iti.f, sd3wty bity.} \]

The parents of iwn-minw are not explicitly mentioned in his tomb, but it may be inferred from his titles with \( \text{n iti.f} \) that his father was a king, probably Khafre by analogy with the other king's sons, such as ny-k3w-r' (78) and shm-k3-r' (125), buried in the area.

Of all the sons of Khafre buried in this cemetery, only in the case of shm-k3-r' are some details given of when he may have died, probably in the reign of Sahure. He would thus have been a minimum of thirty-five and a maximum of seventy years of age at death. He could have been the last surviving son of this king, particularly since the purpose of his inscriptions was surely to stress his longevity.

In the biography of dbhn, the deceased makes plain the beneficence of Menkaure in granting him a tomb,² a special privilege in view of the fact that this cemetery was otherwise used only for the burials of true king's sons – dbhn does not seem to have been of royal descent. Such a deduction implies that these other men had already begun to cut their tombs, very likely in view of the probable date in the tomb of ny-k3w-r' (78). The king's sons in this area may thus have held their highest offices between the reigns of Menkaure and Sahure. It is also likely that the more senior sons were buried in tombs prominently located in the cliff face, while the junior ones were buried in the area in front of this cliff.

Suggested Date: Perhaps end of the fourth dynasty.

iwn-r' 8

Son of Khafre

Source:

Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, south of the western end of the causeway of the pyramid

¹ SAK 3 (1977), 121.
The entrance drum of this tomb states that the owner was an eldest son of Khafre, without mentioning his mother. For other features that may help to determine the date, see under iwn-minw (7) above. The position of his tomb in the area in front of the cliff and the lack of the title t3tyty z3b _t3ty held by many other sons of Khafre may suggest that he was a younger son of that king, who attained office-bearing age at the time when the royal family was gradually being removed from the administration.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

**ipi-ḥr-ssnbf 9**

Source: False door and coffin (latter from shaft Hmk 69), possibly belonging to the same man, found in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: False Door: PM 32, 544; coffin: PM 32, 538.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: /// m swt št3t, imy-r mš1, mty n z3 dd-swt-tti, rh nzwt m31, ḫnty-s ///, ḫrp 'prw n nfrw.

The shaft in which this coffin was found is one of many dating to the period later than the major monuments in the cemetery. The appearance of coffin texts suggests a date in the late Old Kingdom at the earliest. Nearby are tombs mentioning Merykare of the tenth dynasty, suggesting the First Intermediate Period as a strong possibility.

Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period.

**IFFI; FFI 10**

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 2 (B 10).

Bibliography: PM 32, 449.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty, imy-r šnwty nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r ḫmwt, imy-r ḫmwt n ḫkr nzwt, w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, ḫm-ntr pth, ḫm-ntr r' m nḥn-r', ḫm-ntr zkr.

The inscriptional material from this tomb is restricted to an unfinished false door and a limestone offering basin. Baer suggests the fifth dynasty or later, arrived at on the basis of the position in the cemetery (far north-west) and the cruciform
Prosopography - iffi; ffi (10)

chapel. This latter feature is indeed perhaps that of most use; as discussed above (Chapter 2.I.H), it has its roots in the early fourth dynasty, but would not seem to extend very far into the fifth. The quality of the relief of the false door is described as "épais, les formes lourdes et trapues", which is perhaps to be compared to the high relief found in the tombs of the later fourth dynasty at Saqqara, for example that of mry (58).

The titles of iffi make the reign of Weserkaf the earliest possible date, and it is suggested that the tomb itself was not built long after that reign.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty, shortly after the reign of Weserkaf.

imbi 11

Source: A lintel found in the area of the tomb of isti; tti near the western enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 610.
Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt.
Other Titles: iry d3w ?, mty n z3, hṛp zš, hṛy-tp nzw, hṛy-tp šnwt, shd zš.

This lintel is decorated with a line of figures of the owner and (probably) his wife separated by vertical columns of text. This feature is most common in the early to middle sixth dynasty. Other tombs in the same area belong to officials of the reigns of Pepy I and II, suggesting the middle sixth dynasty as a possible date.

Suggested Date: Middle sixth dynasty, or possibly later.

irw-k3-pth 12

Source: Group of offering stands, offering tables and statues in Berlin and Brooklyn, exact provenance unknown, but possibly from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 691-2.
Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt.
Other Titles: ̄imy-r zš šnwt, hm-ntr r', hṛy-tp šnwt, zš ' nzw šnwt, zš hṛyt'- nzw, zš hṛyt'- nzw n šnwt, shd zš.

The paucity of information about this man and the nature of the material make his dating difficult. Porter and Moss assign these monuments to the late fifth dynasty. The offering tables (Berlin

------------------

1 Rank and Title, 56 (35b).
2 Mariette, Mastabas, 100.
3 Such as isti (PM 32, 609-10) and sbk-m-ḥnt (PM 32, 610-11).
1139, 1201) are not discussed by Mostafa, but are of her type (A+B)2. This type belongs mainly to the second half of the fifth dynasty, being rather rare in the sixth.2

Suggested Date: Perhaps late fifth dynasty (brand).
iḥy  15

Source: Mastaba in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara, south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid, usurped at a later date by idwt; zāzēt.


Relevant Titles: ḳṣ prwy-hd, ḳṣ šwty, ḳṣ nzwf, ḳṣ šnwty, ḳṣ nbt nt nzwf, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, [imy]-r /// t3-mhw ṣm'w, imy-r gs-pr, ily p't, mdw rḥyt, ḫ3ty-', ḫ3ty-hp ḫ3ty-tp.

The above titles of iḥy come from his sarcophagus, and there is little or no evidence of his name in the chapel proper as usurped. The dating of the major mastabas in this cemetery, with the exception of mhw (69), to the reign of Wenis is discussed generally above under 3ht-ḥtp; hmi (3).

According to Baer, the title sequences fit into period VIC, Merenre to early Pepy II. However, Kanawati believes that they fit almost as well into period VD, which agrees better with the date suggested in the above discussion.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Wenis.

iḥy-hnt  16

Source: Depicted among the officials represented in the mortuary temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: Jéquier, Pepi II II, pi. 54 and 57.

Relevant Titles: t3tyt z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: ily p't, ḫ3ty-', ḫ3ty-hp ḫ3ty-tp.

iḥy-hnt is not the only vizier to be represented in the original decoration of the mortuary temple of Pepy II: two others are named, idi and hnw, and there is one nameless depiction of a man with the title t3tyt z3b t3ty, who may be any of these three or another individual.

idi is the only one attested elsewhere, on a selection of monuments primarily from Abydos. He would seem to have the same parents, hwi and nbt, as the vizier ḏw, also attested from Abydos. This latter vizier is the addressee of a decree of Pepy II

op. cit., 59 (57).
2 Egyptian Administration, 12-3.
3 The name of Teti appears in the decoration of the chapel, but it could well be part of the work of idwt (Macramallah, Le Mastaba d'Idout, pl. V (B), XI (B), in the name 'nh-ṭtī).
4 Baer, Rank and Title, 61-2 (73a); Fischer, AJA 66 (1962), 65-9.
5 Cairo, CG 1575.
6 Cairo, CG 1431; Urk. I, 279.18; Goedicke, Königl. Dokumente, Abb. 7.
dated to the year after the eleventh cattle count for the temple of Koptos.1

In his discussion of the viziers of Pepy II, Kees placed the vizierate of idi some time between the date of this decree and the middle of the reign.2 The closeness in time of d'w and idi is perhaps best illustrated by the links they both have with the imy-r šm'w, h3ty-' hwi,3 although this does not necessarily allow them to be placed in order. Kees believes that the vizierate of idi lasted beyond the sd festival of Pepy II (perhaps year 30 ?),4 because of the existence of a son of his by the name of ny-hb-sd-ppy.5 Kees supposes this son to have been born after year 30 of Pepy II, and presumed idi 's tenure of the vizierate to have continued beyond that point at least until his son reached office-bearing age. However, this name could equally refer to the sd festival of Pepy I which is well-attested for the year of his eighteenth cattle-count;6 this need not presuppose such a long tenure of the vizierate by idi, although there is no reason not to assume that he succeeded d'w as vizier.7 Kees wishes to identify this ny-hb-sd-ppy with the vizier ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72); against this the latter uses only the nfr-k3-r' part of the names of Pepy II in his Saqqara inscriptions.

If idi were vizier after the eleventh count of Pepy II, it would imply that the decoration of the sanctuary did not begin until perhaps the first quarter of the reign. This assumes the cattle-count to have been biennial at least on some occasions, as the 'year after' (rmpt m-ht) is mentioned in the Koptos decree discussed above. This is significantly later than attested in the fifth dynasty. For example it would seem that the decoration of the mortuary temple of Sahure was substantially complete at his death after a reign of probably twelve years. It is possible that the funerary monument of Pepy II may not have been begun so quickly, given his extreme youth at succession.

Figure 10 illustrates the disposition of the different viziers in the inner chambers of the temple. It is not clear as to the order in which this temple was built; on the analogy of Ptolemaic temples, it would be built from the sanctuary outwards so that the most important rooms would be completed first. If one assumes the same for the decoration, it may be envisaged that the whole area in

2 Vezirat, 41-2.
3 Shown behind idi in the temple of Pepy II (Jéquier, Pepi II II, pl. 48); mentioned with d'w in the above Koptos Decree (Urk. I, 280.16).
4 op. cit., 46-7.
5 Shown on Cairo, CG 1575.
6 Urk. I, 93.5-6.
7 Another reason for placing idi after d'w is the administrative 'reform' proposed by Kanawati (Governmental Reforms, 75-77), by which the vizier of Upper Egypt also assumed the title of imy-r šm'w. idi and not d'w held this title, suggesting that he was the later.

64
Prosopography - ihy-hnt (16)

Figure 10: Location of Viziers in the Mortuary Temple of Pepy II

Adapted from Jéquier, *Pepi II II*, pl. 1
(numbers in brackets refer to plates of this publication)

Figure 10 could have been carved over a relatively short period of time, making the vizier hnw later than idi and ihy-hnt, who could be contemporary (see further below page 326). The desire to include hnw at a relatively late stage would account for his being the only official depicted in the vestibule. It would seem that the official decoration of the temple was not a continuous process carried out through the whole reign, as shown by a number of clearly later additions in poor style.

The date of ihy-hnt would then seem to be perhaps similar to that of idi, and the date of the two of them in the second quarter of the reign of Pepy II provides a basis for a scheme of dating the decoration of the temple.

Suggested Date: Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

izi 17

Sources and Bibliography:

1. Panel of a false door and two wall fragments, exact provenance unknown, probably from Saqqara. Now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, AEIN 896; PM 32, 739.
2. Shown on stela of nfrt-wmns, in the Cairo Museum, CG 1394, exact provenance unknown, but probably from Saqqara; PM 32, 736.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

1 For example, the vizier šn'y, Jéquier, *op. cit.*, pl. 73.
Other Titles: 1. imy-r gs-pr, swsw m sp3wt t3-mhw ?, sšm-t3 sp3wt šm'w.
2. zě ' nzwt.
3. imy-r hwt '3t, imy-r hkr nzwt, wr bzt, ḫry-sšt3, zā 'nzwt.

Hodjash and Berlev present all these different pieces together and conclude that they all originated in the same tomb, almost certainly at Saqqara, and date to the later fourth dynasty. The similarity of the titles on 2) and 3) leave little doubt that they represent the same individual, although the very different titulary on 1) poses a slight difficulty.

The false door panel in Copenhagen shows the deceased seated with an offering list before him, and a linen list to the right of that. It is thus in the tradition of the early chapels at both Saqqara and Giza (Chapter 2.I.G.1; II.B). It is a more developed example than that of, for example, mšn; and although a precise date is impossible, the middle fourth dynasty is likely. Certain features on the Cairo stela, particularly the short offering list, place this piece among the early fourth dynasty examples.

Suggested Date: Middle to late fourth dynasty.

izi 18

Source: A false door in the Louvre, C 164 (E 3904), provenance unknown.

Bibliography: Some texts are given in Pierret, Receuil des Inscriptions du Louvre II, 76; also examination of original.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prvwy-hd.

Other Titles: iwn kmnwt, imy-r pr-šn', imy-r zě prvwy-hd, imy-ht prvwy-hd, imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, iry wdš n prvwy-hd, wr bzt, mty n zš dd-swt-tti, mdw rhyt, ḫry-tp nzwt, zě 'h-ntr šm'w, zě w'bty, zě tzwt nbt nt ḫnw, smr w'ty.

Although the provenance is unknown, it is probable that this piece originated in the memphite region, as it is firmly in that stylistic tradition. In addition, such pyramid titles as izi held are not found outside memphite tombs.

The use of a panel in the false door of a 'T' shape suggests that the piece does not date before the reign of Pepy II (Chapter 2.I.C). The use of two vertical columns of text per jamb is not normal for doors certainly of the reign of Pepy II (Chapter 2.I.B), and it is thus possible that it is of later date, perhaps the end of the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period. As a South Saqqara origin is unlikely, either Giza or the area of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara suggest themselves as the most likely

---------------------

1 LD II, 3.
provenances. The false doors from the latter area are the most similar in style (Chapter 2.I.C), suggesting this as its possible origin.

Suggested Date: End Old Kingdom or later.

išfi; twtw 19

Son of 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi (30)

Source: Chapel added to the tomb of his father in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 515.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r imw b3w n shmḥ-ib, imy-r zšwy, imy-r šbt htpw, imy-r sqbbwy, imy-r sqbbwy pr'-3, imy-r šdmt nbt, imy-r šwy pr'-3, imy-r šnt3 nb, imy-r ddt pt qm3t t3, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 nzwt m swt-f nbt, hry-hb, smr w'ty.

The decoration of this chapel consists only of a false door, and the whole may well be a later addition to the tomb of 'nh-m-'-hr. Given that the date of his father is probably late Teti to early Pepy I, he would be dated perhaps to the middle to late reign of Pepy I. The title sequences could fit a number of periods (VIB, C, E-F), which include that covered by the above date.

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Pepy I.

itti 20

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, south of the third row of large double mastabas, G7391.

Bibliography: PM 32, 193; see now, Badawy, The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza, 1-14.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r pr'-3, w'3, rh nzwt, šhd, šhd w'b wr-h'f-r', šhd pr'-3, [šdšwty ntr m] imw '3.

The disposition of the scenes on the west wall of this tomb is not unlike that of shm-'nh-pth (123), perhaps mid-fifth dynasty, although the false door is of a different type. The remaining elements of the offering list on the south wall do not appear to be arranged in canonical order, but rather seem to be selective, including, for example, milk (irₜt) which does not appear in the full list. This may indicate a date earlier in the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.G.1), although this criterion applies principally to Saqqara.

1 Baer, Rank and Title, 64 (94a).
itti may possibly appear in another tomb in the Eastern Cemetery, that of 'nh-h'f-r', G7948.1 This tomb is probably of early to middle fifth dynasty date, and a similar date may apply to that of itti.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty.

itti; 'nh-irs

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, D 63, adjoining that of pth-htp I (49) to the south.

Bibliography: PM 32, 598.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r 'h, imy-r wd-mdw n wsht, imy-r mstt, wr md smw, hrt mawy nzwt, hrt tm3, smsw izz, smsw izz m prwy.

According to Mariette, the join between this mastaba and that of pth-htp I shows that the latter is the earlier,2 thus indicating the reign of Djedkare as the earliest possible date. The location of the false door in the centre of the west wall of an 'L'-shaped north-south chapel follows the tradition found most commonly in the fifth dynasty. This door does not have a torus and cornice, but has an offering list on the inner jambs, a further feature of the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.G.2). This evidence suggests that it does not postdate pth-htp I by very many years.

Suggested Date: Later fifth dynasty.

idw I; nfr

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G5550, north of the enclosure wall of the pyramid of Khufu.

Bibliography: PM 32, 165. There is an additional block in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago 31693 (unpublished).

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zs [' nzwt], imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, [imy-r] izwy [hkr] nzwt, imy-r w'b, imy-r w'bty, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt st3t nt nzwt, imy-r pr, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r hnw, imy-r sh tbt, imy-r gswy-pr, mdw rhyt, hry-śt3 nzwt, hry-t pr nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, zs ' nzwt.

The chapel of this tomb has been extensively damaged, although it has been possible to reconstruct much of the false door, which is of the type with cornice and torus moulding. This door has the

1 Harpur, JEA 67 (1981), 24-35.
2 Mastabas, 357.
small apertures typical of the sixth dynasty, which date is supported by the tomb's location outside the main part of the Cemetery en Echelon, in use mainly during the fifth dynasty. The general appearance of the false door is not unlike those of *mrri* (67) and *mhw* (69) of Saqqara, both belonging to the middle of the sixth dynasty.

The title sequences of Baer admit of any of the periods VIC-C, E-F. It would seem that as most of the viziers of Teti and the later reign of Pepy II were buried near the respective pyramids, the period of the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II would be the most likely for this man and the others like him. It has been said that the tomb is rather small for the rank of its owner, but this is also true of other tombs from the period suggested here, such as that of *r'-wr* (93) at Saqqara.

**Suggested Date:** Mid-sixth dynasty, perhaps the later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.

### idw

**Source:** Tomb north of the first row of large mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7102.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 185-6; see now Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* II, 19-31.

**Relevant Titles:** *imy-r hw t wrt.*

**Other Titles:** *imy-r kmnwt, imy-r wpt htpw ntr, imy-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, imy-r zs mrt, wd'-mdw, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-s3t3 n wd'-mdw, hmty-s mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hry-tp nzwt, zs 'nzwt, zs 'nzwt hft-hr, sm3' wd'-mdw, shd w'b 3ht-hwfw, shd w'b wr-h'f-r'.

This man is presumably related to *q3r* (135), the owner of the neighbouring tomb G7101. Neither can antedate the reign of Pepy I as may be seen from the titles.

The relationships of these men and their dating have been discussed on several occasions. Baer places *idw* in period VIC, and *q3r* in VID. On the basis of tomb size, Kanawati has dated *idw* and *q3r* to early reign of Wenis and late Wenis respectively. Simpson has discussed the relationships and draws attention to the

---

1 Middle reign of Teti to middle reign of Pepy II; *Rank and Title*, 62 (78).
3 Baer, *loc. cit.*, is one such example.
4 *idw*, reign of Merenre to early Pepy II, *op. cit.*, 62 (77); *q3r*, about twenty years later than VIC, *id.*, *ib.*, 136-7 (495).
5 *Egyptian Administration*, 155-6, where he attempts to reconcile these dates with the evidence of the titles with the names of Pepy I.
idw who occurs in the Abusir Papyri. This text has been dated by Posener-Krieger to the period previous to 'an 15 d'Isesi'. The derivation of this date is tortuous in the extreme: the verso (fragment 69A) shows the date, which is in fact rmpt zp B of an unspecified king, and it is presumed that the verso was written before the recto. Determining the reign is very much less simple: a wr-'-i mn-ḥtpw-kan3i is found in this document, who may perhaps be the man who held the same office on a sealing of Izezi. This is far from convincing, and it must be stated that Posener-Krieger is aware of the problems. Consequently, it is not necessary to follow Kanawati (loc. cit.) and regard idw as a very old man at death.

Simpson's remaining arguments for idw being the father of q3r are quite probable, and are supported by the results of Baer. If so, the other name of q3r (mry-r'-nfr) may actually be a reflection of his birth in the reign of Pepy I. idw may date early in the reign and q3r to its latter part and perhaps the reign of Merenre.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Pepy I.

'nḥ-ir-pṯ 24

Source: Tomb in the south-west corner of Cemetery G4000 at Giza, G4911 + 4912, set up by his son rdi-n-pṯ. 

Bibliography: PM 32, 138; additional information from excavation records in Boston. 

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt. 

Other Titles: imy-r w'bt, imy-r ḫmwt pr-'3.

The location of this tomb in Cemetery G4000 must date its construction later than that of the nucleus mastabas. One noticeable feature of the plan is the east-west offering chapel, with a complex false door, a combination which first appears at Giza in the tomb of sdm-ib; inti (120) in the later fifth dynasty. In addition, the extreme left-hand column of inscription includes a title written with plural strokes, rarely found before the middle sixth dynasty. This official is thus unlikely to be earlier than the beginning of the sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle sixth dynasty.

1 op. cit., 2 n.4, referring to HPBM, pl. LXVIII. This idw held the title of zā mrt in common with idw of G7102.  
2 ArchAb II, 409.  
3 Berlin 16300; Kaplony, Die Rollsiegel des alten Reiches II, 321, Taf. 87.  
4 For example, in the inscriptions of nḥbw, Urk. I, 215-9; for earlier examples and general discussion, see Edel, Altäg. Gramm., 119-20 (§ 276-8), and Gardiner, EG, 535-6 (22).
Prosopography - 'nh-irs (25)

'nh-irs 25

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 15 (B 16).
Bibliography: PM 32, 452.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r d3d3t nzwt nt wd'-mdw nb, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw hry-wdb, [hm-ntr] ššššt, hry-wdb hwt-'nh, hry-sššš3, hry-sšššt3 nzwt, hpy ntr, hpy ntr m h3t.f, z3 nzwt.

Baer has dated this tomb to period VB or quite possibly earlier. The cruciform chapel is a feature of the fourth and early fifth dynasties at Saqqara (Chapter 2.I.H). The false door, although not published with an illustration, may be reconstructed as having three columns of text on the inner jambs, and probably two at the rear of the central niche. It is perhaps not dissimilar to that of mry (58) of the later fourth dynasty. The panel would appear to have a short uncanonical offering list, which again points to the early fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.G.1).

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

'nh-izzzi 26

Source: Tomb near the north-east corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure at Saqqara, no. 85 (D 8, S 910).
Bibliography: PM 32, 489.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, imy-r mššš, mniw k3šš, mdw nfrw, hry-sššššt3 nzwt, hpy imw hr m h3t.f, z3 nzwt, smr w'ty, sdšššy ntr, sdšššy ntr m imwwy, sdšššy ntr m imwwy '3.

This tomb is dated by Baer to his period VC, which date, if correct, might suggest that his name is a reflection of birth in the reign of Djedkare. 'nh-izzzi is often discussed in the same context as k3i-m-tntt (146), the owner of a nearby mastaba, and there are a number of features which suggest that they might be related. Firstly, both held the following titles: imy-r mššš, imy-r k3šš nbt nt nzwt, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, sdššššy ntr, sdššššy ntr m imwwy '3, smr w'ty and z3 nzwt. This list incorporates the bulk of their titles, and such similarity is what one might expect of a father and son. Their chapel plans are not dissimilar: both have an entrance with two pillars, and moderately complex chapels, not unlike those of their possible contemporaries at Giza, sndm-ib; inti and sndm-ib; mhi. One difference from the latter chapels is that k3i-m-tntt and 'nh-izzzi placed their false doors in north-south offering rooms rather than east-west ones, although the door

1 Rank and Title, 63 (88).
2 Later reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis; op. cit., 60 (64).
3 For example, Schmitz, Königssohn, especially p. 88.
of 'nh-izzi was of the cornice and torus moulding type usually found in east-west chapels. Finally, the locations of their tombs are sufficiently similar so as not to prohibit a relationship.

*k3i-m-tnnt* may be dated by his connections with the vizier r'-špss (95), who is mentioned in his biography. There are possible parallels between the sons of these two men, 'nh-izzi and pr-nb. Baer has observed (loc. cit.) that a block from the tomb of 'nh-izzi was delivered in error to that of pr-nb, which points to their being under construction simultaneously. pr-nb may be dated to the first half of the reign of Wenis on the basis of the independent date for his father, and the same is in all probability true for 'nh-izzi.

Suggested Date: First half of the reign of Wenis.

\[\text{'nh-wsr-k3f} 27\]

Source: Tomb adjacent to the mortuary temple of Neweserre at Abusir.

Bibliography: PM 32, 344.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: // pr n nzwt, imy-r hwt-ntr, imy-r ḫwt ḫwt, imy-r ḫt nbt nt nzwt, imy-r sp3wt t3-mhw m gawy-pr, imy-r gawy-pr, imy-r tniw, 'd-mr dp, wr md šm'w, mdw ḥryt, mdw k3-hd, nst hntt, ḥ3ty-, ḥ3t tnt iwnw ?, ḫm-ntr inpw, ḫm-ntr m3t m swt.s nbt, ḫm-ntr ḫr m dmit nbt, ḫm-ntr ḫz3t, ḫm-ntr ḫqt, ḫm-ntr s3hw-r' m swt.f nbt, ḫm-ntr srt, ḥry-sāt3, ḥry-sāt3 n r-3w ḥ3swt m gawy-pr, ḫt h3, ḥry-tp nzwt m prwy, z3b 'd-mr, smsg izt ?, smsg n iwnw ḫ3t ttw, shd w'b h'-b3w-s3hw-r'.

It is possible that the slightly off-centre plan of the mortuary temple of Neweserre is due to the previous existence of this mastaba. Consequently the tomb could be of the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare, possibly the latter as his pyramid is the nearer. A man by the name of 'nh-wsr-k3f appears in the reliefs of the mortuary temple of Neweserre. As the name is not common, it is probable that it is indeed the owner of this tomb that is represented.

Baer dates the tomb to the reign of Sahure, in the period preceding the introduction of a system of ranking titles, having initially opted for that of Neweserre on the basis of the relief in the mortuary temple. The tomb could have been built either before the appearance of this system or in its early years, but 'nh-wsr-k3f could have easily lived on into the reign of Neweserre. If his name is a reflection of birth in the reign of Weserkaf, then

----------

1 Urk. I, 183.12 and 17; Schott, Fe Otto, 450 (10, 12).
2 Almost certainly a son of r'-špss, see Baer, op. cit., 71 (142).
3 Borchardt, Ne-user-re', Abb. 50.
4 op. cit., 68-9 (123a).
Prosopography - 'nh-m-’-r’ (28)

he would hardly have been old enough to have held office before the reign of Neferirkare, but could have constructed his tomb prior to the building of the pyramid complex of Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Reign of Neweserre or a little earlier.

'nh-m-’-r’ 28

Source: Tomb at the eastern edge of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7837 + 7843.

Bibliography: PM 32, 206; virtually unpublished. For one scene, see now Simpson, Fs Edel, 494-5, fig. 3; other information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r śnwt, imy-r śnwt swt ḫtpw df3w.

Other Titles: imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r swt ḫtpw df3w, w'b nzwt, nst ḫntr, rḥ nzwt, ḫm-ntr m3’t, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 nb.f, ḥrp zē, hry-tp śnwt, zē n sḥt ḫtp nzwt, zē nzwt, āḥd zē ’-nzwt śnwt

This tomb has been placed in the early part of the fifth dynasty by Smith, presumably on the basis of the existence of rock-cut statues of the deceased.1 Baer suggests the late fifth dynasty or later.2

The only scene published from this tomb shows the deceased being carried back from inspecting the work on his tomb.3 Palanquin scenes first appear in the tomb of nfr-m3’t (85) at Meydum and continue at least until the reign of Pepy II.4 Late fifth and early sixth dynasty examples are particularly common, and from this period at Giza may be noted those in the tombs of sndm-ib; inti (120), wr-hww, iti-sn, and ny-m3’t-r’. This latter example is the only exact parallel to the scene of 'nh-m-’-r’, which gives force to a late fifth dynasty date.

There is shown on the false door of ny-k3-r’ (80) a son by the name of 'nh-m-’-r’ with the title of imy-r śnwt, who could be our 'nh-m-’-r’.5 The middle fifth dynasty date deduced below for ny-k3-r’ would not be at odds with one in the late fifth for his son. It would naturally be preferable that the two men be buried at the same site, but this need not rule out this possibility.

Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty.

1 Sculpture, 189-90.
2 Rank and Title, 64 (92).
3 Simpson, loc. cit.
4 See the lists in Junker, Giza XI, 249 ff. and Klebs, Reliefs des alten Reiches, 27-9, whence references to the following officials may be found.
5 I owe this suggestion to Dr. E. Brovarski.
Prosopography - 'nh-m-’-r' (29)

'nh-m-’-r' 29

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, south of the western end of the causeway of the pyramid of Khafre.

Bibliography: PM 32, 246.

Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iry p't, h3ty-, hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, sd3wty bity n iti.f.

An 'eldest king's son of his body', 'nh-m-’-r' was a true son of one of the fourth dynasty rulers, as suggested by the presence of titles with n iti.f. From the location of the tomb Khafre would seem to be the most likely king. The identity of his mother is not revealed in the tomb, but some suggestions may be made on the basis of two little-known blocks from the tomb of nb-m-3ht (81). The first bears two vertical columns of text, /// n h /// and /// 'nh m ///,1 which could be reconstructed as [z3 nzwt] n[h[t.f]] .... 'nh-m-’-r'. No other men with this name and title are known. In the same tomb there is a very similar block with the name and title of ny-wsr-r', almost certainly the brother of nb-m-3ht and the owner of a tomb further to the south in the same cliff.2 'nh-m-’-r' could also have been a younger brother of nb-m-3ht, although one might then expect him to be shown in the tomb of the latter's mother mrs-'nh III together with nb-m-3ht, ny-wsr-r' and dw3-r'. The second piece from the tomb of nb-m-3ht may suggest another explanation. A statue-base carries the inscription /// ht.f smsw s ///,3 presumably to be reconstructed [z3 nzwt n] ht.f smsw plus a name, and the only holder of that title known at any period from Giza whose name would fit the traces is shm-k3-r' (125). Unless it were simply thrown away there, it would seem that shm-k3-r' possessed some sort of statue in this tomb. He was certainly not a true brother of nb-m-3ht, and so one may perhaps apply the analogy to the occurrence of the name of 'nh-m-’-r'.

For details of other features which possibly influence the date, see the discussion of iwn-minw (7). 'nh-m-’-r' could have been the youngest son of Khafre to have become vizier, as he is the only such holder of this office not to have been buried in a tomb in the cliff face.

Suggested Date: Beginning of the fifth dynasty.

------------------------
1 Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 86.
2 Hassan, op. cit., fig. 85. As brother of nb-m-3ht (that is, son of mrs-'nh III), see Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, 13 n. 29, 25; tomb, PM 32, 234.
3 Hassan, op. cit., 148 (2).
Prosopography – 'nh-m'-hr; zzi (30)

'n-h-m'-hr; zzi 30

Source: Second tomb in the 'Rue de Tombeaux', Teti pyramid cemetery, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 512-5; see also Badawy, The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara, 11-57.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r k3t, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt m t3 r dr.f, t3ty z3b t3ty.1

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, im3-, imy-iz nmn, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r zšwy, imy-r zšwy m3t, imy-r zšwy n šmhk-ib, imy-r sdmt nbt št3t, imy-r šn-t3 nb, iry pt, mnw  nhn, mdw rhyt, mdh zš nzwt, h3ty-, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr ḥqt, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-tp ḥnb, ḥnty-š dd-swt-ddt, ḥnt, hry-leanor py kmw, hry-leanor prwy-hd and imy-r zš ' nzwt only appear in the innermost parts of the tomb or in the burial chamber, suggesting that it may be possible to divide the titles into two phases of his career.

2 Due to the damage suffered by parts of the tomb, especially to the false door which has almost completely disappeared, it is almost certain that his titulary was more extensive than that given here, perhaps including more relevant titles.

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Teti.

'n-h-m'-k3i 31

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 67 (D 16).

Bibliography: PM 32, 481.

Relevant Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt nt nzwt, imy-r wsht, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r swt ḥtpw df3w, w'b nzwt, wr md šm'mw, wdt-mdw št3 n ḥry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nbt ḥntt, hm-ntr

1 t3ty z3b t3ty, imy-r prwy-hd and imy-r zš ' nzwt only appear in the innermost parts of the tomb or in the burial chamber, suggesting that it may be possible to divide the titles into two phases of his career.

2 Due to the damage suffered by parts of the tomb, especially to the false door which has almost completely disappeared, it is almost certain that his titulary was more extensive than that given here, perhaps including more relevant titles.

3 Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 15.

4 Middle Teti to middle Pepy I, Rank and Title, 64 (94).
The form of the false door of 'nh-m-$$k3i$$ suggests that Baer's date of period VIC may be too late. The door has wide jambs with larger figures of the deceased on the outer than on the inner, no cornice and torus moulding, and large panel apertures each containing an offering list. Given the important titles of this man, if he had lived in the middle sixth dynasty, it might be expected that he would have possessed the newer type of false door prevalent among officials at that time, one feature of which was the presence of the torus and cornice (Chapter 2.I.A). The offering list of this door and the wide jambs have several parallels in the middle of the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.G.2 and B). The raised relief of the door is also characteristic of the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.F.I). It is felt that this evidence is sufficiently strong to warrant the rejection of the date of Baer.

Suggested Date: Mid-fifth dynasty, perhaps not long after the reign of Neweserre (?).

'nhr-$$mry$$-r'; ny-sw-$$ihy$$ 32

Source: Tomb east of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, E 13, exact position unknown.

Bibliography: PM 32, 586.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r r-3w, imy-r hnty-$$s$$ pr-$$'3$$, hq3 hwt, hry-$$hb$$, hry-tp nzwt pr-$$'3$$, smr w'ty, smr w'ty m3'.

The only monument from this tomb is the false door in Cairo, dated by Baer to his period VIB, which accords with the presence of the $$mry$$-r element in the name. This door is a large example with cornice, torus and three jambs. In many ways it is a simpler version of the door of nfr-s$$m$$-r; $$s$$$$s$$i (88); there is one significant difference, a small extra 'lintel' above the panel and beneath the architrave with his name and titles. This feature is also found on the false door of i$$s$$fi; twtw (19), and may have later been assimilated with the panel to form the 'T'-shaped type found in the reign of Pepy II.

The employment of plural strokes in the inscriptions is further attested in the mid-sixth dynasty in the texts of nhbw (90),

1 Later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II, Rank and Title, 64 (95).
2 Some of the title sequences can actually be fitted into those of the mid-fifth dynasty (VB), given the complexity and number of variations possible at that time.
3 Middle reign of Teti to middle Pepy I, op. cit., 80 (185).
although they are most common in the later Old Kingdom. These features all suggest a date in the middle of the sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle sixth dynasty, perhaps later reign of Pepy I or Merenre.

'nh-mry-r' 33

Son of \textit{mhw} (69)

Source: Chapel in the tomb of his father in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara, south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid.

Bibliography: \textit{PM} 32, 621-2; unpublished - personal examination of chapel.

Relevant Titles: \textit{imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zô' nzwt, imy-r šnwtty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty t3ty.}

Other Titles: \textit{imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gs-pr m3', 'd-mr dp, h3ty-, h3ty- ' m3', hry-sstå t3y t3ty.}

The tomb of \textit{mhw} will be dated below to the reign of Pepy I. On the basis of a generation of twenty to twenty-five years, one would expect \textit{mhw} to date to the end of the reign of Pepy I or later. The latter official held priesthoods of Teti and Pepy I, while 'nh-mry-r' held only a priesthood of the latter, which is in accordance with the later date. The chapel may have been built along with that of \textit{mhw}, but was not necessarily decorated at that time.

Suggested Date: Perhaps end of the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.

'nh-h3f 34

Source: Mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7510.

Bibliography: \textit{PM} 32, 196; almost completely unpublished - information from examination of excavation records and material in Boston.

Relevant Titles: [\textit{imy-r}] k3[t nbt nt nzwt], [t3tyt] z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: \textit{imy-r wsht, imy-r hêt nbt, iry p't, '3 dw3w, wr [md šm'w], wr 5 pr-dhwty, [mniw] nhn, [mdw] hêt, h3ty- '}, \textit{hm-ntr b3 'npt, hry-tp nbh, hts inpw, [hrp] i3t [nbt ntrt], hrp 'h, hrp mr t3-mhw [šm'w], hry-hb, hry-hb [hry]-tp, [z3] nzwt [n h't.f], z3 [nzwt] n h't.f smsw, smsw izt, sd3wty bity.}

The parentage of 'nh-h3f and his exact position in the royal family of the fourth dynasty are less than certain. Reisner and Smith considered him a son of Sneferu by an unspecified queen, who then married a senior daughter of that king and a principal queen,
Prosopography - 'nh-h3f (34)

htp-hrs; his tomb is then dated to the reign of Khafre. This is based solely on htp-hrs's (reconstructed) priesthood of Sneferu and the historical associations of her name.

A different conclusion may be reached by reconsidering Reisner's view of the relative arrangement of the Giza cemeteries. He considered that the Eastern Cemetery consisted of twelve initial cores, later modified into eight, east of the queens' pyramids, followed by six further ones including G7510. This is based on his typology of the twelve cores as type IVi and that of the others as IViii. However, it has been suggested above that the sequence of appearance of chapels with two false doors at Giza points to this tomb dating to the reign of Khufu (page 42). For the tomb of 'nh-h3f to have been prepared in the reign of Khufu, it is perhaps likely that he was of the same generation as that king, very possibly a son of Sneferu.

Smith puts his death at an advanced age, because of the appearance of a grandson in the tomb, but assuming that the first children were born while their parents were young, he could have easily been a grandfather by the age of forty. The decoration of the panel of htp-hrs points to it as being one of the earliest examples from the Eastern Cemetery (Chapter 2.II.B). If 'nh-h3f is to be paralleled with hm-iwnw, one might date him to the middle of the reign of Khufu.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Khufu.

'nhdh3f; q3r 35

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, north of the 'pyramid town' to the east of the tomb of hnt-k3ws, shared with son ny-s'nh-3ht; iti (73).


Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bt, imy-r prwy-nwb, wr btz, htm df3w bity, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, smsw izt.

The title sequences of 'nh-h3f are placed by Baer in his period VIC.4 The only feature usable for dating is the poorly preserved false door, which is a two jambed example, apparently without cornice or torus; this form is found in both the fifth and sixth dynasties at Giza. The forms of the pr-hd group from this tomb vary between that most common in the fifth dynasty and that most typical of the sixth, and it is thus possible that the tomb belongs to a period transitional between these two writings, at the end of

1 Reisner-Smith, Giza II, 11, fig. 10.
2 op. cit. I, 75, 212.
3 Reisner-Smith, op. cit., 11.
4 Middle sixth dynasty (Merenre and slightly later), Rank and Title, 65 (100).
the fifth or beginning of the sixth (see below page 279-80).

Suggested Date: Perhaps early sixth dynasty.

'nh-hwfw 36

Source: Sarcophagus found in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, possibly from tomb G7750. Now Cairo, CG 1790.

Bibliography: PM 32, 216.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.
Other Titles: w' hz3t, mniw nhn, mdw hp, mdw k3-hd, r p nb, hry-wdb hwt-'nh, hrp 'h, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The attribution of this piece to G7750 is due to a suggestion of Donadoni Roveri, who would date it to the later fourth dynasty.1 His titulary is typical of fourth to early fifth dynasty high officials, containing many high honorific titles. Furthermore, the writing of the title sd3wty bity as is perhaps more typical of the fourth dynasty, after which time is the more usual.2

Suggested Date: Perhaps late fourth or early fifth dynasty.

w3š-pth; izi 37

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 24 (D 38).

Bibliography: PM 32, 456.
Relevant Titles: imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: ïwn knmwt, imy-iz, imy-iz nhn, iry nfr-h3t, '3 dw3w, wr idt, wr ht, mniw nhn, mdw rhyt, h3ty-', hm i3qs, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr nhbt, hm-ntr hr inpw, hm-ntr hr inpw hnty pr smswt, hm-ntr smswt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hry-tp nhr, hts inpw, hrp i3t nbt ntr, hrp wsht, ht , hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-tp nzwt, zš md3t ntr, sm3 minw, sm3 hr, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, sdt nzwt.

From the damaged biographical text in this tomb, it seems w3š-pth was probably taken ill in the presence of Neferirkare, who

1 I Sarcofagi egizi dalle origini alle fine dell'antico regno, 114-5 (Bl5), no reason given. This provenance is somewhat doubtful, as one might expect the owner of G7750 to have been a king's son on the analogy of the neighbouring tombs.
2 But compare Fischer, Coptite Nome Dynasties, 126.
afterwards commanded the events to be recorded in his tomb. This was built by his son, perhaps as 3š-pth died unexpectedly because of this illness.

Baer takes the title sequences from this tomb as the basis for the beginning of his ranking period VB, in the reign of Neferirkare. As his name has not survived in the decoration of the pyramid temple of Sahure, he may date to the later part of the reign of Neferirkare (cf. wr-b3w-b3 (39) below).

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Neferirkare.

wr-irni 38

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 62 (D 20).
Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.
Other Titles: ḥm-ntr r' m nḥn-r', ḥm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', zš hkr nzwt.

The only elements of this tomb to have survived are a group of statues, principally of dependents. The tomb is situated to the north of those of ty (157) and k3i (136), both of which are to be dated to about the middle of the dynasty. These are the only indications available for the purposes of dating.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty.

wr-b3w-b3 39

Source: Depicted among the courtiers in the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir.
Bibliography: Borchardt, S'a3hure II, Bl. 17 (left).
Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: None given.

Assuming the construction of the temple and pyramid of Sahure to have begun shortly after his accession to the throne, it is perhaps likely that the decoration of the outer parts of the temple, in which this depiction appears, would have taken place towards the end of the reign - the equivalent part of the temple of Neferirkare was unfinished at his death, suggesting that it was the last area to be built. Other parts of the same relief show Neferirkare as king, suggesting the same conclusion.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Sahure, and possibly later.

1 Urk. I, 40-5.
2 Rank and Title, 224, 230.
3 Neferirkare also appears in a nearby relief, Borchardt, op. cit., Bl. 32.
The chapel was built against the southern face of the tomb of sndm-ib; mhi (121), G2378. The location might suggest some connection between \( \text{wr-k3w-b3} \) and the sndm-ib family, but there is no similarity in their titles - none mention building or labour organisation.

The small size of the offering room may reflect a very late Old Kingdom date. The false door is also of very small size for a man with such a high title. One feature often found with doors of late date, the so-called 'T'-shaped panel (Chapter 2.I.D), is not evident here. The insertion of such a tomb among those of the sndm-ib family must presumably have been made later than the principal burials, the latest of which dates to the reign of Pepy II (impy (62)). These vague indications suggest the end of the Old Kingdom or later.

There is additionally a statue of a \( \text{wr-k3w-b3; ikw} \) found in the temple of the pyramids of Menkaure, who bore the titles of smr w'ty and hry-hb hry-tp among others. This may have belonged to the same man as the false door, although neither relevant title is found so as to confirm this suggestion.1

Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom or later.

\[ \text{wr-k3-pth} \quad 41 \]

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara B 15.
Bibliography: PM 32, 491.
Relevant Titles: imy-r snwt.
Other Titles: rh nzwt.

This tomb chapel seems to have been of the east-west type, with a parallel serdab to the south. Inscriptions were found on the inner jambs of the false door, and offering bearers on the outer ones. Such an arrangement is typical of the mid-late fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.B and F.3). Baer also suggests the mid-fifth dynasty or later, and there is no further evidence for a more precise date.2

Suggested Date: Perhaps mid to late fifth dynasty.

1 Cairo, JE 41978: Reisner, Mycerinus, 13-14 (43), pl. 63 b, e.
2 Rank and Title, 68 (119).
**Source:** Mastaba in the Cemetery en Echelon in the western field at Giza, G5230.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 155-7; the statues found by the Harvard-Boston expedition are unpublished, and information on them derives from examination of the originals and the expedition records.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

**Other Titles:** imy-iz nhn, iry p't, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, wr idt, wr ht, wr 5 pr-dhwty, mniw nhn, h3ty-', hm i3qs, hm hpwy, [hm] hr św3, hm-ntr wnw-r hnty minw, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr dhwny, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 pr-‘3, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hry-tp nhb, hry ‘h, hry

Among the tombs of viziers at Giza, that of b3-b3f is unique in that there does not seem to be a single decorated surface in the entire chapel; rather the effort was put into an almost unequalled number of statues (at least thirteen). Reisner regarded this man as a son of dw3-n-r' (161), owner of the nearby tomb G5110.1 One major problem with this interpretation is the appearance of the title smr w’ty n iti.f on statue Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.1461. The epithet n iti.f is usually taken as perhaps the clearest evidence of true royal filiation. However, this is the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statue</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vienna 7785</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 21.931</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 34.235</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 34.1461</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 21.953</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 21.955</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 14-11-78</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA 14-11-80</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Reisner, Giza I, 69 n. 1.

---

* is the fragment Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 64 (right upper)

MFA - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

**Key to Columns:**

1 t3yty z3b t3ty
2 Titles incorporating z3 nzwt
3 iry p't
4 h3ty-'
5 imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt

---

1 Reisner, Giza I, 69 n. 1.
It is however possible that b3-b3f may have acquired this epithet with a promotion. The table above shows the distribution of several of his most important titles on nine of these statues. It will be seen that the titles compounded with z3 nzwt only appear on the statues that also bear the title of t3ty z3b t3ty; it is on one of these that the title smr w'ty n iti.f is found. It is possible that his career could be divided into two phases: his first statues were carved when he was hj3ty- and imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, and then he was promoted to the vizierate and to the rank of a king's son, and was apparently permitted to use the tag n iti.f. Such a widening of the class of officials using this term suggests that b3-b3f be dated to the early fifth dynasty, when true king's sons were being removed from the civil administration, and older rules for the granting of titles and epithets were changing.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

bb-ib; sndm-ib 43

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 11 (B 13).


Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t.

Other Titles: wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hq3 hwt-'3t, z3b hry-wdb.

Baer has dated this tomb to his period VB, although the low number of titles present in rankable sequences is not in itself decisive. However, other indications tend to confirm this date. The chapel plan is cruciform, and it would not seem that this design continued much beyond the early fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.H). The false door has the distinctive features of wide apertures either side of the panel, the employment of only a single pair of jambs, and the wide niche with a figure of the owner surmounted by an inscription. The wide apertures are indicative of the late fourth to middle fifth dynasties (Chapter 2.I.D), and are not unlike those of w3š-pth, of the reign of Neferirkare. This is also true of the jambs. The niche recalls those of the fourth dynasty, especially that of mry (58). These indications suggest the earlier fifth dynasty.

bb-ib may also appear in the reliefs of the mortuary temple of Neweserre. This man holds the title of smr, which is not found in the Saqqara tomb. However the combination of the titles rh nzwt and smr is generally found only in titularies of the late fourth to early fifth dynasties, and so would not be out of place in this instance. Perhaps the title of smr was a promotion in the early part of the reign of Neweserre, about the time that the pyramid-
complex was being built, which would explain its non-appearance in the tomb which had already been constructed.

Suggested Date: Reign of Neferirkare to middle Neweserre.

**pr-sn 44**

Source: Mastaba in the far north-west corner of the Western Cemetery at Giza, LG 20.


Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: wr md šm'w, rb nzwt, hrp hm-ntr, zš 'nzwt.

From the arrangement and plan of the chapel of this tomb it has been placed above in a group with those of šsm-nfr I (129) and k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i (Chapter 2.II.C.1). These examples would seem to date from about the reign of Sahure to that of Neweserre, at which point another chapel type appeared. The title sequences are apparently typical of the period before the introduction of a ranking system, which agrees with the other evidence for an early fifth dynasty date.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

**ph-n-wi-k3i 45**

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, D 70 (LS 15).

Bibliography: PM 32, 491-2.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš' nzwt, imy-r šmwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty zšb t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz nhn, [imy-r] izwy mrt, imy-r izwy n pr hry-wdb, imy-r swt htpw df3w, imy-r gs-pr, mniw nhn, mdw rhyt, nst ḫtt, r p nb, ḥ3ty-', hm-ntr ḫq, šm-ntr ḫq, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, ḫq b3t, hrp wsht, hrp zš ḫry sprw, bt h3, hry-tp nzwt, zšb 'd-mr, zš wr md šm'w, šd w'b m w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, šd w'ty bity.

The tomb of ph-n-wi-k3i is one of the largest at Saqqara. It is generally dated to the middle of the fifth dynasty; for example, it is placed by Baer in his period VB. Fischer has recently suggested, with a fair degree of certainty, that ṣpsi, the owner of the nearby mastaba no. 73 (D 13), was the father of ph-n-wi-k3i, and it is actually quite probable that the latter was in fact mentioned in his tomb. The tomb of ṣpsi is probably to be dated to the period preceding the introduction of a title-ranking system,

---

1 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 71-2 (143).
2 Reign of Neferirkare to middle Djedkare, *op. cit.*, 72 (146).
3 PM 32, 482.
4 JEA 65 (1979), 42-4.
presumably the early fifth dynasty.¹ The position of his tomb on the lower slopes of the mound surmounted by the mastaba of phₙ-wiₙ-k₃i is not unlike that of ny-ₙḥ-sḥmt,² which can be independently dated to the reign of Sahure or slightly later. On this basis, the tomb of ṣpsₙ may date to the reign of Neferirkare and the tomb of phₙ-n-wiₙ-k₃i about a generation later, perhaps in the later reign of Neweseserret.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Neweseserre

phₙ-r-nfr  ⁴⁶

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, exact position unknown.
Bibliography: PM 3², 502.
Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hₙd, imy-r šnwt nbt nt nzwt, imy-r k₃t nbt nt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r pr 'd, imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r pr-šn 'fty hₙt, imy-r pr-šn 'fty t₃-mhw, imy-r hₙt m₃t, imy-r hₙt mhi, imy-r hₙt n₀t bi, imy-r hₙt n₀t hₜ₃, imy-r hₙt hₙₜt, imy-r hₙt šmₜt, iry-hₙt pr-hₙd, 'd-mr imₜt, 'd-mr zt imₜt, 'd-mr t₆ nₜrₜ, 'd-mr dw₃-hₙt-hₙty-ₜt, wₙ md šmₜw, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, wd-mdw, rd-nzwt, hₜₜy-' ndty, hm-nₜr hr ini hwthᵣ, hm-nₜr hr hₙty dₜmt, hm-nₜr hₜₕt, hm-nₜr sₜh hₙty hry-wdb sₜrₜ, hm-nₜr dₜhₜty, ḥₙₜ³ nzwt pr imₜt, ḥₙₜ³ hₙₜt-'₃t pr iₜnw phr iₜnw pr-iₜnw, ḥₙₜ³ hₙₜt-'₃t r₃-w₉, ḥₙₜ³ hₙₜt-'₃t hₙₜ tₚₜt, ḥₙₜ³ hₙₜt-'₃t hₙt mₘₜ-'nh, ḥₙₜ³ hₙₜt-'₃t hₙt hₜₜ₅, ḥₙₜ³ hₙₜt-'₃t hₙt sn, ḥₙp iₜₜₜₜ hₙₜt, ḥₙp sₜₜₜₜ, ḥₙp rₜhₜ, ḥₙp zₜh₁, ḥₜ hₜ₃, ḥₜy sₜₜₜₜty pr-hₙd, ḥₜy sₜₜₜₜ, ḥₜy-tp nzwt, z₃b nₜt-hₜw '?, shₜₜ iry-hₙt pr-hₙd.

There are no published copies of the reliefs in this tomb, and thus one is left to date it solely on its inscriptions and plans. In these respects it is very reminiscent of the tomb of mₜₜₚ, dated to the early fourth dynasty.³ Junker takes the hₙt mₘₜ-'nh in one of his titles to refer to the queen mentioned in an eighteenth dynasty inscription at Meydum in connection with Sneferu, who could have been that king's wife or mother.⁴ If this be true, phₙ-r-nfr was perhaps a contemporary of Sneferu or Khufu.

Suggested Date: Early fourth dynasty.

pth-hₜp dₜr  ⁴⁷

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 41 (C 6).
Bibliography: PM 3², 462-3.

----------------------
¹ Baer, Rank and Title, 134-5 (489).
² No. 74, PM 3², 482-3.
³ PM 3², 493-4.
⁴ ZAS 75 (1939), 63; inscription, Petrie, Medum, pl. XXXIII.
Prosopography - pth-htp dēr (47)

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3nty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-r izwy hry htm md3t, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, iry p't, h3ty-', hrp wsht.

This tomb seems to have been built as a unit with that of pth-htp (48). Both were constructed against the outer wall of another mastaba, about which little is known. The date of these two tombs, both of viziers, may thus be discussed together; of the two, Mariette believed that of pth-htp dēr to be the older.1 Baer dates both to his period VB.2 The use of a cornice and torus on the false door of pth-htp (48) suggests that the piece is not earlier than the mid-fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.A). More importantly, the plan of these two chapels shows that between them they employed moderately complex chapels with east-west offering rooms, suggesting the middle to later fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.H).3 The plan of the chapel of pth-htp dēr is in many ways like that of k3i-m-tnnt (146) of the reign of Djedkare.4 These features give a range of possible dates for the two pth-htp's between the reigns of Neveserre and Djedkare. There is a false door set against the outer wall of the mastaba onto which these two tombs were built. It is unsure as to which of them it belongs. Alternatively, it may have been dedicated to yet another vizier by the name of pth-htp, as advanced by Petrie.5 This individual is not included in this prosopography as the suggestion is far from certain. One would then have in these tombs a family complex for perhaps two generations, suggesting that pth-htp dēr and pth-htp (48) were brothers.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Menkauhor or thereabouts.

pth-htp  48

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 42 (C 7).
Bibliography: PM 32, 463.
Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r snwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3nty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-r izwy mrt, imy-r izwy hry htm md3t, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r wsht, iry p't, h3ty-'.

1 Mastabas, 123.
2 Reign of Neferirkare to middle reign of Djedkare; Rank and Title, 74 (158-9), although he does add a query to this date.
3 Both the plans of Mariette (op. cit., 124) and Murray (Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XXXV) are incomplete; they are combined in PM 32, pl. XLVII (bottom right).
4 Mariette, op. cit., 187.
5 In Murray, op. cit., 5.
The date of this tomb is discussed in the entry for \textit{pth-htp d̄er} (47) above.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early reign of Djedkare.

\textit{pth-htp} 49 ('\textit{pth-htp I}')

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara, D 62.
Bibliography: \textit{PM} 32, 596-7.
Relevant Titles: \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}, \textit{imy-r zš' nzwt}, \textit{imy-r šnwty}, \textit{imy-r kšt nbt nt nzwt}, \textit{tšty zšb tšty}.

In the same area as this tomb is that of the vizier \textit{3ht-htp} (2), which contains a separate chapel for \textit{pth-htp}; \textit{tfi} (50) (\textit{pth-htp II}); these individuals are believed to be this man's son and grandson. This affiliation is not explicitly stated in the tombs, but a son \textit{3ht-htp} appears in the tomb of \textit{pth-htp I} with titles of \textit{hry-tp nzwt} and \textit{mdw rhyt}.\textsuperscript{1} Both titles are held by the vizier \textit{3ht-htp}; though this in itself is but slender evidence for identifying him as the son of \textit{pth-htp I}, the similar location and scale of the tombs, as well as the high titles held by both, would support the deduction. The evidence for \textit{pth-htp II} being the son of \textit{3ht-htp} is much stronger: apart from his chapel, the eldest son of \textit{3ht-htp} is called \textit{pth-htp} and has the titles of \textit{imy-r niwt nfr-izz}, \textit{hry-tp nzwt}, \textit{mdw rhyt}, \textit{zšb 'd-mr} and \textit{zšb imy-r zš}.\textsuperscript{2} With the exception of the last, these titles all appear in the chapel of \textit{pth-htp II}. Common links between all three chapels are the high quality of the relief and the practice of ignoring the representation of the female members of the family.

The latest king mentioned in all three tombs is Djedkare.\textsuperscript{3} That three generations of the same family should have held their offices in one reign is unlikely, and so the most probable candidate for a date in the reign of Djedkare is \textit{pth-htp I}, who incidentally is the only one to possess a collection of estates of kings of the early fifth dynasty. The occurrence of royal names is not alone a safe criterion for dating, but this is the reason for Helck's date for \textit{pth-htp I}.\textsuperscript{4} Baer's system of title sequences place him in period VC with a leaning towards the later reign of Djedkare.\textsuperscript{5} The 'Maxims of Ptahhotep', the earliest copy of which, Papyrus Prisse,

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] Murray, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. IX, XII.
  \item[2] Davies, \textit{Ptahhetep and Akhethetep} II, pl. VI, IX.
  \item[3] \textit{pth-htp I}, in estate names; other tombs, in titles.
  \item[4] \textit{Beamtenstitel}, 138.
  \item[5] Middle Djedkare to middle Wenis, \textit{Rank and Title}, 74-5 (160).
\end{itemize}
dates to the twelfth dynasty, are attributed in the text to a man of that name who served Djedkare as vizier, and it is suggested by Helck (loc. cit.) and Baer (loc. cit.) that pth-htp I is the man who is supposed to have composed the original.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Djedkare.

pth-htp; tfi 50 ('pth-htp II')

Son of 3ht-htp (2).

Source: Chapel in the tomb of his father, west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, D 64.

Bibliography: PM 32, 600-4

2. When Vizier: t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: iwn knmwt, imy-r niwt mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', imy-r niwt nfr-dd-k3-r', imy-r niwt ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr, imy-r šm'w, imy-r gs-pr, wd-mdw, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hqt, hry-sst3 wdt-mdw [t3t ntw, hry-sst3 n wdt-mdw nbt ntw, hrp wr md šm'w, hrp wsht, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp qqw, ht h3, hry-tp nzw, z3b 'd-mr, shd w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', shd hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', shd hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr.
2. When Vizier: imy-r ///.2

The family relationships are discussed above under pth-htp I (49). The title sequences of pth-htp II fit Baer's period VD, the same as those of his father. That there was less than a generation separating father and son in their tenures of the vizierate is suggested by the appearance of the granary official k3i-hp in this tomb and that of his grandfather pth-htp I, showing that these perhaps built their tombs in the lifetime of one official. It is probable that the pre-vizierial titulary of pth-htp II consisted of the titles he held while 3ht-htp was alive, and he was promoted to the vizierate at some point after the latter's death in the later reign of Wenis.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Wenis (as vizier).

------------------

1 In this text he is given the titles of iry p't, h3ty-š, iti ntr, mry ntr, sdm m hwt wrt 6, iwy ntw m t3r drf, imy-r niwt, t3ty (Zaba, Les Maximes de Ptahhotep, 15 (2-4)). These are clearly of a Middle Kingdom nature, and doubtless reflect the titulary of a vizier of that time.

2 His vizierial titulary is clearly incomplete, and is only found on the sarcophagus, an important part of which, from the point of view of titles, has been damaged. It does however permit his titulary to be divided as above.

3 Middle reign of Wenis to early Teti, Rank and Title, 75 (161).

4 Tomb of pth-htp I: Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XIV (3). Tomb of pth-htp II: Paget-Pirie, Ptah-hetep, pl. XXXI, XXXIV.
pth-ḥtp 51

Source: Tomb about 200 metres south of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, LS 31.
Bibliography: PM 32, 653-4.
Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r šnwty, t3ty t3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-r w'bty, (imy-r) prwy nwbt, imy-r hkr nzwt, htp wsht.

This tomb is the sole Old Kingdom example found to date in this area. The chapel plan is very complex, with a pillared court and rooms leading off to the west and south, most of which have been left undecorated. This plan has no close parallel, but is reminiscent of the tombs of 3ḥt-ḥtp; hmi (3), k3i-gmni; mmi (151) and mhw (69), which suggest a date no earlier than the late fifth dynasty. It would seem that the viziers of Wenis, Teti and the later reign of Pepy II were buried near the pyramids of their kings, but that the known viziers of the reigns of Pepy I and Merenre were not (compare idw I; nfr (22) above). It is to this period that this tomb perhaps belongs, probably only a little later than the owners of other large tombs, such as mhw and hnty-k3i; ihhi (109).

Suggested Date: Perhaps first half of the reign of Pepy I.

pth-ḥps 52

Source: Tomb at the north-east corner of the funerary complex of Neweserre at Abusir.
Bibliography: PM 32, 340-2; some further information, Verner, Acts 1st ICE, 671-5; Zaba, Preliminary Report on Czechoslovak Excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir, passim.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty t3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bt, iry nfr-h3t, '3 dw3w, mniw nhn, h3ty-', hm st, hm-ntr nhbt nbt 'h-ntr Šm'w, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n mdw ntr, hry-tp nhb, h3ty nfr-h3t, hry-hb hry-tp, smr w'ty, z3 nzwt.

This tomb is one of the largest known in Egypt, and its great size is possibly due to the relationship of its owner to Neweserre. He married a daughter of that king by the name of ḫ'-mrr-nbty,1 and several features of the tomb may have come about as the direct result of the favour shown by the king to his son-in-law, for example the boat pits and the design of the burial chamber.2 Helck

1 Verner, op. cit., 674; her titles are given by de Morgan, RA Ser 3 24 (1894), 32.
2 Verner, op. cit., 672.
Prosopography - pth-ślps (52)

has identified pth-ślps with the official of the same name who bears the title of smr w'ty in the reliefs of the mortuary temples of Sahure, Neferirkare and Neweserre at Abusir.1 However, as Baer has noted, the name is common in the middle of the fifth dynasty, and it need not be the owner of the tomb at Abusir,2 although this is not to say that some examples, especially the later ones, could not refer to this man. The only close parallel to the plan of the offering chapel of his tomb is that of r'i-ślps (95) at Saqqara, dated to the reign of Djedkare, and it is possible that the two were to some extent contemporary.

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Neweserre to early Djedkare (?).

pth-ślps 53

Source: Tomb north of the mastaba of k3i-gmni (151) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 518; almost completely unpublished - most information from personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r šwy pr-3, iry nfr-hš3t, hš3ty-', hry-hb, smr w'ty, shd řm-nfr dd-swt-tti.

This small chapel is one of the group of those situated to the north of the great mastabas in the cemetery. It is likely that this group dates to the reign of Pepy I or slightly later (see below, mrw (64)). The chapel of pth-ślps differs from the others in that the decoration on the walls is painted on brick; the poorer nature of this work may place the tomb at a later date than the others.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Pepy I or later.

pth-ślps; impy 53a

Source: Seated statue, Louvre A108 (= N113), provenance unknown.

Bibliography: None - to be published in a catalogue of Louvre Statuary by Ziegler.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: wr šrp hmwt, wr šrp hmwt hrw n hb, hry-hb, smr w'ty.

---------------------

1 Beamtentitel, 136, with references.
2 Rank and Title, 76 (167). However, Baer's subsequent assignation of this tomb to his period VD is a problem (middle reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis), but the above evidence is perhaps sufficient for it to be disregarded.
Prosopography - pth-ṣpss; impy (53a)

Although the provenance of this statue is unknown, such sequences of titles, particularly those of wr hrp hmw; tti, the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, are found only at Saqqara in the Old Kingdom, and we can be well-nigh sure that the tomb of this official was at that site.

Freier believes that the titles of pth-ṣpss date him later than the wr hrp hmw; s3bw; tti, who is usually dated to the middle of the sixth dynasty or later. The modelling of the facial features of this statue is not of the standard of the best work of the fifth or early sixth dynasties, but has something in common with several examples later than that period.

Suggested Date: After the middle of the sixth dynasty.

**m3-nfr** 54

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 26 (D 37).


Relevant Titles: imy-r zš nzw;

Other Titles: iwn kmw; imy-r izy pr md3t, imy-r izy pr hry-wdb, imy-r izy hry htm md3t, wr md šm'w, wd md'-mdw n hry-wdb, md wryt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hry-sšt n wdt-mdw nbt n twt, hry-sšt n md3t nbt n twt, hry wspht, hry zš iry sprw, hry zš pr hry-wdb, hry zš nb, hry-tb ntwt, z3b 'd-mr, zš wr md šm'w.

This tomb seems to consist in its entirety of a false door set in a brick niche, built against an older mastaba. No information is available about this earlier construction. Baer dates the tomb of m3-nfr to his period VIF. However, there are some features of the false door which might date it to an earlier period, notably the wide apertures either side of the panel, very much a fifth dynasty characteristic; the even length of the jambs, in conjunction with the lack of cornice and torus, suggest perhaps a date in the later fifth dynasty (Ch 2.1.A, B and D). It would appear that, on further investigation, although the date Baer gives on the basis of the archaeological sources is very vague, he has used the title sequences of m3-nfr for no apparent reason as the base chart for his period VIF. It may thus be said that the attribution to period VIF is arbitrary; in fact the title sequences also fit period VC (middle reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis), closer to the date suggested by the form of the false door.

------------

1 Altorientalische Forsuchungen 4 (1976), 11; for s3bw; tti see Baer, Rank and Title, 121 (422).
2 For example, Cairo, CG 120 and 172, the latter being late Old Kingdom; also the statues of idi, Fischer, AJA 66 (1962), 65-6, pl. 17-8.
3 Middle reign of Pepe II, op. cit., 77 (171).
4 op. cit., 224.
The father of this man is said to be shm-k3i, on the basis of Louvre statue A104 (N110, E3031). His tomb exhibits a door of not dissimilar style to that of m3-nfr and his chapel is 'L'-shaped, as one might expect of an official who would date to the mid-fifth dynasty if the dating of m3-nfr is correct.

Suggested Date: Later fifth dynasty.


Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3tyt z3b t3ty. Other Titles: hm-ntr inpw nb z3wt imy wt, hry-hb.

No tomb has yet been found for this man. Porter and Moss suggest tomb F 3 at Saqqara; however this minw-nfr is only a smsw pr, not a title attested at all among those of viziers, and such an identification would seem inherently improbable.

The exact location of the reliefs in the temple of Neweserre featuring minw-nfr is not known, making it difficult to conclude in which stage of the temple's construction they were cut. In the nearby temple of Sahure, many of the depictions of officials belong to the end of that king's reign (see above, wr-b3w-b3 (39)). The problem with drawing an analogy is that the length of the reign of Neweserre is not known; it is however unlikely that these reliefs would have been cut before year ten of his reign. minw-nfr may already have been vizier near the beginning of the reign, when the temple of Neferirkare was being completed by Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Neweserre.

Source: An alabaster offering table, from the so-called 'Greek Serapeum' area at Saqqara, Cairo, JE 38427.

1 PM 32, 465-6 (tomb no. 54 (C.19)).
2 PM 32, 337; for F 3 see PM 32, 586.
Prosopography - mn-‘nh-ppy; mni (56)

Bibliography:  PM 32, 565; Cairo, CG 57014; Mostafa, Opfertafel, Taf. XXXV.
Relevant Titles: imy-r šnmty.
Other Titles:  imy-r hm-ntr, hry-hb, smr w'ty.

This piece cannot be earlier than the reign of Pepy II due to the employment of part of the name of his pyramid; comparable offering tables are found from the end of the sixth dynasty. By comparing the sequence of titles with Baer's lists for the reign of Pepy II, the only ones that fit are VIC (early) and VIE (middle). As most of the memphite monuments of individuals contemporary with Pepy II come from South Saqqara, it is possible that this one may date to the period after his death when the Teti pyramid cemetery regained the pre-eminence it held early in the sixth dynasty (compare the discussions below of šdy-ḥḥ (134) and ṭṭw (160)).

Suggested Date:  Late Old Kingdom or later.

mri; idw  57

Source:  A false door, British Museum 1191, exact proven­ance unknown, but probably from Saqqara.
Bibliography:  PM 32, 742.
Relevant Titles:  imy-r hwt wrt 6.
Other Titles:  iwn knmwt, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt m3', z3b 'd-mr, zā 'ñzwt.

Several features of this false door would suggest a date not early in the Old Kingdom, perhaps the most important of which is the appearance of a pair of wdʒt eyes on the rear of the central niche. No exact Old Kingdom parallels to this are to be found, but such eyes do appear on early Middle Kingdom stelae, and on the false door of īhy from Saqqara (reign of Amenemhat I).2 There is also the somewhat crude style of the piece, emphasised by the elongated figures. Baer would allow all periods of the sixth dynasty as well as a late date to be possible.3

Suggested Date:  Late sixth dynasty to First Intermediate Period.

mry  58

Source:  Tomb probably from North Saqqara, exact position unknown. The blocks are dispersed over a number of collections.
Relevant Titles:  imy-r pr-hd.

----------------------
1 Mostafa, op. cit., 130 with examples in note 4.
2 Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 83.
3 Rank and Title, 79 (181).

93
Prosopography - mry (58)

Other Titles: imy-r iz n ḥkr nzwt, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r zē md3t 'nzwt, mdh zē nzwt, mdh ḥmr, ṛh nzwt, ḥm-ntr rnnwtt, ḥm-ntr ḥrwy imy-ti, ḥry-sāt3 pr-'3, smr, smr w'ty.

The style of the workmanship of this tomb is compared by Smith to that of šry, and he dates both to the middle of the fourth dynasty,¹ which is followed by Baer.² The deep niche and probable cruciform plan of the chapel of mry continue the tradition of examples which belong to the late third to early fourth dynasties. An offering list is found on the panel but no linen list, and it is a reasonable assumption that the disappearance of the latter was a development of the later fourth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.6.1)

Suggested Date: Middle to late fourth dynasty.

mry-ib 59

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2100-I-annexe; chapel now in East Berlin, 1107.
Bibliography: PM 3², 71-2.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r mš', 'd-mr imw, wr m3 iwnw, wr md šm'w, wty inpw, ṛp nb, ṛh nzwt, ḥm-ntr ḥwfw, ḥrp ḫ, hts inpw, ḥry-ḥb, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ḫ.t.f, smr, smr w'ty, shd b3-ntrw, sd3wty ntr imw, sd3wty ntr b3-ntrw, sd3wty ntr b'-ntrw, sd3wty ntr n b3-ntrw dw3-t3wy, sd3wty ntr n nb rhyt, sd3wty ntr n dw3-t3wy.³

The tomb of mry-ib is to some extent related to the neighbouring one of nfr (84) (G2110), at least in respect of the arrangement of the panel of the false door. The tomb of mry-ib was one of the first to employ a two-door chapel design and also to adopt the arrangement of the deceased standing between the doors facing south (Chapter 2.II.C.1). It is thus perhaps to be dated to the reign of Menkaure or the end of the fourth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Menkaure to end of the fourth dynasty.

mry-pṭḥ-mry-r' 60

Source: One of the addressees of the Dahshur decree of Pepy I.

1 AJA 46 (1942), 515; tomb of šry, PM 3², 490 (B3).
2 Rank and Title, 78-9 (180).
3 Those of z3 nzwt and shd b3-ntrw are included from the probable equation of mry-ib with k3i-pw-nzwt the father of nn-sdr-k3i, shown in Junker, Giza II, Abb. 8b.
Prosopography - mry-pth-mry-r' (60)

Bibliography: For the decree, PM 32, 876.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t.
Other Titles: No others given.

This decree is dated to the year of the twenty-first cattle-count of the reign of Pepy I. Due to the uncertain length of the reign, the exact time-point of the decree is uncertain, but it can hardly be the earlier part.

The surviving names and titles of the leading recipients of the decree may be interpreted in more than one way. The following remains of the first line: /// nzwt /// t3t3y z3b t3ty /// imy-r k3t mry-pth-mry-r'. Helck has reconstructed this line as iry p't, sdt nzwt, h3ty', imy-r niwt mr, t3ty z3b t3ty imy-r k3t mry-pth-mry-r'. It is unlikely that the _t3ty group was written as Helck would believe, since this title is not written in this manner until after the Old Kingdom (see below page 304-6). It is more probable that a short name has been erased, perhaps that of r'-wr (93), leaving mry-pth-mry-r' with the title of imy-r k3t only.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Pepy I.

mry-r'-i3m 61

Source: Tomb east of the pyramid complex of Pepy II at South Saqqara, M. 13.
Bibliography: PM 32, 683.
Relevant Titles: t3t3y z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-r niwt mr, iry p't, iry p't m3', h3ty', hq3 hwt, hrp šndyt nbt.

Kees, in his discussion of the viziers of Pepy II, quotes an opinion of Jéquier's (possibly from a private communication) to the effect that the tomb of mry-r'-i3m is the oldest of its group.2 The tomb is dated by Baer to periods VIC-E, approximately the time of the construction of the pyramid temple.3 A man by the name of ppy-i3m appears twice in the mortuary temple of Pepy II.4 The first of these occurrences is the more important, as he is there given the titles of sd3wty bity, smr w'ty and hry-hb, and he is shown as one of the line of officials headed by the vizier idi. mry-r'-i3m does not possess all of these titles in his tomb inscriptions, although their restoration in the damaged portions need not present a problem as they are commonly found in the tombs of

1 Beamtenstitel, 140.
2 Vezirat, 45.
3 Merenre to year fifty-five of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 79-80 (184).
4 Jéquier, Pepi II II, pl. 48, 71.
other high officials buried in this cemetery. Against this identi-
fication should be placed the relative frequency of this name at
this period. However, if this be accepted, then he was vizier
later than idi, and combining this with the evidence of the date of
his tomb given above, it would seem that his vizierate postdates
the temple by only a little, and thus dates perhaps to some time in
the second quarter of the reign.

Suggested Date: Later first half of the reign of Pepy II.

mry-r'-mry-'nh-pth; pth-špss; impy 62 ('impy')

Son of nhbw (90)

Sources and
Bibliography:

1. Depicted among the officials in the mortuary
temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara: Jéquier, Pepi
II II, pl. 48; perhaps also id., op. cit. III, pl.
35 (bottom right).
2. Burial in shaft G2381a in the Western Cemetery
at Giza, PM 32, 91-2; also a few blocks remaining
from chapel: for some details, Brovarski, L'égyp-
tologie en 1979 II, 118; further information from
excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r k3t nbt.
2. When Vizier: imy-r zš' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt
nzw, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: mdh qd nzwt m prwy.
2. When Vizier: im3-', imy-r w'bt, imy-r niwt,
mdh qd nzwt m prwy, h3ty-', hrp šndyt nbt, hry-hb
hry-tp, sm, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The decoration of the part of the temple in which impy appears
seems to have been completed around years twenty to thirty of the
reign (above, ihy-hnt (16)). He may thus have been promoted to the
vizierate in the middle of the reign, probably after he had begun
his tomb, as the title of t3ty z3b t3ty is only found on blocks
from the serdab. Baer dates him after the end of the Old Kingdom,
although he attempts to explain the apparent contradiction.1

The burial of impy is unusual in that the coffin seems to be
inscribed for two people, himself and s3bw-pth; ibbi (117). s3bw-
pth is shown as a son of nhbw in the latter's tomb,2 while impy is
assumed to be a son of nhbw on the similarity of their names and
also his appearance in that official’s Wadi Hammamat inscriptions.3
It would seem that the differences in the titularies on the coffin
preclude them from referring to the same man, especially as that
person would then have five names. Only one burial was effected in

1 Rank and Title, 96, 292 (286a).
2 Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 59, fig. 2.
3 Urk. I, 93.9; Goyon, Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi
Hammamat, no. 21.
the tomb, but the identity is difficult to establish: the name of \textit{impy} is the more prominent, but that of \textit{s3bw-pth} appears on the headrest. One wonders whether this is an unusual case of a man known by a great many names.

\textbf{Suggested Date:} Just before the middle of the reign of Pepy II.

\textbf{mry-tti} 63

Son of \textit{mrrw-k3i; mri} (68)

\textbf{Source:} Chapel in the tomb of his father in the Teti pyramid cemetery, Saqqara.

\textbf{Bibliography:} PM 3\textsuperscript{2}, 536; also personal examination of tomb.

\textbf{Relevant Titles:} \textit{imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3tyt z3b t3ty.}

\textbf{Other Titles:} \textit{im3-', imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r 'h-ntr šm'w, iry p't, '3 dw3w, ' nnty, ' hq3t, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, 'd-mr dp, wty inpw, mniw nhn, mdw hp, r p nb, h3ty-', hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hm-ntr nhbt, hm-ntr hr inpw hnty pr smawt, hm-ntr hr hry-ib 'h-ntr, hry wrw, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n m33t w', hry-sšt3 nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-tp nhb, hts inpw, hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hnty-š dd-swt-tti, hry i3t nbt ntrt, hpr ibt, hpr m ntrw, hpr nty, hpr hwnt nt, hpr šndyt nbt, hry-hb n iti.f, hry-hb hry-tp, z3 nzwt, zš md3t ntr, sm, sm3 minw, sar wty, smsw snwt, šhd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, šhd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, sd3wty bity, sd3wty ntr m imwwy '3.}

In his important contribution to the study of this chapel, Nims dates it to the reign of Pepy I on the basis of the titles incorporating the name of that king's pyramid and also the sequence of usurpations of the inscriptions; he shows that the decoration was cut later than that of \textit{mrrw-k3i}.\textsuperscript{1} Baer dates this chapel to his period VIC, one period later than that of \textit{mrrw-k3i}, which supports the conclusions of Nims, and points to the middle of the reign as a date.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Suggested Date:} Middle reign of Pepy I.

\textbf{mrrw; tti-snb; mry-r'-snb (ppy-snb)} 64

\textbf{Source:} Tomb immediately to the north of that of \textit{mrrw-k3i} (68) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

\textbf{Bibliography:} PM 3\textsuperscript{2}, 520; also personal examination of tomb.

\textbf{Relevant Titles:} \textit{imy-r šnwt nbt.}

\textbf{-------------------}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{JAOS} 58 (1938), 638-47.

\textsuperscript{2} Merenre to early Pepy II, \textit{Rank and Title}, 80-1 (189)
Prosopography - mrw; tti-snb; mry-r'-snb (64)

Other Titles: imy-r wpt dd-swt-tti, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r ḫnty-š pr'-š, imy-r ḫnty-š dd-swt-tti, imy-r sqbbwy pr'-š, imy-r ṣpss nzwt, imy-r ṣn-tš nb, imy-r Ṿt dd pt qm3t tš, imy-ht ḫm-nṛ ṭr mṛt tti, ḫty-Š, ḫnty-š dd-swt-tti, ḫpt ṣndyt nb, hṛy-hb, hṛy-hb hṛy-tp, zō ḫṛy-tp dš3t, sım, sım w'ty, sḥd ḫm-nṛ dd-swt-tti, ṣpss nzwt.

mrw, whose (presumably) original rn-nfr was tti-snb, acquired the additional name of mry-r'-snb, an alteration for which the likeliest explanation is that he lived in the reigns of both Teti and Pepy I, commencing his tomb in the former reign and completing it in the latter. He may not have lived beyond the middle of the reign of Pepy I.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Pepy I.

mrw-k3i 65

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 77 (D 9).
Bibliography: PM 32, 484.
Relevant Titles: imy-r zš' nzwt n wdt-mdw nb t nt nzwt, imy-r zš' nzwt n kšt nb t nt nzwt.
Other Titles: Apparently none.

Next to nothing is known about this tomb. It is located near both fifth (ph-n-wi-k3i (45)) and sixth dynasty (tp-m-ṇḥ (155)) tombs. The fragment of the false door found by Mariette has three vertical columns of text, possibly suggesting wide jambs of the older type of false door without torus and cornice (Chapter 2.1.B). A date not late in the fifth dynasty is possible but by no means certain.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty (?).

mrri 66

Source: Tomb to the north of the mastaba of mrw-k3i (68) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.
Bibliography: PM 32, 518-9; also personal examination of tomb. See now Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, 2-20.
Relevant Titles: imy-r hrw-hd.
Other Titles: imy-r izwy ḫkṛ nzwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r wnt prw, imy-r prw-nwb, imy-r ḫnty-š, imy-r ḫnty-š pr'-š, imy-r ḫt nb t Ṿt dd pt qm3t tš, imy-r sqbbwy pr'-š, imy-r ṣt ḫnty-š pr'-š, imy-r ṣwy pr'-š, mnum ṣnh, hṛty-š, hṛy-sšt3, hṛy-sšt3 n pr-dwš3t, hṛy-tp nb, hṛy-hb, hṛy-tp nzwt, hṛy-tp nzwt pr'-š, sım w'ty, sım pr.

Of the small mastabas in this part of the Teti pyramid cemetery, only that of mrw (64) may be given a reasonably sure date, and it seems likely that most of this group date to a roughly similar period, perhaps the reign of Pepy I or a little later, postdating the great mastabas in this cemetery by only a few years; the tomb
of mrri may be one of the earliest ones.¹

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle reign of Pepy I.

**mrri** 67

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, adjoining the east wall of the tomb of pth-htp I (49).

Bibliography: PM 32, 607-8; also personal examination of chapel.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r sê' nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r kêt nbt nt nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: ḫm3-', imy-r izwy n hkr nzwt, imy-r niw m prwy, imy-r sm'-, iry p't, mdh nzwt m qd m prwy, mdh zê nzwt, h3ty-', ḫry-hb ḫry-tp, smr w'ty, ṣd3wty bity.

This tomb is not discussed by Baer, but the title sequences would appear to date it to his periods VIB or D (later reign of Teti to later Pepy I, and early to middle reign of Pepy II). The arrangement of the false door has affinities with examples from the reign of Pepy I (for example, mhw (69)), but bears no resemblance to those from the reign of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

In this tomb were found several blocks reused as paving, one bearing the Horus name of Teti and another the title shd hm-ntr dd-swttiti.² Hassan suggests that these may come from the Teti pyramid temple and the associated cemetery, and he argues that such removal would not have taken place for several years after the death of Teti.³ Kanawati is of the opinion that the paving stones may be 'unwanted slabs';⁴ it would however seem unlikely that these blocks were carved and then not included in the decoration, as the common practice was for the blocks to be given their final dressing and to be carved after they had been set in place.⁵ A problem with Hassan's theory is that the funerary cult of Teti seems to have continued at least until the twelfth dynasty, and one would perhaps not expect blocks to be removed while the cult was still active.⁶ These blocks present a serious problem, but if they were indeed removed from the Teti cemetery, this was unlikely to have happened before the end of the reign of Pepy I; as most of the tombs of officials from the middle of the reign of Pepy II are at South Saqqara, mrri should perhaps be dated to the period preceding the establishment of that cemetery.

¹ Davies et al., op. cit., 1; Baer's date of periods VIB-G (later reign of Teti to later Pepy II) is in agreement with this (Rank and Title, 82 (195)).
² Hassan, Saqqara III, pl. XXIII (A).
³ op. cit., 27.
⁴ Governmental Reforms, 34.
⁵ Clarke-Engelbach, Ancient Egyptian Masonry, 100.
⁶ Helck, MDAIK 15 (1957), 110.
Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Merenre to early reign of Pepy II.

mrrw-k3i; mri 68

Source: Tomb in the Teti pyramid cemetery, Saqqara.
Bibliography: PM 3, 525-35; also personal examination of tomb.
Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zś 'nzw, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3 tnt nt nzw, t3ty t3b t3ty1

Other Titles: im3'-, imy-iz, imy-iz nhn, imy-r ipt nzw, imy-r izwy hkr nzw, imy-r 'h-ntr šmw, imy-r w'nty, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r pr phrt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r hkr nzw nb, imy-r swt špswt pr-3, imy-r shty htp, imy-r sqbbwy pr-3, imy-r stp-z3 pr-nzw nb, imy-r gswy imn n zwmm pr-3, imy-r ddt pt qm3t t3, irt w't, '3 dw3w, ' nmty, ' hq3t, 'd-mr dw3-hr-ḥnty-pt, 'd-mr dp, w' wr ḫb, wr idt, wr m3, wr m3 m prwy, wr hry-hb ḫry-tp, wr 5 m pr-dhwy, wty inpw, wd-mdw n srm, mniw nhn, mdw ḫp, mdw ḫ3t, r p nb, ḫ3ty-, ḫm b3w p, ḫm b3w nhn, ḫm-ntr ḫr imy šnt, ḫry ḫwpt štšt pr-3, ḫry wrw, ḫry nws n w3dšt, ḫry-śšt3, ḫry-śšt3 ///, ḫry-śšt3 n wd'-mdw n hwt wrt 6, ḫry-śšt3 n wd-mdw nbt nt nzw, ḫry-śšt3 n dr-dw3t, ḫry-śšt3 n m3št w', ḫry-śšt3 n mdw ntr, ḫry-śšt3 n štšt pr, ḫry-śšt3 nzw m swt.f nbt, ḫry-tp nhb, ḫq3 b3t, ḫts inpw, ḫw'-, ḫnty-ś dd-swt-tti, ḫrp i3t nbt ntrt, ḫrp i3tš km, ḫrp ibt ḫr, ḫrp m ntrw, ḫrp nsty, ḫrp hwt mw, ḫrp hwt nt, ḫrp smsw ḫr, ḫrp šndty nb, ḫry-ḥb, ḫry-ḥb ḫry-tp, zs mdšt ntr, sm, sm3 inpw, sm3 minw, sm3 ḫr, smr w'ty, smsw šnw, sḫd ḫm-ntr dd-swt-tti, sdštyt bity, sdt nzw.

The date of this and the other major tombs in this cemetery is well-established as principally the reign of Teti, with those of ḫnty-k3i (109) and nfr-sšm-pth (87) belonging partly to the reign of Pepy I. There is some uncertainty as to the relative dates of mrrw-k3i, k3i-gmni (151), nfr-sšm-r' (88) and nḥ-m'-hr (30).

Firth placed these tombs in the order nfr-sšm-r', k3i-gmni, mrrw-k3i, without mentioning nḥ-m'-hr,2 according to the increasing amount of decoration above and below ground and the number of rooms. This view has not received the attention it deserves. k3i-gmni is often considered the oldest of the group, for example, by Baer, who places him at the beginning of the reign of Teti, while dating the remainder to the period beginning in the middle of the reign of Teti (VIB). mrrw-k3i, by virtue of the position of his tomb, is often regarded as a contemporary of k3i-gmni.3 Although the blocks forming the outer western wall of the mastaba of k3i-gmni have been adapted for use in the adjoining wall of the

1 The titles of imy-r šnwty and imy-r prwy-hd seem only to occur on the outer temenos wall of the mastaba, and may thus have been granted to him later than the others which are found inside the tomb itself.
2 Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 15.
3 For example, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 25.
tomb of mrrw-k3i, the batter applied to the former wall suggests that the two were not built, or at least originally conceived, as a unit.\(^1\) That the tomb of mrrw-k3i was constructed separately from and later than that of k3i-gmni would explain the unusual location of the entrance of the former on the south side, perhaps implying that the best sites in the cemetery had already been taken. It is possible that these more favourable locations had already been used for the tombs of nfr-səšm-r' and 'nh-m-'-hr. The plans of their tombs are more closely related to that of k3i-gmni than that of mrrw-k3i; the plan of the latter has in fact more affinities with the tomb of hnty-k3i, undoubtedly built at least partly in the reign of Pepy I. Further associations between the two latter tombs may be noted in the quality of the relief: parts of the tomb of mrrw-k3i are cut in a rather rough manner as is most of the tomb of hnty-k3i, and all of the chapel of mrrw-k3i 's son mry-tti (63); only very small areas of that of 'nh-m-'-hr are in the same style. It would seem that this is indicative of the very end of the reign of Teti and that of Pepy I.

One may then perhaps order these four tombs as k3i-gmni, nfr-səšm-r' (this could be reversed), 'nh-m-'-hr and mrrw-k3i, with that of the latter still being built at the end of the reign of Teti or even the very beginning of that of Pepy I.

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Teti.

---

1 See the photo in Saad, ASAE 43 (1943), pl. XXXVI.
The location of his tomb bears no relation to the monuments of either ruler. One possible explanation of the choice of the Wenisis cemetery is that his wife, z3t nzwt n ht.f nfrt-k3ws, may have been a daughter of that king, and is further evidence for tombs of the reign of Pepy I being built in no one particular cemetery (see above idw I; nfr (22)).

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle reign of Pepy I.

ny-'nh-b3

Source: Tomb immediately to the north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenisis at Saqqara, east of that of 3ht-htp; hmi (3)/ nb-k3w-hr; idw (82).

Bibliography: PM 32, 629.

Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iry p't, '3 dw3w, hry-sst3, hrp m ntrw, hry-hb, smr w'ty.1

The inscriptions that survive from this tomb come from the burial chamber, the decoration of which is not unlike that of ihy (15), probably of the reign of Wenisis. Such decoration makes perhaps one of its earliest Saqqara appearances in this area. For a general discussion of the date of the major tombs in this area, with the dating of this one to the reign of Wenisis, see above under 3ht-htp; hmi (3).

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Wenisis.

ny-'nh-r'

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre.

Bibliography: PM 32, 234-5.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, wd wd'-mdw m3' n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sst3 n mdw ntr, hry-sst3 nzwt m swt.f nbt, hrp wsht, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt, smr w'ty, smsw izt.

The parentage of ny-'nh-r' is unknown. He held the title of king's son, but was not z3 nzwt n ht.f, nor do any of his titles bear the epithet n iti.f. Schmitz links the type of titles he held with those of non-royal king's sons in the later fourth and early fifth dynasties.2 The location of this tomb with those of many true king's sons suggests that ny-'nh-r' may in fact also have been one

1 The damage to this tomb is very extensive, and ny-'nh-b3 may have held more titles than those that survive.
of these; it is also possible that his tomb was placed in this spot as a special favour of the king, in the manner of that of dbhn.\(^1\) His title sequences, according to Baer, date him to the period before the introduction of an organised ranking system,\(^2\) and these considerations together suggest a date early in the fifth dynasty.

**Suggested Date:** Early fifth dynasty.

**ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r**

**Source:** Secondary burial in the tomb of mry-r'-i3m (61), east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

**Bibliography:** PM \(3^2\), 683.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r prw-y-hd, imy-r zš' nzwt, tšnty zšb tšty.

**Other Titles:** imy-r nšwt mr, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gšwy-pr, iry p't, hšty'-, ḫhp šndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, šđ šm-nfr mn'-nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, sdšwty bity.

Kees places ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' in the second half of the reign of Pepy II,\(^3\) with Baer dating him more specifically towards the end of the reign.\(^4\) Kees' argument rests on the assumption that ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' was a son of the vizier idi, and reasons are given for the rejection of this affiliation above (ihy-hnt (16)). It may here be noted that the son of idi held the title imy-r šm'w, which ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' did not. The location of his burial makes it more possible that he was a relation, perhaps son, of mry-r'-i3m.

It is possible that he was born at some period not long after a sd festival of Pepy II. The exact date of neither of the attested ones is known, but as the celebration of a first such festival after thirty years is likely for the reign of this king, ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' may have held office in the last third of the reign.\(^5\)

**Suggested Date:** Last third of the reign of Pepy II.

**ny-s'nh-3ht; iti**

**Son of 'nh-h3f; q3r (35)**

**Source:** Rock-cut tomb north of the 'pyramid town' east of the tomb of hnt-kšws in the Central Field at Giza, shared with his father.

**Bibliography:** PM \(3^2\), 258.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r prw-y-hd, imy-r prw-y-hd n hnw

\(^1\) As related in his biography, Urk. I, 18-21.
\(^2\) Rank and Title, 85 (215).
\(^3\) Vezirat, 45-7.
\(^4\) op. cit., 86-7 (229a).
Prosopography - ny-s'nh-3ht; iti (73)

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr [nzwt], imy-r ' nzwt 'h3w, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, wr bzt, hry-sšt3 hkr nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, zē pr-'3, smr w'ty, shd pr-'3 ?, shd zē pr-hd.

Baer has been unable to date this tomb more precisely than to the sixth dynasty, but his date for 'nh-h3f might suggest one in the reign of Pepy II for ny-s'nh-3ht. However, 'nh-h3f has been dated here to the early sixth dynasty, on the basis of the palaeography of the pr-hd group. This would suggest a date in the reign of Pepy I for his son, whose inscriptions show no such variations in writing of these signs. Certain features of the tomb of ny-s'nh-3ht support such a date. The false door has three jambs and a torus and cornice, with single columns of text on the jambs. A comparable Giza example is that in the tomb of q3r (135), which can be no earlier than the reign of Pepy I. The lintel over the entrance of the tomb bears several standing figures of the deceased separated by columns of text, and is one of a type that appears first at the end of the fifth dynasty (iy-nfrt (6)), and which is found with lesser officials from the middle sixth dynasty onwards.

Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy I, perhaps not early.

ny-sw-wsrt 74

Source: A loose granite block found in the area of the tomb of nfr (LG 99), northeast of the tomb of hnt-k3ws in the Central Field at Giza.

Bibliography: PM 32, 259.
Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.
Other Titles: None given.

This block is almost impossible to date with any precision, being totally out of context. The only useful feature is the form of the pr-hd group, which most closely resembles that found in the second half of the fifth dynasty (see below page 280). The nearby tomb of nfr would also seem to be of the middle fifth dynasty or later.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle to late fifth dynasty (??).

ny-k3i-'nh 75

Source: Tomb to the east of the Step Pyramid enclosure at Saqqara, D 48.

-----------------------

1 Rank and Title, 87 (232).
2 Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, fig. 32.
3 For a general discussion of such types, see Fischer, Dendera, 59-62, examples in Appendix C, 216-220 (IV-VIII).
4 Tomb, PM 32, 258-9; dating, Baer, op. cit., 90 (252).
Bibliography: PM 32, 577.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: hmrnfr r' hwthr m st-ib-r', hry-s3st3, hry p'h, smr, smr w'tty, shd w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, shd w'b r' m nhn-r'.

This tomb consists of a north-south corridor chapel with two false doors. The panel of one of them contains an abbreviated offering list of twenty elements in canonical order; this may indicate a date in the middle fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.G.1). Osiris is invoked in the funerary formulae, a practice not found much before the reign of Neweserre.

Few dates can be assigned with any certainty to the neighbouring mastabas in this cemetery. That of pr-sn may be dated by its inscriptions to the reign of Sahure; others discussed below (ztw (115), k3i-pw-inpw (141)) will be dated to the mid-later fifth dynasty, and there is also the tomb of m3-nfr, which belongs to the very end of the dynasty. A mid-fifth dynasty date is also permissible on these grounds.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty.

ny-k3w-izzi 76

3. Depicted among the officials in the reliefs of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara - unpublished, but see Černý Notebook 120, no. 9.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: (known at present) imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r smw, iry p't, wty inpw, h3ty-', hry wwr, hts inpw, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The details of this man and his date have been discussed in detail by the present writer (loc. cit.).

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Teti to early reign of Pepy I.

1 It may be possible to divide these titles into two stages of his career (below page 232).
2 D 45; PM 32, 577.
3 LS 17, PM 32, 575-7.
Prosopography - ny-k3w-pth (77)

ny-k3w-pth  77

Source: Unfinished false door in Manchester, University Museum 10780, exact provenance unknown, but probably from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 744-5; to be republished by the writer.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-ht pr-hd, w'b nzwt, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr r' m nbn-r', hm-ntr a3hw-r', [htm h3]t dF3w bity, zš 'nzwt m w'bt, zš 'nzwt m prwy-nwb, shd zš pr-hd, shd zš pth, shd zš hkr nzwt.

This false door does not possess a torus or cornice, and is therefore most likely of fifth dynasty date. The even length of the inscriptions on the jambs with small figures of the deceased at the bottom of each do not suggest the first half of that period.

ny-k3w-pth has a son shown on this false door by the name h'f-pth with the title zš pr-hd. A man with the same name and title appears in the tomb of ty (157). The date of this latter tomb is not certain, but will be dated below to the later reign of Neweserre. If these two representations are of the same man, ny-k3w-pth could be dated to shortly after the middle of the fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or slightly later.

ny-k3w-r'  78

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 87.


Relevant Titles: t3tyty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, imy-r pr-dhwty, h3ty-', hm b3w p, hry-tp nwb, hry-tp nwb n iti.f, hry-hb n iti.f, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, z3 nzwt smsw, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

ny-k3w-r' was a true king's son, as may be seen from the titles with n iti.f. The location of the tomb makes it almost certain that his father was Khafre. As for his mother, Reisner categorically states that it was queen pr-[snt], the owner of tomb LG 88. There actually appears to be no explicit evidence for this, and so it is presumably based on the closeness of their tombs and the fact that the owner of the other nearby tomb (LG 89, shm-k3-r' (125)) had a different mother.

1 Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. LIII.
2 Mycerinus, 242. For the tomb of this queen, see PM 32, 233.
A will inscribed in the tomb is dated to a \textit{rnpt zp} 12.\footnote{Urk. I, 16.14} From the assumptions made on page 7 above, \textit{ny-k3w-r'} would have been born in the reign of Khafre, and thus would be no older than twenty-two at the end of his father's reign, surely a little young to be making a will, although we known very little about the process at this time. \textit{rnpt zp} 12 would then apply to a successor, and only Menkaure has any possible cattle counts approaching that number.\footnote{A tomb with the names of workmen's crews of Menkaure on some blocks also has a date of an eleventh count of an unnamed king, although this particular block could have come from elsewhere at Giza (Junker, Giza X, 77-8 (9), Abb. 35 (10)).} It would thus be most logical for \textit{ny-k3w-r'} to have held his high offices in the later reign of Menkaure.

\textbf{Suggested Date:} End of the reign of Menkaure or a little later.

\textit{ny-k3w-r'} \footnote{Scott, BMMA NS 11 (1952), 118.} 79

\textbf{Source:} Tomb at Saqqara, exact provenance unknown.

\textbf{Bibliography:} \textit{PM} 3\textsuperscript{2}, 697.

\textbf{Relevant Titles:} \textit{imy-r k3t nt nzwt}.

\textbf{Other Titles:} \textit{rh nzwt ?, hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'}.

All that is known from this tomb is the name and titles above, the only information that may be gained from which is that this man could have been no earlier than the reign of Djedkare.

\textbf{Suggested Date:} Late fifth dynasty or later.

\textit{ny-k3-r'} \footnote{Scott, BMMA NS 11 (1952), 118.} 80

\textbf{Source:} Various elements of a tomb, exact provenance unknown, but said to come from Saqqara.

\textbf{Bibliography:} \textit{PM} 3\textsuperscript{2}, 696-7; many pieces unpublished.

\textbf{Relevant Titles:} \textit{imy-r šnwty nt hnw, imy-r šnwty}.

\textbf{Other Titles:} \textit{imy-r bityw nb, imy-r prw msw nzwt m prwy, imy-r phw nb, imy-r nw nb, imy-r hwty ihwty, imy-r hwty-'3t, imy-r zš mdšt nt šnwty, imy-r sb// nb, imy-r srw, imy-r \begin{math} \mathcal{E} \end{math}, wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hm-ntr ny-wsr-r', hm-ntr r' m [st]-ib-[r'], hm-ntr r' m šzp-ib-r', hm-ntr hr ///w, [hm-ntr] hr st-ib-tšwy, hm-ntr [sšh]w-[r'], hry-tp šnwty, zš wr md šm'w, šhd zš šnwty.

This tomb may have been found by Firth during his excavations in 1925-6 at the south-east corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure.\footnote{This tomb may have been found by Firth during his excavations in 1925-6 at the south-east corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure.} It cannot date earlier than the middle of the fifth dynasty because of
the appearance of the names of Neweserre in titles. Further indications support a similar date. The style of the statues would seem to be that of the middle fifth, and the surviving elements of the false door show a large figure of the deceased on the inner jambs, accompanied by his son. These jambs are wide, each bearing four columns of inscription. This resembles examples of early to mid-fifth date, and the inscriptions are cut in raised relief, another indicator of the same period (Chapter 2.I.F.1). ny-k3-r's titles are of a sufficiently high level that one might have expected him to have followed the trend towards the use of the new type of false door with cornice and torus moulding if he were to date to the later part of the dynasty.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty, not much later than the reign of Neweserre.

nb-m-3ht 81

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 86.


Relevant Titles: t3tyt z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iry p't, wr ht, [wr] 5 [pr-dhwty] ?, ḥry-sšt3 n iti.f, ht<br />, hry-hb ḥry-tp, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f [smsw], zā md3t ntr, zā md3t ntr n iti.f, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, smsw snwt, smsw snwt n iti.f.

The mother of nb-m-3ht was queen mrs-'nh III, and he is depicted in the reliefs of her tomb (G7530 + 7540) and included in statue groups.1 She seems to have been a wife of Khafre.2 On the basis of the assumptions made on page 7 above, it is likely that nb-m-3ht, as mrs-'nh's eldest son,3 was not born until at least the early part of the reign of Khafre. Schmitz argues that his apparent lack of the title zā nzwt n ht.f smsw, although he is referred to as the eldest son of mrs-'nh, suggests that the use of smsw in such titles is more an indication of rank than of simple seniority by age.4 However, this title may be restored in this tomb: the entrance drum has a gap between n ht.f and nb-m-3ht which could have fitted smsw.5 For further details which may affect the date, see above under iwn-minw (8).

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty.

--------------------------

1 Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, 25.
2 id., ib., 7.
3 id., ib., pl. XVII e.
4 Königssohn, 97-102.
5 Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 74 (no photograph given).
Prosopography - nb-k3w-ḥr; idw (82)

Source: Mastaba usurped from 3ḥt-ḥtp; hmi (3), north of the causeway of Wenis at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 627-9; for the separation of the titles of the two owners of this tomb, see Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 89-94.

Relevant Titles: imy-r ḫwt wrt š, imy-r šnwty, t3ty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-r šm'w, h3ty'-', hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt smsw, z3 nzwt smsw n ḫt.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

For the reasons for dating the usurpation of this mastaba no earlier than the reign of Pepy II, see the above article by the present writer.

Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy II, if not later.

nfr 83


Bibliography: PM 32, 64; to be published by the writer in JEA 71 (1985).

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.
Other Titles: imy-r zš 3ḥt-ḥfw, hry-sšt3 3ḥt-ḥfw.

This drum does not originate in the tomb in which it was found, but was reused as a roofing beam. Differences in titles and palaeographical considerations make it unlikely that it was taken from the tomb of a better-known nfr at Giza (84) (G2110). The most useful feature for dating is the form of the pr-hd group, which is more akin to that of the early to middle fifth dynasty than that of the sixth (below page 280).

Suggested Date: Early to middle fifth dynasty.

nfr 84

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2110.

Bibliography: PM 32, 72-4; one further fragment, Birmingham City Museum 241'57, Fischer, Varia, 31-2. Entrance drum probably that found loose in tomb G3015, now Pennsylvania Mus. E 13531 (Fisher, The Minor Cemetery at Giza, pl. 50 (5)), rather than Museum of Fine Arts 21.3080 (see above nfr (83)).

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r prwy-hd.
Other Titles: imy-r ḫ3w, imy-r hkr nzwt nb, imy-r zš 'prw, imy-r zš hryt- ' nzwt, ḫmr st ḫ3w, wr md šm'w, ḫr nzwt, hry-sšt3 nzwt m swt nb, ḫ3 hwt, ḫpr 'prw nfrw, zš ' nzwt, zš pr-3.
The tomb of nfr was perhaps the first chapel in the western cemetery after that of hm-iwnw (96) to have been fully decorated. It is also one of very few in the same cemetery to have incorporated a linen list into the design of the panel of the false door. It is possible that these and other features of the tomb date it to the reign of Khafre or a little later (Chapter 2.II.B. and C 2).

**Suggested Date:** Reign of Khafre or a little later.

### nfr-m3't 85

**Source:** Mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7060.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 183; improved readings of inscriptions from examination of excavation records in Boston.

**Relevant Titles:** t3ty z3b t3ty.

**Other Titles:** imy-iz, iry p't, wr 5 pr-[dhwt], mniw nbn, h3ty-', hry-tp nbb, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp 'h, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n htf, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The genealogy of nfr-m3't may be reconstructed from the architrave inscriptions of his false door and that of his son h'f-snfrw.1 nfr-m3't is called the son of nfrt-k3w, the 'eldest daughter of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sneferu'. On the basis of this, she is assigned the uninscribed mastaba G7050, as G7070 belongs to h'f-snfrw. As her mother is unknown, her age at the death of Sneferu is impossible to calculate, and it is possible but by no means certain that nfr-m3't was alive at the accession of Khufu. We do not know the identity of her husband; he cannot have been Khufu, as one might otherwise expect the name of Sneferu to be less prominent, and her children to have had titles with n iti.f.

If this supposition is correct, nfr-m3't would be one of the senior members of the family at the end of the reign of Khufu, at which point he would perhaps have held his important titles and decorated his tomb. Although probably not a true king's son, it is clear from his titles that he was placed on a par with those who were; his position in the reign of Khafre may have been not unlike that of 'nh-h3f (34) in the reign of Khufu.

**Suggested Date:** Early to middle reign of Khafre.

### nfr-m3't 86

**Source:** Tomb near the pyramid of Meydum, no. 16.

**Bibliography:** PM 4, 92-4.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.

**Other Titles:** iry p't, wr 5 pr-dhwt, mniw nbn, r p nb, h3ty-', hm-ntr b3 'npt, hm-ntr b3tt, hm-ntr ssmtt, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, z3 nzwt smsw, sm3 minw, sd3wty bity.

1 LD II, 16 (lower).

110
The large mastabas at Meydum probably belong to the period following the construction of the pyramid, begun probably by Huni and completed after his death by Sneferu. It is likely that men of such high rank as nfr-m3't were buried at this site because of a relationship with the king, although whether nfr-m3't was a true king's son is unknown. Schmitz would see in him a son of Huni and brother of Sneferu, a theory which best suits the location of the tomb. It is thus most likely that he would have been vizier under Sneferu. hm-ianw (96), buried at Giza, may have been a son of nfr-m3't. His tomb may be independently dated to the middle and later parts of the reign of Khufu on independent grounds, also placing nfr-m3't in the reign of Sneferu.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the reign of Sneferu.

nfr-sôm-pth; šši; wd3-h3-tti 87

Source: Northernmost tomb in the 'Rue de Tombeaux' in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 515-6; the unpublished parts are noted in JEA 66 (1980), 2; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: (in earlier career only) imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: 1. Earlier career: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt, imy-r wpt ãtpw ntr, wr md šm'm, mdw rhyt, hry-sšt3 nj wdt-mdw nbt, hnty-s dd-swt-tti, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, z3b shd zš iryw sprw, shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti.
   2. Later career: im3-', imy-iz nenh, imy-r izyw hkr nzwt, imy-r 'h-ntr šm'm, imy-r w'bty, imy-r hnty-s, imy-r htn nbt dd pt qm3t t3, imy-r swt špswt pr-r3, imy-r sqbbwy pr-r3, imy-r šwy pr-r3, imy-ht hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, iry p't, iry nfr-h3t, '3 dw3w, 'nmty, 'd-mr dp, h3ty-', hry-sšt3 njw t2 nbt, hry-tp nhb, hry i3t nbt ntrt, hry m njtrw, hry šndt nbt, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-tp nzwt pr-r3, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt.

This tomb is particularly important for the dating of the Teti pyramid cemetery. It may be divided into two parts, that published by Capart, and that recently re-excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society. In both sections, the titles connect nfr-sôm-pth with the pyramid of Teti, but in the most recently cleared part he is also given titles connected with the pyramid of Pepy I. This implies that he began decorating his tomb in the reign of Teti, was promoted at the accession of the new king and then completed his tomb. Few of the older titles appear in the newer part of the tomb.

Suggested Date: Reign of Teti to early Pepy I.
Prosopography - nfr-sšm-ś'; śši (88)

nfr-sšm-ś'; śši 88

Source: Southern tomb in the 'Rue de tombeaux' in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 511-2.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zā’ nzwt, imy-r šmnty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3nty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r i’-r nzwt nb, imy-r izwy hry htm md3t, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w’t, imy-r wpt št3t, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nzwt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r hnw, imy-r zā’ (2=5), imy-r sqbbwy pr’-3, imy-r šm’w, imy-r šn-t3 nb, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r dd pt qm3t t3, iry p’t, mdw rhyt, h3ty-’, hnty-s dd-swt-tti, hry-tp nzwt, smr w’t, shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti.1

Firth believed that this tomb was the first of the large ones to be built on this site, on the grounds of its simplicity and lack of decoration relative to the others.2 According to Baer, the title sequences place nfr-sšm-ś’ in period VIB, later than k3i-gmni (151) but the same as the owners of the other great mastabas.3 For a more thorough discussion of the relative dating of the cemetery, see above under mrrw-k3i (68). It is almost impossible to decide whether k3i-gmni or nfr-sšm-ś’ was the earlier, but the possibility of them being largely contemporary should perhaps be considered.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the reign of Teti.

nfr-sšm-sāšt; hnw 89

Source: Tomb east of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, exact position unknown, E 11.

Bibliography: PM 32, 585-6.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zā’ nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3nty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w’t, mdw rhyt, mdh zā’ nzwt, h3ty-’, hnty-s dd-swt-tti, hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr w’t, sd3wty bity.

The chapel of this tomb consists of two brick-built rooms, one of which contains a false door with side pieces. Although the details of the false door are not the same, the whole decorated surface resembles that of s3bw; ibbi (116) of the reign of Teti. The

1 One pillar in this tomb contains the three titles imy-r šm’w, imy-r gs-pr and imy-r hwt wrt, which are found nowhere else, and conceivably belongs to a pre-vizierial phase of his career (Capart, Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqara, pl. XIII (right)).
2 Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 15.
3 Middle reign of Teti to Pepy I, Rank and Title, 93 (274).
location of the tomb is somewhere between the pyramids of Wenis and Weserkaf, which kings' cartouches are found in the names of two offering bearers in the chapel. Baer dates the tomb to periods VIC or VIE. Both these dates precede the construction of the cemetery of Pepy II at South Saqqara, and the location of the tomb would then be not unlike that of others of the same period (see above idw I; nfr (22)). Kanawati has suggested that this man may be the vizier hnw depicted in the mortuary temple of Pepy II, which would provide a further attestation for the otherwise unknown hnw (108). As this is not absolutely certain, the separate listing below for hnw has been retained.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Merenre to early Pepy II.

nhbw; mry-r'-mry-'nh-pth

Sources and Bibliography:
1. Tomb in the Western cemetery at Giza, G2381: PM 32, 89-91; incompletely published - examination of excavation records and material in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r wpt nzwt mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-r hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-r qdw, '3 dw3w, mty n z3, mdh nzwt, mdh qd nzwt, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, hry-sšt3 n w'bty, hrp šndyt nbt, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-tp nzwt, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, šdq nzwt, špss nzwt, qd nzwt m prwy.

The tomb of nhbw is one of the group of mastabas of the sndm-ib family. His relationship to them is unknown, but Reisner seems to have considered him the son of hnmw-nti. A relationship to this family is evident from his titles connected with building work. From his biography it is apparent that he lived in the reign of Pepy I. One of his Hammamat inscriptions (a) is dated to rmpt m-ḥt zp 18, being the occasion of the sd festival of Pepy I. The exact length of the reign of Pepy I is open to dispute, but the highest count attested is the twenty-fifth, and so the date of the expedition is probably well into the second half of the reign.

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Pepy I.

1 Later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II, or middle reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 93-4 (275).
2 Governmental Reforms, 79.
3 ASAE 13 (1914), 249; BMFA 11 (1913), 62. Brovarski now suggests sndm-ib; mhî (121) as his father, L'égycptologie en 1979 II, 117.
5 Urk. I, 95.16.
**ntr-wsr** 91

Source: Tomb north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, no. 78 (D 1; S 901).

Bibliography: PM 32, 485.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r ẖwt wrt, imy-r zš' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.*

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt, imy-r wsht, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw m3' n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, ḫm-ntr m3arrêt, hry-wdb m ẖwt-'nh, ḫr-y-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, ḫr-y-sšt3 n mdw ntr, ḫr-y-sšt3 n mdw št3, ḫr-y-sšt3 n mdw št3 n ḫwt wrt, ḫrp wsht, ḫrp zš, ḫrp zš iry sprw, ḫrp zš nb, ḫr-y-tp nzwt, z3b 'ḏ-mr, smsw ʾizt, shḥ ṣrd wr md šm'w.*

The major problem relative to the dating of this tomb is the nature of *ntr-wsr* 's relationship to the well-dated vizier *r'-ṣps3* (95), whose mastaba is nearby. It is usually accepted that the latter is the son of *ntr-wsr*, as a son by the name of *r'-ṣps3* appears in this tomb. However, as *r'-ṣps3* had a son called *ntr-wsr*, the relationship could be reversed. Baer's conclusions are of assistance here: both *ntr-wsr* and *r'-ṣps3* date to his period VB;¹ as the latter may be dated to the reign of Djedkare on independent evidence, if *ntr-wsr* was indeed his son, he would probably date to the end of the reign of Djedkare or the beginning of that of Wenis, Baer period VC. In fact pr-nb, who is almost certainly a son of *r'-ṣps3*, belongs to the latter period,² suggesting that *ntr-wsr* was the senior of these men, and consequently may be dated to the reigns of Neweserre to Menkauhor.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Neweserre to that of Menkauhor.

---

**r'-wr** 92 (*r'-wr III*)

Source: Tomb at Giza, west of the tomb-complex of ḫnt-k3ws, LG 94.


Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nt nzwt.*

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt, imy-r mš[']*, wr ḫr-ḥḥ, z3b ḫd mr.*

Two rather different dates have been suggested for this tomb. Reisner, for reasons which are not very clear, dated it to the late fourth dynasty or early fifth,³ while Baer prefers the sixth dynasty, quoting the painted decoration in the burial chamber, the alignment of this chamber and its sloping shaft.⁴ The false door has two narrow jambs either side of the central niche, with one

---

¹ Reign of Neweserre to middle Djedkare, *Rank and Title*, 97 (294) for *ntr-wsr*.
² *op. cit.*, 71 (142); tomb, PM 32, 497-8.
³ *Giza I*, 152 (5).
⁴ *op. cit.*, 98 (299).
Prosopography - ru'-wr (92)

column of inscription per jamb, and conforms to a pattern very common at Giza from the mid-fifth dynasty onwards (Chapter 2.11E). Reasoning based on the shaft of the tomb is not particularly convincing, as the same type is found certainly in the late fourth dynasty.1 The painted decoration is a far stronger argument, generally attested first in the tombs of viziers at Saqqara at the end of the fifth dynasty, and becoming more frequent in the sixth.2

Suggested Date: Perhaps late fifth to early sixth dynasty.

ru'-wr 93

Source: Tomb west of the subsidiary pyramid in the mortuary temple of Teti, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 558; see now, Said Amer el-Fikey, The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara; also examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3'-, imy-r sm'w, iry p't, 'd-mr dp, h3ty'-, hrp 3ndyt nbt, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, sd3wty bity.

el-Fikey dates this tomb to the reign of Pepy I on stylistic and positional grounds.3 Although his date for hnty-k3i; ihhi (109) is in all probability too late, it is clearly earlier than the tomb of ru'-wr, which, with its north-south chapel, is somewhat unusual for the sixth dynasty. Malek has suggested that ru'-wr may be the vizier whose name was removed from the Dahshur decree of cattle-count 21 of Pepy I, linking this with the damage done to the name of ru'-wr in this tomb.4 The major objection to this is the partly visible title in this decree employing the signs ^ , perhaps imy-r zš' nzwt, or more likely sdtnzwt, neither of which appear in the tomb of ru'-wr. One would then have to assume that this title was given to ru'-wr after the decoration of his tomb, a more probable theory than that of el-Fikey - that it was such a common element of the titulary of a vizier that it was omitted.5

Suggested Date: Late reign of Pepy I.

-------

1 Reisner, loc. cit.
2 For example, the tomb of ny-'nh-b3 (70) in the Wenis cemetery, and all the tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery.
3 op. cit., 44.
4 See el-Fikey, op. cit., 46, also Kanawati, CdE 56 (1981), 209.
5 For possible reasons for the disgrace of ru'-wr, see el-Fikey and Kanawati, loc. cit.
Prosopography – r'-hwf (94)

r'-hwf 94

Source: Mastaba in the group of tombs at the south-west corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 633.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: hry-tp nzwt.

The tomb itself provides only vague indications for a date, in that the statues found are probably of a sixth dynasty type. It is probably later than the original Wenis cemetery, indicating the beginning of the sixth dynasty as the earliest possible date. r'-hwf may perhaps be a son of 3ht-htp (4), whose tomb is a little further to the east. A son by this name appears in the tomb of 3ht-htp with the title z3b shd zš, not attested in the tomb of r'-hwf. The two titles given above are however part of the titulary of 3ht-htp, possibly also suggesting that they were father and son. Such a relationship would date r'-hwf to the early or middle sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early to middle sixth dynasty.

r'-špss 95

Probably son of ntr-wsr (91)

Source: Tomb north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, LS 16 (S 902).

Bibliography: PM 32, 494-6.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r š3t nbt nt nzwt.
                2. When Vizier: imy-r zš ' nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy mrt, imy-r izwy hry htm [mdšt], imy-r wsht, imy-r šm'w, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, mdh zš nzwt, nst hntt, hm-ntr mš3, hm-ntr hqt, hry-wdb m hwt'-nh, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n mdw štš n hwt wrt 6, hrp wsht, hrp zš, hrp zš iry sprw, ht hš3, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, shd wr md šm'w.
                2. When Vizier: Not known.

r'-špss is one of the all too infrequent individuals who may be dated with a fair degree of precision, as two copies of a letter addressed to him as vizier from Djedkare were set up in a court south-east of the main tomb. This letter is also important as the only place in the area of the tomb where r'-špss was given the title of t3ty z3b t3ty, showing that the greater part of the tomb had been completed before his promotion, which thus seems to have

1 Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. V.
2 One, Urk. I, 179-80.
Prosopography - \( \textit{r'}-\textit{s}'\textit{pss} \) (95)

come later in life. Baer has used the title sequences of \( \textit{r'}-\textit{s}'\textit{pss} \) to help form the base chart for his period VB.\(^1\) The vizier \( \textit{sndm-ib; inti} \) (120) is perhaps one of the latest officials of this period, and may be independently dated to the end of the reign of Djedkare; he was presumably a successor of \( \textit{r'}-\textit{s}'\textit{pss} \), who may thus be dated to about the middle of that reign.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the reign of Djedkare.

\( \text{hm-}\text{iwnw} \) 96

Probably son of \( \textit{nfr-m3't} \) (86) of Meydum.

Source: Nucleus mastaba of Cemetery G4000 at Giza, west of the pyramid of Khufu.

Bibliography: \( \text{PM 3}^2, 122-3. \)

Relevant Titles: \( \text{imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.} \)

Other Titles: \( \text{iry p't, wr 5 pr-\text{dhwty, mn}\text{nw n}\text{hn, mdw hp, mdw k3-} \)

\( \text{hd, mdh z5 nzwt, mdh} \) \( \text{mr} \)

\( \text{r p nb, h3y-'}', \text{hm-}\text{nfr b3 'npt, hm-nfr b3stt, hm-nfr s3mmt, hrp} \)

\( \text{i3t nbt ntrt, hrp mrt t3-mhw s3m'w, hry-hb, z3} \)

\( \text{nzwt, z3 nzwt n htf, smr w'ty, smsw izt, sd3wty bity.} \)

The possible relationship of \( \text{hm-}\text{iwnw} \) to \( \textit{nfr-m3't} \) has been discussed in the entry for the latter. As one of the nucleus mastabas around the Great Pyramid, it is very probable that it was built in the reign of Khufu. Quarry-marks on the casing stones give more indication of the date at which it was built.\(^3\) Dates of \( \textit{rnpt zp} \) 8 and 10 are found thereon, which are probably near the end of that reign as the highest possible count suggested for Khufu is twelve.\(^4\)

Suggested Date: Middle to later reign of Khufu.

\[ \text{-------------------------------------} \]

1 \textit{Rank and Title}, 101 (315), 225.
2 The suggestion that he may have been promoted to vizier after the completion of the decoration of his tomb (Schmitz, \textit{Königssohn}, 102) is erroneous: all of the titles found inside the tomb (Junker, \textit{Giza I}, Abb. 23, a, b) occur also on the statue Hildesheim 1962 (id., ib., Taf. XXIII) with the exception of \( \text{hrp i3t nbt ntrt} \) and \( \text{t3yty z3b t3ty}; \) the probable original presence of the latter title in the tomb is suggested by the existence of the last sign of \( \text{wr 5 pr-\text{dhwty, a title borne only by viziers.}} \)
4 In the tomb of \( \text{s33t-shntyw}, \) although this could equally be of the reign of Khafre (Smith, \textit{JNES} 11 (1952), 127 (3), fig. 6).
Prosopography - ḫn-k3 (97)

ḥn-k3 97

Source: Statue, Berlin (West) Mus. 7334, and statuette, in 'Vienna Mus.' (Kunsthistorisches Museum ?), both from Meydum, exact provenance unknown.

Bibliography: PM 4, 95, 96; for Berlin 7334, see also Kaiser, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (1967), 26 (231) with plate.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmnt, imy-r ḫ'wy-snfrw, wr md ṣm'w, wd-mdw n ḫry-wdb, mdw ḫrły, nst ḫntt, z3b ḫd-ḥmr.

It is presumed that these two monuments both belonged to the same man, although the only title common to both is wr md ṣm'w. The statue would appear to be of good fifth dynasty work, perhaps of the middle of the period. Baer has dated the monuments to periods VB-C, the middle to later fifth dynasty. There is only one other certain holder of the title imy-r ḫ'wy-snfrw in the Old Kingdom, dw3-r' (162), buried at Dahshur. His titulary is not dissimilar, and he dates to the middle fifth dynasty or slightly later. The similarities of these two men may be due to a reorganisation of the cult of Sneferu that seems to have taken place at that time, and it is possible that these men were among the first to be associated with the cult of the pyramids of Sneferu.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty.

ḥzzi 98

Source: A false door found north of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, exact position unknown. Now Cairo, CG 1413.

Bibliography: PM 32, 506.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r ḫt wdt m k3t ḫft-ḥr, imy-r zā (273), ḫry-sšt3 n wdt nbt, ḫry-tp nzwt, šḥd zā ' nzwt, šḥd zā ' ḫft-ḥr.

The cornice and torus moulding of this door indicate that in all probability it is not earlier than the later fifth dynasty. The arrangement of the panel and apertures is very unusual; the panel is slightly elongated by the addition of offerings, and has very small apertures, but then, in place of the continuation of the outer jambs that is normal, figures of the deceased and his son are found. In some respects this resembles the false door of mrw (64), of the reign of Teti to Pepy I. There is a standing figure of the deceased on the architrave, a feature sometimes found in the late

1 Rank and Title, 105 (338a).

118
Prosopography - ḫkni-hnmw (99)

fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.E.1). The use of two pairs of jambs on the false door of an important official suggests a date not much later than the early sixth dynasty, while the panel arrangement suggests the later fifth or early sixth.

Suggested Date: Late fifth or early sixth dynasty.

Source: Tomb in the Central Field at Giza, near the rock-cut tombs in the cliff west of the funerary complex of hnt-k3ws.

Bibliography: PM 32, 238.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-irty 'prw imw, imy-r w3t ḥr, imy-r mš', imy-r nw ḫ3st, imy-r zt ḫ3swt, 'd-mr zt, wr md šm'w, mdw rhyt, rḥ nzwt, ḫrp mitr, ḫrp zā nb, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr.

There is little evidence for dating this tomb. The east-west offering room of the chapel would imply the existence of a false door with torus and cornice (although none has survived), and so the tomb is not likely to be earlier than the sixth dynasty for a man of this rank at Giza (Chapter 2.II.D). Baer has dated the tomb to his period VIG. Such a date does not contradict the other evidence, although it seems that many of the surrounding tombs should not be placed this late on conventional dating. Two titles held by ḫkni-hnmw are found most frequently in the later part of the Old Kingdom: imy-irty 'pr imw is found in the memphite region in the titulary of k3i-ny-nbf and at Zawayda in that of hnti; the title imy-r nw ḫ3st is also held by izt3i. A date not early in the sixth dynasty is perhaps likely.

Suggested Date: Middle sixth dynasty or later.

Source: A doorjamb in Cairo, JE 15048, provenance unknown.

Bibliography: Urk. I, 231; Dittman, ZAS 77 (1941), 9; Helck, Beamtenstitel, 112 n.5; also personal examination of original.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-iz nhn, imy-r izw, imy-r ph nb, imy-r ḫmwt nbt, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, wr w' spt, wr

1 Late reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 107 (350).
3 Martin, Hetepka, pl. 31 (74).
4 Fischer, Coptite Nome Dynasties, pl. XII (9).
5 Málek, GM 18 (1975), 29-32.
This monument is remarkable by virtue of its large collection of archaising titles, some of which would seem to be inventions on the part of the owner. It is consequently difficult to date, although such a tendency to employ ancient titles is a practice rarely encountered before the sixth dynasty.¹

Suggested Date: Early/mid-sixth dynasty or later.

**h'-inpw** 101

**Source:** Elements of a false door, provenance uncertain but probably from Saqqara; now in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 691; unpublished.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r pr-hd²

**Other Titles:** [imy-r] izwy hkr nzwt nb, imy-r wd3 n nwb m prwy pr-'3, imy-r pr 'h3w, [imy-r] pr[wy]-nwb, imy-r hkr nzwt, rh nzwt, rh nzwt pr-'3, hm-ntr b3-nfr-[ir-k3-r'], hm-ntr ny-wsr-r', hry w3wt, hry-sšt3, shd pr-'3.

The name of Neweserre is found on the column of text at the rear of the central niche, a feature only found in the period of the reigns of Neweserre to Djedkare, suggesting a middle to late fifth dynasty date (Chapter 2.I.F.I).

Porter and Moss suggest (loc. cit.) that this man is the h'-inpw shown as the son of ny-'nh-r' on statute Cairo, CG 62, and this would seem likely as both men hold the very rare title imy-r wd3 n nwb m prwy pr-'3. The vertical column of text in the central niche

¹ Helck, loc. cit.; Another tomb with a large collection of very unusual titles, that of wr-nww (Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, 21-9), is unlikely to antedate the mid-sixth dynasty by virtue of its position in the Teti pyramid cemetery.

² It is presumed that the following text, found at the end of the architrave, is to be interpreted as imy-r pr-hd, imy-r pr-'h3w (compare the lintel of mry (58)):
Prosopography - ḫ'-b3w-hnmw; biw (102)

also appears on the false door of ny-'nh-r'; the son did not follow his father's use of an offering list on the inner jambs of his door, which may represent the development of style of a generation, from the middle to the later fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle to late fifth dynasty.

ẖ'-b3w-hnmw; biw 102

Source: Tomb east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara, M 14.

Bibliography: PM 32, 684.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r śnwty, imy-r k3t nbt, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'nty, imy-r wpt, imy-r pr nmrt nzwt, imy-r pr hry-ḥdm, imy-r prwy-nbw, imy-r r3m, imy-r ḫ-y nmt nbt, imy-r ḫ-y m3t, imy-r ḫ-y nbt ntrt, ḫ-y tnh y nt, ḫ-y hbr, hbr ḫ-y hbr, ḫ-y t3, ḫ-y t3 ny w'nty, ḫ-y t3 ntrt, ḫ-y t3 tnh y ntr, ḫ-y t3 ny w'nty, ḫ-y t3 ntrt, ḫ-y t3 ny w'nty, ḫ-y t3 tnh y ntr, ḫ-y t3 ny w'nty, ḫ-y t3 tnh y ntr, ḫ-y t3 ny w'nty, ḫ-y t3 tnh y ntr.

This tomb is immediately to the east of that of mry-r'-i3m (61), and ḫ'-b3w-hnmw was considered by Jequier, presumably on archaeological grounds, to have been his successor as vizier. He is dated by Kees to the end of the reign of Pepy II, and by Baer to the third to fourth quarters of that reign.

Much depends on the interpretation of the reliefs in the mortuary temple of Pepy II. It would appear that ḫ'-b3w-hnmw erased the name of an official and replaced it with his name biw and the title im3-'. Other men by the name biw are known from South Saqqara, but the title of im3- was borne mainly by viziers at that time. Such replacement of original names in the temple shows that he was later than the period in which it was decorated.

It thus appears that three men who became vizier after the temple was built are depicted therein - mry-r'-i3m, śn'y (133) and h'-b3w-hnmw. On surviving evidence only the latter was not incorporated in some manner into the original scheme of decoration, and it is thus logical to date him later than the others. The non-appearance of the viziers ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r (72) and tti (156) suggests that they were the latest of all the holders of this office in the reign of Pepy II.

1 ASAE 34 (1934), 76.
2 Vezirat, 47-8.
3 Rank and Title, 109 (361).
4 Jequier, Pepi II II, pl. 57. The name biw has also been added without titles, id., ib., pl. 73, 88.
5 For example, the biw of tomb N 4, PM 32, 677.

121
Prosopography - h'f-minw (103)

Suggested Date: Third quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

h'f-minw  103
Son of Khufu

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7430 + 7440
Bibliography: PM 32, 195; incompletely published - examination of excavation records in Boston.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt, t3ty t z3b t3ty.
Other Titles:  iry p't, [wr 5] pr-dhwty, [wty] inpw ?, mniw nbn, r p nb, h3ty-', hry-sst3 n iti.f, hry-sst3 nzwt m
swt.f nbt, hwp 'h, ht t, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, z3 md3t ntr, smr, smr
w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, smr n iti.f.

The identity of the mother of h'f-minw is uncertain, but his father was presumably Khufu. He and k3i-w'b (140) are the only sons of that king to be called z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw; he could then be the eldest son of one of Khufu's chief queens and one of the elder children of Khufu. He would probably have been among the first children to be considered for the vizierate. Like the owner of tomb G7310 + 7320 he was vizier at the time his tomb was decorated, unlike h'f-hwfw (104) who was clearly promoted later in life. Features of the offering lists on his coffin, such as the presence of a linen list, suggest that it was made earlier than that of h'f-hwfw, possibly in the reign of Djedefre or early Khafre.

Suggested Date: Reign of Djedefre to early reign of Khafre.

h'f-hwfw  104 ('h'f-hwfw I')

Source: 1. Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7130 + 7140.
2. Statue of deceased found in the Temple of Isis at Giza, now Cairo, CG 46.
Bibliography: PM 32, 188-90 (including statue); see now, Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, 9-20.
Relevant Titles: (from statue) t3ty t z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate (from tomb): iry p't, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, w' wrw zh, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw hp, hm
b3w nbn, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr hwfw, hry-wdb m
hwrt-'nh, hwp 'h, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr
w'ty, sd3wty bity.
2. When Vizier (from statue): iry p't, wr 5 pr-dhwty, z3 nzwt n ht.f, sd3wty bity.

That h'f-hwfw was a son of Khufu is almost certain, coupling the location of his tomb with the representation of a queen, whose name
Prosopography - h'f-hwfw (104)

is lost, as his mother.\(^1\) That she was hnwt-sn, the queen buried in pyramid G1c is possible, but is no means as certain as Reisner and Smith would believe (see further below, k3i-w'b (140)).

Reisner and Smith consistently date the completion of this tomb to the end of the reign of Khufu.\(^2\) This is based solely on the date of rnt pt zp 12 of an unnamed king found on some of the casing blocks, interpreted by Smith as 'Year 23' of Khufu.\(^3\) This example could equally be of the reign of Khafre, but, more importantly, need bear but little relation to the date of decoration of the mastaba.

The offering lists in the tomb represent what is probably the earliest attempt at ordering the elements of such a list into a regular form, and it has been argued above that a date in the reign of Khafre may be a possibility for the decoration of the chapel of h'f-hwfw (Chapter 2.II.B).

If Reisner was correct and he was not the son of Khufu's chief queen, h'f-hwfw may not have been born before the beginning of his father's reign (see page 7 above). He would then be at most in his early twenties on the death of his father, perhaps too young to start decorating a tomb. He is never called eldest king's son, which title was held by k3i-w'b (140) and h'f-minw (103). On this basis also a date in the reign of Khafre would be suitable for the decoration of his tomb. His elevation to the vizierate happened after his tomb was complete, but was commemorated by the setting up of a statue in his chapel.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle to late reign of Khafre.

**h'f-hwfw** 105 ("h'f-hwfw II")

Source: Tomb at the south end of the first row of mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7150.

Bibliography: PM 32', 190; see now, Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, 21-27.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r ms', imy-r zt h3swt imntt, w'b nzwt, wr md šm'w, nat ūntt, hm-ntr ///, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', hm-ntr hwfw, ḫry-sšt3, ḫry-sšt3 n nb.f, z3 nzwt.

This tomb is next to that of h'f-hwfw I (104), and it is not impossible that some sort of relationship existed between the two. However, the tomb is not part of the original cemetery. Texts on a pillar of the offering chapel are crucial to the dating of the tomb. Three columns of text describe h'f-hwfw as im3hw hr three kings: Neweserre, Sahure and the third is unclear. Simpson initially reads it as im3hw hr h'f-hwfw, but points out that, as this

\(^1\) Simpson, op. cit., fig. 26.

\(^2\) For example, Giza II, 8.

\(^3\) Simpson, op. cit., fig. 35c; Smith, JNES 11 (1952), 127 (8).
expression tends to refer to a living king in the fourth and fifth dynasties, it would be unlikely that $h'f-hwfw$ lived for almost one hundred years, and so it may be that the name is that of Menkaure. One has then only to assume that these three kings are mentioned because they granted special favours to the tomb-owner.

The period from the beginning of the reign of Menkaure to that of Neweserre is probably about sixty years. Given that he would have had to have reached office-bearing age to be im$3hw$, he would have been quite old at the beginning of the reign of Neweserre and perhaps did not live long into it.

Suggested Date: Neferirkare to early reign of Neweserre.

$h'\text{-}mrr-pth$ 106

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 68 (C 4).

Bibliography: PM 32, 481; also examination of false door in Cairo.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r z$\ddot{e}$ ' nzwt, imy-r k$\delta$t nbt, imy-r k$\delta$t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r phw, imy-r gs-pr, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hry-tp nzwt, z$\delta$b 'd-mr.

The chapel of this tomb consists only of a niche, dated to the middle of the fifth dynasty or slightly later (period VB) by Baer. This false door, which does not have a cornice or torus moulding, has several interesting features. The panel depicts the deceased seated on the right, and is flanked by wide apertures. The lower lintel contains an offering list, and there are three narrow jambs with figures of $h'\text{-}mrr-pth$ at the bottom. Osiris is invoked in the funerary formulae. The even lengths of the jambs suggest a stage intermediate between older and newer false door types in which some features of the new type were used and others, such as the cornice and torus, omitted (Chapter 2.I.B). The offering list on the false door suggests a date in the second half of the fifth dynasty, as does the orientation of the figure on the panel (Chapter 2.I.G.2).

$h'\text{-}mrr-pth$ may be related to spdw-htp, owner of the nearby tomb 69 at Saqqara. A son of this name appears on the above false door, but the door in the tomb of spdw-htp would seem to be of an earlier type than that of $h'\text{-}mrr-pth$ in its design and the types of offerings included on the panel (Chapter 2.I.G.1). It is possible that this spdw-htp may in fact be the father of $h'\text{-}mrr-pth$.

Suggested Date: Later fifth dynasty, probably no later than the reign of Djedkare.

1 op. cit., 24, fig. 42; compare Baer, Rank and Title, 44-5.
2 op. cit., 109 (363).
3 D 15 - PM 32, 481-2. For the possible relationships, see Grdseloff, ASAE 39 (1939), 389-92.
Prosopography - hfw-htp (107)

hfw-htp 107

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the cliff to the east of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, LG 76.

Bibliography: PM 32, 212; some improvements in readings from expedition records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: shd w'b, shd dngw.

This tomb cannot belong to one of the original or early phases of the cemetery. The evidence for dating the tomb is somewhat meagre. The title sequences do not give a useful date; it is possible that the tomb may be of a similar period to that of the nearby one of 'nh-h'f-r' (G7948), of the middle fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Perhaps mid-fifth dynasty or later.

hnw 108

Source: Depicted in the Mortuary Temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: Jéquier, Pepi II II, pl. 45.

Relevant Titles: t3ety z3b \[t3ty\].

Other Titles: No further titles known.

This vizier's depiction is located away from the other reliefs of officials in the temple, and may consequently be an addition during a later phase of the decoration of the temple. For a discussion of the dating, see above under ihy-hnt (16).

Suggested Date: Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

hnty-k3i; ihbi 109

Source: Tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, to the north-east of the pyramid.

Bibliography: PM 32, 508-11.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš' nzwt, imy-r snwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ety z3b \[t3ty\], t3ety z3b \[t3ty\] m3'.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r pr-nzwt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r niwt mr, imy-r hnty-š, imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, imy-r zš \(\underline{\underline{77}}\), imy-r zšwy, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, imy-r sšr, imy-r \[stp-z3\] pr-nzwt nb, imy-r sd3wty, imy-r šwy pr-'3, imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, iry p't, w'b 200 mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, wr idt, wty inpw, h3ty-', h3ty-

-------------------

1 Baer, op. cit., 112 (374).
2 PM 32, 207-8.
As one of the largest tombs around the pyramid of Teti, and also because of its proximity to the pyramid, it is likely that at least part of this man's career was spent under that king. The existence of the title shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-ppy shows that his career extended into the reign of Pepy I as well. It is possible that he may have been vizier at the end of the reign of Teti, and continued to hold this title in the following reign, when he probably expanded his tomb.¹

Suggested Date: Late reign of Teti to early/middle reign of Pepy I.

**hnty-k3w-hr** 110

Source: False door found near the mastaba of ny-'nh-b3 (70) in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3², 629-30; unpublished - personal examination of original and Gunn Mss.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wzt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, mdw rhyt, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt, smsw izt, smsw izt m prwy.

This false door has no features which are particularly useful for dating. The earliest tombs in the area do not antedate the reign of Wenis (see 3ht-htp; hmi (3), to which reign belongs the tomb of ny-'nh-b3). The smaller tombs are almost certainly later in date, when this cemetery had lost its special position as the burial place of the highest officials of the reign of Wenis. In view of this, the dates of Baer seem very probable.²

Suggested Date: Middle to late sixth dynasty.

**hnmw; hnmw-nti** 111

Source: Tomb west of the pyramid of Pepy II, South Saqqara.


Relevant Titles: imy-r z3 ' nzwt.

---

¹ James, Khentika, 16-9.
² Periods VID or F (middle reign of Pepy II or later), Rank and Title, 116 (394).
Prosopography - hnmw; hnmw-nti (111)

Other Titles: imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, h3ty-', hrp šndyt nbt, hry-hb hry-tp, sm, smr w'ty, t3ty-sktt.

The material from this tomb is very slight indeed, comprising a jamb of the false door (not illustrated), part of the head of a statue, and fragments of painted decoration from the burial chamber. None of this is particularly usable for dating purposes. All that can be said at present is that it belongs to the reign of Pepy II, because of its location in the necropolis surrounding his pyramid.

Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy II.

hnmw-ḥtp 112

Source: False door found west of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara, in the area of tomb M 15.

Bibliography: PM 32, 684.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwt.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r zš[wy], imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, iry p't m3', iry nfr-h3t, wty inpw, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', hrp i3ts km, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The provenance and the arrangement of this piece date it to the reign of Pepy II. It is difficult to date by comparison with other doors in the cemetery as the relative chronology of most of the officials has not yet been established. That a great deal of variation is possible may be seen from the two other doors found with it.

There are however two occurrences of a hnmw-ḥtp in the pyramid temple. One is in the decoration of the antechamber, among the line of officials following ihy-hnt (16), and the other is on a fragment from the north wall of the sanctuary. The former holds the titles of h3ty-', sd3wty bity, smr w'ty and hry-hb, the latter just iry p't.

The name hnmw-ḥtp is not uncommon at South Saqqara, and it is quite possible that the temple may represent a different man. The titles therein, however, do fit the hnmw-ḥtp under discussion best of all, as he is the only one to bear iry p't and h3ty-'. Jéquier has noted that in the temple reliefs hnmw-ḥtp is preceded by a nhri, and the false door of a nhri was found together with that of hnmw-ḥtp, perhaps adding force to this identification. If so, these two men might well date to the period of, and that following, the construction of the temple.

1 Jéquier, Pepi II III, figs. 62, 64.
2 Respectively, id., Pepy II II, pl. 57 and pl. 87.
3 Two further and presumably different hnmw-ḥtp's are known from South Saqqara, PM 32, 678, 687.
4 id., Pepi II III, fig. 62.
Suggested Date: Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

_hnmw-nti_ 113

Son of _sndm-ib; inti_ (120)

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2374.
Bibliography: *PM* 32, 87; unpublished - examination of excavation records in Boston.
Relevant Titles: _imy-r prwy-hd_, _imy-r hwt wrt 6_, _imy-r zä ' nzwt_, _imy-r snwty_, _imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt_, _t3ty z3b t3ty._
Other Titles: _iw nkmwt_, _imy-r w'nty_, _imy-r prwy-nwb_, _iry p't_, _mdw rhyt_, _mdh qd nzwt m prwy_, _h3ty-', _hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt_, _hry-sšt3 n nzwt_, _hry-tp nzwt_, _smr w'nty_, _shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti._

_hnmw-nti_ is depicted as a son of _sndm-ib; inti_ in the latter's tomb, and was thus a younger brother of _sndm-ib; mhi_ (121). He was active in the reigns of Wenis and Teti, whose cartouches appear in the estate-names, and the name of Teti's pyramid is also found. Considering his relationship to the other members of the _sndm-ib_ family and his probable age, it is perhaps unlikely that he lived long into the reign of Teti, possibly serving both kings as vizier.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Wenis to early reign of Teti.

_zzi_ 114

Source: Tomb at South Saqqara, situated between the pyramids of Pepy I and Pepy II, exact position unknown, E 16.
Bibliography: *PM* 32, 689.
Relevant Titles: _t3ty z3b t3ty._
Other Titles: _imy-r hnty-š pr-13_, _wr 5 [pr-dhwty] ?_, _h3ty-', _hry wwr_, _hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t_, _[hry-sšt3 nzwt] ? m swt.f nbt_, _hry-tp nhb, hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy_, _hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp šndyt nbt, hry-hb, zä md3t ntr, sm, smr w'nty, shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, shd hm-ntr mrt mry-r' ppy._

No plan of this tomb is available, and the only surviving monument is part of the false door. From the titles above, it will be seen that the tomb can be no earlier than the reign of Pepy I, and it has been dated to periods VIC to VIF by Baer.2 Unusually for a sixth dynasty piece, the false door has wide panel apertures; there would seem to be no trace of a 'T'-shaped panel which would render it comparable to the examples found around the pyramid of Pepy II.

1 LD II, 77.
2 Merenre to middle reign of Pepy II, *Rank and Title_, 120 (414).
The employment of two jambs for the false door of a vizier is not unusual in the sixth dynasty, but is nevertheless found (tomb of r'-wr (93)). The use of three columns of text per jamb is not attested for the viziers of Pepy II from South Saqqara, but is common among the examples from the first part of his reign (such as the doors of mrr (67) and 'nh-mry-r' (33)), as well as mhw (69) from a slightly earlier period. All these features point to a date for zzi before the second half of the reign of Pepy II.

Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy I to early reign of Pepy II.

ztw  115

Source: Tomb at Saqqara, east of the Step Pyramid and south of the pyramid of Weserkaf, D 46.

Bibliography: PM 32, 577; some additional information, Spencer, JEA 68 (1982), 20-22, pl. II (2); also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zâ ' nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-[iz] nhn, mniw nhn, mnh zâ nzwt, mdh zâ nzwt, prwy, r p nb, h3ty-', hm-ntr nhbt, hry-sât3 n ///, hry-sât3 n pr-[dw3t], hry-[h]b, zâ nzwt n ht.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

This tomb consists of an L-shaped chapel with a large false door in the western wall. The door has been badly damaged by fire, probably in modern times, and apart from the remains of texts, there are registers of offering bearers and butchers on the outer jambs. This latter feature is generally found on doors of the middle to later fifth dynasty, but certainly not in the sixth. Spencer (loc. cit.) suggests the same date.\(^1\)

Suggested Date: Middle to later fifth dynasty.

ztw (?)  115a

Source: Fragment of a fowling scene, provenance unknown, now Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptische Kunst, Gl. 105


Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: /// nzwt, wr md šm'w, nst hntt, z3b imy-r zâ dd-swtt-tti ?, [z3b] 'd-mr, sm3' wd'-mdw.

The three signs  \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{images/3.png}}\)  beneath the throw-stick of the

---

\(^1\) Baer dates this tomb to the sixth dynasty (Rank and Title, 121 (419)), but it is felt that the above arguments are sufficient for this to be disregarded.
Prosopography - ztw (115a)

deceased are presumably an unusual form of the name ztw, normally written . Its provenance is almost certainly Saqqara,
whence come all memphite examples of the name of Teti in titles with the exception of the vizier hmwm-nti (113). The date is less sure, but the high quality of the depiction of the deceased parallels many examples from the reign of Teti, even though the texts have been carved with less care.

Suggested Date: Early sixth dynasty or slightly later.

s3bw; ibbi 116

Source: Tomb complex with pth-spss (probably his son) at North Saqqara, nos. 37-8 (E 1-2; H 3).

Bibliography: PM 32, 460-1.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r w'b, imy-r pr zkr, imy-r hmwt zkr m swt nbt, imy-hm ntr nfr-swtnis, imy-hm ntr dd-swttiti, w'b pth, wr hrp hmwt, wr hrp hmwt m prwy, wr hrp hmwt m prwy n hrw hb, wr hrp hmwt n hrw hb, wr hrp hmwt db3t, mhnk nzwt, hm-ntr pth, hm-ntr m3't m swt pt (for nbt ?) n hry-b3qf, hm-ntr r' m 3ht-r', hm-ntr r' m nhn-r', hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', hm-ntr r' m šzp-ib-r', hm-ntr hwthr m swt nbt, hm-ntr hr m hnt wr, hm-ntr hr hnty-mdw, hm-ntr hnty-i3t.f, hm-ntr hnty-tntn, hm-ntr zkr, hm-ntr zkr m swt.f nbt, hm-ntr dd-spss, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-sšt3 n ntr.f, hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt, hrp mhnk nzwt, hrp hmwt nbt, hrp sm, zê qd št3 n wdt-mdw, špss nzwt.

The outer jambs of the false door specifically date the texts to the reign of Teti. The title imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt only appears on the door, perhaps implying that he received that position in the same reign. Baer places him in his period UIB which begins in the reign of Teti, making the second half of the reign the most likely date.2

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Teti.

s3bw-pth; ibbi 117

Son of nhbw (90)

Source: Burial in shaft G2381a in the Western Cemetery at Giza; also a few blocks remaining from his chapel.

-------------------

1 There is a parallel to this position of the name in the tomb of 3ht-htp (4) - Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. VI.
2 Rank and Title, 121 (421).
Prosopography - $s3bw$-pth; ibbi (117)

Bibliography: Brovarski, L'Égyptologie en 1979 II, 118; further information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: $imy$-r k3t nbt nt nzw$tt$, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: $imy$-r izwy hkr nzw$tt$, $imy$-r w'bt$, $imy$-r nwt m, $imy$-r z$\$w$y$, mdh qd nzw$tt$ m prwy, h3ty-', hrp $\$ndyt nbt, hry-$\$hb, hry-tp nzw$tt$, sm, smr w'bt$, sd3wty bity.

For the arguments concerning the date of this tomb, see above under $mry$-r'-mry- 'nh-pth; pth-spss; impy (62). The only independent attestation for $s3bw$-pth is in the tomb of nhbw,1 and on current evidence it is impossible to decide which of the two sons of this man was buried in G2381a.

Baer's date does not agree with that derived here, and his discussion of the problem should be consulted.2

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Pepy II.

$s'nh$-n-pth 118

Source: Mastaba in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, immediately to the south of the complex of the sndm-ib family, G5520 (formerly G2342; LG 28).

Bibliography: PM 32, 164; unpublished - examination of expedition records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: $imy$-r k3t.

Other Titles: $imy$-r d3d3t, wr md $\$m$'w, nst hntt, rh nzw$tt$, [hm-ntr] m3$t, hry-sst3, hrp z$\$, z3b $imy$-r [z$\$, z3b 'd$-$mr$, z3b shd z$\$.

The key to providing an adequate date for this tomb may lie in its position relative to that of the sndm-ib family complex. According to Reisner, this mastaba consists of an original chapel of his type 5 with a north-south offering room and an addition to the east comprising a chapel of his type 7 with an east-west offering room.3 It is unclear when the original mastaba was built, but it is possible that the inspiration for the plan of the newer parts of the chapel may have come from the mastaba of sndm-ib; inti (120) which is most likely to have been the earliest examples of this offering room type in the Giza Necropolis (Chapter 2.11.D).

Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty to early sixth.

$snnw-k3i$; kki 119

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2041.

---

1 Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 59, fig. 2.
2 Rank and Title, 96, 292 (286B).
3 Reisner, Giza I, 264 (2).
Prosopography - snnw-k3i; kki (119)

Bibliography: PM 32, 68; not fully published - further information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r nzwt 3ht-htfw, 'd-mr grgt, rh nzwt, hrp w'b nzwt, zš ' nzwt.

Beer has noted that this tomb is earlier than most of the smaller ones in the same area, and also that snnw-k3i may appear in the reliefs in the tomb of nfr (84).1 These and stylistic features caused him to assign the tomb to the early or middle fifth dynasty.2 On the basis of the date suggested above for nfr, the early fifth dynasty would be the more likely. The chapel is one of a group distinguished by having two false doors (Chapter 2.II.C.1), between which is a depiction of the deceased seated below an offering list. This is an example of a type of layout which appears in the early fifth dynasty. snnw-k3i may be one of the first such examples, as the elements of his offering list are not separated into small compartments as in the later fashion. This criterion again favours the early fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

sndm-ib; inti 120

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2370 (LG 27).

Bibliography: PM 32, 85-7; for estates, Malek, GM 13 (1974), 21-4; also additional information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r snwty, imy-r k3t nb nb nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: imy-r iz nzwt, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r prw msw nzwt, imy-r hkr nzwt, imy-r st nb nb hnw, iry p't, mdh qd nzwt m prw, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nb nb nzwt, hwp zš, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, smr w'ty.

From his biography it is clear that sndm-ib lived most of his life in the reign of Djedkare Izezi - he speaks of carrying out works for the king, and of receiving favours from him. Furthermore there are two letters from this king to sndm-ib, one of which is dated to rntp zp 16.3 At one point the phrase min hr izzi is found which indicates that this part of the texts was composed in the reign of that king.4 The same line has the signs ; this is

1 Reisner, op. cit., pl. 30b.
2 Rank and Title, 126 (452a).
3 Urk. I, 63.11.
not the date it has been taken to be but refers rather to a period of five years, four months and three days. The exact significance of this is not clear from the context - perhaps it may mean that he had been serving in his official capacity with the accompanying titles for this period of time.

The tomb was built after his death by his son sndm-ib; mhi (121), in a period of fifteen months. mhi obtained several agreements and pieces of tomb equipment from the king, who however is not named.

There is some evidence that this king may have been Wenis. Recent work by the Museum of Fine Arts expedition at Giza has revealed the presence of a cartouche of this king in the gap left by Lepsius above the head of a figure of mhi. This must imply that sndm-ib; inti died at the earliest at the very end of the reign of Izezi. Consequently, he would have held his highest offices in the last part of the reign of that king. This is important for chronology, as sndm-ib; inti is normally dated to the middle of the reign; it also indicates that the date of rnpt zp 16 may be near the end of the reign.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Djedkare.

sndm-ib; mhi 121
Son of sndm-ib; inti (120).

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2378 (LG 26); one block in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 31705.

Bibliography: PM 32, 87-9; additional information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš' nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nb t nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy 'h3w, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r _hkr nzwt nb, imy-r sšr nzwt, iry p't, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', [hry-sšt3 nzwt m] swt. f nb t, hry-tp nzwt, smr w'ty.

sndm-ib; mhi appears in the reliefs of his father's tomb, and is recorded in the biography as having built the tomb after his father's death, probably near the beginning of the reign of Wenis. Recent research by the Museum of Fine Arts expedition at Giza suggests that mhi placed his name over that of another son in the

------------------
1 Against Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943), 59.
2 Urk. I, 64.3; the mention of the time taken must surely be stressing the speed with which it was built.
3 For example, a sarcophagus, Urk. I, 65-6.
4 Erg., Taf. XVIII; information courtesy of Dr. E. Brovarski.
5 For example, Baer, Rank and Title, 126 (455), which incidentally puts doubt on his division between periods VB and VC.
tomb of his father. The identity of this person is unknown, but is presumably an elder brother. This would consequently date mḥī later in the reign of Wenis.

On the false door in his own tomb, he relates that he was im3ḥw ḫr both Djedkare Izezi and Wenis. The varying juxtaposition of these two royal names with mḥī's titles makes it unclear whether his highest offices were held in both reigns; on the preceding evidence it would seem unlikely that he did, although he may well have attained the rank of imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt (held by all members of the family) before his father's death in the reign of Djedkare.

A date for the building of his tomb and the holding of his highest offices in the reign of Wenis would be in accord with Baer, who places him in his period VC, although doubts have been cast on the exact division between this period and the preceding VB, for which see the discussion of sndm-ib; inti.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Wenis.

sḥtpw 122

Source: Chapel in the tomb of his son k3i-m-snw (144) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 541.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt, imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r swt ḫtpw df3w, w'b ḫ'-b3w-s3ḥw-r', ḫm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r', ḫm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'.

This chapel was constructed for sḥtpw by his sons k3i-m-snw and w3ḥ-pth, and so it is reasonable to assume that the architectural and stylistic features as well as the title sequences represent the period of the sons' careers. Consequently, the major arguments for dating will be found below under k3i-m-snw. sḥtpw would thus date to the middle or later fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or later, perhaps even reign of Djedkare

shm-'nb-pth 123

Source: Tomb at the south-west edge of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7152.


Relevant Titles: imy-r zā' 'nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ṭy.

---------------------

1 Rank and Title, 126-7 (456, 456a) - middle reign of Djedkare to middle that of Wenis.
Prosopography - šhm-'nh-pth (123)

Other Titles: imy-r w'bt, imy-r w'bt pr-3, mdw rhyt, r p nb, h3ty-, ḥry-sšt3, ḥrp wsbt, ḥry-tp nzwt, z3 š ' nzwt pr-3, smr w'ty, sdw'ty byty.

This tomb is not part of the original layout of the cemetery, and must be of later date. However, its location is not dissimilar to that of h'[f-hwfw II (105) (probably reign of Neweserre), nor is the method of construction, both tombs employing massive stone blocks in a manner akin to that of the nucleus cemeteries. Thus it is possible that the two mastabas were constructed at about the same time, that of h'[f-hwfw perhaps being the earlier as it is nearer the older parts of the cemetery.

The false door is of the torus and cornice type, in many ways more similar to those at Saqqara than Giza, but the 'L'-shaped chapel is not the customary form for such a door - the east-west chapel is more frequently to be found. The vertical column of inscription at the rear of the central niche is a feature normally associated with doors of the middle to late fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.F.2). The use of raised relief for the door is also a fifth dynasty feature (Chapter 2.I.F.1), and the width of the apertures either side of the panel would suggest a date before the later fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.D). Finally, viziers from the middle of the fifth dynasty at Saqqara with this type of false door tend to have examples with three jambs (for example, ph-n-wi-k3i (45) and pth-ḥtp I (49)); perhaps this is an early example (like that of ty (157) at Saqqara) which is a transitional form between the earlier doors without torus and cornice (for example, w3š-pth (37)) and the above more developed pieces. The door of šhm-'nh-pth is by far the earliest such example known from Giza.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle reign of Neweserre.

šhm-'nh-pth 124

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 20 (D 41); offering chapel now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 04.1760.

Bibliography: PM 32, 454-5.

Relevant Titles: imy-r ḥwt wrt, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r šnwty

Other Titles: iwn kwnmt, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw m3' n ḥry-wdb, wd-mdw n ḥry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst bn't, ḥm-ntr m3't, ḥm-ntr hr-3ḥty, ḥry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt n nzwt, ḥry-sšt3 n mdw šč3, ḥrp wsbt, ḥrp zš, ḥrp zš nb, ḥry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, zš wr md šm'w.

This tomb has an east-west offering room, approached from a north-south corridor. This type of plan develops in the middle fifth dynasty and exists concurrently with the older types as well as

---

1 For the possibility that these titles may represent two separate parts of his career, see the writer's article in GM 77 (1984), 43-4 (b)
with the complex chapel, the latter of which is only found in the earliest instances with the very highest officials (Chapter 2.I.H). The false door does not seem to have a cornice or torus moulding, although with its use of narrower panel apertures and even length inscriptions on the jambs it certainly resembles the new type of door; this particular form seems to belong to the later fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.B).

Baer dates the tomb to periods VB-C or VIF. It has been suggested above (m3-nfr (54)) that the basis of period VIF is incorrect, leaving the two earlier periods possible. The indications from the false door suggest VC (middle reign of Djedkare to middle reign of Wenis) to be the more likely.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Djedkare or Wenis.

shm-k3-r'  125

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 89.


Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.

The dating of this tomb and the genealogy of shm-k3-r' are relatively secure. He is called an eldest king's son, and gives a list in his tomb of the kings before whom he was im3hw: Khafre, Menkaure, Shepseskaf, Weserkaf and Sahure. This suggests that he was born in the reign of Khafre, and as his mother was queen hdt-hknw, that king was probably his father. Likewise his tomb was decorated in the reign of Sahure, in which period he presumably died.

Suggested Date: Reign of Sahure and a little before.

s3t-htp; hti  126

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5150.

Bibliography: PM 32, 149-50.


2. When Vizier: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt, t3ty z3b t3ty.

-------------------

1 Reign of Neferirkare to middle reign of Wenis, or middle reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 128-9 (465).
2 Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 64.
3 id., ib., fig. 62.
Prosopography - ss3t-htp; hti (126)

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: ['d-mr] imw, wr md šm'w, wty inpw, rḥ nzwt, ḥry-sşšt n k3t nbt nzwt, ḥrp 'ḥ, ḥry-hb, z3 nzwt n hₜ.f, smr, sdšwty ntr imw.
2. When Vizier: iry p't, '3 dw3w, w' m wrw ḣb, wr m3 imw, wr [md šm'w], [wty] inpw, hm-ntr wnw-r ḫnty minw, hm-ntr b3 'npt, hm-ntr b3att, hm-ntr ḥr sth, ḥm-ntr šmmt, [hts] inpw, ḥrp mrt t3-mhw šm'w, ḥrp tis bity, z3 nzwt n hₜ.f smsw, zā ḥdšt ntr, smsw snwt.

ss3t-htp is not given the titles of vizier on the walls of his tomb, his highest office thereon being imy-r k3t nbt nzwt. The vizierial titles come from a nameless pair statue found in the serdab, and the difference between the two groups of titles has given rise to Junker's suggestion that the statue represents ss3t-htp's parents.1 However there is no reason why this statue should not belong to ss3t-htp, it having been placed in his tomb after the completion of the rest of the decoration.2

His tomb must however be dated to the period before he became vizier, and on stylistic grounds it may be grouped with tombs from the early fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.II.C.1). This date is in agreement with that of Baer, who places both the tomb and the statue in the early fifth dynasty, before the introduction of an organised system of ranking titles.3

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

ss3m 127

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, LS 5.
Bibliography: PM 32, 492.
Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt n nzwt, imy-r k3t n nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r istrate ntr, imy-r 'prwy n imwwy '3, imy-r pr 'ḥₜ.w, imy-r mš, imy-r ḥrpw n nfrw, w'b nzwt, hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', ḥry-sşšt, ḥry-sşšt n wdt-mdw n nzwt, ḥry-sşšt n ntr.f, ḥrp izwt ntr, ṣḥd w'b nzwt, ṣḥd hm-ntr, sdšwty ntr, sdšwty ntr m imwwy, sdšwty ntr m imwwy '3.4

This chapel has a small east-west offering room with a false door at the end of a corridor. The small size of the chapel may represent an early stage in the development of the east-west type, the earliest examples of which belong to the middle of the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.H). Such a date is also supported by the arrangement of the doorjams, as there is a larger figure of the deceased on the outer ones than on the inner, a feature not found in the

1 Junker, Giza II, 188-93, Abb. 34, Taf. XXVa.
2 cf. Schmitz, Königssohn, 73-5.
3 Rank and Title, 130-1 (473 and 473A).
4 This titulary can perhaps be divided into two parts - see below page 232.
later part of the dynasty (Chapter 2.I.B). His titles make a date before the reign of Neferirkare impossible, and his proximity to such tombs as that of pth-ḥps,¹ might suggest he was no earlier than the reign of Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty, perhaps reign of Neweserre.

ssm 128

Source and Seated statue in the Cairo Museum, CG 202, Bibliography: provenance unknown, but presumably (on stylistic grounds) from the Memphite region.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-ḥd.

Other Titles: None given.

The quality of the carving of this statue is excellent, and is typical of many famous pieces of fifth dynasty date, for example, the statue of ty (157).² Without further evidence it is not possible to date the statue more precisely.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or later (?).

ssm-nfr 129 ("ssm-nfr I")

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G4940 (LG 45).

Bibliography: PM 3², 142-3; publications checked with excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r zš hryt-’ nzwt, imy-r ṣty df3w, wr md ṣmšw, [ny] ḥwt ḥr-hpr, ḡḥ nzwt, ḥm-ntr inpw, ḥm-ntr ḥr qm³-’, ḥm-ntr ḡqt, ḣry-wdb m ḥmw-’nh, ḣry-sšt3, ḣrp ’ḥ, ḡt ḡ³, ḣry-tp nzwt, z3b ’d-mr, smr.

The title sequences of this man, according to Baer, violate the standard ones brought into use in the reign of Neferirkare, and in all probability the tomb was built before that reign.³ The scheme of decoration of the west wall discussed above (Chapter 2.II.C.1) adds support to the date from the title sequences. There it was suggested that this tomb is one of a group that show a reversal of the previous orientation of the principal figure of the deceased on the west wall, which in itself was a prelude to the alteration of the same figure from a standing to a seated position but retaining the same orientation. Such a feature would seem to date the tomb

1 PM 3², 464, securely dated to the reign of Neweserre.
2 Cairo, CG 20.
3 Rank and Title, 131 (476). This accords with Baer's independent dating, although this is based on an erroneous argument about the date of ssm-nfr III (131).
Prosopography - ssm-nfr (130)

to the early fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

ssm-nfr 130 ('ssm-nfr II')

Source: Tomb in the cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5080 (old 2200).
Bibliography: PM 3^2, 146-7; chapel almost completely unpublished - examination of excavation records in Boston.
Relevant Titles: imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.
Other Titles: imy-r pr h3w m prwy, hry-sš3t3, hry-sš3t3 n wdt-mdw nbk nt nzwt, hry-sš3t3 n hryt- ' nzwt, zš ' nzwt, zš ' nzwt n sb3yt nzwt, zš hryt- ' nzwt.

In reconstructing the ssm-nfr family tree, perhaps the greatest problem is the identity of the father of ssm-nfr II, since the obvious candidate, ssm-nfr I (129), had a wife with a different name (imn^df3s) from that of the mother of ssm-nfr II (mrt-itis).

It is reasonably certain that ssm-nfr II was the father of ssm-nfr III (131), and from this may be dated approximately to the reign of Neweserre.

Junker believed that a scene from this tomb was copied from that of iy-mry,\(^1\) and that there was some connection between the two may be shown by the presence of the estate grgt-iy-mry in the tomb of ssm-nfr II.\(^2\) iy-mry is probably to be dated to the reign of Neweserre, which supports the date suggested above for ssm-nfr.

Suggested Date: Early in the reign of Neweserre.

ssm-nfr 131 ('ssm-nfr III')

Son of ssm-nfr II (130).

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5170. Chapel now in Tübingen, Ag. Inst. der Universität, Inv. 3.
Bibliography: PM 3^2, 153-4; for the chapel see now, Brunner-Traut, Die altÄgyptische Grabkammer Seschemnofers III aus Gisa.
2. When Vizier: imy-r k3t nbk nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r prwy h3w, nst ḫntt, hry-sš3t3 n wdt-mdw nbk nt nzwt, hry-sš3t3 n nzwt, z3b ḫ-d-mr.

\(^1\) Junker, Giza III, 71.
\(^2\) See Baer, Rank and Title, 131-2 (477).
2. When Vizier: imy-iz, imy-r prwy 'h3w, h3ty-', hry-sśt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sśt3 n pr-dw3t, ht minw, hry-ḥb, z3 nzwt n ḫt.f, smr w'ty.

Baer has dated this tomb to the early part of the reign of Djedkare. He quotes the arguments of Grdseloff, who has however erred in reading rnpt zp 5 for rnpt 5 in the biography of snm-ib; inti (120), and consequently his succeeding argument loses much of its validity.2

Junker's argument for a date begins with the mastaba of d3ty (164) (G5370) which, as will be seen below, dates to the reign of Neferirkare or a little later. Against the rear wall of this was built the tomb of r'-wr I (G5270),4 and sśm-nfr III used r'-wr's rear wall for his tomb. Allowing for a degree of separation in date, this places sśm-nfr in about the reign of Menkauhor. Furthermore, in the tomb of r'-wr II (G5470)5 was found a sealing of Djedkare. If this were a little later than the tomb of his brother, the reign of Djedkare would be a possible date for sśm-nfr III (as advanced by Grdseloff, but on erroneous grounds).

sśm-nfr received his promotion to the vizierate after most of the decoration of his tomb had been completed, perhaps placing his vizierate in the later of the two reigns mentioned above.

Suggested Date: Reign of Menkauhor to early/middle reign of Djedkare.

sśm-nfr; ḫb3 132

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara, south of the group of tombs of the family of ḫtp I (49), E 8.

Bibliography: PM 32, 595; for some blocks see Aubert, Or 44 (1975), 1-11.

Relevant Titles: imy-r ḫwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, wr md śm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, nst ḫntt, ḫm-ḥntr m3't, ḫm-ḥntr nfr-dd-k3-r', ḫm-ḥntr ntr-swtn-k3w-hr, ḫm-ḥntr ḫqt, hry-sśt3, hry-sśt3 n wdt-mdw, [hry-sśt3] n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, ḫrp wsḥt, ḫrp zš ḫt wṛt, ḫt ḫ3, hry-tp nzwt, zšb 'd-mr, zš n z3 nfr-dd-k3-r'.

Relatively little is known about this tomb except for the false door and some estates, and no plan of it has ever been published. Baer has dated it to period VB, in the reign of Djedkare.6 It is interesting that sśm-nfr may have usurped the tomb, but the extent

1 ASAE 42 (1943), 59.
2 Rank and Title, 132 (478).
3 Junker, Giza III, 13-4.
4 Probably a son of sśm-nfr I, PM 32, 158.
5 Probably a son of sśm-nfr II, PM 32, 162-3.
6 op. cit., 133 (482).
of this is unclear from the published material. The false door has a torus moulding and three jambs with figures of the deceased at the bottom. A very unusual feature is the representation of the deceased standing on the panel, which may, albeit on very little evidence, be a feature of some false doors of the later fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.C).

The area of Saqqara in which the tomb of šm-nfr was probably found does not seem to have been used before the time of the family of pḥt-htp I (reign of Djedkare and after), supporting a late fifth dynasty date.

Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty.

šn'y 133

Source: Tomb north-east of the pyramid complex of Pepy II at South Saqqara, N. 5.

Bibliography: PM 32, 678.

Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r šm'n w, iry p't, h3ty-'; sd3wty bity2

This is the only tomb of a vizier in the north-east sector of this cemetery, those of the others being east of the pyramid. Kees placed him after mry-r'-i3m (61) in the second half of the reign of Pepy II. A man of the same name appears twice in the decoration of the mortuary temple. In the first occurrence he is smr w'ty and hny-hb, while in the second he is smr w'ty, with t3ty z3b t3ty added at a later date. Jéquier notes that the name is rather rare, and consequently it is almost certain that this is the same man as the tomb owner, who was of the rank smr w'ty when the temple was built, and was later promoted to the office of vizier. His position in the temple is thus similar to that of mry-r'-i3m. If, as Jéquier believed, the latter had the oldest tomb in the cemetery, it is likely that šn'y was his contemporary and immediate successor as vizier.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Pepy II.

šdy-pṭh; šdw 134

Source: A false door and architrave from the Teti pyramid cemetery, exact position unknown. Architrave now in Rosicrucian Museum, RC 1737.

1 Aubert, op. cit., 3-4.
2 Some are doubtless lost due to the damaged state of the tomb.
3 Vezirat, 50-1 ("prj").
4 Respectively, Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 59 and 73.
5 op. cit., 50.
Prosopography - šdy-pth; šdw (134)

Bibliography: PM 32, 545; architrave to be published by the writer in JEA 71 (1985).

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r wpt mn-neh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, w'b 200 mn-neh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, mtyn z3, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, shd pr-t3, shd pr-nzwt, shd db3t.

One of the titles borne by šdy-pth mentions the pyramid of Pepy II, and he is thus later sixth dynasty at the earliest. Most Old Kingdom monuments from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery date either from the beginning of the sixth dynasty through to perhaps the beginning of the reign of Pepy II (including all the large mastabas), or from the end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, monuments of the intervening period at Saqqara coming largely from the area around the pyramids of Merenre and Pepy II. Mention of the pyramid of Pepy II in the Teti pyramid cemetery is very rare, and it is perhaps likely that these monuments are of the end of the sixth dynasty or later.

Suggested Date: End of Old Kingdom, possibly even First Intermediate Period.

q3r; mry-r'-nfr 135

Probably son of idw (23).

Source: Tomb north of the first row of mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7101.

Bibliography: PM 32, 184-5; see now, Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, 1-18.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, iwn knmwt m3', [imy]-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, imy-r niwt 3ht-hfw, imy-r niwt ntr-mn-k3w-r', imy-r hnw, imy-r zä n 'prw m pr[wy], mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-sst3 n wdt nbt, hry-sst3 n k3t nbt, hnty-š mn-nfr-r-my-r' ppy, hry-tp nzwt, z3b imy-r zä, z3b imy-r zä n k3t nbt, z3b zä (from the tomb of idw), [zä]' nzwt, zä ' nzwt hft-hr, zä ' nzwt hft-hr m3', smr w'ty, shd w'b wr-h'[f-r'.

The question of q3r's relationships and possible date will be found above in the discussion of his father idw.

Suggested Date: Reign of Merenre to early Pepy II.

k3i 136

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 63 (D 19).

Bibliography: PM 32, 479.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r zä' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.
2. When Vizier: \(\text{imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zŠ'}\) nzwt, \(\text{imy-r k3t nb} nt nzwt, t3\text{ty} ty z3b t3\text{ty.}\)

Other Titles:
1. Before Vizierate: \(\text{iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy nw pr md3t, imy-r izwy nw pr hry-wdb, imy-r izwy nw mrt, imy-r izwy nw hry \text{htm md3t 'nzwt, imy-r wpt nt nzwt, imy-r wsht, imy-r swt htpw df3w, wr mdūm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, mdūm zŠ} nzwt, nst htt, hm-ntr m3t', hm-ntr hr qm3', hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr sd (?) hnty wsht.f, hry-sšt3 n wd-mdw nb t nt nzwt, hrp zŠ iry sprw, hty h3, hry-tp nzwt, z3b \text{'d-}mr, shd hm-ntr.\)
2. When Vizier: \(\text{iwn knmwt, imy-r iz n 3ms, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r hrp zŠ'} \text{'nzwt, imy-r hrp zŠ nb m pr hry-wdb, imy-r hrp zŠ nb m mrt, imy-r hrp zŠ nb m rhyt, imy-r hrt, imy-r hkr} nzwt m izwy, imy-r zŠ (\text{222}), \text{imy-r swt nb} nt \text{'i-r nzwt, imy-r swt htpw df3w, imy-r sty df3w, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3t', hm-ntr hr mhyt, hm-ntr hr hry-ib 'h, hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr sd, hry-wdb rhyt, hry-wdb hwt-'nh, hry-sšt3 n wd-mdw nb nt nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zŠ [iry] sprw, hrp zŠ md3t, hrp zŠ nb, hty h3, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt m prwy, zŠ wr mdūm'w, shd wr mdūm'w.\)
3. From either period: \(\text{imy-r ūm'w, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-}mr\)

Baer has dated this tomb on the basis of its title sequences to period VC, middle of the reign of Djedkare to middle reign of Wenis.\(\text{2}\) There are however reasons for preferring an earlier date. If one were to follow Baer, then k3i would be the only vizier of Djedkare to be buried in the northern cemetery at Saqqara, most of the others having tombs closer to the Step Pyramid.\(\text{3}\) Neither of the two inscribed false doors in the tomb show the arrangement of features found in other viziers' tombs of Baer's period VC, which are of the newer pattern with a cornice and torus moulding, set in the west wall of an east-west offering chapel (Chapter 2.I.A and H).\(\text{4}\) The door illustrated by Mariette exhibits some features which liken it to much earlier examples.\(\text{5}\) The use of only two jambs either side of the central niche is unlike those of the viziers of Djedkare, as is the number of columns of inscription on them (four to five per jamb). Neither does there appear to be a torus moulding, although this is often not made clear in Mariette's publication. These features recall doors such as those of \text{ny-'nh-shmt} of

---

1 These titles (and \text{imy-r zŠ'}' nzwt) are found on the offering stands, Cairo CG 1299, 1302; it is not clear in which part of the tomb they originated (Mariette, Mastabas, 229). For an explanation of the two other divisions, see Strudwick, GM 77 (1984), 44 (c).
2 \text{Rank and Title, 138-9 (505).}
3 For example, \text{r'-šps} (95) and \text{pth-hyp} I (49).
4 Such as \text{pth-hyp} I (49), \text{ph-n-wi-k3i} (45), and \text{sndm-ib; inti} (120).
5 \text{op. cit., 228.}
the reign of Sahure,\(^1\) and \(w3\)-\(p\)-\(th\); \(izi\) (37) of the reign of Neferirkare. The invocation of Osiris in the funerary formulae suggests that \(k3i\) is not as early as these two examples.

On the basis of these criteria, a date in the middle of the fifth dynasty preceding the common appearance of the newer type of false door would seem very likely.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty, perhaps early in the reign of Neferirkare.

\(k3i\) \(^{137}\)

Source and Bibliography:
An offering stand in Cairo, CG 57048, perhaps from Saqqara.
Relevant Titles: \(imy-r\) prwy-hd, \(imy-r\) k3t nbt nt nzwt.
Other Titles: \(imy-iz\) nh, \(iti\) minw, \(wd-mdw\) hry-wdb, \(hry-wdb\) m hwt-'nh, \(hry-s\)-\(st\)3 n pr-dw3t, \(hry-s\)-\(st\)3 n mdw ntr, hrip 'h, hry-hb, smr, smr w'ty n mrwt.

The difference in titles suggests that this piece did not belong to \(k3i\) (136). It presents few useful dating criteria; most helpful is the form of the pr-hd group employed in the title \(imy-r\) prwy-hd, which is that most commonly found in the middle of the fifth dynasty (see below page 280).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the fifth dynasty.

\(k3i-\)'pr \(^{138}\)

Source: Tomb in the cliff to the east of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7814.
Bibliography: PM 32, 205; virtually unpublished - examination of expedition records in Boston.
Relevant Titles: \(imy-r\) k3t.
Other Titles: \(imy-r\) pr hm-k3, nh nzwt.

The only inscription in this tomb is the poorly preserved drum over the entrance, and consequently there is little material usable for dating purposes. Many of the tombs in the vicinity seem to be of the fifth to early sixth dynasties, which may also apply to \(k3i-\)'pr.

Porter and Moss give as one of the titles of \(k3i-\)'pr that of 'Overseer of the Two Treasuries'. The title in question is written as in example A below, from Petrie's copy in the Sayce Manuscripts. Example B is taken from a photograph of the text in Boston (Expedition number B 8644), and shows that the signs in question are to be read \(imy-r\) pr hm-k3, or \(imy-r\) pr, hm-k3. The reading of this as a

\(^{1}\) Cairo, CG 1482.
A treasury title would postulate an arrangement of the signs unparalleled in the Old Kingdom.

It is further probable that the drum of this tomb was also copied by Mariette, since if the drawing on *Mastabas*, 540 is reversed, the same texts are found as in the Boston photograph.

**Suggested Date:** Uncertain, perhaps middle fifth to early sixth dynasty.

**Source:** Tomb from Saqqara, exact provenance unknown, but probably from the Northern Cemetery.

**Bibliography:** *PM* 3², 501.

**Relevant Titles:** *imy-r k3t nzwt.*

**Other Titles:** *iwn knmwt, imy-r mš', wr md ŋm'w, wd-mdw [n hry-wdb], mniw s3bwtx, nfr, hry-sšt3, hrp pr-hd, hrp st dfšw, hrp tm3, z3b 'd-mr, z3b zš, z3b zš mdšt, z3b šhd zš, zš pr mdšt, zš mrw s3bwtx, zš mš' nzwt m idš, zš mš' nzwt m wnt, zš mš' nzwt m htyw fkšt, zš mš' nzwt m hšswt imntt i3btt, zš mš' nzwt m srr, zš mš' nzwt m tp3.*

Fischer dates this tomb to the early fifth dynasty, principally by virtue of its similarity to tombs of that period at Giza. ¹ In addition, the form and content of the offering list exhibit features which probably antedate the widespread adoption of the canonical offering list (Chapter 2.I.G.I).

He also discusses the possible relationships of *k3i-špr* to other known officials;² the least likely, as he admits, is that *k3i-špr* may be the son of *iy* (5). This latter man has been dated above to the second half of the fifth dynasty, which renders this identification rather improbable. None of Fischer's possible relationships are in fact definite enough to be used as firm criteria for dating.

**Suggested Date:** Early fifth dynasty.

---

¹ *JNES* 18 (1959), 234.
² *op. cit.*, 254-5
Prosopography - k3i-‘h3f (139a)

k3i-‘h3f 139a

Source: Fragments of a false door found in tomb 7 at Dahshur, east of the northern pyramid of Sneferu.

Bibliography: PM 32, 890

Relevant Titles: [imy-r] k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: /// m swt.f nbt, imy-r mš', imy-r ḫm-ntr, imy-r [h'(wy)]-snfrw, wr md šm'w, ḫm-ntr ? ḫr-snfrw ?, ḫm-ntr [snfrw], ḫry-sšt3 n ///, ḫrp ḫm-ntr, z3 nzwt n [ḥt.f].

The dating of k3i-‘h3f presents the same problems as that of several other king's sons buried at Dahshur, that is, although some features suggest the fifth dynasty, others point to a date associated with a resurgence of the cult of Sneferu in the late Old Kingdom. The tomb plan suggests the fifth dynasty, while the titles may indicate a late date. The dating remains unclear; one wonders whether it is possible that some fifth dynasty tombs may have been usurped at the end of the Old Kingdom.

Suggested Date: Unclear; middle fifth dynasty or late Old Kingdom.

k3i-w'b 140

Son of Khufu

2. Statue, Cairo Museum JE 40431, found at Memphis, reinscribed by ḫ'-m-w3st in the 19th dynasty.

2. PM 32, 864.

Relevant Titles: t3tyt z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, iry p't, '3 dw3w, wr md šm'w, [w]r 5 [pr-dhwty], ḫ3ty-', ḫm-ntr srqt, hts inpw, ḫrp i3t nbt ntrt, ḫry-hb ḫry-tp, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ḫt.f, z3 nzwt n ḫt.f smsw, smr w'ty n mrwt.

The title of vizier has not been found in the tomb, and so it is unclear whether he held the title while it was being constructed, although traces exist which may be the title wr 5 pr-dhwty, only held by viziers. That k3i-w'b and the other individuals buried in the eight double mastabas between that of 'nh-ḥ3f (34) (G7510) and the pyramids of the queens are children of Khufu is not doubted, either because of mentions of the parent(s) in the tombs, or because of the presence of titles with the tag n iti.f.

1 Respectively, Baer, Rank and Title, 139-40 (511A); Schmitz, Königsohn, 150-1.
A damaged inscription in the tomb may be reconstructed to show k3i-w'b as the son of queen mrt-itis, a wife of Khufu; her relationships may be established from the now lost stela discovered by Mariette. It is usually assumed that she was the principal wife of Khufu and k3i-w'b the crown prince. One would not dispute the relationship between k3i-w'b and mrt-itis, but the assertion that he was crown prince is based solely on the location of the latter's tomb in the Eastern Cemetery, close to what is supposed to be the pyramid of the chief queen, who in turn is assumed to have been mrt-itis. Consequently k3i-w'b is presumed to have died before his father, which is by no means certain but is a logical conclusion if the previous assumptions are believed.

If the oldest burial in this group of mastabas is indeed that of k3i-w'b, then it somewhat contradicts the practice seen in the Western Cemetery that the earliest burials (in cemetery G4000 in particular) are usually those nearest to the nucleus mastaba. However it is also possible that the order of building in the Eastern Cemetery is different from that normally assumed (see above, 'nh-h3f (34)). Further problems arise from the arguments of Reisner and Smith, who believe the unnamed queen, the mother of h'f-hwfw I (104), to be hnwt-sn, the owner of the third queen's pyramid (Glc), because of the proximity of the tomb of h'f-hwfw to this pyramid. However this makes no allowance for the children of the queen (name lost) buried in pyramid Glb; Smith speaks of h'f-minw as being a son of hnwt-sn, and ddf-hr and the owner of G7310+7320 as being sons of mrt-itis by extension of the arguments given above.

Consequently, one must be somewhat sceptical of these assumptions of family relationships based solely on tomb position. On grounds of age it is unlikely that k3i-w'b could have been vizier much before the end of the reign of Khufu, and if he were indeed crown prince, then the interesting possibility is raised that many kings may have been vizier before their accession. This practice is otherwise unattested in the Old Kingdom, and would certainly add many viziers to those already known. If as seems likely, he was promoted to the vizierate after the completion of the decoration of his tomb, the possibility of his being crown prince must surely be reduced, as he would not have prepared a tomb when he would have had to build a pyramid as king.

Suggested Date: Perhaps late reign of Khufu or slightly later.

---------------------
1 Simpson, op. cit., 3-4, fig. 13.
2 Reisner-Smith, Giza II, fig. 8a.
3 Simpson, op. cit., passim; Reisner-Smith, op. cit., passim.
4 id., ib., 6.
5 loc. cit.; Simpson, op. cit., fig. 26.
6 op. cit., 7-8.
This tomb seems to have consisted of two cruciform chapels with a niche between them. The only decorated (and published) false door was in the southern chapel, the only relief decoration in the northern. Somewhere in the tomb (location unclear from the publications) was a painting of a palace-facade false door.

Baer dates this tomb to period VIF. However, it has been shown above (m3-nfr (54)) that his ranking chart for this period is highly suspect, and it should not preclude an earlier date. It is clear that m3-nfr and k3i-pw-inpw have not dissimilar titularies and may well be of similar date. The false door panel is inscribed with sixty-three elements of the canonical offering list. Such a feature seems to be found around the middle of the fifth dynasty and a little later (Chapter 2.I.G.2); other examples of such lists in cruciform chapels may be found in the tombs of šhm-k3i and hnmw-htp. As published, the false door has only one pair of jambs, and the panel is flanked with wide apertures. The relief (except for that of the offering list) would seem to be raised. These features point to a fifth dynasty date, as are probably the other tombs in the same area east of the Step Pyramid.

Suggested Date: Middle to later fifth dynasty.

The sum of our knowledge of this tomb is its plan and the titles from the false door. The plan has been compared to that of the vizier nfr-sšm-sš3t (89), probably from the same area. This is the only comparison to be made on the evidence currently available: nfr-sšm-sš3t probably dates to the middle of the sixth dynasty.

1 Middle of the reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 140-1 (515).
2 Respectively, Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII; Cairo, CG 1423.
3 Baer, op. cit., 141 (516).
Prosopography - k3i-pw-r' (143)

Some relationship may have existed to the k3i-pw-inpw above (141) especially as a number of titles are common to both titularies. It would appear that plural strokes are found in this tomb, suggesting a date not early in the sixth dynasty.\(^1\)

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle sixth dynasty.

k3i-pw-r' 143


Bibliography: PM 32, 455-6.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r pr-hd n hnw.

Other Titles: imy-h,t pr-hd, wr bzt, ny z3 'prw nzwt ?, hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', hry-sšt3, zš 'prw nzwt, zš hkr nzwt, shd zš pr-hd.

The chapel is of the north-south type with, unusually, the entrance in the north wall. It is fully decorated, and there is a false door at the southern end of the west wall. It can date no earlier than the reign of Djedkare, whose name appears in the tomb. This door is one of a small group which have the deceased facing left on the panel and lintels and which may all be of similar date (Chapter 2.I.C and E.1); two of them, those of 'nb-m-'-r' and šḥm-'nb-pth (124), are situated quite near that of k3i-pw-r'. The latter's false door does not appear to have a cornice or torus, and yet has three pairs of jambs with inscriptions of even length, and figures of the deceased at the bottom of each. Such features are perhaps to be considered as indicative of a transitional style between the older and newer false door types, evident in the later fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.1.B).

Suggested Date: Reign of Djedkare to end of the fifth dynasty.

k3i-m-snw 144

Son of šḥtpw (122)

Source: Brick-built tomb in the western part of the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 541-2.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnw.t.

Other Titles: /// b3-nfr-ir-k3-r', imy-r bh't nbt nt nzwt, imy-r bh't nt nzwt, w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', w'b s3hw-r', rḥ nzwt, hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', hm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r', hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', hm-ntr r' ḫwthr m st-.

\(^1\) Mariette, Mastabas, 416.
This tomb was in fact built for at least three individuals: k3i-m-snw, shtpw, and wr-dd-pth, whose relationship to the other two is unclear. The question of the dating has been very much linked with that of the neighbouring tomb of the family of k3i-m-ḥz̄t, due to the similar location, plan and construction.

When found, the tomb of k3i-m-snw was dated by its excavators to the period immediately preceding the construction of the tombs of k3i-gmn (151) and mrrw-k3i (68), although the reasons for this are not clear. Such a date has been rejected by Kees, principally for k3i-m-ḥz̄t, but also for k3i-m-snw. He compares particularly the similar position of the smaller mastabas north of the main group on this site, which are probably of the late reign of Pepy I. In his discussion Baer points out the evidence in favour of a late fifth dynasty date, but on the basis of the title sequences assigns it to period VID (early to middle reign of Pepy II).

Thus the main problem is whether this tomb antedates or post-dates the construction of the major tombs in the cemetery. Firstly, although at first sight the location would seem to parallel that of the above mentioned small brick mastabas behind the major tombs, in fact those of k3i-m-snw and k3i-m-ḥz̄t are away to the south-west and west of them at a distance. These two tombs are also much larger than the other group. As it is built of brick, the mastaba of k3i-m-snw is unlikely to be a companion of the great tombs; its owner is also of lower rank, as the majority of the occupants of these large tombs were viziers. There is thus no reason not to see this area as a fringe of the main fifth dynasty cemetery at North Saqqara.

The discovery of a cylinder seal of Pepy I in the debris over the tomb of k3i-m-ḥz̄t cannot be used to prove a sixth dynasty date, as such a small object could have found its way there very easily over a long period of time. Perhaps more significant is the discovery of a sealing of Djedkare in one of the burials in the tomb of k3i-m-snw; while this cannot definitely prove a late fifth dynasty date, it is perhaps more likely that a proper burial incorporating such a sealing would not have been made very long after the reign of the king in question.

The design of the chapel and false doors points to the earlier date. The chapels of both mastabas have a hall leading to a cruciform offering room. Such a design is far more typical of the fifth than the sixth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.H), and it would appear that

---

1 Those of hry-tp šnwt and imy-r ḫḥt nb t nt nzwjt come from the dedication inscription in the tomb of his father; they may perhaps belong to an earlier stage of his career.
2 PM 32, 542-3.
3 Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 31.
4 WZKM 54 (1957), 98-100.
5 Rank and Title, 143-4 (528).
6 Quibell-Hayter, Teti Pyramid, 19.
7 Firth-Gunn, op. cit., 36, 169 (7).
none of the other mastabas in the cemetery employ such a plan, but use rather the east-west offering room with the false door occupying the whole western wall. All these latter tombs also have false doors of the cornice and torus moulding type, which features are absent in the tomb of k3i-m-snw (no doors have survived in the tomb of k3i-m-hzt).

**Suggested Date:** Perhaps end of the fifth dynasty.

### k3i-m-qdi 145

**Source:** Tomb at North Saqqara, LS 14.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 494.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r pr-hd.

**Other Titles:** imy-r esr nzwt, w'b nzwt, ḫm-ntr r' [m] st-ib-r', ḥry-sšt3.

The only surviving decoration in the north-south offering room of this tomb is a false door. The chapel itself is unusual in that the entrance is from the south. Salient features of the false door are the panel apertures decorated with figures, and the abbreviated list of oils on the panel itself. The two features are indicative of the fifth dynasty, and the brief oil list is generally found about the middle of the period (Chapter 2.I.G.I).

**Suggested Date:** Perhaps early to middle fifth dynasty.

### k3i-m-tnnt 146

**Source:** Tomb north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, no. 84 (D 7; S 919).

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 489; biography, Schott, Fs Otto, 443-61.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

**Other Titles:** [imy-irty] ḫprwy imw, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, imy-r mš', imy-r šb3yt msš nzwt, z3 nzwt, smr w'ty, sdšwty ntr, sdšwty ntr m imwwy '3, dd nrw ḥr m ḥšw3t.

The most important remains from this tomb are the damaged parts of a biographical inscription, in which there is a mention of a vizier r'-šps. From the context it appears that r'-šps was active at the same time as k3i-m-tnnt, and is presumably the man of that name buried not far from the tomb in question (r'-šps (95)). That k3i-m-tnnt was the younger of the two is suggested by the relative lack of titles in his biography. In general however, fifth dynasty biographies do not enumerate many titles, and so one should not base too many conclusions on the above observation. Support is

---

1 Urk. I, 183.12 and 17; Schott, op. cit., 461c, Abb. 5.
2 id., ib., 452.
however given to this suggestion by Baer, who places k3i-m-tmnt in period VC (middle reign of Djedkare to middle reign of Wenès)\(^1\) and r'-śpss in period VB (Neferirkare to Djedkare).

Suggested Date: Perhaps later reign of Djedkare.

### k3i-ny-nbfwi; hnw

**Source:** A small tomb within the Temenos Wall of the mastaba of mrrw-k3i (68) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 537.

**Relevant Titles:** imy-r šnwty.

**Other Titles:** imy-r šm'w, hry-tp nzwt.

There is a son of mrrw-k3i by the name of hnw mentioned in the former's tomb, but there are reasons for doubting whether this man is the same as k3i-ny-nbfwi; hnw.\(^2\) Baer dates k3i-ny-nbfwi to the First Intermediate Period,\(^3\) admittedly on the evidence of very few titles.

The only elements to survive from this tomb are the false door and offering table. The door seems to be a typical late Old Kingdom product with a torus and cornice. The late date is emphasised by the elongation of the figures of the deceased. It is perhaps possible that the arguments concerning the location of the tomb of ttw (160) apply here, that in the Intermediate Period tombs may have been set up in close proximity to the great mastabas of the earlier period. Such a suggestion would explain the location of the tomb, and provide support for Baer's date.

Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period.

### k3i-nfr

**Source:** Tomb at Dahshur, east of the northern pyramid of Sneferu, no. 28.

**Bibliography:** PM 32, 893; for Louvre E11268 see now, Ziegler, RdE 31 (1979), 120-34.

**Relevant Titles:** t3tyty z3b t3ty.

**Other Titles:** iwn knmwt, imy-iz nhn, imy-r wpt, imy-r h'-snfrw, iry p't, [w'] wrw hb, wr m3 iwnw, wr npt, wr 5 pr-dhwty, wd-mdw n [h]ry-wdb, mniw nhn, mdw rhyt, r p nb, h3ty-', h3ty- 'n iti.f, hm b3w p, hm b3w nhn, hm-ntr wnw nzwt, hm-ntr b3tt m swt nbt, hm-ntr hr mhyt, hm-ntr hr nb-m3't, hm-ntr hr nb msn, hm-ntr sbk mhyt ?; hm-ntr snfrw, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 hr nb-m3't, hry-tp nb nb, hts inpw, hrp 'h, hrp w'b, hrp hm-

---

1 Rank and Title, 144 (530).
2 Baer, op. cit., 115-6 (389a).
3 op. cit., 145 (533).
The mid-fourth dynasty date given to this tomb by Baer among others is somewhat problematical. Firstly, it is later than one would expect if k3i-nfr were a son of Sneferu as suggested by the inscriptions; secondly, the false door has more in common with those of the middle fifth dynasty (wide jambs with many columns of text and also a large figure of the deceased), than those of members of the royal family of the fourth dynasty.

Recently Schmitz has proposed that, due to all the unusual features of the tomb, it should be dated to the late Old Kingdom, and that k3i-nfr 's tenure of the vizierate was wholly honorific. The main objections to this dating are the size of the tomb, which is more in keeping with those of the fourth or fifth dynasties, and the design of the false door. As the titles do not fit into any of the sequences of Baer, the tomb could postdate, as well as antedate, his principal periods, and so be of the late Old Kingdom, as is, for example, the tomb of ttw (160).

Suggested Date: Unclear; perhaps either late Old Kingdom or early to middle fifth dynasty.

k3i-htp 149

Son of 'nh-mry-r' (33)

False door and reliefs in the courtyard of the tomb of mhw (69) in the Wenis Cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 622; unpublished, but some titles in Martin, Hetepka, 5 (7); also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: t3ty t3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r gs-pr, h3ty-', smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, sd3wty bity.

Unlike those of his father, the reliefs of k3i-htp are clearly not part of the original scheme of decoration of the tomb of mhw. Assuming the above genealogy to be correct, he may be dated approximately one generation later than 'nh-mry-r', that is, about the middle of the reign of Pepy II.

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Pepy II.

----------------

1 Rank and Title, 145 (534).
2 The part now exhibited in the British Museum (BM 1324) is dated in the display to the fifth dynasty.
3 Königssohn, 145-9, supported by Mostafa, Opfertafel, 54.
Prosopography - k3i-ḥr-pḥ; ftk-t3 (150)

k3i-ḥr-pḥ; ftk-t3 150

Source: 1. Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, near the temenos wall of the pyramid of Khufu, G5560. 2. Lintel fragment found reused in tomb G7652 in the Eastern Cemetery.

Bibliography: 1. PM 32, 166-7. 2. PM 32, 201.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty ?

Other Titles: [imy-r] inbw-hd, imy-r of the Letopolite Nome, [imy-r] niwmt m3wt nt nfr-dd-k3-r', wr md šm'w, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hrp zš ʻiry sprw, z3b imy-r zš, z3b 'd-mr, shd w'b ʻḥt-[hwfw].

The greater part of this mastaba has been badly damaged, and only the lower parts of the false doors have survived along with a few blocks. The tomb has a east-west offering room, although it would seem that false doors were used in another north-south room as well. In the burial chamber, on the east wall, is a depiction of the deceased seated before an offering list. Junker says that the introduction of the figure of the deceased into the burial chamber should be an indication of a late date. However, there are virtually no examples with which to compare it, and so it should not be accepted without question. It can equally be argued that the decoration of one wall is an example of the progression from the simple list in the burial chamber of sndm-ib; inti (120) to the fully decorated chamber of k3i-ḥr-r nfr. Baer dates this tomb to period VIG, but the sequences are broken and not all in agreement. From the lintel in G7652 (not given by Baer), the title sequences would fit period VIC (mid sixth dynasty), more in accordance with the above argument concerning the burial chamber. Furthermore, the tomb is also located next to that of idw I; nfr (22), also probably to be dated to the middle of the sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early to middle sixth dynasty.

k3i-gmni; mmi 151

Source: Tomb north of the temenos wall of the Pyramid of Teti at Saqqara, LS 10.

Bibliography: PM 32, 521-5.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '.nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3ty t3ty z3b t3ty, t3ty t3ty z3b t3ty m3'.

1 It is by no means certain that this title is present in the tomb, since it is damaged and published only in typeface.
2 Giza VIII, 3-4.
3 PM 32, 131-3.
4 End of the reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 148 (544)
For a fuller discussion of the date of this tomb relative to the others in this cemetery see above under mrrw-k3i (68) and nfr-s3m-r (88). There is the fortunate survival in this tomb of a biography, from which it would appear that he began his career under Djedkare, was a z3b 'd-mr in the reign of Wenis, and then continued to serve under Teti, in which reign he must have received the vizierate. The evidence discussed above under mrrw-k3i suggests that this latter promotion may have taken place in the early part of the reign.

Suggested Date: Early reign of Teti.

k3i-tp 152

Source: Various parts of a tomb chapel, from either Saqqara or Giza, now in London and Chicago.

Bibliography: PM 32, 693-4.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: 'd-mr grgt, 'd-mr grgt mhtt, w'b nzwt, rh nzwt, hm-ntr hwfw, hbp w'b nzwt, hbp m z3, shd w'b nzwt.

The provenance of these monuments is not certain. James believes Giza to be the more likely, which would be strengthened by Fischer's suggestion of a relationship to another k3i-tp at Giza. On the basis of the titles, Kees has suggested a late fifth dynasty date.

The simple form of the false door suggests that it may date to the fifth dynasty, supported by the appearance of offerings on the panel and the line of inscription in the central niche (Chapter 2.I.F.1). Such a simple form would be rather unusual for Saqqara,
Prosopography - k3i-dbhn (153)

making Giza the more likely provenance.\(^1\)

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty (?).

k3i-dbhn 153

Source: Tomb in the middle of the Central Field at Giza.

Bibliography: PM 32, 276-7.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd (could also be imy-r pr-hd n 'prwy imw).

Other Titles: imy-ht n pr-hd, ny 'prwy imw ?, rḥ nzwt, ḥtm ḥ3t df3w bity, zā ḥbs nzwt, zā ḥkr nzwt, šḥd zā pr-hd.

The offering chapel of k3i-dbhn has a false door in the centre of the western wall with the deceased and his wife to the right and funerary priests to the left. The false door is of the simple narrow type with two pairs of jambs, typical at Giza for much of the fifth and sixth dynasties (Chapter 2.II.E).

For unclear reasons, Baer has assigned this tomb to the sixth dynasty;\(^2\) Again, indications for a date are vague, with a range of possible periods.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth to early sixth dynasty.

gmnǐ-m-ḥ3t; gmni 154

Source: Tomb immediately to the north of the temenos wall of the Pyramid of Teti at Saqqara, Hmk 30.


Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r pr, mty n z3 w3d-swt-mry-k3-r', mty n z3 dd-swt-tti, rḥ nzwt m3', smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

As the name of king Merykare of the tenth dynasty is found in this tomb, the late First Intermediate Period or later is a certainty.

Suggested Date: Late tenth dynasty or later.

tp-m-'nh 155

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 75 (D 10, H 11).

Bibliography: PM 32, 483.

Relevant Titles: t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r wpt m3', ḥ3ty-', ḥm-nṭ r nfr-swt-wnis, ḥry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, ḥry-sšt3

\(^1\) Baer believes that the style of the pieces in Chicago is indicative of a relatively early date (Rank and Title, 150 (549)).

\(^2\) op. cit., 150 (551).
Prosopography - tp-m-‘nh (155)

nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr m3’, z3b zš m3’, z3b shd zš m3’, smr w’ty, smr w’ty m3’, smr w’ty n mrwt m3’, shd hm-ntr hwt/hr mrt wnis.

2. When Vizier: h3ty-’, smr w’ty.

The chapel of this tomb exhibits the unusual combination of a north-south offering room with a false door of the cornice and torus type. These two features are normally mutually exclusive (Chapter 2.I.H), especially for a tomb that cannot antedate the reign of Wenis, as the titles show. Baer has dated the mastaba to his period VIE, the middle of the reign of Pepy II.1

Further problems arise with the association of the owner of this false door with that of the elements of another false door found outside the tomb,2 in particular because the panel of the latter door has wide apertures, which are not found after approximately the reign of Djedkare (Chapter 2.I.D). We would not expect tp-m-‘nh to have used the current form of false door with narrow apertures before he became vizier and then revert to an older form after his promotion. However, it does not seem possible to disassociate these two sets of monuments according to the account of Mariette, their excavator,3 even though the stylistic features of Cairo, CG 1510 would be more in keeping with the nearby tomb of another tp-m-‘nh, who is not otherwise known to have been vizier.4 We should perhaps regard the identification of these two groups of monuments as belonging to the same man with suspicion.5 For present purposes, if tp-m-‘nh was vizier in the sixth dynasty, it is perhaps most likely that he held office in the period of the reigns of Pepy I to early Pepy II, when viziers were buried in no one particular area of the Saqqara cemeteries (cf. idw I; nfr (22)).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle sixth dynasty?

tti 156

Source: Tomb east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara, M 15.

Bibliography: PM 32, 684.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš ' nzwt, imy-r śnwty, t3ty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r niwt mn-‘nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, imy-r niwt mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-r zš, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gswy-pr, iry p’t, iti ntr, '3 dw3w, wty inpw, h3ty-’,

-------------------
1 Rank and Title, 151 (558).
2 Cairo, CG 1509-10.
3 Mastabas, 194.
4 Tomb no. 76 (D 11, PM 32, 483-4).
5 To anticipate conclusions reached below about the titles of viziers, the highest rank reached by tp-m-‘nh was h3ty-’, whereas one would expect him to have been iry p’t in the sixth dynasty; h3ty-’ was however the highest rank of mid-fifth dynasty viziers (see page 307 ff).
This man is dated by Kees and Baer to the end of the reign of Pepy II. Kees's argument is based on the similarity of elements of his titulary to those of the viziers šm3i and idi of Koptos, who are known to have served under Pepy II and some of the kings of the eighth dynasty respectively. Although Baer places him in the same period (VIG - late reign of Pepy II) as ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72), Kees's considerations suggest tti to be the later of the two.

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Pepy II.

Size and magnificence of tomb and ease of dating do not always go together, as this example will show. The range of dates proposed may be indicated by that given by Porter and Moss, 'Neuserre to end of Dyn. V'. The lower limit is from Baer, who places him in period VC, the upper because Neweserre is the latest king to be mentioned.

The plan of the offering rooms is a variant of the type with long north-south corridor and an east-west offering chapel. This design would seem to exist from the mid-fifth dynasty onwards (Chapter 2.1.H). The principal false doors are of the torus and cornice type, employing two jambs. They are in raised relief, with decorated apertures, and display a list of oils on the panel, all of which do not point to a date late in the fifth dynasty, but more

1 Respectively, Wezirat, 48-9; Rank and Title, 152 (560).
2 Middle reign of Djedkare to middle that of Wenis, op. cit., 152 (564).
towards the middle (Chapter 2.I.G.1). Such a mixture of old and new elements is seemingly unique, and as the false doors of his son and wife are of the older form without torus or cornice, it is likely that ty's door precedes the development of a completely standardised version of the door with torus and cornice.

Ty may appear in the decoration of the mortuary temple of Neweserre at Abusir. Borchardt lists a smr w'ty who may be this ty, as he is most frequently represented in his tomb with the title of smr w'ty.

The names of kings must be used with care, but it is tempting to see in ty's titles continuous service for several successive kings. He held the title of imy-r of the sun temples of Sahure, Neferirkare, Neferefre and Neweserre. Only two of the known sun temples are not included here, that of Weserkaf (the earliest) and that of Menkauhor (the latest). Additionally, ty is the only person to have held any of these titles, and this uniqueness coupled with the continuous service (perhaps covering a period of only thirty years) suggests that he may have been contemporary with these rulers, and died before the establishment of the sun temple of Menkauhor. It should be remembered however, that this unique position could be equally explained by a sudden promotion to all four offices at once as a mark of favour, although the argument concerning Menkauhor would still be true.

Suggested Date: Perhaps late reign of Neweserre.

_tnti 158

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 72 (C 18).
Bibliography: PM 32, 482.
Relevant Titles: t3tyt z3b t3ty.
Other Titles: iry p't, wr m3, h3ty-', hry-sšt3 n pt m33 št3 pt, hrp šndyt [nbt], hry-hb hry-tp, zš md3t ntr, sm, smr w'ty.

The inscriptive material from this tomb is confined to the lintel of the doorway, and on that basis Baer gives periods VIB-D as possible dates. The majority of tombs in the North Saqqara Cemetery are of fifth dynasty date. The principal examples which would seem to belong to the end of the dynasty and later are those of tp-m-'nh (155) and s3bw; ibbi (116). The former has a north-south chapel, as does tnti, combined with a torus and cornice false door. On the basis of such a comparison, tnti could date at least to the early sixth dynasty. The door lintel in his tomb has the unusual feature of a vertical column of text which interrupts the horizontal lines of the principal texts. A similar example may be found in the small tomb of ny-'nh-ppy in the Wenis Cemetery at Saqqara which

1 Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. XX, XXXIX.
2 Ne-user-re', 71 (1, 2).
3 Early to middle sixth dynasty; Rank and Title, 153-4 (571).
is clearly later than the great mastabas there. If the tomb of tnti is of the sixth dynasty, the most probable period is perhaps the reigns of Pepy I or Merenre, when the tombs of viziers were not built in any one particular area of the Saqqara Cemetery (compare mrri (67)).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle sixth dynasty.

---

Source: Tomb, exact location unknown, near the pyramid of Teti at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 566-7; largely unpublished; much information from the Gunn Mss.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r 3ḥt, imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r hry htm md₃t, imy-r zš hry htm md₃t, zš ṣ nzwf hft-hr, smr w'ty, sd₃wty bity.

The material from this tomb comprises a false door, lintel and numerous statues. The false door has many similarities in shape and design with late Old Kingdom pieces from the same cemetery - it has a cornice and torus with an outer 'frame', although it does not have the 'T' shaped panel of many other doors from this area and also South Saqqara. As most of the material from the reign of Pepy II is to be found at the latter location ttti may perhaps date from the end of this reign at the earliest.

Suggested Date: Late sixth dynasty or later.

---

Source: Tomb in the angle between the mastabas of mrrw-k3i (68) and k3i-gmni (151) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 32, 537.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwf, t3ty zh₃b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz, imy-r 3ḥt m t3-mhw šm'w, imy-r izwy hkr nzwf, imy-r w'byty, imy-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r hwt nwb, imy-r hnw, imy-r hry htm md₃t, imy-r zšwv, imy-r swt spswt pr-ḥ, tmy prt, t3 dw₃w, ṭmty, ḥq₃t, 'd-mr dp, wlr 5 pr-dhwtw, wty inp₃w, mni₃ wnh, h₃ty-, ḫm-ntr m₃t, hry-sṣt₃ n wd'-mdw, hry-sṣt₃ n pr-dw₃t, hry-tt nḥb.

---

1 Hassan, Saqqara II, fig. 3; this tomb is dated to the First Intermediate Period by Munro (SAK 10 (1983), 287-94). In fact the tomb itself may well be sixth dynasty, with the burial of the usurping ny-'nh-ppy effected later (Fischer, JEA 65 (1979), 179).
Two dates are frequently proposed for this tomb, namely the reign of Pepy I or later, and the First Intermediate Period. The former is suggested by the presence of the title shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-ppy, and by the discovery of a jar lid of the same king in the burial chamber. The later date is from Baer. The title is the main argument in favour of the earlier date, as such a small object as a jar lid could have come into his possession at any time. Most of the holders of this title would seem to date to the reigns of Pepy I or II.

There are however a number of features which contradict such a date. It would appear that many of the smaller mastabas to the north of the principal ones date to the reign of Pepy I, and if ttw built his tomb in that reign, one wonders why he did not site it there. The actual position of his tomb is similar to that of the very many small tombs of the First Intermediate Period in the area between the great mastabas and the temenos wall of the pyramid complex, or indeed those of htp and ihy, both of Middle Kingdom date. Perhaps because of his importance in the First Intermediate Period, ttw was able to choose (or was granted) one of the prime sites for his tomb. The false door also argues against the earlier date. It has the 'T' shaped panel, which only seems to have come into common use in the reign of Pepy II, and continued at least to the tenth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.C).

It would appear that ttw has inflated his titulary using as a model the titles in the tomb of mrrw-k3i: to quote perhaps the best example, the title wr 5 pr dhwty appears only four times after the fourth dynasty, twice here and twice at South Saqqara. Such borrowing is arguably a sign of a period that is looking back to former greatness, more true of the First Intermediate Period than the reign of Pepy I. Finally, although there is a lack of material for the title shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-ppy in the First Intermediate Period, the cult of this king would certainly seem to have continued for the period in question.

Suggested Date: Seventh to tenth dynasties.

1 Rank and Title, 154 (576).
2 For example, mhw (69) at Saqqara, and several provincial officials.
3 PM 32, 550-1.
4 In the tombs of zzi (114) and hrdni, PM 32, 678.
5 Helck, MDAIK 15 (1957), 110.

161
Prosopography - $\text{dw3-n-r'}$ (161)

$\text{dw3-n-r'}$ 161

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5110.
Bibliography: PM 32, 148; almost completely unpublished - examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: $\text{t3ty t3b t3ty}$.
Other Titles: $\text{imy-iz, iry p't, '3 dw3w, ['d-mr] imw, wr idt, [w]r 5 pr-[dwmt], wty inpw, mniw nhn, mdh z8 nzwt, mdh r, r p nb, h3ty-r', hm-ntr hr inpw hnty pr smswt, hry-wdb m hwt-nb, hry-tp nhb, hw-, hrp i3ts km, hrp tis bity, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-tp nzwt m prwy, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z8 md3t ntr, sm3}$. 

Since the excavations of Reisner, it has been usual to identify $\text{dw3-n-r'}$ with the son of queen $\text{mrs-'nh III}$ by the name of $\text{dw3-r'}$. 1 Nowhere in these accounts is it mentioned that there is a difference in the writing of the names. This is an important objection, particularly in view of the seemingly clear differentiation of royal and non-royal cemeteries in the fourth dynasty. Reisner may have had in mind one unpublished piece of evidence from G5110; there is one exception to the writing of the owner's name as $\text{dw3-n-r'}$ on the panel of the false door, where (although broken) it seems to be written as shown here on the left. Given the consistency of the writing of the name elsewhere, it is possible to see this as an error, perhaps as a result of lack of space: the name is fitted into a relatively confined area above the head of the deceased and the signs are closer together than normal. The $n$ may have been omitted due to the impossibility of finding space for it.

Porter and Moss refer to the son of $\text{mrs-'nh}$ as 'Dua(en)re', 2 although assigning him to tomb G5110 without comment. More recently, Schmitz has observed that the other known children of $\text{mrs-'nh}$ ($\text{nb-m-3ht}$ (81) and $\text{ny-wsr-r'}$) are buried in the Khafre quarry cemetery. 3 If $\text{dw3-n-r'}$ is to be identified with $\text{dw3-r'}$ one would expect, on the analogy of $\text{nb-m-3ht}$ and $\text{ny-wsr-r'}$, to find titles with $\text{n iti.f}$, none of which are forthcoming.

In his reconstruction of the inscriptions of $\text{ny-hmt}$, Smith proposed to add the name of $\text{dw3-n-r'}$ to those of $\text{k3i-w'b}$ (140), $\text{htp-hrs}$ II and $\text{mrs-'nh}$ III. 4 Examination of photographs of the original gives no support for the restoration.

If Reisner's theory about the parentage of $\text{dw3-n-r'}$ is to be rejected, so also must his date in the reign of Menkaure. However, certain stylistic features of the western wall of the chapel indicate a similar date (Chapter 2.II.C.2), and it is suggested that

1 For $\text{dw3-r'}$, Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, fig. 6; for Reisner's opinion, Mycerinus, 242 (7); Giza I, 218 (31); II, 11.
2 PM 32, 198.
3 Kннigssohn, 75-6.
his status as vizier in the late fourth dynasty may have caused him to have used new and unique features in his tomb, along with older established ones.

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty.

Source: 1. Tomb east of the Southern Pyramid of Sneferu at Dahshur.  
2. Statues found in the temple of the same pyramid.

Bibliography: 1. PM 3\textsuperscript{2}, 894.  2. PM 3\textsuperscript{2}, 878.

Relevant Titles: \textit{imy-r k3t nt nzwt}.

Other Titles: \textit{imy-r imntt, imy-r nzwtY, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r h' -snfrw, imy-r h'wy-snfrw, imy-r z3w šm'w, 'd-mr d3-hr-hnty-pt, w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hm-ntr r' m nnh-r', hm-ntr snfrw, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n nb.f, hq3 hwt-3t, hnty-s, hnty-s w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, hrp w'b.}

From the general arrangement of chapels at Dahshur, it would seem that this is one of the earlier examples. Certain features of the false door give an indication of the date: on the panel appear most of the first twenty elements of the canonical offering list, which suggests the middle of the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.G.2). This list is not unlike that of \textit{ty}, probably of the reign of Sahure or slightly later.\footnote{1} The inner jambs are wider than the outer ones, and bear a large figure of the deceased, another feature of the first half of the fifth dynasty (Chapter 2.I.B). The use of sunk relief is generally uncommon on doors of this period, but since the tomb was completed by his son 'nh-m-'r', this method may have been used to speed up the completion of the tomb.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or slightly earlier.

Source: Depicted amongst the courtiers of Pepy II in the antechamber and sanctuary of his mortuary temple at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: Jequier, Pepi II II, pl. 59, 72.

Relevant Titles: \textit{imy-r šnwtY}.

Other Titles: \textit{iry p't, h3ty-}, \textit{smr w'ty}.

The name and titles of \textit{d3-mrw} did not figure in the original decoration of the temple. In both cases his name has been added later: on the east wall of the antechamber (pl. 59), his name and the titles \textit{iry p't, h3ty-} and \textit{imy-r šnwtY} have replaced the name of

\footnote{1} Cairo, CG 1380
another official who perhaps just held smr m'ty, while on the south wall of the sanctuary just the name has been changed (pl. 72), leaving the original smr m'ty intact. Consequently it is not certain whether this title really belonged to him.

The position of dJ3-mrw in these reliefs is not unlike that of h'-b3w-hnmw (102), that is, he was not included in the original scheme of decoration, and so his date could well be similar.

Suggested Date: Third quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

dJ3ty 164

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5370 (LG 31).

Bibliography: PM 32, 161; The false door of dJ3ty mentioned there as coming from G2337X is of a totally different man, see Simpson, Fs Edel, 489-90.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: wr md ʒm'w.

The most important find in this mastaba was a wooden chest bearing sealings of lector priests of Sahure and Neferirkare. This does not necessarily mean that the burial was effected in the latter reign, but it is likely that the chest would have been placed in the tomb not long after the sealings were made. The serdab of r'-wr I was built against this tomb,¹ and if he were a son of s3m-nfr I (129), then the date of his tomb would perhaps be the reign of Neferirkare to Neweserre; the tomb of dJ3ty is a little earlier than this.

It is to be wondered whether he is the same man as the similarly-named son of dJ3ty (165) depicted in tomb G7810 at Giza (dJ3ty (166)). This man held the almost identical titles of imy-r k3t nt nzwt and wr md ʒm'w, and the date to be suggested below on independent evidence would be in agreement with that noted above and renders such an identification possible.

Suggested Date: Perhaps the reign of Neferirkare, or a little later.

dJ3ty 165

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7810.

Bibliography: PM 32, 204-5; almost completely unpublished examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: [imy-r] k3t nbt nt [nzwt].

Other Titles: imy-r mš', z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ḫt.f, smr ?.

¹ Tomb G5270; PM 32, 158.
The parents of d3ty are completely unknown, although as a z3 nzwt n hti.f buried in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza there is a possibility that his parents were at the least the offspring of a king.1 Tomb G7810 is part of the addition to the original mastabas of the cemetery, which consisted of the cores to the south and north of the mastaba of 'nh-h3f (34). One suspects that the southern group of tombs is the earlier, as it consists of more mastabas, construction moving to the area north of G7510 when space ran out.

The mastabas to the south of G7510 consist firstly of those of two queens, htp-hrs II and mrs-'nh III,2 dating probably to the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure. htp-hrs was the wife of k3i-w'b (140) and later probably of Djedefre; mrs-'nh was her daughter by her first marriage, who then became the wife of (probably) Khafre. The other tombs in which the owners' names have survived are those of dw3-n-hr, 3ht-htp and mrt-itis, k3i-m-shm and ddf-minw.3 Of these people, dw3-n-hr, k3i-m-shm and ddf-minw were almost certainly true king's sons, as they bear titles with the tag n iti.f, and it is thus unlikely that they were sons of k3i-w'b as Reisner suggested;4 the king is not specified, but it must be Khufu.5 It is likely that mrt-itis was a daughter of Khufu who married a non-royal official; d3ty could be yet another of these children of Khufu.6

Stylistically, this group of mastabas is firmly in the tradition of the earlier ones in the cemetery (Chapter 2.II.C.2). If they all belonged to children of Khufu, it would be logical that they were very junior offspring, and so extra tombs had to be added to the original layout of the cemetery. None of these men was a vizier, although the evidence for any conclusions from these tombs is slight, and it is possible that by the time they attained a suitable age for such an office, the sons of Khafre had already established their claims. Such offering lists as survive from these tombs show mrt-itis having one of the old pattern with a linen list, while those of dw3-n-hr and d3ty represent a stage between that and the new form using the canonical list type (Chapter 2.II.B). As less important members of the family, they were perhaps less likely than viziers (h'f-hwfw I (104)) and queens (mrs-'nh III) to use the newest developments in tomb design, but stayed

1 Reisner suggests mrs-'nh II as his mother for no clear reasons; Giza I, 209 (34).
2 Tombs respectively, G7350, PM 32, 193; G7530 + 7540, PM 32, 197-9.
3 Tombs respectively, G7550, PM 32, 200; G7650, PM 32, 200-1; G7660, PM 32, 201-2; G7760, PM 32, 203-4.
4 For example, Giza I, 208-9; his reasoning is uncertain, but it may be due to their proximity to the tomb of mrs-'nh III, certainly a daughter of his.
5 The sons of Khafre are buried in the quarry cemetery east of the second pyramid, and the one certain son of Menkaure in the Menkaure Quarry cemetery.
6 A similar argument may be applied to iy-nfr of tomb G7820; PM 32, 205.
with the current ones for a time. The tomb of d3ty shows the deceased and wife seated opposite each other on the panel of the false door, an arrangement not previously encountered in the Eastern Cemetery, and perhaps indicating a later example.

On this basis, assuming d3ty to have been born in the later part of the reign of Khufu, his tomb and period of office-holding may be dated to the end of the fourth dynasty.

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty.

**d3ty** 166

Son of **d3ty** (165)

Source: Represented in the tomb of his father in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7810.

Bibliography: None - examination of unpublished material in excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: wr md _8m'w.

On the basis of the date decided above for his father, d3ty presumably dates to the early part of the fifth dynasty, perhaps the reign of Neferirkare. For a possible connection between this man and the similarly-named owner of tomb G5370 at Giza, see d3ty (164).

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Neferirkare.

**df3wi** 167

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 55 (D 25).

Bibliography: PM 32, 466.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r pr-hd n hnw, imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r iz [hkr] nzwt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r swt df3w, imy-r sêr nzwt, wr bzt, hm-ntr [ny-ws]r[-r'], hm-ntr rnnwt hntt h3t ht, hry-sât3, zê n hryt-nt nzwt.

This tomb has a small squarish offering room, the only decoration of which is on the false door. This decoration includes butchers and offering bearers as well as the usual inscriptions.

Baer can give no more precise date than the middle fifth dynasty or later,1 based on df3wi 's priesthood of Neweserre, and thus the false door is left as the main item usable for dating. There is only one example which is somewhat similar, that of shm-k3i.2 The jambs of the latter door are larger, and there are more items in

---

1 Rank and Title, 157 (594).
2 Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII.
the offering list on the panel. Such wide jambs are a feature of fifth dynasty doors (Chapter 2.I.B), and panel offering lists also indicate the same date. The inscriptions of *shm-k3i* invoke Osiris and those of *df3wi* do not, although this need not make *df3wi* the earlier.

The owner of this tomb should thus be dated to the period between the reign of Neweserre and the later fifth dynasty, preceding the acceptance of the false door with torus and cornice false door as the principal form.

Suggested Date: Mid-late fifth dynasty.

**ddf-hr** 168

Son of Khufu

Source: Tomb in the eastern cemetery at Giza, G7210 + 7220.

Bibliography: *PM* 3, 191; incompletely published - examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t [nbt nt nzwt].*

Other Titles: *imy-iz, 'd-mr imw, mnw nhn, h3ty-', z3 nzwt n ht.f, s[mr] w[ty].*

**ddf-hr** was presumably a son of Khufu, on the analogy of the neighbouring tombs. That his mother was the queen buried in subsidiary pyramid G1a is a speculation of Reisner's, and is perhaps best disregarded (see above under *k3i-w'b* (140)).

Reisner and Smith have argued that **ddf-hr** may have been dead by the beginning of the reign of Khafre, based on the assumption that the damage done to the tombs in the northernmost row of nucleus cemetery G7000 - those of *k3i-w'b, ddf-hr* and the unnamed owner of G7310 + 7320 (170) but particularly to that of **ddf-hr** - was as a result of a persecution by Djedefre, who may have executed some of these men.1 There is no support for this romantic speculation, and Junker has suggested that the damage done to the tomb of **ddf-hr** occurred after the end of the Old Kingdom.2 A further possibility arises from the association between Djedefre and **ddf-hr** proposed by Altenmüller, namely that his tomb was defaced together with the pyramid of that king, perhaps in the reign of Khafre.3 One would have to assume that **ddf-hr** was dead by that time.

Two problems arise from this: firstly, Junker argues that if the tomb was defaced in the fourth dynasty, the likelihood of the existence of his cult in the sixth dynasty is reduced (*loc. cit.*), and secondly, it is stated in the Book of the Dead (Chapters 30, 64, 148) that **ddf-hr** was alive in the time of Menkaure. The first argument may be overcome by seeing a restitution of the cult of

1 *Giza* II, 8.
2 *Giza* VI, 26; *Fs Rosellini, Studi* II, 137 ff.
ddf-hr in the fifth dynasty (a time perhaps better predisposed to him), and the second by treating the funerary literature with the customary caution as to their historical accuracy.

The remains of the false door of ddf-hr, with its carved representations of offering stands on the jambs, resemble that of h'f-hwfw I (104), probably to be dated to the reign of Khafre.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Khafre or later, perhaps even early reign of Menkaure.

ddf-hnmw 169

Source: Rock-cut tomb to the east of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7711a.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.
Other Titles: wr md šm'w, ḫn nzwt, z3 nzwt.

The evidence for dating this tomb is very slight. Baer has pointed out that ddf-hnmw can hardly have been a son of one of the fourth dynasty kings, and suggests dates that cover both the fifth and sixth dynasties.¹ The other tombs of important administrative officials which were also not part of the original cemetery are of fifth dynasty date, including notably another king's son, h'f-hwfw II (105), which suggests a possible date for ddf-hnmw.

Suggested Date: Early to middle fifth dynasty ?

Name Lost 170

Probably son of Khufu

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7310 + 7320.
Bibliography: Unpublished - examination of excavation records in Boston. See also Simpson, Fs Edel, 492-3.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t [nbt nt] nzwt, t3yty [z3b t3ty].
Other Titles: imy-[iz], [imy-r] waht, ıry p't, ḥ̣ ḥw3w, wr 5 [pr-dhwty], mniw ḫn, [r p] nb, ḥ3ty-', [hm-ntr] wnw-r [ḥnty minw], ḫm-ntr b3 'npt, ḫm-ntr b3stt, ḫm-ntr spdw, ḫrp ḫ̣.

The only reasonably certain fact about this man is that he was a son of Khufu; as discussed above under k3i-w'b (140), the identity of his mother is very uncertain. Reisner was inclined to assign this tomb to the b3wf-r' mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus.² Simpson (loc. cit.) suggests that this mastaba belonged to a b3-b3f or

¹ Rank and Title, 158 (596).
**Prosopography - Name Lost (170)**

**hnmw-b3f.** The only trace that survives which could have formed part of a name is a ram (b3 or hnmw), but this sign could be an element of a title such as hm-ntr b3 'npt which is attested elsewhere in the tomb, or it could belong to an entirely separate person - the proximity of the title hm-k3 to one occurrence of the sign may suggest this. Along with h'f-minw he is the only man in this group of tombs to be called vizier in the inscriptions of the tomb itself. Assuming no vast difference in the age of these tomb- owners and that the tombs were all built at an approximately similar time, his may be one of the earlier ones, conceivably dating to the reign of Khafre.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early reign of Khafre.

**Name Lost 171**

Source and A seated statue from Saqqara, exact provenance
Bibliography: unknown; now Cairo, CG 49.
Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd n hnw.
Other Titles: wr bzt, hm-ntr ///.

The publications suggest that this piece is of fifth dynasty date. It is unlikely to have been early in that dynasty, when few tombs were built at Saqqara. The traces visible of the pr-hd group suggest the form in use before the later part of the fifth dynasty (see below page 280).

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or later.

**Name Lost 172**

Source: Three blocks in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, MMA 04.2.4-6, possibly from Saqqara.
Bibliography: PM 32, 760; to be published by the writer in JEA 71 (1985).
Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd n hwfw, imy-r pr-hd n snfrw, imy-r pr-hd ddf-r'.
Other Titles: imy-r iz ///, zš ' nzwt.

The variety of kings mentioned on these blocks raises the possibility that they may not have come from Saqqara. The criterion most useful for dating is again the form of the pr-hd group ( ),

---

1 This is unlikely to be the title hm-k3 (name of tomb-owner), as priests do not seem to be so named on wall scenes in Old Kingdom tombs.
suggesting a date no later than the later fifth dynasty (see below page 280).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle to late fifth dynasty?

Name Lost 173

Brother of nhbw (90)

Source: Mentioned in the biography of his brother.
Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t.
Other Titles: imy-r qd, mdh qd nzwt, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, smr w'ty, shd qd.

In his biography, nhbw describes himself as serving alongside his brother as the latter proceeded through the above offices. The only possible indication of his identity is a relief from the tomb of nhbw with the relief of a brother named ppy-mry-pth-'nh, although it is unknown whether this is the same brother as in the biography.1 This brother was clearly senior to, and thus probably older than, nhbw; on the date given above for the latter, this brother would have held office in the middle of the reign of Pepy I.

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Pepy I.

1 Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 7; a brother, whose name is lost, is shown in a marsh scene in this tomb - Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 59, fig. 2.
PART III

Six High Administrative Titles of the Old Kingdom
Introduction to Titles

Each of the following chapters is in two parts, a discussion of the most common forms of the title in question and the titularies of the officials holding them, and a study of the wider functions of the particular office and the administrative department with which it was concerned.

The titularies of the viziers who held the title that forms the subject of the chapter will be discussed separately from those of the non-viziers. Study of the titularies of viziers shows them to have a greater number of more important titles of almost all types than the majority of non-viziers. Out of a total of about 2600 titles for 176 officials relevant to this work, approximately 1410 of them belong to 67 viziers. A non-vizier would rarely hold more than two of the five offices imy-r ḫwt wrt, imy-r ū ' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, imy-r ṣnwty and imy-r prwy-ḥd, while it is not uncommon for a vizier to hold all of them. The titulary of the vizier is also full of high 'honorific' titles such as ʻiry p't, ḫ3ty- and so on; these titles are never found in the titularies of non-viziers in anything like the same concentration.

Having removed the vizierial holders of each title from the primary discussions, we can concentrate on those individuals who spent their period of tenure of these titles in only one or two administrative departments, a consequence of which will be that titles and title-patterns peculiar to these departments should be more easily visible. The viziers will not be ignored, but the overall consideration of the titles they held will be restricted to the chapter dealing specifically with the office of the vizier.

The Selection of Titles in the Titulary of an Official

An Old Kingdom official may hold titles of a number of different levels of importance, and it is imperative to make some remarks on how the titularies that we see today, principally in tombs, may have been composed. There are two main theories that one can attempt to document: that the titles given in a tomb represent 'the accumulation of a lifetime' (Baer, Rank and Title, 35), or that they represent those held by the individual at the time the tomb was to be decorated.

The material used to examine these ideas consists of the titles of those officials whose biographies give some unambiguous indications of promotions they received, and others whose tombs appear to have been decorated at two different phases of their careers. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Biographies</th>
<th>b. Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pth-špss</td>
<td>ḫ'f-ḥwfw I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-gmni</td>
<td>sō3t-ḥtp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssm-nfr</td>
<td>k3i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izi</td>
<td>ssm-nfr III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Lost</td>
<td>r'-špss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhbw</td>
<td>pth-ḥtp II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibi</td>
<td>nfr-ssm-pth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

172
Introduction to Titles

This material is regrettably very restricted, and this problem should be considered when evaluating the following conclusions. In addition, as it all comes from a funerary context, it may give us some idea of title-holding as represented on tomb walls, but there is no way of relating this to the reality of the administration, given the less than historically accurate nature of many tomb inscriptions.

The following promotions are evident for the officials in group a:

\[ \text{pth-šps} \]: Urk. I, 52

- Weserkaf: \([\text{wr} \ hr \ \text{hrmt}]\)
- Sahure: \(\text{hr}-\text{sšt} \ n \ k3t \ nb\)

\(k3i\)-gmni:

- Djedkare: (lost)
- Wenis: \(z3b \ 'd-mr\)
- Edel, MIO 1 (1953), Taf. II

\(s\text{šm-nfr}\):

- Djedkare: \(z3b \ zá\)
- Wenis: \(z3b \ shd \ zá\)
- Edel, ZAS 79 (1954), 13

- Teti: \(z3b \ 'd-mr, hry-tp \ nb\)
- cf. Kanawati, Excavations at Saqqara I, 9

\(izí):\)

- Djedkare: \(\text{smsw} \ h3yt \ nt \ //\)
- Wenis: \(h3y \ hwt\)
- Edel, ZAS 79 (1954), 13
- Teti: \(1. \ mdh \ zá \ nb, z3b \ 'd-mr, hry-tp \ nb\)

- \text{Name Lost:}\ Urk. I, 216.11-217.1

- \(shd \ n \ qd\)
- \(imy-r \ qd\)
- \(mdh \ qd \ nb\)
- \(smr \ w'ty, mdh \ qd \ nb, m prwy\)
- \(imy-r \ k3t\)

\(nhbw: \)

- \(qd\)
- \(shd \ n \ qd, mty \ n \ z3\)
- \(hry-tp \ nb, mdh \ qd \ nb\)
- \(smr \ w'ty, mdh \ qd \ nb, m prwy\)

\(ibi: \)

- Merenre: \(\text{h}3yt-'\), smr \ w'ty, hry-tp '3 i3tft
- [Pepy II]: \(\text{imy-r} \ šm'w\)

Due to its unpublished condition, we cannot say any more about the other titles held by \(s\text{šm-nfr}\). For the rest, where one of the titles in these biographies appears elsewhere in the tomb of that official, it seems always to be one of that man's highest titles. Some lesser titles are either ignored or were no longer held when the main sequences of titles were inscribed - for example, \(z3b \ 'd-mr\) in the biography of \(k3i\)-gmni and \(\text{smsw} \ h3yt \ nt \ //\) in that of
izi, although z3b 'd-mr does reappear in the other parts of the latter's tomb. Thus the biographies suggest that the principal title strings represented only those held by the owner at the time the tomb was decorated.

Listings of the different titles of the officials in group b will be found in the Prosopography; note that the material for one phase of the careers of pth-ḥtp II and r'-ḥpsa is very slight. In the case of s3t-ḥtp the titles imy-r k3t nbt nzwt, wr md ūm'w and wty inpw appear in both titularies; there are numerous overlaps in both titularies of k3i, but very few in those of Ḫf-ḥwfw I and nfr-s3m-pth. The titles of s3m-nfr III are particularly interesting in that, unlike k3i, his earlier title of imy-r zā' nzwt did not appear in his vizierial titulary, which is somewhat surprising in view of the incidence of this title among other viziers (see below page 314). Did s3m-nfr not list this title again as it appeared on an adjacent wall? Against this we note that the titles imy-r prwy-ḥ3w and ḥry-s3t3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt are repeated.

The above evidence tends to suggest that lower-ranking titles found in the non-biographical inscriptions of a tomb need not necessarily have been held at a period before the official's promotion to the higher offices enumerated therein. From this one is forced to conclude that an official could hold a number of different positions in one administrative area simultaneously; for example, an imy-r šnwšt may also have been ḥry-tp šnwšt and zā šnwšt at the same time. It is surely unlikely that an official could have exercised all these functions, and it seems quite probable that these titles were received in successive promotions; however he clearly wished to retain these titles, at least for use in his tomb inscriptions; perhaps they also served as a mark of his authority and level of competence in the administration.

In the following pages it may be stated or implied that a certain title was held before promotion to a higher office. As we have seen, such statements should be considered only as suggestions, which, although plausible, cannot be directly proved from the evidence presently at our disposal.

Terminology and Other Notes

The terms 'memphite' and 'provincial' will be used in relation to the place of burial of an official, 'memphite' covering the necropolises containing the tombs of men who in all probability were based in the central city, the principal of which were Giza, Abusir, Saqqara and Dahshur, and lesser ones Abu Roash, Heliopolis and Meydum. 'Provincial' covers all other sites, the vast majority of which are to be found in the area between the Faiyum and Aswan.

The expression 'relevant officials' is adopted here to refer to men who have an entry in the Prosopography by virtue of holding one or more of the titles being studied; these titles can additionally be referred to as 'relevant titles'.

In the discussion of the titularies, the titles are split up into a number of groups as follows: legal titles, scribal titles, titles associated with the organisation of labour, granary titles,
treasury titles, honorific titles, titles of 'king's son', other high administrative titles, religious titles, royal institution titles, and other titles. Each appears only where there is something significant to be said. The first five groups each approximate to the area of administration covered by the principal titles \textit{imy-r hwt wrt} (6), \textit{imy-r zš ' nzwt}, \textit{imy-r k3t (nbt) (nt) (nzwt)}, \textit{imy-šnwt(y)}, and \textit{imy-r pr(wy)-hd}, and the types of titles covered by each term will be summarised in the relevant chapter. Honorific titles are those which are more a representation of a man's status (or rank) and relationship with the king than an indicator of a specific office, although they may have originally embodied a particular function. \textit{iry p't}, \textit{h3ty-}, and \textit{smr w'ty} are good examples of what is meant. 'Royal institution' refers to something, most frequently associated with a royal cult, set up by the king or for his benefit, examples of which are pyramids and sun temples. Other priestly titles are classed as religious titles, and 'other titles' concerns titles which do not fit easily into any other group but are worthy of discussion.

The related but different forms of the title forming the subject of each chapter, for example \textit{imy-r pr-hd} vis-à-vis \textit{imy-r pr-hd n hnw}, are discussed after the principal ones. These 'variant forms' will be considered as separate titles in their own right unless the evidence suggests them to be mere graphic variations on the principal title.

It should be noted that the order of officials in the lists at the beginning of each chapter is only approximate, and it must not be assumed that the writer believes that official X preceded official Y, but rather that the two of them were alive and held office in a similar period of the Old Kingdom.
3 The Overseers of the Great Mansions

General

Of the group of important administrative titles forming the subject of this study, those of imy-r hwt wlr and imy-r hwt wlr 6 have been selected as representing the area of legal activity, hwt wlr (literally perhaps 'great mansion') being conventionally translated as 'court' or similar.¹

Table 7 gives the known holders of these titles buried in the memphite necropolises in the Old Kingdom or early First Intermediate Period. One example not included in this list is part of a block found in the vicinity of the tombs of q3r and idw at Giza, the title being imy-r hwt wlr 6 m³⁰;'² this is the only occurrence of the element m³⁰ with this title. As the title is not attested for either q3r or idw, the identity of the owner of the block is uncertain, and may duplicate another occurrence in this list.

The earliest holder of either title appears to be k3i (136), probably of the reign of Neweserre. There are three or four further holders of imy-r hwt wlr 6 and seven of imy-r hwt wlr in the fifth dynasty and twelve or thirteen imy-r hwt wlr 6 and twelve imy-r hwt wlr in the sixth and after, the latest of which is ttw (160) (First Intermediate Period).

There is only one possible holder of imy-r hwt wlr 6 buried outside the memphite region, ny-'nh-ppy km of Meir. He dates to the middle sixth dynasty, and the title is here written

No parallel for this would seem to exist, as the writing suggests a unique title imy-r pr-wr 6 rather than imy-r hwt wlr 6. It thus appears probable that neither of the two titles currently under consideration are found outside the capital.

¹ wb. III, 4.
² Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, 31, fig. 42.
³ Blackman, Meir V, pl. XII; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 84 (212)
### Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

Table 7
List of holders of *imy-r hwt wrt* and *imy-r hwt wrt* 6

1. *imy-r hwt wrt*

Mid fifth dynasty

- *k3i* (136)  
  *'nh-m-'-hr; zzi* (30)  
  *nfr-sšm-pth* (87)  
  *ztw* (115a)  
  *mšw* (69)

Late fifth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle sixth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k3i-pw-inpw</em></td>
<td>(142)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-hwf</td>
<td>(94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihy</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idw</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later sixth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Later sixth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hkni-hnmw</em></td>
<td>(99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hnty-k3w-hr</em></td>
<td>(110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wr-k3w-b3; ikw</em></td>
<td>(40)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teti-early Pepy I

- *nfr-sšm-r'; šši* (88)

2. *imy-r hwt wrt* 6

Mid fifth dynasty

- *k3i* (136)

Late fifth-early sixth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Pepy I-middle Pepy II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mrrw-k3i; mri</em></td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mšw</em></td>
<td>(69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pth-htp</em></td>
<td>(51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mry-tti</em></td>
<td>(63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mrri</em></td>
<td>(67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nfr-sšm-sš3t; hnw</em></td>
<td>(89)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Middle Teti-middle Pepy I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>End Old Kingdom or later</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nfr-sšm-r'; šši</em></td>
<td>(88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates vizier at some point in his career
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

The writings of both titles are quite regular, and show no obvious development during the Old Kingdom that might render them useful for palaeographic study. At all periods writings of the group ḥwt wrt with or without the final t and/or the house determinative are common. The the writing of the figure six is most frequently 𓔄𓅓, but occasional forms 𓊼𓊼 are found.

The differentiation of imy-r ḥwt wrt and imy-r ḥwt wrt 6

All holders of imy-r ḥwt wrt 6 were viziers and may consequently be set aside and dealt with more fully in the study of the vizierate below. The one exception to this rule is mri; idw (57), and as such is immediately suspect. The late date of this example may explain the title imy-r ḥwt wrt 6 as a corruption of imy-r ḥwt wrt.1 He will thus to all intents and purposes be considered as a imy-r ḥwt wrt, but his titulary will only be compared with those of the more obvious imy-r ḥwt wrt after this title has been discussed (page 186).

The Titularies of the imy-r ḥwt wrt

There are three holders of imy-r ḥwt wrt whose careers may be divided into two parts: k3i (136), pṭḥ-ḥtp II (50) and nfr-sḥm-pṭḥ (87). In each case imy-r ḥwt wrt is only found in the earlier parts of their careers, which selection of titles only will be used in the following discussion. Other vizierial holders will be ignored for the present.

1. Legal Titles

As Helck has noted, the titles mdw ḭḥyt, iwn knmwt, nst hntt and hm-ntr m3t are very much of a legal character.2 The meaning of the first three is not clear, although the first two may be connected with legal matters for groups of the population indicated by the terms ḥḥyt and knmwt. For the associations of nst hntt with other legal titles see further below pages 180-1. The presence of z3b in z3b 'ḏ-mr suggests links with legal administration.3 The association of the goddess Maat with the concepts of order and justice explain the frequent appearance of the title hm-ntr m3t, and this title is doubtless in the period under consideration more of a secular and administrative than religious title. The titles connected with the wsḥt, 'broad hall', are also of a legal nature.4 Others with a similar function are obviously those connected with the ḥwt wrt. wr md sḥm'w also falls into this group, but this title

1 cf. Helck, Beamtentitel, 73 n. 45.
2 op. cit., 74.
3 id., ib., 82.
4 id., ib., 72-3.
can also be associated with the organisation of workforces.\(^1\) There are also titles specifically mentioning judgement (\textit{wd'-mdw}).

Table 8

Principal Titles of non-viziers who held \textit{imy-r hwt wrt}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{k3i} (136)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{'nh-m'-k3i} (31)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ntt-wsr} (91)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{h'-mrr-pth} (106)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{s3m-nfr; \textit{hb3}} (124)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{s3m-nfr; \textit{h3}} (91)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{nfr-s3m-pth} (132)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{z3b} (115a)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{k3i-pw-inpw} (142)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{r'-hwf} (94)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{idw} (23)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hkni-hnmw} (99)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hnty-k3w-hr} (110)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{mnt; idw} (57)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{mnt; idw} is included for comparative purposes

Key to Columns:

1. \textit{hm-ntt \textit{m3't}}
2. \textit{mdw rhyt}
3. \textit{iwn knmwt}
4. \textit{nst \textit{hntt}}
5. \textit{H = hpy \textit{wsht}, I = \textit{imy-r wsht}, X = both}
6. \textit{z3b 'd-mr}
7. \textit{wr md \textit{sm'w}}
8. Titles with \textit{hwt wrt}
9. Titles with \textit{wd'-mdw}
10. Number of scribal titles
11. Number of labour-related titles
12. \textit{hry-tp nzwt}
13. Number of other high administrative titles
14. Titles with \textit{wd(t)-mdw}
15. Royal Institution Titles

---

\(^1\) For the first view, Helck, \textit{op. cit.}, 19; for the second, Fischer, \textit{JNES} 18 (1959), 265-6.
Table 8 shows these and other titles to be discussed in this chapter arranged in a presence-absence chart. From columns 1-9 it is clear that the titles of mdw rhyt and iwn knmwt are the most consistent indications of a legal official. It would seem that the number of legal titles in such an official's titulary decreased in the sixth dynasty, and some of them are no longer found after the reign of Pepy I or so, most noticeably hrp wsht and nst hntt.

hrp wsht appears in the early fifth dynasty (ny-'nh-r' (71) at Giza) and is held by several officials of that period. Its occurrences from the end of that dynasty are much less frequent, and it seems to disappear by the mid-sixth dynasty. There seem to be no holders buried outside the memphite region.

The same is true for the memphite nst hntt. There are no officials with this element in their titularies certainly later than the early sixth dynasty, but there are several whose date cannot easily be determined. The title is found in the provinces, but these holders all date to periods later than that already mentioned.1 nst hntt may have served a different function in the provinces, as it was held there by men of overall higher rank than those at the capital - they are all nomarch or imy-r šm'w - and the title is always found immediately following z3b 'd-mr, as opposed to the variety of combinations which are found at Memphis.

The possibility has been raised by Junker that nst hntt does not have an independent existence as a title in the Old Kingdom.2 Fischer notes that it is a separate title in the twenty-sixth dynasty, but suggests that it was not so earlier.3 Both writers connect it with z3b 'd-mr or wr md šm'w as an epithet 'of foremost place', reading ny nst hntt. An examination of the Old Kingdom material reveals that the situation is not so simple: of a total of fifty-five memphite examples, in twenty-nine the sequence z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt only is found, in ten wr md šm'w, nst hntt only, and the rest are either unclear or more complex. The complex examples include the following:

| tp-m-'nh | - a) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt. b) hry-tp nzwt, nst hntt.4 |
| 'nh-m-'-k3i (31) | - a) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt. b) wr md šm'w, nst hntt.5 |
| ntr-wsr (91) | - a) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt. b) wr md šm'w, nst hntt. c) shd wr md šm'w, nst hntt.6 |

1 For example, q3r of Edfu (reign of Merenre, Urk. I, 253.6), and hm-r'; izi of Deir el Gebrawi (First Intermediate Period, Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XVII).
2 Giza VII, 199-200.
4 Borchardt, Ne-user-re', a) Abb. 101. b) p. 121 (bottom).
5 Mariette, Mastabas, a) 214, 216, 217, 218. b) 219.
6 Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, a) pl. XX, XXIV. b) pl. XX, XXI. c) pl. XXIV
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

k3i-’pr - shd n srw, nst ḫnīt. ¹
st-k3i - ḫrp wr md šhm’w, nst ḫnīt. ²
sšm-nfr; ḫb3 (132) - a) iwn knmwt, nst ḫnīt. b) z3b ‘d-mr, nst ḫnīt. ³

None of these examples is later than the end of the fifth dynasty. There are also no certain examples of the title appearing at the beginning of a string; consequently it may be argued that it is an epithet, in the fashion of m3’ or n mrwt. In one example, it actually appears twice (with different titles in each case) in the same string:

z3b ‘d-mr, nst ḫnīt, iwn knmwt, shd wr md šhm’w, nst ḫnīt, imy-r hwit wrt. ⁴

The fact of its repetition must surely indicate that it was regarded as an epithet. Although not restricted in use to the titles z3b ‘d-mr and wr md šhm’w, it is found only with titles that are frequently held by legal officials. It thus seems to be an epithet connected with legal administration found mainly with z3b ‘d-mr, and probably became associated solely with this title from the early sixth dynasty onwards.

Only two examples of the title imy-r wsḥt are found in the titulary of holders of imy-r hwit wrt, and it does not seem to survive beyond the fifth dynasty. Every holder of this title was of high status (some were viziers at one time in their careers) and often had many titles. It may thus have been granted only to very special or important officials.

These officials held titles incorporating the expression wd’-mdw only from the end of the fifth dynasty. A survey of other holders of similar titles suggests that it was one of the more frequently found legal titles in the sixth dynasty, although it is first found in the early fourth dynasty (ph-r-nfr (46)) and again in the early fifth (‘nh-irs (25) and ny-‘nh-r’ (71)).

In table 8, the titulary of k3i-pw-inpw has more affinities with officials of the early than the middle sixth dynasty, and it is suggested that he be dated a little earlier in the sixth dynasty than suggested in the Prosopography.

2. Scribal Titles

It is likely that any official who attained a high administrative position would have held titles connected with scribal administration, as a man of such importance must have acquired the ability to read and write. This might especially apply in a legal environment, assuming that verdicts, disputes and so on were recorded either for archives or the benefit of the parties involved.

¹ Hassan, Giza II, fig. 185.
² Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 85.
³ a), b) Mariette, Mastabas, 399.
⁴ Tomb of ntr-wsr - Murray, op. cit., pl. XXIV.
Column 10 of table 8 shows that most of the imy-r hwt wrt held such titles. In many cases the title is also associated with a legal function. One such title is z3b shd zā (held by 3ht-htp), as well as those concerned with petitioners (iry sprw1 - k3i, ntr-wsr, pth-htp II, 3ht-htp and nfr-sām-pth), and those connected with the hwt wrt or wsht - sām-nfr; h₃ and 'nh-m-'-k3i.

3. Titles associated with the Organisation of Labour

These only appear in any great number in the titulary of hkni-hnmw, and are in all probability unrelated to his tenure of imy-r hwt wrt. He seems to have had two distinct aspects to his career (legal and concerned with the organisation of labour), and the titles from each appear in two groups, with wr md šmǐw, which can belong with either, linking them together.

4. Honorific Titles

Column 12 of table 8 shows that all holders of imy-r hwt wrt, with the exception of zjtw, the data on whom is incomplete, bore the title hry-tp nzwt. Such a connection between this and the legal 'profession' has already been noted by Junker and Helck. Examination of the titularies of the remaining memphite holders of hry-tp nzwt suggests this still to be true. The situation of the provincial holders of hry-tp nzwt is not so clear, as the average number of legal titles held by these individuals is lower than in the memphite region; also it appears to be held almost always in conjunction with smr w'ty. The occurrence of the title hry-tp nzwt m hwt wrt in the tomb of 'nh-ppy hry-ib can, by its use of a qualifier, emphasise a less prominent association of hry-tp nzwt alone with titles of a legal nature, suggesting that this title may have lost many of its older associations. On examining the relationship between the title smr w'ty and hry-tp nzwt in the capital, one finds a strikingly analogous situation: first sporadically in the early sixth dynasty and then more frequently as the dynasty advanced, a man holding hry-tp nzwt was likely to be granted the rank of smr w'ty, a peak being reached in the reign of Pepy II and the very end of the Old Kingdom. This is almost exactly paralleled in the provinces, and it appears to be a deliberate development in the patterns of titularies. This may have been as much due to a drop in the ranking of smr w'ty between the fifth and sixth dynasties as anything else; this conclusion may be drawn from the change in the latter title's position in Baer's ranking charts.

---

1 Following this reading against that suggested by Fischer, ZAS 105 (1978), 58-9.
2 Respectively, Giza VII, 200-l; Beamtentitel, 60.
3 Exceptions: iti of Zawiet el Mayitin (LD II, 110e-g), although this tomb is damaged, and mniw of Meir (Blackman, Meir V, pl. XLVII-XLVIII).
4 id., Meir IV, pl. XV.
5 Rank and Title, 231-9.
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

The function of ḫry-tp nzwt may thus have changed as the sixth dynasty advanced, from a ranking title generally associated with particular administrative functions to a more general one. The specific functions seem to have been primarily legal, although it is also found with scribes and builders.¹

That the non-vizierial holders of imy-r hwt wrt were not of the highest rank is clear from the rarity of smr w'ty and the non-appearance of iry p't or ḫ3ty-ʼ in their titularies. There is a similar lack of honorific titles of low rank, the only example being ṣḥ nzwt in the titulary of ḫknī-hnmw. This title is overall far more common than ḫry-tp nzwt and was mostly held by men with far less significant titles. It is likely that this exceptional occurrence is connected with the military and related titles held by this man, as it will be seen below that it is not infrequently held by overseers of works (pages 224, 230). ḫknī-hnmw also held ḫry-tp nzwt, and it is evident from the strings of titles in his tomb that the titles concerned with the organisation of labour (including ṣḥ nzwt) appear in a group at the beginning and the legal ones at the end, clearly indicating two separate aspects to his career.

5. Other High Administrative Titles

Such titles appear in the titularies of the imy-r hwt wrt only in the fifth dynasty, and occurrences consist principally of imy-r  žŠ-nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3i (136)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>' nh-m-ʼ-k3i (31)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr-wsr (91)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫ-ʼ-mrr-pth (106)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-ʼnh-pth (124)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Columns:

1 imy-r  žŠ-nzwt
2 X = imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, K = imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt
3 imy-r śnwty
4 imy-r prwy-hd

It would appear that there was some concentration of the offices of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, imy-r  žŠ-nzwt and imy-r hwt wrt on the same man in the middle to late fifth dynasty, or alternatively that the same official could hold a certain limited number of offices. This practice was discontinued towards the end of the dynasty, at

¹ cf. Helck, loc. cit.
least as far as the imy-r hmt wrt were concerned, who henceforth held only that one high office. The generally less elaborate nature of these officials' tombs in the sixth dynasty is suggestive of lower status in that period.

The almost complete lack of titles relating to the granaries or treasuries shows that the economic side of the administration was not usually connected with the areas responsible for legal, scribal and labour-organisation matters, at least as far as non-viziers were concerned.

Table 9

Principal Titles of holders of hm-ntr hqt and ht h3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph-r-nfr (46)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wp-m-nfrt a</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssm-nfr I (129)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-wsr-k3f (27)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i (136)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Lost b</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph-n-wi-k3i (45)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m’-k3i (31)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r’-spss (95)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssm-nfr; hb3 (132)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-’pr c</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ht-htp (4)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp II (50)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m’-hr (30)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References to unnumbered officials:

a. Reisner, Giza I, pl. 17a
b. Borchardt, Nefer-ir-ke3-re’, 68, Abb. 74
c. cf. PM 32, 762

Key to Columns:

1 hm-ntr hqt
2 ht h3
3 mdw rhyt
4 iwn knwmwt
5 z3b 'd-mr
6 wr md šm’w
7 hry-tp nzwt
8 Number of legal/scribal titles, such as hrp zš iry sprw
9 mdh zš nzwt
10 Number of other scribal titles

184
6. Religious Titles

hm-ntr hqt was held by k3i, 'nh-m-'-k3i, sšm-nfr; hb3, 3ht-htp and pth-htp II. Helck notes that it is often found with the title ht h3 (𓊀𓊂𓊃𓊎), but he would prefer to associate these two titles with scribes, suggesting that hqt in particular was a protective deity for that profession.¹ There are three occurrences of the second title amongst the holders of imy-r hwt wrt: k3i, sšm-nfr; hb3 and pth-htp II, all of whom also held hm-ntr hqt. Table 9 shows the correlation of the two titles with each other and a number of further ones, and suggests that these two titles were probably more associated with legal than scribal titles for the period of their existence (both disappear at the beginning of the sixth dynasty). The most common scribal titles are those which also have legal associations (column 8); these aside, the high-ranking title mdjn zs nzwt is the most common (column 9). Two very consistent features are the frequency of their occurrences with zšb 'd-mr and hry-tp nzwt, both of which titles strongly associated with legal titularies. It is perhaps likely that hm-ntr hqt and ht h3 had in themselves a type of honorific function as they were only granted to quite important officials and do not form part of a standard legal titulary. They may indeed have been guardian deities for this profession.

7. Titles connected with Royal Institutions

Examples of such titles held by the imy-r hwt wrt are listed below:

'nh-m-'-k3i (31)

hm-ntr r' m nhn-r'
hm-ntr sšhw-r'
hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'

sšm-nfr; hb3 (132)

hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr
hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'
zš n zš nfr-dd-k3-r'

3ht-htp (4)

hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'
hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis

pth-htp II (50)

imy-r niwt mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'
shd w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'
imy-r niwt ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr
shd hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr
imy-r niwt nfr-dd-k3-r'
shd hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'

nfr-sšm-pth (87)

hnty-š dd-swt-tti
shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti

ztw (115a)

zšb imy-r zš dd-swt-tti
shd w'b 3ht-hmrw
shd w'b wr-h'f-r'
hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy

-------------------

¹ Beamtentitel, 47-8, 121.
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

These examples are nearly all of fifth dynasty date, and only four of the officials of that period in table 8 do not appear in this list. One feature common to these four (k3i, ntr-wsr, h'-mrr-PTH and shm-'nh-PTH) is that they each held two further very important administrative titles while the remainder held either one other ('nh-m'-k3i) or none (the rest). It would seem that, as far as holders of this title are concerned, the less important an official the more likely he was to hold titles connected with these institutions. The bulk of such titles in the fifth dynasty is found with officials of lower rank than that of the whole group of men studied in this work; they are almost non-existent in the titularies of viziers until the later fifth dynasty, when a reform of the ranking of these titles seems to have been undertaken.\(^1\) The granting of these newer types of title seems to have been more selective, perhaps confined to specially favoured officials. The only exceptions to this are the priesthoods of idw at the Giza pyramids, which simply show the maintenance of these older cults.

8. Other Titles

Titles with wd(t)-mdw are not infrequent, particularly wd-mdw (m3') n hryw-wdb (column 14 of table 8). Other examples suggest an association of this expression with legal administration.\(^2\) As all but seven of the thirty-six Old Kingdom holders of titles with wd(t)-mdw are officials discussed in this work, in addition to having these legal associations, such titles were perhaps the mark of important officials, perhaps signifying their power to command that the business for which they were responsible be carried out.

The features of the titulary of mri; idw may now be compared with the characteristics noted above. Although he held the title imy-r hwt wrt, it will be seen from table 8 that his titulary is not dissimilar to that of legal officials of the sixth dynasty, and it would seem that the grouping of him with the other imy-r hwt wrt is correct.

The Viziers

1. imy-r hwt wrt

These are six in number: k3i, pth-htp II, nfr-sam-r', 'nh-m'-hr, mh-w and wr-k3w-b3 Since it is possible to separate their pre- and post-vizierial titularies, the first two examples have already been discussed. An attempt will now be made to discern whether or not the remainder were also imy-r hwt wrt before becoming vizier.

\(^1\) Baer, Rank and Title, 271.
\(^2\) ny-m3't-sd (Cairo, CG 133) was wd-mdw n hwt wrt, while mrrw-k3i (68) was wd-mdw n srw, presumably srw referring to those officials who were often responsible for judgement. See also Helck, Beamtentitel, 74, with n. 52.
Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certain titles of Viziers who held imy-r hwt wrt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| nfr-sām-r' (88) | X  X          | 1 1 X 6 X X |
| 'nh-m-'-hr (30) | X  X          | 1 0 X 4 X X |
| mhw (69)        | X  X          | 1 2 X 5 X X |
| wr-k3w-b3 (40)  | X  X  X      |    H       |
| k3i (136)       | X  X  X  H   |    7 0 X 5 X |

The titulary of k3i as vizier is given for comparison.

Key to Columns:

1 hm-ntr m3't
2 iwn knmwt
3 nfr-sām-r'
4 mdw rhyt
5 X = imy-r and hrp wsht, H = only hrp wsht
6 z3b 'd-md
7 m3'w
8 Titles with hwt wrt
9 Titles with wd'-mdw
10 Number of scribal titles
11 Number of labour-related titles
12 hry-tp nzwt
13 Number of other high administrative titles
14 Titles with wd(t)-mdw
15 Royal Institution Titles

Table 10 shows some significant title patterns of these viziers, with the titulary of k3i from that part of his career added for comparison. This latter individual carried over several of his legal titles from his earlier career but not imy-r hwt wrt. The titles of nfr-sām-r' and 'nh-m-'-hr include several which are to be found in the first titulary of the almost contemporary nfr-sām-pth (87) and the slightly earlier sām-nfr; hb3 (132) and 3ht-htp (4), suggesting that they held the office of imy-r hwt wrt before their promotion to the vizierate. The three tombs in the 'Rue de tombeaux' at Saqqara may thus originally have been built for individuals who at some time held the office of imy-r hwt wrt, all of whom were later promoted to higher offices. mhw, of the reign of Pepy I, shows some legal titles not unlike those of ihy and idw. He also may have held the office of imy-r hwt wrt before promotion. The titulary of wr-k3w-b3 is very different, with no distinctive legal titles. Allowing for the possibility that much of it has been lost, it suggests that titularies at the end of the Old Kingdom

---

1 It is impossible to ascertain the vizierial titulary of pth-htp II.
were much different to what had gone before, and even that imy-r hwt wrt could have been written for imy-r hwt wrt 6 (cf. mri; idw above), the holders of which office bore fewer legal titles (see next section).

It would appear that the tenure of the title imy-r hwt wrt was essentially a feature of a man's career before he was promoted to the vizierate. Only in the case of 'nh-m'-hr is this title found in the immediate vicinity of t3ty t3bl t3ty; nowhere do imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r hwt wrt 6 appear together. Thus the evidence for the association of imy-r hwt wrt with the vizierate is not strong - in the cases of k3i, nfr-sâm-r' and mhâ it was presumably replaced by imy-r hwt wrt 6.

2. imy-r hwt wrt 6

Since this title appears to be the prerogative of the vizier at least until the end of the Old Kingdom, a fuller treatment of the titularies of its holders will be found below in chapter 8. The only matter to be resolved here is the extent to which the holders of this title had legal careers judged in the terms of reference established for the holders of imy-r hwt wrt. It is evident that the number of legal titles in the titulary of a vizier bore but little relationship to tenure of the office of imy-r hwt wrt 6. For example, 3ht-hotp; hmi (3) held many legal titles but never occupied that position, while there are several imy-r hwt wrt 6 in the sixth dynasty without any other legal titles: k3i-gmnî, mry-tttî, mrri, nb-k3w-hr, h'-b3w-hnmw and ttw, while several others held only one legal title. We may say that tenure of imy-r hwt wrt 6 bore no clear relationship to other legal titles in the manner of imy-r hwt wrt.

The Functions and Organisation of the hwt wrt

A. The relationship of imy-r hwt wrt to imy-r hwt wrt 6

As with many of the major institutions of the Old Kingdom, the only study devoted to the hwt wrt (6) is by Pirenne. He saw the establishment of the hwt wrt 6, presided over by the vizier, as the major change in the juridical administration of the Old Kingdom. Each of the six courts was in the charge of a z3b iry nhn, and hwt wrt alone referred to the nome courts, which he saw as central to provincial administration. Helck has noted that imy-r hwt wrt 6 is held by viziers, and suggests that this title shows the uppermost level of control of the hwt wrt. He assumes that the six courts were situated in the residence, and that each individual court was

-----------------------
1 Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 6A; I do not have a record of the positions of imy-r hwt wrt in the tomb of mhâ.
2 Institutions et Droit I, 274-7, 11, 114-20, 111, 78-80.
3 An observation first made by Sethe, ZAS 28 (1890), 44.
controlled by an imy-r hwt wrt.\textsuperscript{1}

The logical conclusion from these latter remarks is that there should have been six men holding imy-r hwt wrt simultaneously from the middle of the fifth dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. If one presupposes that a man might hold such an office for thirty years (probably too high an estimate), then each position would be expected to change hands at least seven times in the whole period, making a minimum of forty-two imy-r hwt wrt desirable. In fact there are twenty-one currently known; more may well be awaiting discovery, but this is unlikely to raise this figure by a significant amount. From this number it seems most probable that there was only one of these officials holding the office at one time, giving an average tenure of office of approximately fifteen years per man. The total numbers of holders of imy-r hwt wrt 6 is sixteen, which is sufficiently similar to the total of imy-r hwt wrt for there to have been one holder of each title at the same time (these figures assume that mry; idw (57) was effectively imy-r hwt wrt).

The view of Pirenne that the z3b iry nhn were in control of the individual elements of the hwt wrt 6 derives from the biography of wni. The latter 'heard alone, together with the vizier, all secret matters conducted in the king's name for the royal harim and the hwt wrt 6'.\textsuperscript{2} Including this man there were at least seventeen z3b iry nhn in the Old Kingdom,\textsuperscript{3} one z3b iry nhn m3',\textsuperscript{4} and one z3b iry nhn n hwt wrt.\textsuperscript{5} This total is not unlike that of the imy-r hwt wrt and the imy-r hwt wrt 6, and although it may be a simple coincidence, the holders of z3b iry nhn could have acted alongside the imy-r hwt wrt or the vizier, one at a time. It is in fact the latter that is suggested by the biography of wni: this text does not associate this office particularly with the hwt wrt but stresses rather the connection with the vizier.\textsuperscript{6} Further evidence from the same text lends support to this interpretation: wni is said to have acted as the sole judge at the trial of the unnamed queen of Pepy I, assisted only by a z3b iry nhn, without the vizier or any other official being present.\textsuperscript{7} Here wni was surely acting as the vizier would have done and consequently the presence of the unnamed z3b iry nhn is explained by the association of that office with the vizier.

This conclusion is strengthened by the existence of the title z3b iry nhn n hwt wrt. Here a specific connection with the hwt wrt is noted, and the singularity of this title suggests that such an

\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{1} Beamtentitel, 73.
\textsuperscript{2} Urk. I, 99.5-6.
\textsuperscript{3} Some examples, ny-m3't-sd (Mariette, Mastabas, 329), shm-k3i (Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII), sndm-ib (Cairo, CG 57007), ny-k3w-r (Cairo, CG 1416), inti (Martin, Hetepka, pl. 34 (100-1).
\textsuperscript{4} hwi, Fischer, MMJ 9 (1974), fig. 7.
\textsuperscript{5} shm-k3i, Murray, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{6} cf. Helck, Beamtentitel, 74 n. 50.
\textsuperscript{7} Urk. I, 100-1.
association was not normal for that office.¹

From the evidence of their titularies, it seems that the imy-r hwt wrt were almost always holders of several further legal titles, while the imy-r hwt wrt 6 were not. For the most part, the imy-r hwt wrt held few or no other high administrative titles while the imy-r hwt wrt 6 did. It is thus not inconceivable that many of those viziers who held the special title imy-r hwt wrt 6 did so by virtue of being the senior administrative official who had the overall supervision of the courts in his charge,² while the ordinary day-to-day running of the institution was carried out by the imy-r hwt wrt.

On this basis, one might expect all the other titles incorporating hwt wrt to refer to it in numbers less than six. As will be seen later in table 11, the majority of titles do in fact refer to the hwt wrt in the singular, but there are a few instances of hwt wrt 6. Four of the examples of the latter date from the reign of Pepy II and later, at which time it is possible that the terms hwt wrt and hwt wrt 6 were interchangeable (page 188), and the meaning of these titles could be a little ambiguous. The rarity of subordinate titles at the hwt wrt 6 suggests that the positions cannot have been particularly regular and may in fact have been special appointments for favoured individuals, associating them with an office otherwise reserved only for viziers.

One may only speculate on the reasons for the number six. Presumably the central legal establishment (wherever it was) was at some time composed of six courts, and by actually specifying the total number supreme overall control was intended, thus separating the holder of such a title from the next man in the chain of command, even though the number of courts for which the imy-r hwt wrt and the imy-r hwt wrt 6 were responsible may well have been the same.

B. Other Aspects

The exact location of these 'great courts' is unknown. In no instance of either title of overseer is their place specified. However, two officials held titles which give locations to individual hwt wrt's: the earlier is hry-sšt3 n nzwt m hwt wrt nt pr nzwt,³ and the later z3b šḥd zš n ḫwty wrt (זב השד הזה העיר) imy-wrt nt ḫnw.⁴ The first title seems to be the earliest certain

---

¹ de Cenival has observed that the other elements in the titularies of z3b iry nhn suggest that they may have been involved in administrative as well as judicial work (RdE 27 (1975), 68-9).
² This is perhaps implied by a passage in the biography of k3i-gmani, where he says that he saw to all the matters dealt with in the hwt wrt 6 for the king (see further below page 192).
³ 3ḥt-hṭp, Mariette, Mastabas, 70
⁴ wr-hnw, LD II, 43b.
mention of the institution, and antedates further examples by several years.¹ No other institutions are known in the place termed imy-wrt nt hnw, but further references may be found to administrative titles or institutions compounded with imy-wrt.² Both of these Old Kingdom titles are unique, and such uniqueness may suggest that they refer to special positions. This lack of precision in most Old Kingdom titles impedes one's understanding of the workings of the hwt wrt or any section of the administration. Even the infrequent examples of the hwt wrt (6) mentioned outside titles (see below) do not give any indication of their location. Since little is known of the whereabouts of administrative departments in the Old Kingdom, Helck's suggestion of the residence can be only a guess. It is not impossible that the locations of these institutions were split in several places, some of them being in the residence (hnw; perhaps two were on the right side (imy-wrt) and two on the left ?), and possibly one in the pr-nzwt.

Pirenne would locate the hwt wrt (as opposed to the hwt wrt 6) away from the residence. He sees the former as nome-courts, based on the older view of the z3b 'd-mr as a provincial administrator.³ None of the holders of imy-r hwt wrt would now however be associated with provincial administration. The complete lack of instances of the hwt wrt in titles of provincial administrators would also argue against this view. Only one certain occurrence of this term is found outside the memphite region, in the Abydos decree of Neferirkare (see below), but this, concerned as it is with temple exemption, would surely be dealt with at the highest (memphite) level, particularly in the earlier parts of the Old Kingdom when provincial administration was not very highly developed.

The following restricted amount of material derives from contemporary sources (other than titles) and tells us a little about what took place in the hwt wrt (6) in the Old Kingdom:

1 The hwt wrt is mentioned in the Abydos Decree of Neferirkare, in which temple lands and servants are exempted from various duties:-

```
ir rmt nb n sp3t it.ty.fy hmw-ntr nbw ntyw hr 3ht-ntr w'b.ty.sn hr.s m sp3t tw wrt ntt hr 3ht-ntr r' idrw hn' k3t nbt nt sp3t m3'.k sw r hwt wrt dy [ds.f r k3t] m m3t_ sk3 it bdt ////.⁴
```

1 Although the term hwt wrt seems to appear in an inscription of the third dynasty vizier mn-k3, Lauer, Pyramide à Degrés V, pl. 1
2 Another is also in the tomb of wr-hww, imy-r gs imy-wrt '3 hr; one is in a sixth dynasty letter to the vizier, sht imy-wrt (Gdseloff, ASAE 48 (1948), 510-11); there is also an example in the eighteenth dynasty - z3b n imy-wrt in the titulary of the vizier imm-m-ipt (Urk. IV, 1440 (D)).
3 Institutions et Droit 11, 118-20.
4 Goedicke, Königl. Dokumente, Abb. 2.

191
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

As for any man of the nome who shall take a) any priest who is on the god's land and who does priestly service in return for it in this nome, or b) the mrt who are on the god's land, for estate-work and also any work of the nome, you shall send him to the hwt wrt. He shall be sent to the granite (quarries) and his harvest (?) shall be given to...?? 2

2 A letter among the Abusir Papyri, almost certainly dating to the reign of Djedkare, refers to officials who were stationed at the door of the hwt wrt: - in hr.ti (?) n m- 3 srw n rwt hwt wrt - 'Have I not come back because of the officials at the gate of the hwt wrt?'. 3

3 In the biography of k3i-m-tnnt (146), the ' matters of the secrets in the hwt wrt 's' are mentioned: - //m hr mdw n st3 m hwwt wrt. 4

4 In the first section of the biography of 3ht-htp; hmi (3), officials of the hwt wrt are addressed by the deceased, but the text of the address has been lost. However, the second section gives us an idea of what could happen to an individual through the actions of the hwt wrt: ir rmt nb .... hnr.sn hr.s hwlm.sn hr.s m hwt wrt - 'As for any man ... who is imprisoned or beaten on account of it in the hwt wrt...'. 5

5 The responsibility of k3i-gmni (151) for carrying out the desires of the king in the hwt wrt 6 appears in his biography:-

sk wd.n hm.f ht nbt mrrt hm.f irt m hwt wrt 6; ir ht nbt wdt n hm.f irt m hwt wrt 6 r m3' hpr n m-, i r m3. 6

Lo, his majesty ordered all that he desired to be done in the hwt wrt 6; regarding all the things which his majesty ordered to be done in the hwt wrt 6 in truth, they happened truly through my action.

6 The function of the vizier and the z3b iry nhn is mentioned in the biography of wni (see discussion above page 189).

The references to the hwt wrt 6 (numbers 5 and 6) are in very general terms, and as such substantiate the idea that the number six was used to refer to all the happenings in the law-courts. It

1 For these terms, Goedicke, op. cit., 26-7 (5).
2 For this restoration, id., ib., 31-2 (23-4).
3 HPBM, pl. LXXXA (3); Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 453, 458-60, 464-5.
4 Urk. I, 183.10; Schott, Fs Otto, 450.
5 Inscription A: Hassan, Saqqara I, pl. XXVII B, fig. 18; Inscription B: id., ib., pl. XXVIII C, fig. 17.
6 As reconstructed by Edel, M10 1 (1953), Taf. II, columns 4-7.
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

is clear from the Abydos decree that the/a hwt wrt dealt with disputes arising from infringements to the exemptions granted to temples by the crown. The letter from Abusir (the place of writing, writer and addressee of which are unknown) refers to a method of dispensing judgement well-known from Egypt and which appears in all periods. The biography of k3i-m-tnnt contains the only reference to these institutions explicitly in the plural; the fact that it does not employ the term hwt wrt 6 further suggests that this was only used in special contexts, such as titles and when referring to functions of the vizier. Inscription B of the biography of Jht-htp; hmi is the only evidence for the punishments meted out by the hwt wrt.2

Sparse though this material is, it shows clearly that the hwt wrt were part of the legal system; it reinforces the conclusion that the individual hwt wrt's were where actual judgement took place, and that the figure six was added in special cases to stress overall authority.

More evidence is forthcoming concerning legal organisation from later periods, and some of it may be of use in matters concerning the functions and location of the hwt wrt (6). Helck's suggestion that the hwt wrt were in the residence may derive in part from a Middle Kingdom title found on a stela of ddw-sbk.3 The exact nature of these hwt is not specified; the major objection to believing them to be the hwt wrt 6 is that ddw-sbk does not appear to have been a vizier while all true imy-r hwt wrt 6 seem to have held this office.4 Allowing for this problem it is still possible (by analogy) that these institutions existed in Memphis in the Old Kingdom.

On a fragment from the tomb of dhwty-nht at El Bersheh (no. 1), presumably imyw-r hwt wrt, are shown among people pulling a shrine.5 With them are men of p, dp, wnw, Lower Egyptian

-------------------

1 See Posener-Kriéger, op. cit., 459-60 (p), 464-5.
2 There is one further reference possibly of Old Kingdom date to the hwt wrt, the context of which is unclear. Part of a false door from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery bears the text /// hrs gri m hwt wrt ipi (el-Fikey, The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara, pl.16 (5)). hwt wrt is here written , an unusual writing for the Old Kingdom, and so it may be of First Intermediate Period date.
3 British Museum 255 - BM Stelae IV, pl. 36, cf. Helck, Verwaltung, 73 and Beamtentitel, 73.
4 For a convenient, if not exhaustive, set of examples, see Weil, Veziere, Indices, 54 (Middle Kingdom), 123 (New Kingdom) and 162 (Late Period).
5 Newberry, El Bersheh II, pl. IX (8).
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

Nomes 4/5 as well as the mrt nzwt and the msw nzwt. Little else seems to be known about the hwt wrt in the Middle Kingdom, but the association of these men with such ceremonies as this suggests that there could well have been a ceremonial role for the imy-r hwt wrt in the Old Kingdom.

A late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period text shows the imy-r hwt wrt 6 (the vizier imn-m-h3t) acting in judgement regarding the possession of a slave-girl, and enforcing his judgement when it was queried.¹

From the New Kingdom there are no such references to the hwt wrt except in titles, but more is known about the structure of legal organisation, at least from the standpoint of the vizier. The principal source of this is the three parallel texts known as the 'Duties of the Vizier' found in Theban private tombs.² It is clear that the vizier was regarded as the highest judicial authority in the land (or at least in the part of the land under his control), who was required to act in certain types of dispute, and perhaps function as a 'court of appeal' in other cases. Legal affairs seem to have held an important position among the concerns of the vizier at this time. The inscriptions always speak of the vizier holding court in the 'Hall of the Vizier' (𓊕𓊤𓊳𓊢𓊪), and the hwt wrt never in fact receives a mention, yet the owners of the tombs in which these texts are found were all imy-r hwt wrt 6. Consequently, either the function of the hwt wrt 6 is not covered in these texts, or else they did not represent an actual institution at that time but rather refer back to an ancient one that had survived in a title only held by the senior legal official of the land. Old Kingdom evidence suggests that the hwt wrt (6) were very much real institutions in that period, but it is probable that they were replaced by a newer systems at a later date, with the title imy-r hwt wrt 6 remaining as part of the titulary of a vizier.

Since there is no representational evidence for the hwt wrt in the Old Kingdom, we now turn to the range of activities shown by titles associated with it (table 11). Numbers 1-6 in this table are scribal in character, 7-17 connected with judgement, and 18-24 administrative and/or judicial. It is notable that the scribal titles are in the minority, although one might expect there to have been many such officials to keep the records. Perhaps the scribes who worked in the hwt wrt were not necessarily attached to that

¹ Smither, JEA 34 (1948), 31-4.
² In the tombs of wsr (no. 61; PM 1², 246), imn-m-ipt (no. 29; PM 1², 46), and rh-mi-r' (no. 100; PM 1², 206). A convenient edition may be found in Urk. IV, 1103-17. These texts are translated by Davies (Rekh-mi-re' II, 88-94) and Helck (Verwaltung, 29-43 with comments). Helck considered this text to be a Middle Kingdom composition (op. cit., 2), but it has been argued recently that it is an early eighteenth dynasty work, alluding to earlier periods (van den Boorn, Or 51 (1982), 369-81).
### Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number of Holders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. shd zš n hwt wrt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. imy-r zš hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. hrp zš n hwt wrt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. zš smsw n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. imy-r zš 'prw n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. z3b shd zš n hwty wrt imy-wrt nt hnw</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw (nb) n/m hwt wrt</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw (nb) n/m hwt wrt 6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw št3 (nb) n hwt wrt</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. hry-sšt3 n sâm w' m hwt wrt 6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. wd'-mdw n hwt wrt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. wd'-mdw m hwt wrt 6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. wd'-mdw št3 n hwt wrt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. sm3' wd'-mdw n/hwt wrt</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. wd-mdw n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. z3b iry nhn n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. shd nht-hrw n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt 6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. hry-sšt3 n hwt wrt</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. wr md hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. hry-sšt3 n md3t n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. hry-sšt3 nzw n hwt wrt nt pr-nzw</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. hry-tp mdw n wd'-mdw št3 n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. hry-tp mdw št3 n hwt wrt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References:**

1. wr-hww - LD II, 43b  
   inpw-m-h3t - Quibell, Excav. Saqq. (1905-06), pl. XV  
2. pth-htp; iy-ni - Hassan, Saqqara II, pl. LXXXVII (B)  
3. sšm-nfr; hb3 (132) - Mariette, Mastabas, 399  
   pth-htp; iy-n-'nh - Hassan, op. cit., fig. 34b  
4. pth-htp; iy-n-'nh - as 3  
5. sbky - Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916), 198-204  
6. wr-hww - LD II, 43b  
7. 3ht-mdw - Giza tomb G2375, unpublished  
   pth-htp - Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 89  
   b3-špss - Curto, Gli scavi italiani a el-Ghiza, fig. 16b  
   3ht-htp (4) - Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. IV  
8. mrrw-k3i (68)- Duell, Mereruka II, pl. 212  
   ny-'nh-snfrw - de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig. 27  
   sbky - as 5  

continued
Table 11 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mh₂ₚ, impy</td>
<td>Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 56-7, fig. 1; Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pth-ḥₚₛₛ ; impy</td>
<td>Fischer, MII 7 (1960), 304 n.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>k₃ǐ-'pr</td>
<td>Hassan, Giza II, fig. 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ḫₚₜ-mḥw</td>
<td>as 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>iḥy, si</td>
<td>Maspero, MMIF II, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>k₃ǐ-'pr</td>
<td>Hassan, Giza VI, fig. 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>nḥ-m-tnt</td>
<td>Fischer, op. cit., fig. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>sḥm-k₃ǐ</td>
<td>Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Name unknown</td>
<td>Fischer, Offerings, 80 n. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ntr-wḥr (91)</td>
<td>id., ib., pl. XX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>r'-ḥₚₛₛ (95)</td>
<td>LD II, 64b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>k₃ǐ-m-nfrₜ</td>
<td>Cairo, CG 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ny-m³'t-sd</td>
<td>Mariette, op. cit., 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>htp-hr-ḥₚₜ</td>
<td>id., ib., 341; pth-ḥₚₛₛ - id., ib., 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>iti-sn</td>
<td>Hassan, Giza V, fig. 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ny-sw-qd</td>
<td>Mariette, op. cit., 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>wr-dd-ḥₚₜ</td>
<td>Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>pḥtro-ḥₚₜ</td>
<td>Juncker, op. cit., Abb. 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>sḥm-ib</td>
<td>Hassan, op. cit., 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>pth-ḥₚₜ-ḥbw</td>
<td>Quibell, Excav. Saqq. (1907-08), 26 (916)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>ḫₚₜ-ḥₚₜ</td>
<td>Mariette, op. cit., 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>ḫₚₜ-mḥw</td>
<td>as 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Institution, or else only certain favoured individuals were permitted to use the term hwt wrt in titles. In addition, titles termed legal/scribal ones (such as zẖb imy-r zẖ and ḡrp zẖ isy sprw) may have fulfilled these functions. Scribal titles were present in the titularies of most imy-r hwt wrt, and so the institution was in many cases probably not specified. Many additional officials may have been of insufficient status or means to possess an elaborate tomb.

Far more references are made to the hwt wrt in titles connected with judgement (wd'-mdw) or the administration of the institution. This is hardly surprising as these functions were conceivably more specialist than scribal ones. The titles connected with judgement differentiate between judging everything (wd'-mdw (nb)) and judging secret matters (wd'-mdw št3). These may be not unrelated to the two categories of legal documents referred to in the eighteenth dynasty 'Duties of the Vizier' texts. Titles employing nḥt-ḥrw

---

1 For example, Urk. IV, 1109.11-1110.8.
Chapter 3 - The Overseers of the Great Mansions

seem sometimes to have associations of judgement.¹

For the associations of the title z3b iry nhn with the hwt wrt see above page 189. The element iry nhn, written  or , is found in the titularies of viziers in the Middle and New Kingdoms to such an extent that it must surely be a survival of a more ancient functional title, perhaps of a legal nature.²

The title wr md hwt wrt recalls the groups of ten men present in the 'Duties of the Vizier'.³ These latter groups are the wr md śm'w, which have a separate existence in the Old Kingdom, and were possibly concerned with work-organisation as well as legal matters.⁴ The title wr md hwt wrt is only held by one man who also holds the comparable (and similarly unique) title of wr md hwt-'nh. These may be special titles referring to a more ordinary function such as wr md śm'w (not held by this man, sndm-ib) in the later Old Kingdom, and may be associated with legal administration. Thus in this respect the functions of the hwt wrt in the Old Kingdom may indeed parallel that of the Hall of the Vizier in the New Kingdom.

The principal lower administrative title in the hwt wrt would seem to be, to judge from the number of holders, hry-sståt n hwt wrt. The eight holders of this office date between the middle of the fifth and the early sixth dynasty. Their titularies differ from those of the imy-r hwt wrt in some degree, and no holder of this office seems to have attained this latter title. Legal titles do not seem to be particularly prevalent among the holders of hry-sståt n hwt wrt with the exception of k3i-m-nfrt; only the title hmntr mz't is held in nearly all cases. The most frequent honorific title they held is not hry-tp nzwt but rather rh nzwt, indicating lower rank. However, titles that may have some lower-ranking judicial connotations (z3b imy-r/shd zâ, z3b shd iry md3t) are not infrequent, and indicate their association with the administrative functions of the hwt wrt.

It is tempting to see in the above title the immediate subordinate of the imy-r hwt wrt. It is unclear why the title should disappear after the early sixth dynasty, as there does not seem to be any obvious replacement for it among those discussed above. Perhaps there was an administrative reorganisation at that time, the main result of which was to reduce the number of titles extant in various institutions.⁵ It follows from this that the most

¹ Fischer, Offerings, 73.
² Examples, Weil, Veziere, Indices, 54 (Middle Kingdom) and 122 (New Kingdom). It is perhaps unlikely that it is connected with the Old Kingdom title  , probably read mniw nhn.
³ Urk. IV, 1104.8; for an illustration, see Davies, Rekh-mi-re' II, pl. 25.
⁴ Fischer, JNES 18 (1959), 265-6.
⁵ This is reflected in the lower number of titles and tombs in this dynasty as opposed to the fifth; evidence will be

197
probable solution is that the functions of ḫry-sēt3 n ħwt wrt were incorporated into those of another title, perhaps imy-r ħwt wrt, which seems to have been the only regular administrative title associated with the ħwt wrt in the sixth dynasty. The fact that there is no titulary of a holder of imy-r ħwt wrt which contains ḫry-sēt3 n ħwt wrt or indeed many titles incorporating ħwt wrt makes it impractical to suggest any further ranking of offices within that institution.

Conclusions

From the middle of the fifth dynasty it would appear that in overall charge of the legal system was the vizier with the title imy-r ħwt wrt 6. The courts (the overall number and location of which are uncertain) were controlled on a practical basis by an imy-r ħwt wrt, who would be a legal official, to judge from the evidence of his earlier career. The exact division of the processes of judgement is unknown, but there were many men who had titles that associate them with the act of ḡd'-mdw in the ħwt wrt, some of whom also held other functions in that institution. These men were again usually legal officials. It is to be presumed that they would assist the imy-r ħwt wrt, with the imy-r ħwt wrt 6 as the hearer of special types of case or perhaps acting as a court of appeal.1 The number of specified scribal functions in the ħwt wrt is not great, but it is assumed from the scribal associations of many of its officials that it was often not specifically mentioned. There are some scribal/legal positions which may have involved duty in legal institutions. The evidence is insufficient for a ranking table of titles in the ħwt wrt to be usefully established.

---

found in the following chapters for further reductions in the numbers of important title-holders in the sixth dynasty.

1 The statement in the 'Duties of the Vizier' that the vizier heard every case (Urk. IV, 1114.12) must be a generalisation about the theoretical nature of his duties rather than the practical. One may compare this to the situation of the king being the high priest of every cult - in practice, he can only have occasionally carried out the duties, delegating most of the everyday work to full-time priests.
The title imy-r zš ' nzwt is usually considered the most important title in the scribal administration of the Old Kingdom. Helck sees it as a later equivalent of the older title mdh zš nzwt,¹ although this would seem a little simplified as it ignores the element ' nzwt (see page 215-16 below). Its importance may be judged from its frequent appearance in the titularies of viziers and other high officials.

A list follows of the known holders of this title in the Old Kingdom. There appear to be two variant forms, imy-r zš ' nzwt n k3t nbt nt nzwt and imy-r zš ' nzwt n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, both held by mrw-k3i (65), who does not hold imy-r zš ' nzwt alone. The uniqueness of these examples probably justifies our treating the qualifying phrases as simple embellishments; we will see that labour-organisation and wdt-mdw are frequently associated with the functions of imy-r zš ' nzwt.

Although we have not included it in table 12, the title imy-r zš md3t held by h'-b3w-hnmw (104) may perhaps be an abbreviation for imy-r zš ' nzwt. This title is written inside a small compartment on a wall of his burial chamber,² and it will be argued below (page 234) that imy-r k3t nbt in the same location is in fact imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt shortened for reasons of space; imy-r zš md3t could fall into the same category.

¹ Beamtentitel, 75-6.
² Jequier, Pepy II III, pl. 52
## Chapter 4 - The Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Documents

### Table 12

**List of holders of imy-r zš' nzwt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Individual(s)</th>
<th>Reference(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Memphite:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neferirkare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* w3š-pth; izi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neweserre/mid fifth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr II</td>
<td></td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sšm-'nh-pth</td>
<td></td>
<td>(123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* k3i</td>
<td></td>
<td>(136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ztw</td>
<td></td>
<td>(115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menkauhor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ph-n-wi-k3i ty</td>
<td></td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr-wsr</td>
<td></td>
<td>(91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Djedkare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sšm-nfr III</td>
<td></td>
<td>(131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* r'-špss</td>
<td></td>
<td>(95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-htp dšr</td>
<td></td>
<td>(47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-later Djedkare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-htp I</td>
<td></td>
<td>(49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later fifth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'-mrr-pth</td>
<td></td>
<td>(106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-inpw</td>
<td></td>
<td>(141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mš-nfr</td>
<td></td>
<td>(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-'nh-pth</td>
<td></td>
<td>(124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Later Wenis</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ihy</td>
<td></td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* iy-nfrt; š3nf</td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End fifth-early sixth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* hrnmw-nti</td>
<td></td>
<td>(113)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* k3i-gmni; mmi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teti</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nfr-sšm-r'; šši</td>
<td></td>
<td>(88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 'nh-m'-hr; zzi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mrrw-k3i; mri</td>
<td></td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Early Pepy I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* hnty-k3i; ihhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mhw</td>
<td></td>
<td>(69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td>(51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Pepy I-early Pepy II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mry-tti</td>
<td></td>
<td>(63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mrr</td>
<td></td>
<td>(67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nfr-sšm-sš3t; hrnw</td>
<td></td>
<td>(89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* idw I; nfr</td>
<td></td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 'nh-mry-r'</td>
<td></td>
<td>(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Pepy II ?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Later Pepy II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r'</td>
<td></td>
<td>(72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tti</td>
<td></td>
<td>(156)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

200
Chapter 4 - The Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Documents

Table 12 continued

Other Forms

Middle fifth dynasty

\[ \text{mrw-k3i} \ (65) \] \[ \text{imy-r z\' } \text{nzwt n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt} \]
\[ \text{imy-r z\' } \text{nzwt n k3t nbt nt nzwt} \]

B. Provincial

Late fifth dynasty

* hrwy I \quad \text{Akhmim}^1

Teti

* izi \quad \text{Edfu}^2

Pepy I ?

* iww \quad \text{Abydos}^3

Early/middle Pepy II

* d'w \quad \text{Abydos}^4

* idi \quad \text{Abydos}^5

Middle-late Pepy II

* ppy-nht \quad \text{Abydos}^6

* 'nh-ppy \text{ hry-ib} \quad \text{Meir}^7

1 Newberry, AAA 4 (1912), 112 (19); date, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 3.
2 Alliot, Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933), 22-7; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 60 (62).
3 Cairo, CG 1576, LD Text II, 176 (5); date, Kanawati, op. cit., 33.
4 Cairo, CG 1431; also mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 279.18, 280.15; date, Baer, op. cit., 156-7 (591).
5 A variety of monuments: Baer, op. cit., 61-2 (73a); also Fischer, AJA 66 (1962), 65-9; date, see the Prosopography under ihy-hnt (16).
6 Cairo, CG 1573; date, Baer, op. cit., 71 (135), Kanawati, op. cit., 89.
7 Blackman, Meir IV, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (133).
Late Pepy II-post Old Kingdom

* $\text{sm3i}$ Koptos\(^1\)
* $\text{hnqw; iy...f}$ Deir el Gebrawi\(^2\)

* indicates vizier at some time in their careers

Three titles which have been interpreted as $\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}$ are not so considered here; all antedate the earliest certain occurrences of the latter in the reign of Neferirkare. In the tomb of k3i-m-nfr at Giza (GIIS), a damaged block bears the text $\overline{\text{zä ' nzwt}}$, restored by Junker to $\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}$.\(^3\) It is also possible to restore $\text{zä ' nzwt}$, which title has the advantage of being attested in the fourth dynasty (izi (17) and nfr (84)), while $\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}$ is not.

The second occurrence is in the tomb of mry.\(^58\) at Saqqara, where $\overline{\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}}$ is read by Helck as $\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}$, but corrected by Fischer to $\text{imy-r zä md3t n 'w nzwt}$.\(^4\) Although not an example of the title under consideration here, it may represent an earlier equivalent (see page 216 below).

The third example comes from the lower lintel of the southern false door of the tomb of k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i at Giza (G4651):\(^5\)

As there is a substantial break beneath the $r$, it is unlikely that all the signs are to be read as one title $\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}$. Since both $\text{imy-r pr}$ and $\text{zä ' nzwt}$ form part of the titulary of k3i-pw-nzwt,\(^6\) there can be little doubt that they should be restored here.

The title of $\text{imy-r zä ' nzwt}$ first appears in the titulary of the vizier w3ä-pth, dated to the reign of Neferirkare. There are twenty-four further holders in the fifth dynasty but only seventeen in the sixth, and those principally before the second quarter of

---

2 Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XXIII-XXXVI; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 117.
3 Giza X, 30, Abb. 13.
4 Respectively, Beamtentitel, 75 and Varia, 29-30.
5 Junker, Giza III, Abb. 16.
6 id., ib., Abb. 15, and Abb. 17.
the reign of Pepy II. After that time only two or three holders are known for the period of sixty years or more to the end of the dynasty. No memphite examples have yet come to light from the seventh and eighth dynasties or the First Intermediate Period.

There are nine holders of this title buried in the provinces, and all were viziers. It was apparently an important element of the titulary of the 'Southern Vizier', as only four holders of that office did not hold imy-r zś ' nzwt. At least five of these viziers holding imy-r zś ' nzwt belong to the period from the middle of the reign of Pepy II to the end of the eighth dynasty (d'w to šm3i), and one (hnqw) to the First Intermediate Period.

In the fifth dynasty this title was evidently sometimes read imy-r zś n ' nzwt, with a extra n not belonging to the writing of nzwt.\(^1\) The position of the t of nzwt varies in the fifth dynasty but in the sixth is most frequently written after the sedge plant, above the zś sign. The element is usually written , but occasionally appears without the bookroll, or with the bookroll written after the zś sign. In the latter case (that of h' yrs-pth (106)), it is indeed not impossible that the title should be read imy-r zś md3t n ' nzwt as with mry (58) (see previous page), although the rarity of this title and the relative commonness of imy-r zś ' nzwt perhaps argue against this.

The Titularies of the Non-viziers

Only eleven of the memphite holders of this title did not attain the vizierate. In addition, we can study the titles of three men who certainly held imy-r zś ' nzwt before their promotion to vizier - k3i, sšm-nfr III, and r'-špss , making a total of fourteen.

1. Scribal Titles

This heading can describe any title incorporating the word zś, which should indicate the holder's involvement with scribal functions at some point in his career. Some such titles have legal as well as (or perhaps even in preference to) simply scribal functions, such as hṛp zś iṛy sprw and hṛp zś wšht. These and other major title groups are represented as a presence-absence chart in table 13.

The most obvious conclusion from columns 1-8 of this table is that the number of scribal titles was not necessarily high, which suggests that these men often pursued careers not solely involved with the processes of writing, since such a general scattering of scribal titles would probably come about from involvement with the bureaucratic aspects of any administrative department.

\(^1\) On the question of this extra n, and a somewhat unlikely later interpretation, see Ward, Or 51 (1982), 382-9.
### Chapter 4 - The Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Documents

#### Table 13
Principal Titles of non-viziers who held *imy-r zš ' nzwt*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr II (130)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i (136) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ztw (115)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty (157)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrw-k3i (65)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>ntr-wsr (91)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr III (131) *</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-šps (95) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'-mr-pth (106)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-inpw (141)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3-nfr (54)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-'nh-pth (124)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irw-k3-pth (13)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<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>hnmw (111)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates vizier in later career

Key to Title columns:

1. *hrp zš (nb)*
2. *hrp zš iry sprw*
3. *mdh zš nzwt*
4. *zš hryt-' nzwt*
5. *zs wr md šm'w*
6. *zš š nzwt*
7. *hrp zš pr hry-wdb*
8. *hrp zš wsht*
9. Number of legal titles
10. Number of Labour titles
11. Number of other high offices
12. *hry-tp nzwt*
13. Titles with wd(t)-mdw
14. Religious titles
15. Royal Institution titles

### 2. Legal Titles

The number of legal titles held by *imy-r zš ' nzwt* (as established in chapter 3) is given in column 9 of table 13. *hrp zš iry sprw* is counted as a legal as well as scribal title. Of the seven officials with many legal titles (*k3i, ntr-wsr, r'-šps, h'-mr-pth, k3i-pw-inpw, m3-nfr, shm-'nh-pth*), four attained the rank of *imy-r hwt wrt*. In the fifth dynasty, it appears that it was not unusual for a man who attained this latter office also to be promoted to *imy-r zš ' nzwt*.

Of the remaining officials (*sšm-nfr II, ztw, ty, mrw-k3i, sšm-nfr III, irw-k3-pth, hnmw*), information on the titularies of *mrw-k3i, irw-k3-pth* and *hnmw* is so restricted that valid conclusions cannot really be drawn. *sšm-nfr II* is a rare example of an *imy-r zš ' nzwt* who seems to have held a series of scribal offices. *ztw* held the title *mdh zš nzwt* which was presumably an important scribal office (see further below page 215-16). The relationship
of sšm-ncfr III to sšm-ncfr II suggests that his titulary be explained in the same manner as that of his father. ty's high office may have come about as a result of very favoured status (see under honorifics below).

3. Titles connected with the Organisation of Labour

Column 10 of table 13 shows that such titles are very restricted. The officials so indicated, ty, ntr-wsr and h'-mrr-pth, also held imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, which presumably accounts for the occurrences of these titles.

4. Honorific Titles

The most frequently found honorific title is hry-tp nzwt (column 12 in table 13), perhaps not surprising in view of the relationship described above between this rank and legal titles - all seven holders of hry-tp nzwt among the imy-r zš' nzwt also held legal titles.

The title smr w'ty was held by ztw, ty, and hnmw. This rank is perhaps more significant as far as the two fifth dynasty examples are concerned, as most of even the moderately important officials buried around the pyramid of Pepy II (of which hnmw is one) held at least smr w'ty and not infrequently h3ty-', his other high honorific title. The presence of smr w'ty in the titulary of ty must be related to the very special status he enjoyed, the most obvious indication of which is his very elaborate tomb. Tombs almost as exceptional as that of ty were also possessed by other men with titles not unlike those of iri šn which he mentions very frequently, such as ny'-nh-hnmw and hnmw-htp (manicurists) and nfr and k3h3i (singers), but their titularies are shorter than that of ty and do not contain such a high honorific title as smr w'ty. Thus ty was a man exceptionally honoured, and as such may have attained his high civil administrative titles of imy-r zš' nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt as a result of royal favour.

ztw attained even higher rank than ty, possessing additionally the titles of h3ty-', sd3wty bity, and r p nb among others. His especially high status should be attributed to his position as zš nzwt n hт.f, and since such individuals in the middle fifth dynasty did not generally hold high civil office, he may have acquired the title before his attainment of the highest position, assuming that he was not a true king's son.

The titularies of sšm-ncfr II and III do not incorporate a single honorific title, which may have something to do with the fact that they fall into neither of the two classes so far discussed (favoured individuals with many honorific titles or legal officials holding hry-tp nzwt). It seems that hry-tp nzwt was granted principally to legal officials, as otherwise one might expect them to have held it.

1 Tombs, see PM 32, 639-44.
2 Schmitz, Königssohn, 167-8.
Other honorific titles are few in number and in all cases seem to be held by either ty or ztw (or both). This is in accordance with the points about their titularies made above.

5. Other High administrative Titles

A detailed breakdown of the distribution of these titles will be found below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šm-nfr II (130)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i (136)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty (157)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr-wsr (91)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-šps (95)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'-mr-r-pth (106)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-'nh-pth (124)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to columns:

1. imy-r hwt wrt
2. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
3. imy-r šnwty
4. imy-r prwy-hd

The appearance of this category of titles is a feature of the fifth dynasty only. The connection of imy-r zš ' nzwt with the title of imy-r hwt wrt has been mentioned above on page 204, and the careers of holders of these two titles were often quite similar.

The number of men who held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt as well as imy-r zš ' nzwt in the fifth dynasty is very notable, suggesting that some relationship must have existed between the control of royal documents and the execution of works. The title imy-r zš ' nzwt m k3t nbt nt nzwt of mrw-k3i emphasises this association.

From the almost complete lack of high titles connected with the treasuries and granaries, and the total absence of subordinate ones, it is evident that connections between imy-r zš ' nzwt and these institutions were almost non-existent. In fact, both examples of such titles above are in connection with the granaries, and the officials (r'-šps and shm-'nh-pth) each held two further important civil administrative offices. It is possible that, having proved their reliability and trustworthiness, they were appointed to the granary post as a recognition of their ability.

6. Religious Titles

Examples are found mainly in the titularies of ty, ztw and hnmw. The former two officials probably gained them by the importance of

---

1 Fischer, OMRO 41 (1960), 6.
their positions; in the case of the latter, such titles seem to have been a standard element of a titulary in the reign of Pepy II. As for the remainder, hm-ntr hqt, bt h3 and hm-ntr m3’t form the bulk of examples, and are usually associated with legal officials. The title hm-ntr hr qm3’ is found in three instances (k3i, ty, m3-nfr). Helck divides the holders of this title into two groups, close royal acquaintances and legal officials, and notes the diversity of the two types of holder.1 It is perhaps better to term Helck’s second group scribal rather than legal officials, which classification best covers the examples he quotes and others. In addition to the seven examples enumerated by Helck, this title was held by h’f-hwfw I (104), špsi,2 b3-b3f (42) and k3i. h’f-hwfw and b3b3f fall into Helck’s first category, while the titulary of špsi contains primarily titles of a scribal nature (imy-r zš sp3tr, imy-r zš 3ht tb-ntrt (Lower Egyptian nome 12), zš pr hryw-wdb); that of k3i contains both legal and scribal titles. The titulary of špsi, along with that of sšm-nfr I, reinforces the conclusion that hm-ntr hr qm3’ is to be associated more with scribal than legal titularies. However, clarification of the classes of holders cannot further reveal the meaning of the title which, as Helck observes, is still unknown. It may be regarded both as another of the group of religious titles associated with favoured individuals and as one occasionally found in the titularies of important scribal officials.

7. Titles connected with Royal Institutions
ty held the title shd hm-ntr r’ m st-ib-r’, and was also imy-r of four sun-temples and two pyramids. The latter group of titles are unique in the fifth dynasty, and suggest that, whether they had any practical function or not, these titles were created by the king for an especially favoured individual. The titulary of a typical holder of imy-r zš ’ nzwt includes no titles connected with royal institutions.

8. Other Titles
Ten of the fourteen men under discussion here held titles incorporating wd(t)-mdw, the commonest of which is hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw (nbt) nt nzwt (9 examples), with k3i, ntr-wsr and sšm-rb-pš additional holding wdt-mdw n hryw-wdb. Such titles appear more frequently than with the holders of imy-r hwt wrt, and suggests that hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw was in some way associated with the responsibilities of imy-r zš ’ nzwt. Assuming imy-r zš ’ nzwt to be involved with record keeping, the function of wd(t)-mdw may have been not dissimilar, particularly if connected with the term wd nzwt used at the beginning of royal decrees. The link between these two functions is further emphasised by the title imy-r zš ’ nzwt n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt of mrw-k3i.

-----------------------
1 Beamtentitel, 120 n. 3.
2 Cairo, JE 68923; unpublished, cf. PM 32, 443.
Chapter 4 - The Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Documents

The Viziers

It is dangerous to speculate which viziers may have followed scribal careers and perhaps even held imy-r zš ' nzwt before promotion to the highest office. The titularies of k3i (136) and r'-špss (95) show that they held the office both before and after their promotion to vizier, but if the south wall of his tomb represents his full titulary as vizier, then sšm-nfr III (131) did not.

Such insight, however small, into the promotion of imy-r zš ' nzwt is not available for the sixth dynasty, since there is only one example of a holder of this office who was not a vizier, hnmw; hnmw-nti (111). From this rare occurrence we may even go so far as to speculate that, from the reign of Teti onwards, this office became the preserve of the vizier alone, and it is conceivable that men who were designated as future holders of that office were granted imy-r zš ' nzwt, but since their tombs were built during their tenure of the vizierate there is no way of substantiating this proposal. hnmw; hnmw-nti could have been an intended vizier who died before he was able to hold the office.

The titularies of the vizierial holders of imy-r zš ' nzwt do contain a few scribal and legal offices, although not to the same extent as their non-vizierial fellows. Viziers who never seem to have held the title imy-r zš ' nzwt have far less of these distinctive features in their titularies. There is insufficient evidence to point to viziers who might have held imy-r zš ' nzwt at an earlier stage in their careers with the exception of the well-known examples of k3i, r'-špss and sšm-nfr III.

The Department of the King's Document Scribes

A. The Organisation of imy-r zš ' nzwt

We have suggested that one holder of imy-r hwt wrt existed alongside one of imy-r hwt wrt 6, the former having control of the practical running of the hwt wrt (s) and the latter (the vizier) being in overall charge. Such a situation is also possible for imy-r zš ' nzwt, although there is no particular form of the title used only by viziers.

Such duality is a problem only in the fifth dynasty, as there is only one non-vizier with this title in the sixth dynasty. Thirteen non-viziers holding imy-r zš ' nzwt are known for the fifth dynasty, together with fifteen or sixteen viziers (the exact sequence of viziers at the change of dynasty is not clear). It would seem that the office appears in the titulary of a vizier (w3š-pth (37)) before it is found with a non-vizier (sšm-nfr II (130) or k3i (136)). It is apparent that the number of each class of holder is very similar, suggesting that there were likely to have been two imy-r zš ' nzwt simultaneously, a vizier in overall charge and a non-vizier who would then attend to the detailed daily administration of this section of the bureaucracy. Most of this group of viziers held one or more other high administrative titles, and it is likely that in the fifth dynasty at least it was felt necessary to spread the workload by appointing a subordinate who bore the
same basic title, although no evidence exists in writing for this
subordination.

Such a partition was not maintained after the later fifth dynas-
ty. This development may be connected with the other adminis-
trative changes in the late fifth dynasty suggested by Baer. It
may also be due to changes in provincial administration. Although
all the sixth dynasty holders (with one exception) were viziers,
not all of them were buried in the memphite region. The nine
provincial holders of both t3ty z3b t3ty and imy-r zā' nzwt date
from the end of the fifth dynasty onwards. The administration
headed by the imy-r zā' nzwt must have handled all the relevant
provincial as well as memphite matters in the fifth dynasty, as
there is no evidence of any such titles outside the capital. By
appointing a 'Southern Vizier', and also granting him the title of
imy-r zā' nzwt a degree of devolution of administration may have
been obtained, and thus one of the probable functions of the non-
vizierial imy-r zā' nzwt disappeared.

Only limited discussion has been devoted previously to the exact
functions of this title, partly because little evidence is forth-
coming and partly because the connection with royal records and
document scribes is self-evident for most authors.

The title is not found in such associations as to assist with
conclusions about its functions, only its importance. Outside
strings of titles in tombs, it appears in royal letters and decrees
(see further below page 214-15), and without any surviving text to
explain its appearance in the Abusir Papyri (irw-k3-pth (13)).

It is likely that work connected with the 'nzwt took place in
the iz(wy) n pr ' nzwt mentioned in various royal decrees. This
would seem to be one of four related administrative departments in
the Old Kingdom - the others are the iz n pr hryw-wdb, iz n pr md3t
and iz n hry htm md3t. All four are often mentioned together in
royal decrees. Helck remarks that there is no example of an over-
seer for the iz(wy) pr ' nzwt in a vizier's titulary to show
overall control of this department, as there is for the other three. He suggests that imy-r zā' nzwt fulfilled that function.
If so, it would be by far the most frequent of the four such
overseer's titles, the clearest occurrences of which are in fact
not in the titularies of viziers: k3i (136), before his vizierate,
was imy-r izwy nw hry htm md3t ' nzwt/ pr md3t/ pr hryw-wdb, and
also imy-r zā' nzwt; similar titles were held by m3-nfr (54).

------------
Chapter 4 - The Overseers of the Scribes of the King's Documents

There are no further examples of overseers of the pr md₃t, one of the izwy pr hryw-wdb (ph-n-wi-k₃i (45)), and six of the izwy hry htm md₃t (r'-*spss (95), pth-ḥtp dār (47), pth-ḥtp (48), pth-ḥtp I (49), k₃i-gmni (151) and nfr-s₃m-r' (88)). It will be noted that all these officials were also imy-r zā ' nzwt.

It is possible that the title of imy-r zā ' nzwt may have carried with it overall responsibility for these other three related departments, as it is the only important title connected with them which is found consistently from the middle of the fifth dynasty onwards. There are a few lesser titles associated with the departments of the pr hryw-wdb, pr md₃t and (pr) hry htm md₃t. Again, these titles are not frequently and consistently found, and show a distinct bias towards the later sixth dynasty. It would be logical for all these departments concerned with documents to a great extent to be supervised by the same man. k₃i and m₃-nfr must have been highly favoured to have been the only non-viziers to hold all these four offices.

B. Other Aspects

No indication may be obtained of the location of any of the offices of the departments concerned with the ' nzwt. Presumably they were part of a complex of departments administered by the vizier, probably at Memphis.

Much has been written as to the nature of an 'nzwt. It would appear to be a term with a wide variety of uses, but was basically an authorisation, whether in a secular or religious context, which would declare something as a legal right. It is used in the expression ir.f ' n dqr.f, 'to bring suit'; it can define the limits of an official's jurisdiction, mḥty ' m niwt sp³wt .... rsy ' m mn-nfr-ppy; and can even possibly refer to functions of gods, ' nrwy ' m qbhw, probably referring to Hu and Sia. An ' nzwt is presumably a more specific example of the same, emanating from the most important source in the land - the king and officials acting on his behalf.

The group of men most relevant to the further study of imy-r zā ' nzwt are the zā ' nzwt (pr-'3) themselves, who would have presumably written and administered the documents, A related title is zā

1 Some examples: imy-ḥt pr hry-wdb (dw₃-n-r', Mariette, Mastabas, 455), shd pr md₃t (nfr-s₃m-k₃i, Reisner, Giza I, fig. 308), imy-r hry htm md₃t (hnw-w-htrp, Fakhry, Sept Tombeaux à l'est de la grande pyramide de Guizeh, fig. 7).
2 For example, Théodorides, RIDA 3e Ser. 20 (1973), 78, n. 83; Vandier, ASAE 36 (1936), 37; Baer, ZAS 93 (1966), 6-7; Gunn, JEA 34 (1948), 28 (3).
3 Urk. I, 13.4.
4 Urk. I, 220.2-3.
5 Pyr. 467c, cf. Baer, loc. cit.
6 cf. Goedicke, JARCE 3 (1964), 31-2, with references, in particular n. 4.
Chapter 4 - The overseers of the scribes of the king's documents

nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3), the hft-hr element presumably referring to the 'presence' of the king. These two titles are only found four times in the titularies of imy-r zš ' nzwt. One of these officials is buried in the provinces ('nh-ppy hry-ib of Meir); the memphite examples are sšn-nfr II (130), sšm-'nh-pth (123) and idw I (22). Of these four only sšm-nfr II was not a vizier.

A brief comparison of zš ' nzwt and zš ' nzwt hft-hr is relevant here. Of approximately thirty memphite holders of zš ' nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3) and forty-seven zš ' nzwt (pr-'3), only seven held both titles.¹ The most common honorific title with zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) is rḥ nzwt while with zš ' nzwt hft-hr it is hry-tp nzwt, rḥ nzwt being found only with the earliest example.²

Some of these differences may be explained by examination of the dating of the holders. zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) appears in the middle of the fourth dynasty (izi (17) at Saqqara and nfr (84) at Giza), and continues through to the end of the Old Kingdom, but is most frequent in the fifth dynasty. zš ' nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3) makes its appearance in the middle/later fifth dynasty but is principally a sixth dynasty title. hry-tp nzwt is far more common than rḥ nzwt with zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) in the sixth dynasty, thus making this difference less marked.

More of the higher honorific titles (smr w'ty, sdšwty bity and the like), more religious titles (especially hry-hb) and fewer legal titles occur with zš ' nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3) than with zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) in the sixth dynasty. From this it might appear that the former was the higher-ranking title in the sixth dynasty at least. There is only one example (r'-wr I) where these two titles appear in a rankable context, and in this case zš ' nzwt is the higher.³ There is more indirect evidence that the reverse was true in the sixth dynasty: the titulary of idw II, who holds both titles, contains the sequence hry-tp nzwt, zš ' nzwt hft-hr, shd zš ' nzwt, imy-r pr 'š.⁴ One might expect shd zš ' nzwt to outrank zš ' nzwt although there is no explicit evidence;² on this assumption, zš ' nzwt hft-hr may have outranked zš ' nzwt in the later sixth dynasty. The situation thus changes between the fifth and sixth dynasties, and may be as a result of the increasing importance of the former title.

The basic title of zš ' nzwt is sometimes found as part of more complex ones. These attest zš ' nzwt in institutions such as the

---

¹ r'-wr I (Junker, Giza III, Abb. 42a); ir-n-3ḥt (Hassan, Giza VI³, fig. 9); idw (Simpson, Giza Mastabas II,  fig. 40); ny-sw-pth (Junker, Giza VIII, Abb. 88); mtw (Cairo, CG 1397); mrw (Daressy, ASAE 16 (1917), 195); idw II (Junker, op. cit., Abb. 42-3).
² r'-wr I (id., Giza III, Abb. 42a).
³ Baer, Rank and Title, 164; r'-wr is fifth dynasty.
⁴ Junker, Giza VIII, Abb. 41, 43.
⁵ The only other holder of either zš ' nzwt or zš ' nzwt hft-hr and shd zš ' nzwt does not have the two titles in a rankable context (r'-ḥtp: compare statues Cairo, CG 163 and 312).
granary,\textsuperscript{1} treasury,\textsuperscript{2} and royal establishments,\textsuperscript{3} as well as in
connection with fields.\textsuperscript{4} Titles such \textit{zā ' nzwt} and \textit{shd zā ' nzwt}
hint at the hierarchy of the department, but we are unable to say
whether any holders of \textit{imy-r zā ' nzwt}, apart from the four men-
tioned above, held the lower offices before promotion to the high-
est one.

The title \textit{zā ' nzwt} occurs several times in contexts other than
that of tomb-owners, mostly with children and dependents depicted
in the tomb of their father or patron. The following are some of
the more interesting ones:

1 Two men, called \textit{nfrt} and \textit{k3i-m-nfrt} are shown with the titles \textit{zā ' nzwt}
and \textit{imy-r pr} in the tomb of \textit{ty} (157). Both carry papyrus
rolls.\textsuperscript{5}

2 One of the Wadi Hammamat inscriptions of \textit{nhbw} (90) shows a \textit{zā ' nzwt}
named \textit{hnw} among the members of the expedition.\textsuperscript{6}

3 A \textit{zā ' nzwt}, \textit{z3b imy-r zā}, (name lost) is shown doing accounts
before the deceased in the tomb of \textit{'nh-ppy hry-ib} at Meir.\textsuperscript{7}

4 The late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period stela of \textit{irt}
from Akhmim bears the text \textit{in h3y.s zā ' nzwt hrwy ir nn zā, 'it
is her husband, the zā ' nzwt hrwy who made this inscription'}.\textsuperscript{8}

5 The \textit{hq3 hwt}, \textit{zā ' nzwt hft-hr}, \textit{gfgf} is shown among prostrate
defaulters in the tomb of \textit{mrrw-k3i} (68).\textsuperscript{9}

In none of these examples is it clear whether the official concer-
ned is acting in his capacity as \textit{zā ' nzwt} (\textit{hft-hr}) or otherwise.
The men in example 1 are probably acting more as \textit{imy-r pr}, which
officials are frequently shown with a papyrus roll, reading or
presenting it to the deceased.\textsuperscript{10} If the official in no. 2 were
performing duties associated with the \textit{' nzwt} which were probably
needed to authorise the expedition, one might expect to find others
like him in other texts left by quarrying expeditions, but no such
examples are forthcoming; however, neither is it common for an

\textbf{------------------------

\textsuperscript{1} Such as \textit{zā ' nzwt šnw}t (\textit{irw-k3-pth} (13)) and \textit{shd zā ' nzwt šnw}t
(\textit{'nh-m-'r} (28)).

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{shd zā ' nzwt pr-hd} in the titulary of \textit{iy-mry}, Junker, Giza X,
Abb. 53.

\textsuperscript{3} Among the titles of \textit{r'-ṣps} (Cairo, CG 55).

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{[zā] ' nzwt ḥlt: ḥwlt} (Cairo, CG 64).

\textsuperscript{5} Epron-Wild, \textit{Tombeau de Ti I}, pl. XXI, XXVII.

\textsuperscript{6} Urk. I, 94.8.

\textsuperscript{7} Blackman, \textit{Meir IV}, pl. XV (middle).

\textsuperscript{8} Cairo, CG 1613; Urk. I, 119.17.

\textsuperscript{9} Duell, \textit{Mereruka I}, pl. 37.

\textsuperscript{10} For example, von Bissing, \textit{Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai I}, Taf.
XII.
overseer of works to be shown leading such an expedition, and these two observations may be related (above page 206). The officials from Meir and Akhmim appear to be acting as ordinary scribes, while the last example is in a predicament in which ḫqj wjt often seem to have found themselves,¹ and the appearance of zā' nzwt ḫḥt-hr is thus nothing particularly to do with this scene. One is forced to conclude that the proper functions of the zā' nzwt were not subject-matter for the decoration of tombs, as was also the case with the activities of the wjt wrt.

The title zā' nzwt continued into the Middle Kingdom, but most references also fail to give any idea of their function.² A /// (an uncertain sign, perhaps an overseer or the like ?) zā' nzwt whmwnf appears in a list of men in the Illahun Papyri, the context of which is unclear - perhaps he was in charge of such men who worked in the Pyramid-town of Senwosret II.³

Titles incorporating nzwt alone give further information on the types of activity supervised by the imy-r zā' nzwt. Various 'letter-carriers' or just 'those concerned with papyri' (iry md3t) of the ' nzwt are attested,⁴ as are sealers and men who dealt with 'authorisations'.⁵ Other titles referring to crews or divisions of men who were associated in some unclear manner with this area of administration.⁶ The existence of ' nzwt for weapons presumably adds the pr-'ḥ3w to the departments attested as involved with these documents.⁷ There are several unclear titles, one of which is perhaps to be associated with land.⁸

The above material displays the wide range of responsibilities of the department in the charge of the imy-r zā' nzwt, and the number and variety of other areas of the administration with which it was associated.

¹ Such as James, Khentika, pl. IX, although note that another scribal title, mdḥ zā nzwt, appears in a similar scene (Duell, Mereruka I, pl. 37).
² Several references, Helck, Verwaltung, 277 n. 5, 6.
³ Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, Text, 41 (47); Plates, pl. 14.47.
⁴ Such as nfri (Cairo, CG 1653) and mry-nzwt (Fischer, Offerings, fig. 1, with comments on p. 73). Depictions of iry md3t with papyrus rolls are common, for example, Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. XXVII.
⁵ Respectively, hnmw-htp (Fakhry, Sept tombaux à l’est de la grande pyramide de Guizeh, fig. 7), and imi-st-k3i (Junker, Giza VI, Abb. 82). For the term hryw-', 'authorisations', see Fischer, ZAS 105 (1978), 52-6.
⁶ The titles imy-r izwt nw ' nzwt of k3i (136) (Mariette, Mastabas, 230) and shd 'prw ' nzwt of k3i-'pr (Epron-Wild, op. cit., pl. XXI).
⁷ imy-r ' nzwt 'ḥ3w in the titularies of ny-ḥtp-ḥt (LD II, 72a) and ny-s'nḥ-ḥḥt (73) (Hassan, Giza III, fig. 107).
⁸ iry ḫnbtt n ' nzwt n pr-'j, Fakhry, op. cit., 14, fig. 6.
Conclusions

In the fifth dynasty, there were probably two men holding the office of 'imy-r zš ' nzwt at the same time. One of these was a vizier, who would have had overall control of the associated departments, and the other a less important official who would have supervised the details of the administration. In the late fifth dynasty a change is evident whereby the title was henceforth held only by the vizier, although there is an isolated non-vizier in the reign of Pepy II. This is perhaps to be associated with an expansion of local provincial administration.

The principal department controlled by the 'imy-r zš ' nzwt was known as the izwy or pr nzwt, for which no other important title is attested. It is possible that three other related departments, the izwy/pr hry htm md3t, izwy/pr md3t and izwy/pr hryw-wdb came under his control as well, as independent titles at an elevated level associated with these are only infrequently found.

The activities of the department concerned with ' nzwt covered a wide range. Administrative functions are evident (sealing, general overseeing and care), as are relations with other administrative entities (the granary, treasury, armoury, fields, and the organisation of labour). Basically only one type of scribal function is attested, the obvious zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) and zš ' nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3), the former being the more common in the fifth and the latter in the sixth dynasty. Although a wide range of associations with the (pr) ' nzwt are found, more officials than are currently known must have been associated therewith. It is likely that relations with this department were so basic and essential that a specific association was not given in many titles.

Such a range of relations with other departments is not unexpected, as it is probable that these royal documents were essential for all that was carried out in the king's name. Associations seem to have existed with all the major administrative offices with the exception of the legal system. One might not envisage royal commands as appropriate in that context, although we can imagine much time was spent on legal matters resulting from disputes provoked by the contents of some ' nzwt.

'imy-r zš ' nzwt seems to have been one of the most important of the group of high titles presently under discussion when held by the vizier. All these titles occur frequently in the titulaires of such officials, but in cases where the vizier is addressed directly by the king (in letters or decrees), the frequency with which the title t3ty z3b t3ty is accompanied by 'imy-r zš ' nzwt is remarkable. Examination of such texts in Urk. I shows this in the following examples (page numbers in brackets): The letters of Djedkare to r'-spss (p. 179) and sndm-ib; inti (pp. 60, 62); the Koptos decree of Pepy II addressed to d'w (p. 280); and two Koptos decrees.
of Neferkauhor to Šm3i (pp. 296, 302). The other decrees of Neferkauhor and those of Horus dmd-t3wy to Šm3i and idi respectively (pp. 300, 303, 304) do not quote this title.

There is only one occurrence of another high administrative title in all the above inscriptions, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt in the inscriptions of sndm-ib; inti (120). This is doubtless to be explained by that man's importance as a builder, for which compare the rest of his biography. Thus imy-r zâ' nzwt seems to be the administrative title quoted most frequently along with that of the vizierate in the above contexts; in the example of r'-spss (95) it is the only title. In contexts such as these where space was restricted, it would have been logical to include only the most significant titles, perhaps showing the importance of this section of the bureaucracy.

We have seen that the title of imy-r zâ' nzwt is only attested from the reign of Neferirkare. Since a scribal bureaucracy evidently existed in the preceding period, we will attempt to ascertain what titles, if any, it superseded.

Helck sees imy-r zâ' nzwt as replacing a more ancient title, mdh zâ' nzwt. Of the relatively few scribal titles that appear before the reign of Neferirkare, this is by far the most frequent. Six holders of this title antedate k3i (136) and ztw (115) in the middle of the fifth dynasty: ḥzy-r', wp-m-nfrt, ḥm-iwnw (96), mry (58), dw3-n-r' (161) and ztw. Only two were viziers, and the total would scarcely seem to suffice for the period of time involved (some point in the third dynasty to the early fifth). mdh zâ' nzwt continued to be held after the mid-fifth dynasty, most frequently by viziers (r'-spss (95) (before vizierate), izi of Edfu, ṇnh-m'-hr (30), mry-r'-nfr; q3r of Edfu, mrri (67), nfr-ššm-šš3t; ḥnw (89) and nn-gm°). Some change in the functions of the title is evident as it is no longer found in conjunction with the title mdh , the reading of which is still not known, but would seem to have been a scribal title. The reason for this may have been the change of mdh zâ' nzwt from a functional title to one granted as a mark of favour to certain officials, most of whom held the title imy-r zâ' nzwt.

There is also evidence that the title may have undergone a more fundamental change. In the tomb of mrrw-k3i (68) two men by the

1 The beginning of the address of the Dahshur decree of Pepy I is another possibility (p. 209), although this has been interpreted differently (Helck, op. cit., 140).
2 Beamtentitel, 75-6.
3 Cairo, CG 1428.
4 Reisner, Giza I, pl. 17a.
5 Simpson, Giza Mastabas IV, fig. 47.
6 Alliot, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933), 22.
7 Urk. I, 253.6
8 Unpublished, cf. PM 32, 622.
9 Helck, op. cit., 76-7.
names of mrri and whmi are shown prostrate before taxing officials, and are given the titles of hq3 hwt and mdh zä nzwt.¹ There is a vast difference in rank between these men and the other sixth dynasty holders of mdh zä nzwt. Unless these men held the title in respect of the estates of mrrw-k3i (and there is no way of telling that this is not the case), it may have been reduced to a very low rank in the sixth dynasty and thus formed part of an earlier stage in the careers of the high officials who held it.

It is quite possible that in the fourth dynasty the office of vizier incorporated important scribal functions without expressing it in the form of titles. In the third to early fifth dynasties, some combination of viziers and earlier holders of mdh zä nzwt may have fulfilled the duties which were later the responsibility of the imy-r zä 'nzwt.

The title imy-r zä md3t n 'nzwt found with that of mdh zä nzwt in the titulary of mry (58) may represent a first attempt to introduce a new title to head the scribal departments, but its isolation in time indicates that it did not become a continuously occupied position.

¹ Duell, Mereruka I, pl. 37.
5 The Overseers of Works

General

With the exception of the vizierate, titles translated 'Overseer of Works' - those beginning imy-r k3t - are the only ones studied here attested consistently from the beginning of the fourth dynasty onwards. They were presumably successors to the title imy irty k3t nbt nzwt found in the third dynasty titulary of '3-3ht.1

Table 14 gives the known holders of these titles. These fall into four principal groups - imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt, imy-r k3t. The extent to which these represent the same title has never been discussed.2 Because of this difficulty, when no specific title beginning imy-r k3t is intended, the group as a whole will be referred to by the translation 'Overseer of Works'.

For the same reason, the different writings and history of this group of titles will be described below following discussion of these differing forms.

Only one overseer of works is knowingly omitted from table 14: this is the unnamed imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt mentioned in the tomb of dbhn, who may have been one of the well-known officials named in this list.3

References

1 Smith, AJA 46 (1942), fig. 9 (E); cf. Helck, ZAS 79 (1954), 76.
2 Helck would seem to group them all together (Beamtentitel, 99 n. 56), while Schmitz regards these forms as separate titles (Königssohn, 150).  
3 Urk. I, 21.10; the nameless overseer of works in Borchardt, Neuser-re', Abb. 50 is probably minw-nfr (55).
# Table 14

## List of Overseers of Works

### A. Memphite:

1. **imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early fourth dynasty</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* nfr-m3't</td>
<td>(86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°nfr-r-nfr</td>
<td>(46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Khufu

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* 'nh-h3f</td>
<td>(34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* hm-iwnw</td>
<td>(96)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Khufu-Khafre

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* Name Lost</td>
<td>(170)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* h'f-minw</td>
<td>(103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°ddf-hr</td>
<td>(168)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Menkaure-early fifth dynasty

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mry-ib</td>
<td>(59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pli</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sš3t-htp; hti</td>
<td>(126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°d3ty</td>
<td>(165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°nh-hmfw</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-'nh-r'</td>
<td>(71)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sahure-Neferirkare

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* b3-b3f</td>
<td>(42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°nh-irs</td>
<td>(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr-sn</td>
<td>(44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* w3š-pth; izi</td>
<td>(37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Neweserre/mid fifth dynasty

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'nh-wsr-k3f</td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšm-nfr II</td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* minw-nfr</td>
<td>(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3i-'nh'</td>
<td>(75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°k3i</td>
<td>(136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sšm-'nh-pth'</td>
<td>(123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sšmw</td>
<td>(127)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Menkauhor-Djedkare

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* ph-n-wi-k3i</td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty</td>
<td>(157)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Djedkare (first half)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>°nh-izzi</td>
<td>(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sndm-ib; mhi</td>
<td>(121)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Djedkare (second half)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>°nh-mr-pth</td>
<td>(106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°hmrw-htp</td>
<td>(107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i</td>
<td>(137)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-tnnt</td>
<td>(146)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Wenis (first half)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>°nh-wsr</td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-nti</td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* k3i-gmni; mmi</td>
<td>(151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nfr-sšm-r'; šši</td>
<td>(88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Wenis (second half)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>°nh-izzi</td>
<td>(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ihy</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°hzzi</td>
<td>(98)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### End fifth-early sixth dynasty

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>°nh-wsr</td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-nti</td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* k3i-gmni; mmi</td>
<td>(151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nfr-sšm-r'; šši</td>
<td>(88)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Middle-later Teti

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sšbw; ibbi</td>
<td>(116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°nh-m-'; hr; zzi</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mrrw-k3i; mri</td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-izzi</td>
<td>(76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Overseers of Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teti-early Pepy I</strong></td>
<td>* mrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* nfr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* hnty-k3i; ihhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* 'nh-mry-r'; ny-sw-iyh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle to Late Pepy I</strong></td>
<td>* mrr-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nhbw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pepy I to early Pepy II</strong></td>
<td>* mrri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* nfr-sm-sm; s3t; hn&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* idw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* 'nh-mry-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Pepy II</strong></td>
<td>* s3bw-pth; ibbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* mry-r'-mry-'nh-pth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>End Old Kingdom or later</strong></td>
<td>* ttw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt**

**Early fifth dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3i-tp</td>
<td>(152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m'-k3i</td>
<td>(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-r'</td>
<td>(162)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itti</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Neferirkare-Neweserre**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snnw-k3i; kki</td>
<td>(119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddf-hnnmw</td>
<td>(169)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ty</td>
<td>(166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-hnwfw</td>
<td>(164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3i-'nh</td>
<td>(105)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Middle fifth dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s3mw</td>
<td>(127)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Imy-r k3t nbt**

**End fourth dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q3r; mry-r'-nfr</td>
<td>(135)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Later fifth-early sixth dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h'-mr3-pth</td>
<td>(106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>htp-hr-n-pth</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

Table 14 continued

4. imy-r k3t

Mid fifth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k3i-'pr</th>
<th>(138)</th>
<th>* 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi</th>
<th>(30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bb-ib; sndm-ib</td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>Middle-later Pepy I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later fifth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s'nh-n-pth</th>
<th>(118)</th>
<th>Name Lost</th>
<th>(173)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nhbw</td>
<td>(90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mry-pth-mry-r'</td>
<td>(60)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Provincial:

1. imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt

Middle Pepy II

* ppy-nht

Abydos

2. Other Forms

Mid Fifth Dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k3i-ḥnt I</th>
<th>Hemamia:²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imy-r k3t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r k3t m sp3wt ḥrywt-ib šm'w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k3i-ḥnt II</th>
<th>Hemamia:³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imy-r k3t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r k3t m sp3wt ḥrywt-ib (šm'w)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End Old Kingdom or later

tmrry

Naga ed Deir:⁴

| imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt irrt m t3-wr |
| imy-r k3t nbt wd_n irrt m t3-wr |

* indicates vizier at some point in their careers

---

1 Cairo, CG 1573; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 71 (135), Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 89.
2 Petrie-Mackay, Bahrain and Hemamieh, pl. XX-XXVIII; date, Baer, op. cit., 148 (543a).
3 Petrie-Mackay, op. cit., pl. IX-XIX; date, Baer, op. cit., 147-8 (543).
4 Peck, Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at 220
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

There are a number of men whose inscriptions exhibit two of these overseer of works titles (never more):  

- ny-k3i-'nh (75)  
  imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt  
  imy-r k3t nzwt

- ššmw (127)  
  imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt  
  imy-r k3t nzwt

- h'-mrr-pth (106)  
  imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt  
  imy-r k3t nbt

- 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi (30)  
  imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt  
  imy-r k3t

- nhbw (90)  
  imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt  
  imy-r k3t

- impy (62)  
  imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt  
  imy-r k3t nbt

In every example, one of the two titles is imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, and in no case do both occur in the same sequence, which immediately raises the possibility that the shorter form may simply be a compression of the longer due to the dictates of space.

In the tomb of ny-k3i-'nh, there is only one occurrence of each writing. Both are similarly arranged, with the nzwt sign appearing before the imy-r. The layout of the architrave illustrated by Mariette, where imy-r k3t nzwt appears, is cramped, whereas the lintel shown by Petrie and Murray is more spaciously arranged.

Both writings appear again on the false door of ššmw, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt to the left of centre, imy-r k3t nzwt to the right. Both forms of h'-mrr-pth again appear on the false door, the shorter on the panel, above the head of the deceased, the longer on the right inner jamb. The panel writing is almost certainly abbreviated for reasons of space. imy-r k3t in the tomb of 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi is again found in cramped circumstances (before the kilt of the deceased), suggesting an abbreviated writing. All the titles that appear on the serdab blocks of nhbw are short ones, and it is likely that this is again imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt compressed for reasons of space. This is also the case in one of the same man's Hammamat inscriptions (no. 21), where, having given the title in full at the beginning, it is necessary to refer to him as the father of another member of the expedition, and the title appears this time as just imy-r k3t. Finally imy-r k3t nbt of impy is found with his depiction in the mortuary temple of Pepy II, and the previous argument may apply again.

------------------

Naga ed-Dêr, 40-91, with dating on 83-7.
1 This disregards the occurrence of imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt m t3 r dr.f in the titulary of 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi as an example of the title imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt with an epithet (rather like m3' and similar).
2 Mastabas, 311; now BM 1275, but with damage to the group of signs in question, see, BM Stelae I², pl. XXI.
3 Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. III.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

Doubtless the title of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} was one very prone to compression, as the numerous omissions of the element nt show, but it is yet to be decided whether any of these shorter titles represent independent ones.

The Titularies of the Non-viziers

As in previous chapters, titularies will be examined using those of men who were not viziers, beginning with the most common form, \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}.

A. \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}

The principal titles of these officials are arranged in Table 15. We shall use the titularies of three men who later became viziers, \textit{s3st-htp, k3i (136)} and \textit{r'-Spss}.

1. Titles concerned with the Organisation of Labour

Helck has established a group of titles related in some way to the work of the \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt},\(^1\) of which the following are the principal ones: \textit{sd3wty ntr...}, \textit{imy-r mš' } and other 'military' titles, titles with \textit{qd}, titles with \textit{hmwt}, boat titles, titles with \textit{prw} or \textit{nfrw}, \textit{smsw izt} and \textit{imy-r gs-pr}. To this list may be added \textit{wr m_d ëm'w}, which Fischer has suggested represents the organisation of groups of ten men,\(^2\) as well as having legal associations - hence its position at the end of the labour titles and before the legal ones in Table 15. There are also further titles incorporating the word \textit{k3t}.

On these criteria, the following officials clearly spent much of their careers in this area of the administration: \textit{mry-ib}, \textit{s3st-htp, d3ty (165)}, \textit{'nh-wsr-k3f}, \textit{s3mw, iy, k3i-m-tmnt, 'nh-izzi, 'nh-mry-r'} and \textit{nhbw}. With the exception of \textit{s3mw}, these men held high titles in none of the other administrative departments under consideration; although \textit{s3mw} held the title of \textit{imy-r šnwty}, the remainder of his titulary makes no reference to other positions that he may have held in the administration of the granaries.

Possible career patterns have already been suggested in the previous chapters for \textit{s3m-nfr II (scribal), k3i (136) (legal), ty (perhaps promoted due to royal favour), ntr-wsr (legal/scibal), r'-Spss (legal/scibal) and h'-mrp-pth (legal)}. Several of these men held titles in the group related to the responsibilities of the overseer of works, such as \textit{imy-r phw (ty and h'-mrp-pth), smsw izt (ntr-wsr) and imy-r gs-pr (h'-mrp-pth)}. For \textit{ty} and \textit{ntr-wsr}, it is perhaps unlikely that the titles were held before promotion to the office of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}, as titles in other administrative areas are more prominent - these may have been granted.

\(^{1}\) Beamtentitel, 92-105.
\(^{2}\) JNES 18 (1959), 265-6.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

Table 15

Principal Titles of Non-viziers who held *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph-r-nfr (46)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddf-hr (168)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-ib (59)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3bi (1)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s33t-htp (126)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ty (165)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-hwfw (36)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-'nh-r' (71)</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>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-irs (25)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr-sn (44)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-wsr-k3f (27)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssrnfr II (130)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3i-'nh (137)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>k3i (136)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>s3smw (127)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty (157)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hny-k3 (97)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr-wsr (91)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>iy (5)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-spss (95)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>b'-mr-pth (106)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwfw-htp (107)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>k3i (137)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>k3i-m-lntnt (146)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-izzi (26)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h3zi (98)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3bw; ibbi (116)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-izzi (76)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>'nh-mry-r' (32)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>nhbw (90)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>pth-spss (53a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<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>

Key to Column Numbers:

1. *sd3wty ntr* ...
2. *imy-r mš* and military titles, including *imy-r phw*
3. Titles using *qd, k3t,* and *smsw izt,* *imy-r gs-pr*
4. Titles using *hmwt*
5. Boat titles
6. Titles using *prw/nfrw*
7. *wr md šm'w*
8. Number of Legal Titles
9. Number of Scribal titles
10. Number of Other High Offices
11. Titles with *wd(t)-mdw*
12. *rh nzwt*
13. *hry-tp nzwt*
14. *smr w'ty*
15. *H = h3ty-*', *X = h3ty-*' and *iry p't*
16. Titles of "Kings's son"

223
along with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. This may also be true of h'-mrr-pth; he does however have more labour-related titles than the others, and so his career structure may be better described as legal/connected with the organisation of labour.

It is very difficult to suggest a career pattern for the remaining imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. From the lack of any other connection, one may place ddf-hr and pr-sn with those whose careers were concerned with the organisation of labour, although the former's position may have come about through his importance as a son of Khufu. The same may be said for ny-'nh-r', although he was probably not a true king's son. The principal position of s3bw; ibbi and pth-špas; impy was wr hrp hmwt. No other high priests of Ptah attained the office of overseer of works in the Old Kingdom, and so whether they gained this title by virtue of the traditional relationship of the wr hrp hmwt with craftsmen or by some other means is unknown. The high-ranking but otherwise uninformative titulary of 'nh-hwfw suggests that his appointment as imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt can only have been due to royal favour. For the remainder, one has to make the unsatisfactory suggestion that they were promoted either as a result of royal favour and/or by proven efficiency in the other high offices they held. 1

2. Legal and Scribal Titles

These titles are not particularly common; they are found most frequently with officials who held one or both of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zš ' nzwt. Such sporadic appearances of these titles suggest that they were not an important element in the titulary of a holder of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. None at all appear after the end of the fifth dynasty.

3. Honorific Titles

Columns 12-15 of table 15 show the occurrences of the principal honorific titles. No one title stands out as being characteristic of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt for the whole period; a number of officials have no honorifics at all. From the first appearance of the title down to the later fifth dynasty, rh nzwt and hry-tp nzwt are the most frequent such titles. The status of rh nzwt in the fourth dynasty must have been higher than in the fifth and sixth, as it was held by two king's sons (mry-ib and sš3t-htp, although not true 'princes') and the important official ph-r-nfr.

From the early fourth dynasty to the middle fifth there are six examples of smr w'ty in the table and two of h3ty-'. The occurrence of the former title with mry-ib and ny-'nh-r' is doubtless connected with their status as king's sons, as is h3ty-' in the titulary of ddf-hr. Although not a prince, 'nh-wsr-k3f must also have been highly favoured to have held h3ty-'- this is also suggested by the prominent location of his tomb at Abusir. It has

1 See also the breakdown of different types of overseers of works in de Cenival, Chefs de Travaux, 227-8.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

been suggested above (page 205) that ty was another favoured individual, hence his title of smr w'ty; the same is probably true for ny-k3ì-'nh. More instances of smr w'ty are found from the later fifth dynasty onwards. The title's occurrence with k3ì-m-tnnt and 'nh-izzì must again be linked to their titles of z3 nzwt. It will be noted that, from a more general survey of Old Kingdom titles from this period, the title smr w'ty becomes more common with all categories of officials.

No one honorific title appears as being characteristic of imy-r k3ì nbt (nt) nzwt, although rh nzwt, hry-tp nzwt and smr w'ty appear not infrequently. The rank of imy-r k3ì nbt (nt) nzwt would thus seem to be similar to (or perhaps slightly lower than) that of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zà' nzwt.

4. Titles of 'King's son'

The majority of titles incorporating the element z3 nzwt are to be found in titularies of fourth and early fifth dynasty date, before men of this rank were generally excluded from the administration. Of those indicated in column 6 of table 15, ddf-hr and sà3ì-htp; hti were z3 nzwt n ht.f, while ny-'nh-r', k3ì-m-tnnt and 'nh-izzì were simply z3 nzwt. mry-ib and d3ty held both titles. ddf-hr was certainly a true king's son, as possibly was d3ty. The other two z3 nzwt n ht.f were almost certainly not true 'princes'; they possess very similar titularies, and could have been distant relatives of the king.1 The two later fifth dynasty holders of z3 nzwt, k3ì-m-tnnt and 'nh-izzì, illustrate a brief resurgence of the use of 'princely' titles for administrative officials.2

5. Other High Administrative Titles

The table on the next page shows that the only other high administrative title with which there appears to be a frequent association (for a time at least) is imy-r zà' nzwt. This link may be due to a concentration of the offices of authorisations with the office of works,3 which prevailed for much of the fifth dynasty; from the latter part of that dynasty onwards however, the two offices were not held by the same man, with the exception of viziers. None of the other titles is found often enough for a pattern to be evident.

After the later fifth dynasty the non-vizierial imy-r k3ì nbt (nt) nzwt held no additional high offices. This parallels the situation noted for imy-r hwt wrt, and emphasises the probability of a reform in the system of title holding in the later fifth dynasty.

1 The mother of mry-ib was z3ì nzwt nt ht.f (LD II, 21).
2 Schmitz, Königsohn, 30-2. These two and ny-'nh-r' can also be grouped together by virtue of having titles related to building work (id., ib., 88-90).
6. Religious Titles

Relatively few religious titles appear with this group of officials. They are only found in any number with men who have been noted above as especially favoured officials in the section above on honorific titles – particularly ph-r-nfr, 'nh-wsr-k3f and ty – and these titles should be again explained as due to this important status. The only exception to this is s3bw; ibbi, whose large number of religious titles must be associated with his tenure of priesthhoods of Ptah, culminating in wr hrp hmwt.

The most commonly found religious title is hry-hb, with eight examples. This is confined to the higher ranking officials, those with either z3 nzwt or smr w'ty or both. On closer examination, most Old Kingdom holders of hry-hb seem to have also been smr w'ty or a king's son, indicating no special link for this title with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. Little is known about the functions of this particular title; whether these men were those depicted carrying out ceremonies in tomb scenes or invoked in funerary inscriptions is not clear. It would seem unlikely that such high-ranking officials as these could have been the men who appear in the Abusir Papyri;1 perhaps the office of hry-hb had developed a type of courtly or very restricted function for these high officials.

---

1 Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 583.
7. Titles connected with Royal Institutions

The occurrences of these titles are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mry-ib (59)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-wsr-k3f (27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3i-'nh (75)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssamw (127)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty (157)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn-k3 (97)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3bw; ibbi (116)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhbw (90)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the fifth dynasty examples were all men who held at most one other high administrative title, and it appears that the higher the official in that dynasty, the less likely he was to hold royal institution titles. It is possible that tenure of these titles may have influenced the location of the burials of 'nh-wsr-k3f, ny-k3i-'nh and hn-k3, because, even though it is unlikely that these titles indicate actual service in a temple, part of the privilege they bore may sometimes have been burial near the pyramid of the relevant king.

The titles of s3bw; ibbi and nhbw reflect the later situation that important officials were often granted high-ranking titles at the pyramids of their kings. It is possible that s3bw's sun-temple titles may belong to an earlier stage of his career, or he may have even acquired them with his many other religious titles. mry-ib is the only imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt to hold such a title in the fourth dynasty. There are few holders of the title hm-ntr hfwf in that dynasty, and all may have been in some way related to Khufu. mry-ib's tenure of such a title is thus associated much more with his likely genealogy than simply his status as an official, although the two may be related.

8. Other Titles

Titles incorporating the group wd(t)-mdw are found quite frequently (thirteen officials - column 11 of table 15). Occurrences are principally of fifth dynasty date, with the very early exception of ph-r-nfr. These titles feature frequently in the titularies of men holding high offices; they were doubtless connected with the

-----------------------

1 Two other examples are h'f-hfwf I (104), son of Khufu, and the unnamed woman, daughter of Khufu (?), on block Boston MFA 30.831 (unpublished).
execution of the high royal commands for which they were responsible.

There are also six examples of the title hrp 'h, extending from the later fourth to the mid-fifth dynasty. Most Old Kingdom examples of this title belong mainly to this same period and are found with high-ranking officials, but not necessarily those with important administrative offices. The imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt who hold this title are mostly the higher-ranking ones: mry-ib, s33t-h3t, ny-k3i-'nh, ty, s3mw and k3i (137). This serves to stress again the high rank of many of these title-holders.

B. imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt

1. Titles associated with the Organisation of Labour

Table 16 shows that titles connected with labour organisation (columns 1-7) are found in the titularies of many holders of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt, notably k3i-pr, h'f-hwfw II, dw3-r', itti, itti; 'nh-irs and k3i-'h3f. The majority of these belong to the middle to later fifth dynasty. Many of the earlier examples have as their only possible such title wr md s'mw, and three (snnw-k3i, k3i-tp and ny-k3w-r') none at all. This in itself is insufficient to differentiate these men from holders of imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, especially as several holders of that title held no offices related to the organisation of labour apart from wr md s'mw.

2. Legal and Scribal Titles

'nh-m-'-k3i is the only man to possess a large number of legal titles, and this is very probably to be explained by his career as a legal official culminating in promotion to imy-r hwt wrt. k3i-pr's large number of scribal titles is linked to his military ones. Otherwise, the limited number of scribal titles is coupled with the similar lack of legal ones. In general, the distribution of these two classes of titles is not very different from that noted for imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

3. Other High Administrative Offices

Only 'nh-m-'-k3i held another such title, imy-r hwt wrt, and this is reflected in the low frequency of legal, scribal, granary and treasury titles in the titularies of the imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. Titles with wd(t)-mdw, found with holders of high offices, are found twice, once in the titulary of 'nh-m-'-k3i and also in that of k3i-pr. The latter does not hold one of the recognised high titles; however his tenure of the office hrp pr-hd may have qualified him for this title, as it is possible that this position may

2 The following discussion will for the present ignore ny-'nh-r' and s3mw who also held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.
have been quite important in the early fifth dynasty (see below page 296).

Table 16
Principal Titles of holders of imy-\(r\) \(k3t\) nzwt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'pr (139)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss0-m-nfr I (129)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srmw-k3i (119)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddf-hnmw (169)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ty (166)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>d3ty (164)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>sf-hbwf II (105)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3i-'nh (75) *</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssrmw (127) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-tkp (152)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m'-k3i (31)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-r' (162)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itti (20)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itti; 'nh-irs (21)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-r' (79)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-wr III (92)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>'nh-ir-pth (24)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>k3i-'h3f (139a)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates also holder of imy-\(r\) \(k3t\) nbt (nt) nzwt

Key to Column Numbers:
1. sdmwny ntr ...
2. imy-\(r\) ms\(r\) and military titles, including imy-\(r\) phw
3. Titles using qd, k3t, and smsw izt, imy-\(r\) gs-pr
4. Titles using hnwmt
5. Boat titles
6. Titles using 'prw/nfrw
7. wr md sm'w
8. Number of Legal Titles
9. Number of Other High Offices
10. Rn nzwt
11. Titles with wd(t)-mdw
12. smw w'ty
13. h3ty-tp nzwt
14. H = h3ty-', X = h3ty- and iry p't
15. Titles of "Kings's son"
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

4. Honorific Titles

Only two such titles are in evidence in the titularies of the imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt, rh nzwt and hry-tp nzwt. The latter title appears only twice, with sšm-nfr I and 'nh-m-’-k3i. The titulary of the former contains the scribal title imy-r zś hryt-’ nzwt, which could be of sufficient importance to warrant the rank of hry-tp nzwt; he was also hm-ntr hqt and h t h3, which have been seen above to be almost always found with officials who hold this honorific title. 'nh-m-’-k3i held hry-tp nzwt by virtue of being a legal official.

The seven occurrences of rh nzwt, of which sšm-nfr I is also one, show this title to be more typical of holders of this office than imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, and is suggestive of an overall lower rank for the holders of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.

5. Titles of 'King's Son'

ddf-hnmw and hš'f-hwfw II were z3 nzwt. The former held this title together with rh nzwt as did mry-ib (imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt). Both men were presumably not true king's sons, and their titles should thus be seen as very important honorific ones, particularly as hš'f-hwfw made great play of the fact that he was im3hw before several kings.1 That some relationship existed between tenure of the titles with z3 nzwt and the Overseers of Works is evident from the frequency with which they appear together (see tables 15-16), especially when compared to imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zś ' nzwt.2 That there are fewer of these titles with the imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt further suggests that it was less important than imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

The example of k3i-’h3f is very different; his title of z3 nzwt n ht.f seem to belong in part to a resurgence in the cult of Sneferu in the late Old Kingdom, if Schmitz's date is correct.3

6. Religious Titles

Only one lector priest is found (r'-wr III) who did not have the ranking title smr w'ty as did the comparable holders of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. A religious title that appears more often with imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt than with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt is w'b nzwt: hš'f-hwfw II, k3i-tp and 'nh-m-’-k3i (snnw-k3i; kki and k3i-tp were hrp w'b nzwt); sšmw was the only imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt to bear this title. w'b nzwt is very frequently associated with the title of rh nzwt, which is also more frequent in the titularies of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt than imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The religious titles of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt are clearly less important than those held by imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

------------

1 Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 45.
3 op. cit., 150, 155-6.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

7. Royal Institution Titles

The following list of Royal Institution titles shows that they are more frequent in the titularies of these officials than imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snnw-k3i (119)</td>
<td>imy-r niwt 3ht-hwfw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-hwfw II (105)</td>
<td>hm-ntr hwfw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-tp (152)</td>
<td>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m-'-k3i (31)</td>
<td>hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-r' (162)</td>
<td>hm-ntr r' m nhn-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3i-'nh (75)</td>
<td>imy-r snfrw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssmw (127)</td>
<td>imy-r h'~snfrw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itti (20)</td>
<td>imy-r h'wy-snfrw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-r' (79)</td>
<td>hnty-š w'b-swt-wsr-k3f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'h3f (139a)</td>
<td>w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See page 227 above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One important observation is that in the case of ny-k3i-'nh (holder of both imy-r k3t nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt), the priesthoods in this list occur only in the same inscription as does imy-r k3t nzwt, while imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt appears on a drum with the titles hrp 'h and smr w'ty which do not appear elsewhere. It is thus possible that the titles of ny-k3i-'nh fall into two groups (see next page).

8. Comparison with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt

The importance of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt is clearly less than that of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, best illustrated by the honorific and religious titles. It is very possible that the number of royal institution titles may vary in relation to the rank of the official, with the less important men possessing more of them. This is clearly only true for the fifth dynasty, when such titles are anyway less prominently placed in titularies.

The implication from this is that imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt represents a position not unlike but inferior to that of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt in the fifth dynasty. It is true that some holders of the latter title (pr-sn (44) for example) have titularies that are

---

1 Lintel BM 1275, BM Stelae I², pl. XXI (1).
2 Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. III.
3 Baer, Rank and Title, 267-72.
rather similar to those of \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} (for example, \textit{snnw-k3i; kki} and \textit{k3i-tp}), but the rest of the evidence suggests that they may have represented two different positions within the same administrative area.

As for the manner in which these titles are written, the inscriptions of most officials contain only one example of the title \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt}, and it could conceivably be an abbreviation for \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}. However, in the tomb of \textit{h'f-hwfw II} it appears many times, and one would surely expect to find at least one example of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} if that is what \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} represented. As noted earlier on, \textit{ny-k3i-'nh} and \textit{s3mw} held (or at least show writings of) both titles. It is probable that the titulary of \textit{ny-k3i-'nh} can be split into two non-overlapping parts. As the title \textit{smr w'ty} appears only in the context of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}, it suggests that \textit{ny-k3i-'nh} may have received a promotion from \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} to \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}, and acquired as well a high honorific title.\footnote{Strudwick, \textit{GM} 77 (1984), 43 (a).}

Since the two overseer of works titles in the tomb of \textit{s3mw} both derive from his monolithic false door, we cannot split them in quite the same way. However, since \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} appears to the left of the central niche and \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} to the right, we can perhaps divide the texts so as to show the titles on the right as a later stage of the owner's career than the titles on the left.\footnote{id., ib., 46 (b).} This again suggests that \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} and \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} were different.

\section*{C. \textit{imy-r k3t nbt}}

\subsection*{1. Summary of Titularies}

Six instances of this title are known in the Old Kingdom, one of which belongs to a vizier. The time-span of these officials is from the end of the fourth to the end of the sixth dynasties, and they thus seem to be confined to no particular period unlike the \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} who were mainly of the fifth dynasty. It is impossible to split the titles of the vizier \textit{h'-b3w-hnmmw; biw} into pre- and post-vizierial stages, and he will thus be omitted from table 17 and the ensuing discussion; with \textit{impy}, we can only use the title shown with his appearance on the walls of the mortuary temple of Pepy II.

As far as most of the fifth to sixth dynasty examples are concerned, there is certainly some connection with other posts related to labour and expedition organisation, although the title of \textit{imy-r m3'} is not found. Scribal or legal titles are in evidence in the titularies of \textit{h'-mrr-pth}, \textit{htp-hr-n-pth} and \textit{q3r}.

\textit{iwn-r'}, the earliest example, has no titles that associate him to the others or indeed to labour organisation. He was of higher rank than the rest, and his involvement with the title of \textit{imy-r k3t}
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

nbt must have come about simply from royal favour, since he was a true king's son.

Apart from those of iwn-r', the only honorific title found is hry-tp nzwt. The holders of imy-r k3t nbt did not have a clearly different rank from that of the imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt as was the case with imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. If the rank and other features were similar, there would be more chance that the title was a variant writing of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt rather than a separate office.

Another feature that differentiates these men from the imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt is the low number of titles connected with royal institutions. These are only found with q3r, and include very important offices connected with the Giza pyramids and that of hnty-s at the pyramid of Pepy I in whose reign he lived. This latter title was borne by nhbw (90) (holder of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt), and no similar titles appeared with the more lowly-ranking imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.

Table 17
Principal Titles of non-viziers who held imy-r k3t nbt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iwn-r' (8)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'-mrr-pth (106) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>htp-hr-n-pth (100)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q3r (135)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impy (62) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates also holder of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt

Key to Column Numbers:

1 sd3wty ntr ...
2 imy-r ms' and military titles, including imy-r phw
3 Titles using qd, k3t, and smsw izt, imy-r gs-pr
4 Titles using hmwt
5 Boat titles
6 Titles using 'prw/nfrw
7 wr md sm'w
8 Number of Legal Titles
9 Number of Scribal titles
10 Number of Other High Offices
11 Titles with wd(t)-mdw
12 rh nzwt
13 hry-tp nzwt
14 smr w'ty
15 H = h3ty-', X = h3ty-' and iry p't
16 Titles of "Kings's son"

233
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

2. Relationship to _imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt_

It would seem that it is very likely that there was no difference in the functions of holders of _imy-r k3t nbt_ and those who held _imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt_. The appearances of _imy-r k3t nbt_ in the titularies of _h'-mrr-pth_ and _impy_ are probably abbreviated writings as they hold _imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt_ elsewhere (see above page 221). That of _htp-hr-n-pth_ appears at the bottom of a column of text immediately above his name, which renders probable an omission of the _nzwt_ element for reasons of space. The title _imy-r k3t nbt_ of _iwn-r_ occupies all of a vertical column on the drum; insufficient space may account for the omission of _nt nzwt_. This may also be true for the example of _h'-b3w-hnnw_, written inside a small box on the wall of his burial chamber.

The examples from the tomb of _q3r_ are more problematical. Two further titles in his tomb incorporate the group _k3t nbt_ (_hry-sat3 n k3t nbt, z3b _imy-r zâ n k3t nbt_), again with no sign of the word _nzwt_; there would seem to have been space available for this group if needed in most cases. We view this example as an abbreviation with far more hesitation.

Table 18
Principal Titles of holders of _imy-r k3t_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'pr (138)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb-ib; sndm-ib (43)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'nh-n-pth (118)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Lost (173)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhbw (90) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-pth-mry-r' (60)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<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>

* indicates also holder of _imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt_

Key to Column Numbers:

1 _sd3wty ntr ..._
2 _imy-r mšš_ and military titles, including _imy-r phw_
3 Titles using _qd, k3t_, and _smsw izt, imy-r gs-pr_
4 Titles using _hmwt_  5 Boat titles
6 Titles using _'prw/nfrw_  7 _wr md šm'w_
8 Number of Legal Titles  9 Number of Scribal titles
10 Number of Other High Offices  11 Titles with _wd(t)-mdw_
12 _rh nzwt_  13 _hry-tp nzwt_
14 _smr w'ty_
15 _H = h3ty-', _X = h3ty-'_ and _iry p't_
16 Titles of "Kings's son"

234
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

D. imy-r k3t

On page 221 it was argued that the examples of this title in the tombs of 'nh-m-ḥr; zzi (30) and nḥbw (90) represent compressed writings of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. Table 18 omits the former official as it is currently impossible to discern his pre-vizierial titulary. The short titularies of the officials holding imy-r k3t (with the exception of nḥbw) provide little useful information. Only the title wr md ʾśmʾw indicates any possible involvement with the organisation of labour, but in this respect these officials differ little from such imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt as pr-sn (44). No consistent occurrences of legal and scribal titles can be discerned, nor are any high administrative titles evident. The most consistent feature is that the three fifth dynasty officials all held the title of rh nzwt, which title is more often found with imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt than imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. They do not seem to have held any royal institution titles.

Due to the relative infrequency of the title, conclusions are difficult to draw, and affinities may be observed with other officials who held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt or imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. The title of nḥbw is probably an abbreviation, and, by analogy, the same may be said for his brother (173); whether all of the others are so to be understood is unclear, as they do not seem necessarily to be fitted into a cramped space, and indeed there would have been room for further elements of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. That of mṛy-pṭḥ-mṛy-r' could be an abbreviation, appearing as it does in the address of a royal decree where space was at a premium. Also, the title of overseer of works in the tomb of snḥm-ib; inti (120) is always given as imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt with this one exception:

iw hm.i rh hmwt.k r imy-r k3t nb hpr m t3 pn r dr.f

My majesty knows that your craftsmanship (is better) than (that of) any imy-r k3t who has existed in this entire land.1

Here the king (Djedkare) is clearly referring to snḥm-ib's capacity as imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, but nevertheless shortens the title to the minimum, rather as we are using 'overseer of works' in preference to a longer translation. This shows how imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt can be abbreviated, and makes the example of mṛy-pṭḥ-mṛy-r' (at least) all the more likely as an abbreviation as it also appears in a text mentioning the king.

However, if the title is not always an abbreviation, then it must represent a function about the work of which nothing is known. No other overseer of works would seem to have such a lowly title as imy-r pr found in the titulary of k3i-pṛ, and so it may even be associated with some form of non-royal work, if indeed it had a separate existence.

1 Urk. I, 63.6
E. Conclusions on Titularies

From the above discussion a form of typical titulary for an overseer of works has evolved, with the distinctive features of further titles connected with labour organisation. Of the several forms of the title, it is suggested that only one of them (imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt) was a distinct but related title, the rest being mainly abbreviated writings for imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

The latter title appears at the beginning of the fourth dynasty and exists at least into the First Intermediate Period. The related form (imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt) exists only for the duration of the fifth dynasty, although with one isolated example at the end of the Old Kingdom.

The writings of these titles do not appear to vary a great deal from one period to the next. The greatest degree of variation is found in the group nbt nt. Most commonly all these elements are included in some form or other, the variants of nbt nt being written 𓊬, 𓊵, 𓊳, and 𓊴. The writing of these two words using only one t is the most frequent from the middle of the fifth dynasty onwards. As might be expected, the genitive element nt is occasionally omitted, mainly in early examples, such as hḥ-f-minw (103), 3ḥi (1) and sš3t-htp (126). Sometimes the group nzwt is honorifically transposed; unlike imy-r zˁ ' nzwt, such transposition is rare and the group is nearly always written in full (exceptions: for example, hḥ-f-minw (103), 3ḥi (1), 'nh-ḥwfm (36), 'nh-irs (25), ššm-nfr II (130), ny-k3i-'nh (75) and ḫn-k3 (97)). The latter date to the period before the middle of of the fifth dynasty, and this serves as a very rough guide for a date.

The same broad orthographical rules are followed in the writings of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt - the examples before the mid-fifth dynasty show a variety of positions for the nzwt group, and the nt element is occasionally omitted.

The Viziers

Of those viziers who hold an overseer of works title, only one does not hold imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt but one of the shorter forms. This is ḥ'-b3w-hnmw, but his title of imy-r k3t nbt is almost certainly an abbreviation for the longer title (page 234). These arguments are further strengthened by the fact that he would otherwise be a unique exception to the general rule, and so imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt must have been the intention.

A number of viziers held titles which can be in some way connected with the organisation of labour. However, very many of them can be so considered in the broadest sense only, such as imy-r gs(wy)-pr and wr md ššm-w, and there seems to be no correlation between the holding of such titles and tenure of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt - in particular, imy-r gs(wy)-pr could be considered as sufficiently important to warrant being an important part of any vizierial titulary. Evidently, the presence of the title imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt emphasised the holder's overall control in matters of
labour-organisation.

Only sāḥt-ḥtp (126), k3i (136), r'-špas (95) and impy (62) certainly held the title of overseer of works before their promotion to the vizierate, although it seems very probable that, on the analogy of their relative nhbw (90), the same was true for sn_dm-ib; inti (120) and sn_dm-ib; ṣdī (121) and hnmw-nti (113).

The Organisation and Functions of the Overseers of Works

A. The Organisation of the Overseers of Works

We have to consider three principal groups of officials in this section: the viziers with the title imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, the non-viziers with that title, and the non-viziers holding the other offices, principally imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. It is clear that these groups were to a large extent contemporary; their approximate distribution by date is given in table 19.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Years)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early - mid 4th dynasty (70)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 4th dynasty - early 5th dynasty (55)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid - end 5th dynasty (85)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early - mid 6th dynasty (65)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid 6th dynasty - end Old Kingdom (100+)</td>
<td>8b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(All period lengths are very approximate)

Key to Columns:

1 Vizierial holders of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
2 Non-vizierial holders of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
3 imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt
4 Others (including possible abbreviations)

a. Includes two provincial examples
b. Includes one provincial example

After its inception, the office of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt was held for the first part of the fourth dynasty mainly by members of the royal family, principally viziers, with the exception of ṣp-rnfr (46). It is impossible to tell whether any of these viziers held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt before their promotion. For the remainder of the dynasty there is more evidence of non-royal and non-vizierial holders; in fact there is no certain example of a
fourth dynasty vizier with the title after h'f-minw (103). Only one member of the family of Khafre held an important position with regard to the organisation of labour, and he was not a vizier (iwn-r' (8)); there was also one very junior son of Khufu (d3ty (165)). For this period then, the control of the office of works was in the hands of several non-vizierial imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

After iwn-r' (8) it appears that no true king's sons ever held this title again. In the early fifth dynasty, before the reign of Neferirkare, there were two vizierial holders (s33t-htp; hti (126) and b3-b3f (42)) and several non-viziers. Holders of the title imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt also appear for the first time. It is thus evident that at that time there could have been three contemporary holders of overseer of works titles - a vizier with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, an imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt who was not a vizier, and an imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.

The probable administrative reform of the reign of Neferirkare, which may have seen the introduction of (among other titles) imy-r hwt wrt 6 and imy-r ž3 ' nzwt, seems to have had little impact on the organisation of the overseers of works. For the remainder of the fifth dynasty, there are broadly similar numbers of each type of overseer of works, suggesting that the tripartite division of this office was maintained. Only two viziers in this period certainly held the office of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt before their promotion (k3i (156) and r'-fps (95), and it is unknown whether the latter continued to hold this office as vizier); the division of the titulary of s3m-nfr III (131) can be used to show that some viziers did not hold the title prior to their promotion.

There is only one possible (early) sixth dynasty example of a holder of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt, and it is likely that this office ceased to exist in that period. Overall the number of men who held titles associated with the organisation of labour is reduced; the figures in table 19 suggest a contemporary vizier and non-vizier each holding imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. After the reign of Pepy I, all the attested imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt were also viziers; that at least one of these held the office in an earlier stage in his career is evident from the depiction of impy (62) in the mortuary temple of Pepy II without the title of t3tyt ž3b t3ty. It cannot be established with any certainty, but perhaps this title was only given to men at that time who were destined for the vizierate, in the manner of imy-r ž3 ' nzwt (above page 208). In this period is found the only occurrence of a holder of imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt in the provinces, the vizier ppy-nht at Abydos.

------------------

1 Baer, Rank and Title, 296.
2 The exception to this is k3i-ḥ3f (139a). Accepting Schmitz's date for the present, there seems to have been a group of officials buried at Dahshur at the end of the Old Kingdom who exhibit unusual title sequences; it is possible that they form a collective exception to the normal patterns of title-holding. If indeed they are as late as the First Intermediate Period, then there is no reason why the rules formulated for the Old Kingdom should apply at all.
The sixth dynasty is thus marked by a gradual reduction in the number of contemporaneous holders of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The office was obviously affected by the same administrative change that was noted with imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zē ' nzwt at the end of the fifth dynasty, which had the result of reducing the number of contemporary holders and confined it to men of higher rank; eventually the title reposed with the vizier only.

These numerous overseers of works cannot all have performed the same function. Smith is aware of this problem and suggested that each man would have been in charge of a different building project or the like, and that their functions were restricted geographically. In fact, a new instance of the title could have been created for each task. It is clear from the biographies of members of the sndm-ib family (for which see further below) that there was more building work being carried out in the Old Kingdom than is evident from present remains.

Kanawati has discussed the probable duality of overseers of works (and viziers) in the reign of Teti. He suggests that the divisions of responsibility between the two may have been on a geographical basis, quoting the titles with the phrase t3 r dr.f of k3i-gmnī (151) and 'nh-m-'-hr (30). This is not an unreasonable suggestion if, as seems probable, there were two contemporaneous viziers, but he does not fit into this scheme the non-viziers, although admitting their existence. Presumably one non-vizier at least would be needed to assist each pair of viziers as the latter had many other responsibilities.

A geographical division of responsibility may very well explain the multiplicity of overseers of works. Two of the very rare overseers of works buried outside the memphite region in fact stress their involvement with provincial works: both k3i-hnt's buried at Hemamiya held the title imy-r k3t m sp3wt hrywt-ib (śm'w). It should be noted that there is no trace of nbt nt nzwt, suggesting perhaps that they may have held their authority over a restricted area. The rarity of provincial overseers of works and of qualifications to the titles such as seen at Hemamiya suggests that there must have been other men in charge of works in the provinces who did not specify it in their titles and were buried in the memphite region; this may explain the role of many of the non-

1 Sculpture, 357.
2 The constructions from the memphite area are the clearest evidence of Old Kingdom building work. Less obvious remains are the Old Kingdom 'dam' in the Wadi Garawi near Helwan, possibly built to trap water for workmen in the nearby quarries (Murray, BIE 28 (1947), 33-43), and various works at provincial cult-temples: at Koptos (from the decrees), Abydos (collection of material in PM 5, 40-1), and Karnak (various evidence, see Daumas, BIFAO 65 (1967), 206-9, 212-4), to name three important examples.
3 Governmental Reforms, 25-7.
4 op. cit., 39 n. 44. There seem to be two such non-viziers from the reign of Teti, s3bw; ibbi (116) and ny-k3w-izzi (76).
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

vizierial imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt or imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. Provincial and memphite divisions would be the most logical explanation for such multiplicity.

Part of the reduction in numbers of overseers of works in the sixth dynasty may be as a result of the expansion of local provincial government. In particular, the disappearance of non-viziers (with the exception of those destined for the vizierate) from among the holders of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt after the reign of Pepy I may coincide with the developments in provincial administration undertaken from the reign of Merenre onwards. Given the extent of activities of these provincial officials, it would hardly be surprising that they dealt with works in their nomes, although it is generally not specified in titles in the Old Kingdom. The only Old Kingdom provincial holder of imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt was a vizier, ppy-nbt of Abydos, and his tenure of this office is doubtless to be associated with his vizierate, paralleling the situation evident in Memphis.

B. The Functions of the Overseer of Works

The principal sources for further information about these titles are the biographies of the sndm-ib family, notably sndm-ib; inti (120) and nhbw (90). It is clear that this family were builders first and foremost, and it is very probable that they all held the title imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt before they reached the vizierate, with the exception of nhbw, who did not reach that office. However, only impy (62) is clearly attested with the title of overseer of works both before and after his promotion.

The works referred to in the biography of sndm-ib; inti were carried out during his vizierate, and the following sections from it are the most relevant to the study of the organisation of labour:

1 Urk. I, 60.16-61.1: iw m3.n. hm.i md3t.k tn irt.n.k r rdit rh hm.i ht nb(t) ntt irt.n.k m /// zΣ n mrt-izzi ntt ḫr ə n pr-13.

My majesty has seen this your report which you have made in order to let my majesty know everything which you have done in /// writing for the mrt-temple of Izezi which concerns the workshop of the palace.

1 cf. Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 44 ff.
2 cf. those of mry-r'-nfr; q3r, Urk. I, 254-5.
3 There is some evidence that it may have been so before the reign of Merenre: in the biography of izi of Edfu, the deceased says rs.kwi ḫr k3t nbt nt nzwt ipt m ap3t.i - 'I was vigilant concerning all the works of the king reckoned in my nome' (Edel, ZAS 79 (1954), 13 (line 9), 17). The First Intermediate Period titles of _tmrry (table 14) attest a very localised overseer of works at a slightly later period.

240
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

2 Urk. I, 62.1:- ḫm.f r ḫt ddt m stp-z3.

You have said to my majesty that you will do the craftwork in accordance with whatever is said in the palace.

3 Urk. I, 62.8:- ... r ntt ddt imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt ḫryw-'.

... to the effect that whatever the imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt says (happens ?) immediately.

4 Urk. I, 62.16-63.3:- iw m3.n ḫm.f ṣntw pn rdi.n.k int.f r si3 m stp-z3 n š n hwt-wsht n 'h n ny-ḥb-[sd]-izzi. sk tw ddk ḫr ḫm.f wnt ir.n.k sw r ḫh? 1440 ḫt wddt n.k m stp-z3.

My majesty has seen this plan that you have caused to be brought to attention in the palace for the workshop of the 'broad court' for the palace ny-ḥb-sd-izzi. In fact (now) you tell my majesty that you have made it1 to a length of 1400 (?) cubits in accordance with what was commanded you in the palace.

Text 3 shows the authority inherent in the position, while the others refer to particular works done for the king. It is actually unknown whether everything referred to was carried out in his capacity as imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, with the clear exception of text 3. In text 1, concerned as it is with a temple very closely associated with the king and with the stress on the royal nature of the report, sndm-ib may have been functioning as vizier and carrying out a very special concern on behalf of Izezi (see further below page 331).

The information from the biography of nhbw (90) is a little less relevant here, as it is apparently an account of what he did as mdḥ qd nzwt m prwy. It is still one of the major primary sources about the organisation of labour:

1 Urk. I, 215.11, 13:- iw ḫ3b.n wį ḫm.f r ħrp k3t nt mnw.f m iwnw .... [ir.n.i] rṇpt 6 ħm. ħrp k3t.

His majesty sent me to direct the work of his monument in Heliopolis ... I spent six years there directing work.

-----------------------------

1 The nature of the construction is unknown, although the context and dimensions might suggest some sort of supply canal for the palace (?). ṣntw as a 'plan' is attested from the Middle Kingdom (Wb. IV, 178-9), and this would seem correct here - sndm-ib has shown the king a plan and now has finished the project.

2 Full translation and commentary, Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 1-7.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

2 Urk. I, 216.1-4:- A list of his promotions:
   i. qd n 'ś3t
   ii. shd qd, imy-r qd, mty n z3
   iii. mdh qd nzwt, hry-tp nzwt
   iv. smr w'ty, mdh qd nzwt m prwy

3 Urk. I, 216.9-13, 15-6 217.2:- ir wn.i m-h't sn.i imy-r k3t
   /\\\\ wn.i [hr] z ś wn.i hr ś'.f. ihr nd.tw n.f shd n qd
   wn.i hr m3t.f. ihr nd.tw n.f imy-r qd wn.i m hmt.f. ihr
   nd.tw n.f mdh qd nzwt wn.i hr hq3 n.f niwt ... ihr nd.tw n.f
   smr w'ty mdh qd nzwt m prwy wn.i hr ip n.f išt.f nbt ... ihr
   nd.tw n.f imy-r k3t wn.i hr whm.f m mdt.f nbt im r hzt.f
   hr.s.

I worked under my brother, the imy-r k3t /\\\\, I wrote, I
   carried his palette; when he was promoted to shd n qd I
   carried his measuring rod; when he was promoted to imy-r qd
   I was his companion; when he was promoted to mdh qd nzwt I
   ruled the estate for him ... When he was promoted to smr
   w'ty and mdh qd nzwt m prwy, I reckoned all his possessions
   for him ... When he was promoted to imy-r k3t I repeated
   (carried out ?) everything he said to his satisfaction.

4 Urk. I, 219.15, 17-220.4:- iw h3b.n wi hm.f r hr[p k3t m]
   /\\\\ .... iw h3b.n wi hm.f r hrp [k3t m] hwt-k3 /\\\\ m t3-
   mhw gs-pr n hwt-k3 mhty 'i m niwt sp3wt m 3h-bity nt hr rsy
   'i m mn-nfr-ppy iy.n.i 'rq.

His majesty sent me to direct works /\\\\ ... His majesty
   sent me to direct works at the hwt-k3 /\\\\ in Lower Egypt,
   administrative area of the hwt-k3, with my northernmost
   authority in the town of the nomes of 3h-bity of Horus, my
   southernmost authority at the pyramid of Pepy I. I came
   away having finished.

5 Urk. I, 220.5-7:- iw /\\\\ n hwt-k3 /\\\\ im qdw hwz dy hwt
   iryt ndr n t3-mhw iy.n.i 'rq.

   ... of hwt-k3 therein built and wood placed on them which
   had been cut in Lower Egypt (?). I came away having finished.

6 Urk. I, 220.12-13:- n '3t n iqr.i hr.f ky mdh nzwt h3b.n
   hm.f hft gs-pr n pr-nzwt.

   ... through the greatness of my excellence towards him more
   than that of another mdh nzwt whom his majesty had sent in
   respect of the gs-pr of the pr-nzwt.

7 Urk. I, 220.14-221.1:- iw h3b n wi hm.f h3 mr n 3h-bity nt
   hr (r) ṣ3d.f iw ṣ3d.n.i sw n sw/3bd (?) 3 r iwt r ḫnw sksw
   hr mw.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

His majesty sent me to lay out the canal of 3h-bity of Horus and (to) dig it. I dug it for three days/months and when I reached the residence it was full of water.

8 Urk. I, 221.6-9:- iw h3b n wi hm.f r ///// hwthr m qis. iw ir.n.i 83.d.n.i sw [r] hzt hm.f hr.s. ihr iw.i r hnw.

His majesty sent me to (do works for?) Hathor in qis. I acted and dug it to the satisfaction of his majesty. Then I came back to the residence.

The juxtaposition of titles at the beginnings of these texts render it more likely that these building activities took place before nhbw's promotion to imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The last part of text 3 suggests that the overseer of works (in this case his anonymous brother (173)) was responsible as much for organising and ordering works as for executing them, and the implication of nhbw's statement is that as subordinate he was responsible for checking that the overseer's orders were carried out. These texts by their omission of many of the duties of the imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt further suggest that the latter was not always the actual 'builder' of monuments. Text 4 shows that men were appointed to work in specific areas; it is always possible that when there was a multiplicity of overseers of works, division of responsibility was geographical.

In his inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat, nhbw (called by his other name mry-pth-’nh-mry-r') is given the titles imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, smr w'ty and mdh qd nzwt m prwy. The purpose of this Hammamat expedition is not given but it shows that the overseer of works did not always function simply as an administrator. This expedition may have been particularly special, as others of the same reign were not lead by so high an official. The inscriptions do show that nhbw still held mdh qd nzwt m prwy alongside imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, and so it is not impossible that he did hold the latter office when the events described in his biography took place.

These texts of nhbw show that the office of overseer of works included responsibility for both expeditions and construction work, and the feature common to both aspects is the requirement of organising workforces.

One further text which should probably be grouped with the above is a fragment of the biography of an unnamed official, now in Cairo. This man's titles have not survived, but from the parallels with the inscriptions of nhbw it is perhaps likely that he was an overseer of works, or at least mdh qd nzwt. The principal similarity comes in the following phrase:

1 Against Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 36.
2 cf. Urk. I, 91-2 and 94-5, where expeditions are lead by imy-r mš' and sdwty ntr.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

h3b wi hm.f r hrp k3t m hwt-k3 iry //// m r-3w ///.

His majesty sent me to direct works in the hwt-k3 being made //// and in Tura.

The biography of k3i-m-tnnt (146) seems to contain accounts of building works, although we cannot tell whether they were carried out in his capacity as imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt. The biography is too badly damaged to ascertain the exact content.1

If Sethe's reconstruction of the biography of dbhn is correct, an imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt may be seen at work in connection with a private tomb. This text is found:

irt wd n nzwt n imy-r [k3t nbt nt nzwt] //// r irt.f iz n mh 100 m 3w.f r mh 50 m wsh[f] r mh ////.

Making a royal command to the imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt //// to make it, namely a tomb of one hundred cubits long, fifty cubits in width and /// cubits ///.2

This is a clear instance of building work carried out under the supervision of this official on the express order of the king.

From the surviving biographical evidence, the principal association of the the titles under study was with building and the organisation of the workforces, which agrees with the conclusions obtained from analysis of the titularies.

One overseer of works appears in a royal decree, the imy-r k3t mry-pth-mry-r' (60) in the Dahshur decree of Pepy I.3 He is here charged along with the vizier and several other individuals to ensure that the provisions of the decree are carried out. The concern of this text with the non-removal of the tenants and workers belonging to the pyramids of Sneferu for other tasks may explain why the most important individual in the area of labour organisation was mentioned. The non-appearance of overseers of works in other decrees may be associated with the latters' provincial origin; in addition, by the time of these decrees (reign of Pepy II and later), the responsibilities for labour-organisation outside the capital may not have resided with the overseer of works (above).

C. The uses of the word k3t

A wider range of uses of the word k3t4 and the phrase k3t (nbt) (nt) (nzwt) may be found in its uses outside titles.

1 Urk. I, 181-5; translation with restorations (some dubious), Schott, Fs Otto, 446-51.
3 Borchardt, ZAS 42 (1905), pl. I.

244
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

1. In reference to Building or Craft work

The above biographies have shown several such uses. Further references may be found, particularly in relation to work on royal pyramids. 1 A z3 k3t is found in the Abusir Papyri, and was perhaps concerned with reconstruction work. 2 There is one example which shows the word used in the work of a craftsman: on the false door of m3-nfr there are hieratic comments marking the various levels of work achieved. 3

In the tomb of ty (157), above a man working on a statue is found the text irt k3t in hmwt, 'performing the work of the craftsman', and above one boring out a stone vessel irt k3t n znht, 'performing the work of the stone-borer'. 4 A scene from the tomb of ibi at Deir el Gebrawi shows a man working on a statue with the caption k3t m rw-3bw in gnwty, 'work on the lion-statue (?) by the sculptor'. 5 The same tomb describes a scene of craftwork with m33 k3t nbt m iz hmwt, 'watching the work of the workshop'. 6 Records of the work of craftsmen are also attested in the text rdit zâ n k3t hmwt nbt. 7

The word k3t is more frequently found followed by a specification of the exact craft, in the form m k3t .... 'in the work (or perhaps 'practice') of ...'. 8

2. In Agricultural and Related Scenes

The word k3t is found in descriptions of the tomb-owner watching activities shown on the walls of his tomb. It appears most frequently in the combination k3t sht, perhaps in a general sense 'work of the countryside'. 9 This is often followed by more specific descriptions of these activities, for example, m33 k3t sht sht 3pdw h3m rmw '3 wtr - 'Seeing the work of the countryside - the trapping of birds and the catching of fish in great quantities', and also m33 k3t sht sk3 3zh hwí mbi šdt '3(w) hwí '3(w) zpwt h3h3 - 'watching

---

1 Urk. I, 18.12; 19.2; 20.2; 148.9; 149.5; also Pyr. 1649 c d.
2 Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 450. The word k3t is also found in an unclear context, ib., ib. I, 292-3 (document 70A).
3 Berlin (East) 1108 - AIB I, 104 (A); LD II, 65.
4 Both, Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti III, pl. CLXXIII.
5 Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. XIV.
6 id., ib., pl. XIII; for a similar scene, Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, Taf. 65.
7 id., ib., Taf. 61.
8 Sculptors, Urk. I, 276.3; leather-workers, Urk. I, 22.8; manicurists, Moussa-Altenmüller, op. cit., Abb. 3 (b, c); hairdressers, Mariette, Mastabas, 366; builders, WZKM 54 (1957), 93, Abb. 2. Also in connection with the construction of a tomb, Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 78, and the process of embalming, James, Khentika, pl. V (B12).
9 For a discussion of this term with examples, see Montet, Scènes, 180-3.
the work of the countryside - ploughing, reaping, pulling flax, loading donkeys, driving donkeys on the threshing floor, winnowing. The recording of such activities is shown, as in the tomb of wr-ir-n-tp, where the text m33 zâ₃ n k3t sht, 'watching the recording of the works of the countryside', appears beside a scribe performing the reckoning. One unusual example refers to herdsmen and their produce: prt m mhÎt r hry-tp in mniw hn' k3t.sn k3w wrw, 'coming forth from the marshes onto the higher ground by the herdsmen bringing their produce and their great bulls'. When works are referred to generally in such scenes, the phrase k3t nbt is used: m33 k3t nbt nf rt nt sht irrt m mniw.f, 'seeing all the good works of the countryside carried out in his towns'; also k3t nbt nt t3-mhw, '//// all the works of Lower Egypt'.

3. Other Uses

These references tend to be less specific than the foregoing, and are principally culled from royal decrees, especially those from Koptos. They are almost all connected with the exemptions that form the main subject of those decrees, and four different phrases are generally used: k3t nbt nt nzwt, k3t nbt nt pr nzwt, k3t nt nzwt and k3t nbt. The first three phrases are much more specific than the fourth. It seems that they were used to refer to particular exemptions while k3t nbt was used in a wider sense, presumably to cover anything that had been omitted elsewhere in the decree. Additionally the first three phrases are interchangeable, at least as far as these texts are concerned. This may be illustrated by comparing the very similar documents Koptos B and Koptos C: B has k3t nbt nt pr nzwt where C has k3t nt nzwt. These terms were clearly synonymous, and any differentiation between them recognised in the fifth dynasty - as seen in the titles imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt and imy-r k3t nt nzwt - was no longer felt.

k3t nbt very often appears in lists in these documents, along with other duties from which the temple or its dependents are to be exempted, most frequently mdd nb or sšm nb. Other examples of general uses refer to works ordered to be done in Upper Egypt.
Chapter 5 - The Overseers of Works

found in these decrees\(^1\) and the biography of \(\text{wni}^2\).

The general use of the phrase \(k3t\ nbt\ nt\ nzwt\) in a specific nome has been noted above (page 240, n. 3). An \(\text{imy-r}\ \text{ms'}\) refers to his business by the use of the word \(k3t:\ \text{snknt}\ p\ w\ m'-\ k3t\ b3k\ im\), 'it is an ignoring of the business of this servant', in a letter to the vizier.\(^3\) The word may here be referring either to the specific quarrying nature of work at Tura or else generally - 'business'. One example exists of a use of \(k3t\) in the plural, although the First Intermediate Period date may explain this variation from the Old Kingdom form - \(\text{sn-ndsw}\) of Dendera says: \(\text{iw z nb mkw n k3wt.f}\), 'Every man was protected for his works'.\(^4\)

4. Further Observations

The above material, combined with the evidence gained from the biographies, shows the word \(k3t\) to be associated with buildings (and by implication the digging of canals), expeditions, agriculture and craftwork, together with less clearly-defined general uses. A common link between these activities is the organisation of workforces, which we have seen to be a clear function of many overseers of works. There seems to be no reason why the overall responsibility for the workforces needed for some agricultural tasks should not have laid with the overseers of works, especially the \(\text{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}\). These men do not seem to have been especially associated with agricultural organisation from their other titles, but the lack of any high title in the Old Kingdom specifically related to this area points to it having been controlled by one of the principal civil administrative offices, of which that of overseer of works would seem the most appropriate.

There is no direct evidence as to what these agricultural tasks were; the Old Kingdom probably employed a system of labour whereby people could be called in for 'corvée' labour when required,\(^5\) usually for the purposes of digging or carrying, and it is likely that these men were used for agricultural requirements as well as those of building work.\(^6\) Another pseudo-agricultural use of labour would be the maintenance (in addition to the building) of the irrigation system. Nothing is known about this in the Old Kingdom, but it must have existed in some form and would have required a large amount of organised labour to service it.\(^7\)

\(^1\) Urk. I, 282.17.

\(^2\) Urk. I, 106.6, referring to what he did as \(\text{imy-r}\ \text{sm'w}\).

\(^3\) Gunn, \(\text{ASAE}\) 25 (1925), 253, pl. Ia, line 6.

\(^4\) Fischer, \(\text{Dendera}\), 154.

\(^5\) The exemptions of the various royal decrees are clearly intended to prevent this practice in particular cases.

\(^6\) cf. Hayes, \(\text{A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum}\), 130-1. For a general account of 'corvée' labour, see \(\text{Lexikon der Ägyptologie II}, 333-4\) ('Frondienst').

\(^7\) Endesfelder, \(\text{ZAS}\) 106 (1979), 42-3; Butzer, \(\text{Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt}\), 109-12; Schenkel, \(\text{Die Bewässerungsrevolution im alten Ägypten}\), 25-9. Endesfelder (op. cit., 49)
More may be learnt about the manner of the organisation of works. It is evident from some passages in the royal decrees that the k3t (nbt) nt (pr) nzwt were carried out on orders which originated in any of the iz n ' nzwt, iz n pr hryw-wdb, iz n pr md3t or iz n hry htm md3t. An actual office of works (iz n k3t or the like) is not attested in the Old Kingdom, perhaps because labour organisation was coordinated in the offices of the administrative department which required the work to be done.

A similar conclusion may be deduced from further titles incorporating the word k3t. Such titles as reflect subordinate offices connected with the k3t (nbt) (nt) (nzwt) are extremely few in number, which contrasts sharply with the frequency of titles associated with the ' nzwt, hwt wrt, granaries or treasuries. If labour-organisation did not exist as an independent administrative office, we might not expect to find many subordinate positions, which indeed is the case. There are six examples of titles beginning with hry-sst3, split between k3t nbt nt nzwt and k3t nbt, with one hry-sst3 n k3t qd m ///. Additionally there is an imy-r ht wdt m k3t hft-hr, and one z3b imy-r z3 n k3t nbt. Only three officials just noted were not also overseers of works, but one of them was a builder (k3i-pw-nzwt) and another (pth-spss) a high priest of Ptah. There thus seems to be a strong link with the organisation of labour in the titularies of almost all these officials; equally importantly, these titles are few in number and attest very little in the way of bureaucracy for the branches of the administration headed by the overseer of works.

The Old Kingdom did not lack in offices relating to all grades and types of labour organisation. Instead of an established hierarchy linked by the use of the word k3t, it would seem that the offices under the supervision of the overseer of works kept their own identifying names which superficially do not always relate them to their superior. Such a solution to the problem of the lower offices suggests that labour-organisation was carried out very much

---

quotes the New Kingdom title imy-r k3t m h'py '3, and suggests that the overseers of works could have been involved with work on the Nile and irrigation, especially as there is no other evidence for central administrative involvement in irrigation work. This is very likely to have been true for the Old Kingdom also. A summary of other functions of the overseer of works in the New Kingdom will be found in de Cenival, Chefs de Travaux, 228-30.

1 Urk. I, 281.7-10, 13-16 and parallels 284.14-17 and 285.4-7.
2 cf. de Cenival, op. cit., 226.
3 With the former element, s83t-htp (126) (LD II, 25) and 'nhi; inti (Goyon, Kēmi 15 (1959), pl. II); with the latter, pth-şpss (BM Stelae I2, pl. XVII), s3bw; ibbi (116) (Mariette, Mastabas, 415) and q3r; mry-r'-nfr (135) (Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, fig. 20).
4 k3i-pw-nzwt, Kees, WZKM 54 (1957), Abb. 2.
5 hzzi (98), Cairo, CG 1413.
6 q3r (135), Simpson, op. cit., fig. 28.
on an ad hoc basis.

The office of overseer of works is therefore seen to be a very varied one, with a wide range of responsibilities, and was the most important position in the administration of work-organisation. There is no obvious equivalent to the wide range of very specific 'Overseer of works of ....' titles evident in the New Kingdom, but this is not to say that certain officials were not so specifically attached, but rather that the current evidence does not support such a conclusion.

Conclusions

As seen with other titles, there was evidently a two-tiered structure of this office, it being held both by viziers and non-viziers for much of the Old Kingdom. This situation is however complicated by the existence of other forms of the title, although only imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt clearly had an independent existence.

No evidence exists for defining the different areas of responsibility of the contemporaneous non-vizierial holders of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt and imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. As the latter title disappears in the sixth dynasty it is possible that it may have been connected with provincial administration, which was conducted on a more local basis in that period.

The prime concern of the office seems to have been the organisation of workforces, whether of builders, craftsmen or for agricultural work. It is thus possible that different title holders may have been responsible for different sections of this whole range of work. No centralised office of works seems to be recorded for the Old Kingdom, and consequently no clear hierarchy of titles is evident for this area of the administration; rather one has to put together all the titles relating to workforce organisation to determine the subordinate positions. We imagine that the overseer of works carried out the orders of the principal bureaucratic offices. A particular requirement may have materialised in one of these offices, for example, for men to attend to the organisation of irrigation works in a particular area. It would then be the function of the overseer of works to put together a body of men suitable for the work.

It is unclear how builders may have fitted into this pattern. They would have needed the semblence of a permanent department to be able to organise the architectural details of the projected construction, and then it would have been necessary to raise the required workforce. Whether they came directly under the supervision of the overseer of works is not clear from the texts, as one cannot be sure that these accounts do not relate to work done in other capacities, for example as vizier (sndm-ib; inti (120)) or mdh qd nzwt m prwy (nhbw (90)). What is clear is only that such experience could lead to the tenure of the office of overseer of works. Consequently, the office of builders may have been a part of

1 cf. list in Helck, Verwaltung, Register, 25.
one of the other state departments, such as the treasury, which can be imagined as controlling the finances of such projects.

The wide range of functions covered by the overseer of works may have been even wider in the fourth dynasty. As noted, this title along with that of \textit{t3yty z3b t3ty} has the longest history of all those under consideration in this study. It is only speculation, but the fifth dynasty functions embodied in the titles \textit{imy-r hwt wrt}, \textit{imy-r zš' nzwt}, \textit{imy-r šnwty} and \textit{imy-r prwy-hd} may have been divided to some unknown extent between the vizier and overseer of works in the fourth. 'Royal works' may then have included also scribal, legal and financial aspects, the increasing burden of which lead to the establishment of new offices in the fifth dynasty.

In conclusion, a translation of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} that best describes its activities may be 'Overseer of Royal Works and Workforces', with the various elements removed to translate the less common forms.
The titles *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r šnwty* are by far the most common Old Kingdom representations of the office of 'overseer' in the administration of the granaries. However, there are found several apparently related forms: *imy-r šnwt nbt nt nzwt*, *imy-r šnwtyt nzwt*, *imy-r šnwt nt hnw*, *imy-r šnwt swt htpw df3w*, *imy-r šnwt nbt*, and *imy-r šnwtyt nt htpw ntr*. In contrast with the variants of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, there appears to be only one example of each. Table 20 contains all known holders of this group of titles in the Old Kingdom, both memphite and provincial.

Four instances of such granary titles are not included in this list. In the tomb of *pth-ḥtp* II two men with the title of *imy-r šnwt*, *k3i-ḥp* and *ḥp*, are depicted among his dependents. These two men are the only holders of any of the titles discussed in this work who appear as dependents in tomb scenes. They do not form part of table 20 since we cannot be sure that they are not just overseers of the granary of the estate of *pth-ḥtp* II; this question of the number of contexts in which this title could be used is an important one, and will be discussed further below.

The other two examples both come from representations in pyramid temples; as in each case the name of the owner is lost, the same officials may be already included elsewhere and are best omitted. The earlier is shown on a block reused in the Pyramid Complex of

1 The former appears twice on the south wall (Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. XXXI, and perhaps also with the title *hry-tp šnwt* on pl. XXXIV), and the latter once on the west wall (*loc. cit.*). In the tomb of *pth-ḥtp* I (49) a certain *k3i-ḥp* who occurs with the remains of a granary title could possibly be the former official (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. XIV (3)). It is always possible that *ḥp* is an abbreviation for *k3i-ḥp.*
### Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

**Table 20**

List of Overseers of the Granaries

A. Memphite

1. **imy-ɾ šnwt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early-middle fifth dynasty</th>
<th>'nh-m-ɾ'</th>
<th>k3i-ɾ-m-snw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iffí</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr-k3-pth</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḥtpw</td>
<td>(122)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early-middle sixth dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imbi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Later fifth dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>irw-k3-pth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **imy-ɾ šnwtį**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle fifth dynasty</th>
<th>End fifth-early sixth dynasty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sšmšt</td>
<td>* hnmw-nti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ph-n-wi-k3į</td>
<td>* k3į-gمن; m3į</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-ɾ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Djedkare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r'-špsš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-ḥtp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-ḥtp I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sḏnd-ib; intį</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Djedkare-Wenis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sḥtpw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḥm-'nh-pth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Wenis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* ḣḥt-ḥtp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ḣḥt-ḥtp; ḫmį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* sḏnd-ib; ḫmį</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Later Wenis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* iḥy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫzzǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* hnmw-ḥtį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nb-k3w-ḥr; ṣdw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

Table 20 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Later Pepy II</th>
<th>End Old Kingdom and later</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* h'-b3w-hnmw; biw</td>
<td>k3i-ny-nbfbw; hnw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3-mrw</td>
<td>(102)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tti</td>
<td>ttti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn-'nb-ppy; mni</td>
<td>(156)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Other Forms

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph-r-nfr</td>
<td>(46):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hi</td>
<td>imy-r šnwt nbt nt nzwt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iffij</td>
<td>(1):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-r'</td>
<td>(10): imy-r šnwt nzwt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m'-r'</td>
<td>(80): imy-r šnwt nt hnw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrw; tti-snb</td>
<td>(64): imy-r śnw &lt;i&gt;nt&lt;/i&gt; tltw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Provincial

1. imy-r Šnwty

Early-middle sixth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;nh-wnis</th>
<th>Thebes¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Middle sixth dynasty

| ihy | Thebes² |
| "nh-ppy km; sbk-ḥtp | Meir³ |

Early-middle Pepy II

| * idi | Abydos⁴ |
| ibi | Deir el Gebrawi⁵ |

1 Saleh, <i>Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes</i>, 12-17.
2 id., ib., 26 ff; for a later dating of both "nh-wnis and ihy, see Kanawati, <i>Governmental Reforms</i>, 132-42.
3 Blackman, <i>Meir V</i>, 1-15; date, Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i>, 84 (212).
4 A variety of monuments: Baer, op. cit., 61-2 (73a); also Fischer, <i>AJA</i> 66 (1962), 65-9; date, see the Prosopography under ihy-ḥnt (16).
5 Davies, <i>Deir el Gebrawi I</i>, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 56 (32).
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

Table 20 continued

Middle-late Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* 'nh-ppy hry-ib</td>
<td>Meir¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 'nh-ppy hny-km</td>
<td>Meir²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'w; šm³i</td>
<td>Deir el Gebrawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'w</td>
<td>Deir el Gebrawi³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Other Forms

Early Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k³i-hp; tti</td>
<td>Akhmim⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r šnwty nt ḫtpw ntr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Middle-late Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k³i-hp; tti-iqr</td>
<td>Akhmim⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r šnwty nt ḫtpw ntr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates vizier at some point in his career

Amenemhat I at Lisht, and is perhaps of sixth dynasty date,⁶ and the second is in the pyramid temple of Pepy II.⁷

According to Porter and Moss, k³i-'pr of Giza also held this title;⁸ however, the illustration shows that the all-important determinative is damaged,⁹ and given the number of expeditionary and related titles he holds, the title in question could equally be read as the military imy-r šnw(t).¹⁰

This group of granary titles appears at the beginning of the fourth dynasty and is still found in the First Intermediate Period. It continues to be attested in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Important provincial granary titles are virtually restricted to imy-r

---------------------
1 Blackman, Meir IV, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (133).
2 Blackman, Meir V, 16-56; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (134).
3 For both d'w 's, Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, 1-13; date, Baer, op. cit., 157 (592). For the separation of the two see Kana-wati, JEA 63 (1977), 59-62.
4 id., Hawawish III, 7-32, including dating.
5 id., ib. I, 12-37, including dating.
6 Goedicke, Reused Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht, 81.
7 Jequier, Pepi II II, pl. 75.
8 PM 32, 262-3.
9 Hassan, Giza II, fig. 185.
10 Examples of this title, Fischer, JAOS 81 (1961), 423.

254
šnwty, found not infrequently from the early or middle sixth dynasty until some point in the First Intermediate Period.

The writing of the word for granary does have some palaeographic interest. These considerations concern two parts of the writing, the phonetic elements and the determinative of the granary itself.

Where the phonetic elements of the word šnw appear, they are invariably in the form $ ^ , and feature in the writing consistently from the earliest examples until the later fifth dynasty. On an offering basin of iff (10) the word šnw is uniquely written $ ^ . The earliest writing to omit the phonetic elements is that in the tomb of pth-htp (48). Writings both with and without the phonetic elements are found in the same tomb in the later fifth dynasty, but in the sixth dynasty the writing without phonetic elements is the rule.

The central lines are the most important palaeographic feature of the determinative of the word šnw(y). In nearly all fifth dynasty examples these lines reach from the bottom of the granary to at least the middle, and in many cases almost to the top $ . Two of these lines are the rule. Many examples from the second half of the sixth dynasty have short lines within the sign, often not touching the bottom of the granary $ .

The size of the determinative is generally smaller and squatter in the sixth than the fifth dynasty ( $ against $ ), although there are exceptions. This may be due to the space available for the signs, as the configuration $ is found more often in the later period. Examples from the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II show some increase in the height of the sign, causing it to

1 Mariette, Mastabas, 101, now Cairo, CG 1359.
2 Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. IV.
3 Typical examples: 3ht-htp (2) (Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhet-hetep II, pl. XIV, XXIX) and k3i-m-snw (144) (Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 62.
4 Two exceptions in the first half of the dynasty are nfr-sšm-r' (88) (Capart, Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah, pl. XI), and 'nh-mry-r' (33) (Lauer, Saqqara, XVIII).
5 For example, that of ph-n-wi-k3i (45), LD II, 48.
6 For examples, see Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 94 n. 9.
7 Compare the examples of r'-špss (95) (LD II, 63) with those of nb-k3w-hr (82) (Hassan, Saqqara I, fig. 24).
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

appear narrower and taller.¹ Some from the reign of Pepy II show a rounded lower edge with a triangular-shaped internal mark Δ.²

The granary determinative is not accompanied by the house sign until the end of the fifth or early sixth dynasties, and the latter sign is never particularly common.³

The principal palaeographic conclusions are therefore that the use of phonetic spelling is generally an indication of fifth dynasty date; the larger the sign and the longer the internal vertical lines, the more likely is a date in the fifth dynasty; two short internal lines not touching the outline of the sign are typical of the second half of the sixth dynasty (these may have come to indicate ears of grain); and the granary sign is accompanied by the house determinative only in the sixth dynasty.

The Titularies of the Non-Viziers

A. imy-r šnwt

All holders of the title imy-r šnwt belong to the fifth dynasty with the exception of imbi (11), who dates to the middle sixth or later. None are viziers.

1. Granary Titles

This category of title consists mainly of those containing the word šnwt(y), the most important of which are indicated in table 21, along with other title groups. Principal among these is hry-tp šnwt; the others are concerned with scribal functions within the granary organisation. The frequency of the former title suggests that it might have been the rank immediately below that of imy-r šnwt; it is the most common non-scribal title apart from that of overseer.

Given that the granaries were above all concerned with food supply, we may speculate that titles concerned with the latter were related to the office of the imy-r šnwt. Such titles as imy-r swt htpw df3w (shtpw and 'nh-m-'r'), imy-r bh't (nbt) nt nzwt (k3i-m-šnwnw), imy-r i'-r nzwt and zš sht htp-nzwt (both 'nh-m-'r') perhaps fall into this category. These titles are concentrated on three officials; that they were more important than the other four imy-r šnwt can to some extent be judged from the more elaborate nature of their tombs. Consequently, these titles are to be associated with the work of the imy-r šnwt, but are of a more privileged nature

¹ isfi (19) (Capart, op. cit., pl. LXXIII) and mrri (67) (Hassan, Saqqara III, fig. 17b).
² hnmw-htp (112) (Jequier, Pepi II III, fig. 63), h'-b3w-hnmw (102) (id., ib., pl. 52).
³ hzzi (98) (Cairo, CG 1413), and isfi (19) and 'nh-mry-r' (33) as above.

256
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

than most of the others included in this table.

2. Scribal Titles

Apart from the scribal titles associated with the granary itself held by \textit{irw-k3-pth} and \textit{'nh-m-'-r'}, there are two examples of \textit{hrp zš} ('\textit{nh-m-'-r}' and \textit{imbi}), one of \textit{shd zš} (\textit{irw-k3-pth}), and one of \textit{zš nzwt} ('\textit{nh-m-'-r}') held by \textit{imy-r šnwt}. \textit{nh-m-'-r} and \textit{irw-k3-pth} were evidently men with much scribal experience both within and without the granaries. Otherwise, such titles do not seem to have been a consistent element in the titularies of \textit{imy-r šnwt}.

3. Legal Titles

Legal titles are held only by \textit{nh-m-'-r}, \textit{hm-ntr m3't} and \textit{nst hntt}, the latter of which would presumably have been preceded by another legal title (see above page 181). This reinforces the suggestion made above that he was of a slightly different status to the others; the presence of legal titles is perhaps not unexpected because of his scribal ones. Otherwise these titles are not a feature of the titularies of an \textit{imy-r šnwt}.

Table 21
Principal Titles of holders of \textit{imy-r šnwt}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iff</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{wr-k3-pth}</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{shštw}</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{irw-k3-pth}</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{'nh-m-'-r'}</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kšš-m-snwt}</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{imbi}</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Title Columns

1 \textit{hry-tp šnwt} 2 \textit{imy-r zš šnwt} 4 \textit{zš hryt-' šnwt}
5 Titles concerned with food supply 7 Number of legal titles
8 \textit{rh nzwt} 9 \textit{hry-tp nzwt}
10 Number of other high offices 12 Religious titles

257
4. Titles associated with the Organisation of Labour

Only the titles *imy-r hmwt* and *imy-r hmwt hkr nzwt* are found, both in the titulary of *iffi*. Such occurrences may perhaps be explained by the existence of his titles *hm-ntr pth* and *hm-ntr zkr*. These are commonly found elsewhere with holders of the title *wr hrp hmwt*, which office was very frequently connected with craftsmen in the Old Kingdom. The element *hkr nzwt* provides the only link with the treasury among these officials (the possible significance of this element is discussed in the next chapter).

5. Honorific Titles

Three examples of the title *rh nzwt* and one of *hry-tp nzwt* are found among the holders of *imy-r śnwt*. The occurrence of *hry-tp nzwt* is in the titulary of *imbi*, the only sixth dynasty holder of *imy-r śnwt*, in which period *hry-tp nzwt* was a more common title than in the fifth dynasty. Thus these men were all of one of the lower ranks in the bureaucracy, on a par with many of the overseers of works and lower than the scribal and legal officials. However, the associations of *'nh-m-'-r'* with legal and scribal titles as noted above did not qualify him for the rank of *hry-tp nzwt*; it would seem that the rank of the overseer of the granary was restricted to that of *rh nzwt*.

6. Other High Administrative Titles

Only *shtpw* advanced to a high office beyond that of *imy-r śnwt*, and that was to (presumably) the next stage in the granary, *imy-r śnwty*.

7. Religious Titles

The most important such titles are those of *iffi* noted above in section 4, that is, positions in the hierarchy of the memphite priesthoods of Ptah and Zokar, belong in this category. A large number of religious titles was usually the mark of men of higher rank than that of *imy-r śnwt*.

8. Titles related to Royal Institutions

We have seen that lower ranking holders of other offices bore more royal institutional titles than their more senior colleagues. The holders of *imy-r śnwt*, who were not of the highest rank, held a number of such titles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iffi</em></td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>shtpw</em></td>
<td>(122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hm-ntr r' m nbn-r'</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r'</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>w'b ḫ'-b3-s3hw-r'</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These constitute about half of the holders of $\text{imy-r snw}$. A very consistent feature is that each man held the combination of $\text{hm-ntr r'}$ in a sun-temple and $\text{w'b}$ of a royal pyramid (at least). To these $\text{k3i-m-snw}$ added some royal priesthoods. This similarity does not imply that it was a special feature of the titularies of $\text{imy-r snw}$, but rather that these officials were of a similar standing with the king. $\text{imbi}$, of the sixth dynasty, did not hold any such titles, as one might expect, since it would seem that from the end of the fifth dynasty such offices were reserved for officials of higher rank. This confirms the similar impression gained for the holders of $\text{imy-r hw} \text{ wrt}$ and $\text{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt}$.

B. $\text{imy-r snwty}$

Of the thirty-seven memphite holders of $\text{imy-r snwty}$ during the Old Kingdom, twenty-two were viziers, who will be discussed separately.

1. Granary Titles

As will be apparent from columns 1-3 of table 22, among the $\text{imy-r snwty}$ only $\text{ny-k3-r'}$ held any titles connected with the lesser offices in the granary, apart from the title of $\text{imy-r snw}$ held by $\text{shtpw}$. The granary titles of $\text{ny-k3-r'}$ closely parallel those noted among the holders of $\text{imy-r snw}$, particularly in the titulary of $\text{irw-k3-pth}$ (12), suggesting that he probably followed a similar career. His tenure of the title $\text{imy-r snw nt hnw}$ may thus indicate that that title was not dissimilar in function to $\text{imy-r snw}$. There is only a very limited number of the titles connected with food supply mentioned on page 256 above: $\text{shtpw}$ was $\text{imy-r swt htpw df3w}$, and $\text{i3f1}$ held both $\text{imy-r i'-r nzwt}$ and $\text{imy-r sht htpw}$.

The other holders of $\text{imy-r snwty}$ have titularies that are either unclear as to their career patterns, or show evidence of involvement in labour organisation, scribal or legal matters. The evidence, or lack of it, points to the possibility that, as suggested above for certain other officials (for example, $\text{ty}$ (157) in relation to the title of overseer of works), men were chosen for this position as much for their abilities as administrators as for their past experience relative to the granaries. This would seem particularly true for the period after the middle of the fifth dynasty.
### Table 22

Principal Titles of non-viziers who held *imy-r šnwty*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ssrmw (127)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-r' (80)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-špss (95)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shtpmw (122)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-'nh-pth (124)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huzzi (98)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hr-pth (150)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išfi (19)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnnm-htp (112)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3-mrw (163)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm-'nh-ppy (56)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-ny-nbfwi (147)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttti (159)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫpi-hr-snbf (9)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmni-m-h3t (154)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key to Title Columns**

1. *hry-tp šnwty*
2. *imy-r zš mdšt nt šnwty*
3. *shd zš šnwty*
4. Titles associated with food supply
5. Number of other scribal titles
6. Number of legal titles
7. Number of labour titles
8. *iry p't and ḫ3ty-t*
9. W = *smr w'ty*, B = *sdštwy bity*, X = both
10. *hry-tp nzwt*
11. *ṛḥ nzwt*
12. Number of other high offices
13. Titles with *wd(t)-mdw*
14. Religious titles
15. Royal institution titles

---

**2. Scribal and Legal Titles**

The following officials have several scribal titles: *ny-k3-r'* (principally in the granary), *r'-špss, shm-'nh-pth, k3i-hr-pth, huzzi* and *ttti*, of whom only *k3i-hr-pth* is certainly of the sixth dynasty. All but the first and last of these officials also had several legal titles. However, it is clear that neither type of title was a consistent and distinctive feature of the titulary of an *imy-r šnwty*.

---

**3. Titles Associated with the Organisation of Labour**

In the instances of *ssrmw* and *huzzi* such titles are presumably more closely associated to their tenure of the office of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* than anything else. As regards *ssrmw, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* would seem to be the more logical promotion on the basis of
his titulary than \textit{imy-r śnwty}, and this latter title may have been a subsequent addition as a result of his excellence as an administrator. As such it may have been intended to use his demonstrated ability at organising workforces for the benefit of the granary organisation, or perhaps for supplying workmen (cf. page 267).

4. Honorific Titles

In the fifth dynasty the holders of \textit{imy-r śnwty} were principally \textit{hry-tp nzwt}, but in the sixth there is a tendency for the rank to have risen at least to \textit{smr w'ty} and \textit{sd3wty bity}. This is in accord with the general rise in rank in this period. Both officials certainly active in the reign of Pepy II (\textit{hmww-ḥtp} and \textit{d3-mrw}) reached the ranks of \textit{iry p't} and \textit{ḥ3ty-1}'.

Only one of the earlier holders of the title, \textit{ny-k3-r'}, held the title of \textit{ṛḥ nzwt}. \textit{ṛḥ nzwt} appears again at the end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, suggesting a further change in the ranking of holders of \textit{imy-r śnwty}, at which time it is again found together with \textit{hry-tp nzwt}. The honorific titles of these officials serve to differentiate them from the \textit{imy-r śnwty}.

5. Other Important Administrative Titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sšmw</td>
<td>(127)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-špss</td>
<td>(95)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḫm-'nh-pṭḥ</td>
<td>(124)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫzzi</td>
<td>(98)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išfi</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmww-ḥtp</td>
<td>(112)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to columns:

1 \textit{imy-r ḫwt wṛt}  2 \textit{imy-r zš' nzwt}
3 \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}  4 \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}

The distribution of these is given above. Their appearance is usually linked to the career structures indicated by the titulares of the holders. \textit{sšmw} was very much concerned with the organisation of labour, \textit{r'-špss} and \textit{sḫm-'nh-pṭḥ} scribal/legal officials, but the career patterns of \textit{ḥzzi}, \textit{išfi} and \textit{hmww-ḥtp} are not totally clear. The latter three are almost the first officials discussed so far to have held \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}, and this shows a link with \textit{imy-r śnwty} that will be seen to be common, particularly with viziers.

The majority of instances of more than one important administrative title being held by a non-vizier again occur in the fifth dynasty. The majority of the sixth dynasty and later holders of \textit{imy-r śnwty} did not hold any additional high offices, which must be as a result of a deliberate decision on the part of the king. It is likely that the accumulation of high titles is due more to the
general favour and ability of an official than to any specific links between the titles with the possible exception of imy-r prwy-hd, further associations with which department will be seen in the course of this and the next chapter.

6. Religious Titles

There are no consistent patterns of tenure of any religious titles, suggesting that there was no particular deity associated with the granary. The two occurrences of hry-hb are both of sixth dynasty date (išši and mn-'nh-ppy), when this title was often found with individuals of the rank of smr w'ty.

7. Titles connected with Royal Institutions

Such titles as these are not infrequent, and are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sšmw (127)</td>
<td>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3-r' (80)</td>
<td>hm-ntr hr st-ib-t3wy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hm-ntr r' m 3zp-ib-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hm-ntr s3hw-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shtpw (122)</td>
<td>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w'blm-nfr-ir-k3-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hr-pth (150)</td>
<td>imy-r nimwt m3wt nt nfr-dd-k3-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shd w'b 3ht-hfw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipi-hr-ssnbf (9)</td>
<td>mty n z3 dd-swt-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmini-m-h3t (154)</td>
<td>mty n z3 dd-swt-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mty n z3 w3d-swt-mry-k3-r'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Usually they are found in the fifth dynasty with officials who held one or no further high offices. These examples illustrate the changes in the ranking of royal priesthoods between the fifth dynasty and the sixth and later: the sixth dynasty titles were almost certainly more elevated than those found in the fifth, and were certainly more prominently placed in inscriptions.¹

8. Other Titles

Titles incorporating the elements wd(t)-mdw have been noted above as a common element in the titularies of important officials. This is also true for the office of imy-r šnwty, as in each occurrence in column 13 of table 22, the individual concerned is one who held at least one further high administrative title.

¹ cf. Baer, Rank and Title, 264 ff.
C. Conclusions and Discussion of Variants

The titularies of holders of imy-r šnwt and imy-r šnwty were very different, the titles of the former showing much closer associations with the granaries than the latter, who appear to have followed no particular career pattern. The holders of imy-r šnwty were certainly the more important people, and the one title cannot be regarded as a simple graphic variant of the other.

There are several extensions to the title of 'overseer of the granary' in table 20. It may be possible to relate these to either of the above titles. That of ph-r-nfr (46) (imy-r šnwt nbt nt nzwt) is clearly parallel in form to the title of imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, which he also held (together with the other important title of imy-r pr-hd). Given his importance in the early fourth dynasty, this title should be placed on a level with the later imy-r šnwty, particularly in view of the other high titles he held. The same is probably true for the title imy-r šnwwt nzwt of 3hj (1), whose other titles were imy-r k3t nbt nzwt and imy-r prwy-hd.

imy-r šnwt nzwt held by iffī (10) is not accompanied by any other important state administrative titles. It is likely that this title represents a promotion from or a special version of the title imy-r šnwt attested elsewhere in the tomb. It is important to note that the three officials named above all antedate the earliest appearance of imy-r šnwty, and they may have exercised the same functions. Thus iffī could have been an official who rose from one rank in the granary to a higher one, in the manner of shtpw (122)'s promotion from imy-r šnwt to imy-r šnwty.

The remaining forms were held by men who were also either imy-r šnwt or imy-r šnwty. The career structure of ny-k3-r' (80) is notable among the holders of imy-r šnwty for its number of granary titles, and it has been suggested that the career pattern for his title imy-r šnwt nt hnwt was very much like that of imy-r šnwt. imy-r šnwt swt htpw df3w is found in the titulary of 'nh-m-'-r' (28), who held another title related to such offerings. It may have been a mark of favour granted to him over and above his title of imy-r šnwt.

Given the frequency of the title imy-r šnwty in the sixth dynasty it is unlikely that the title imy-r šnwt nbt of mnw (64) was exactly equivalent to it. He held no other important state offices, but had a number of courtly and pyramid titles which were important in the early sixth dynasty (for example, imy-r sqbbwy pr-3 and shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti). His rank is more elevated than that of imbi (11), the only sixth dynasty holder of imy-r šnwt, suggesting that the two titles were not mere variants of one another. This title may again have been granted as a mark of special favour, or as a result of a special commission, with duties (if any) falling somewhere between those of imy-r šnwt and imy-r šnwty.
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

The Viziers

An examination of the titularies of viziers indicates the presence of imy-r šnwt as their only important administrative title concerned with the granaries; this was held by twenty-two such officials. It is therefore evident that viziers were not necessarily chosen from granary officials, and is further evidence that tenure of imy-r šnwt was not necessarily related to any other knowledge of the administration of the granaries.

There is insufficient evidence to determine the number of viziers who held the office of imy-r šnwt before promotion to their highest office. r'-šps (95) certainly was imy-r šnwt before his vizierate, but it is not known whether he then continued to hold this title.

To anticipate briefly some of the conclusions in chapter 8, the concentration of other high administrative titles on viziers holding imy-r šnwt is very high, and suggests that this title was indeed of great importance in Old Kingdom administration.

The Administration of the Granaries

A. The Organisation of the Overseers of the Granaries

It is evident that there were times, in the fifth dynasty principally, but also in the sixth, when there were simultaneous holders of the offices of imy-r šnwt and imy-r šnwt. Furthermore, the number of both vizierial and non-vizierial holders of the latter office suggests that there could have also been two holders of that title at the same time, giving a total of three possible contemporary important granary officials.

From study of the titles imy-r zē' nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt we have seen that at certain times these offices were similarly divided, with the vizier carrying the overall responsibility, and the non-vizier performing the ordinary duties. In the case of imy-r zē' nzwt the non-vizierial holder disappeared at the end of the fifth dynasty, while in the case of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, it was in the middle of the sixth.

imy-r šnwt differs slightly from these. There seem to have been five or six non-viziers who held this title in the fifth dynasty together with eight or nine viziers. For the first part of the sixth dynasty there are at the most two non-viziers as opposed to about eight viziers.

The reign of Pepy II seems to have seen seven imy-r šnwt, three of whom were not viziers. This would seem to be a minimum number for the period of ninety years ascribed to Pepy in Egyptian tradition, and this suggests very little overlapping between them.

There were clearly more non-viziers holding imy-r šnwt than in the case of either imy-r zē' nzwt or imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt in the sixth dynasty. However, the fact that the majority of holders were viziers suggests that the administrative change noted for imy-r zē' nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, by which the number of non-viziers at the head of the departments was reduced, also had its effect on the granary. It must have been a very important
institution for the vizier to hold the principal office for most of the time.

Four or five non-viziers belong to the period from the end of the sixth dynasty until at least the tenth. There is more memphite evidence for this title at this time than for any of the others under consideration. Only two viziers with the title date to this period, tti (156) and ttw (160), while the non-viziers of this time held only the one high office.

From the spread of the material it is clear that the existence of officials to run the granary was extremely important in the Old Kingdom, as these titles seem to have survived while others fell into disuse. This must surely be associated with the importance to Egypt of the management of the grain supply necessary for a stable society.

What granaries are to be understood in the titles imy-r śnwt and imy-r śnwty? The most plausible explanation for the dual form of imy-r śnwty is that it implied control of the granaries of the whole land and not two particular ones. Support for such a view may be derived from the fact that holders of imy-r śnwty did not usually hold any other granary titles, suggesting their overall control without necessarily dealing with the minutiae of granary affairs.

On this basis, we might expect to find imy-r śnwt in charge of individual granaries. Unfortunately, next to nothing is known about the location and number of the granaries. It is additionally possible that some imy-r śnwt may have belonged to granaries of private estates (page 251). However, the tombs of some imy-r śnwt (ṣhtpw (122), 'nh-m-'r' (28) and k3i-m-snw (144)) are quite imposing, and it would be difficult to imagine them working simply on a private estate. On balance then it is best to take the imy-r śnwt who owned tombs as being associated with granaries related to the central administration, and leave those in tomb reliefs as pertaining only to private estates.

The very limited number of holders of the title imy-r śnwt is a problem in that they can hardly have been numerous enough for each to have controlled a single granary. Either the principal state granary only is meant, or else each imy-r śnwt may have been responsible for a number of granaries; it is very likely that their work was then coordinated by the imy-r śnwty.

The titles imy-r śnwt nt hnw of ny-k3-r' (80) and imy-r śnwt sww htpw df3w of 'nh-m-'r' (28) make reference to specific granaries. Only one of these, the 'granary of the residence' is attested again (see table 23, nos. 6, 8); it could have been an establishment specifically for the royal residence or even a name for one of the state granaries (cf. the 'two treasuries of the residence' in the next chapter). It cannot be discovered whether the other occurrences of imy-r śnwt refer to these or different granaries, nor can it be discovered whether such titles were created for these individuals alone; there seems to have been a marked reluctance on the

1 The dual form was often used in this manner, Helck, Beamten-
part of the Egyptian of the Old Kingdom to specify the particular institutions to which he belonged. We only need to compare the above titles with a selection of those extant in the Middle and New Kingdoms (especially the latter) to see the difference. We will see below that the number of known holders of granary titles is much lower than must have been required to run the institution.

The most plausible associations of the imy-r snwt must have been with the state granaries, and were then doubtless responsible for the collection and distribution of grain within the land. The small number of such titles however suggests that, unlike imy-r hwt wrt, there was not a continuous sequence of holders of the position after the later fifth dynasty.

Thus the principal office in granary administration was imy-r snwty, whether held by a vizier or non-vizier. The granaries for which this official was responsible were presumably run on a local basis by officials of whom little or no trace has survived.

The existence of provincial holders of this title may partly account for the differences noted between the fifth and sixth dynasty. One of these men, 'nh-ppy ḫny-km of Meir, seems also to have held the title imy-r snwt. This is the only such provincial example, and one is tempted to regard it as a compression (for spatial reasons?) of imy-r snwty; this argument may be supported by the occurrence (again unique for the provinces) of imy-r pr-hd in the same tomb, which was perhaps written for imy-r prwy-hd (below page 292).

Holders of imy-r snwty make up the largest group of provincial holders of any of the six titles forming the subject of this work, and it is therefore logical to conclude that this title was one of the most essential to the government of the provinces apart from the vizierate and the office of overseer of Upper Egypt. It is perhaps likely that the development of provincial administration in the sixth dynasty and the appearance therein of holders of imy-r snwty may explain the reduction in the number of memphite holders of this title. The frequency of its occurrences in the provinces, particularly in the same nomes, makes it unlikely that its holders exercised the same functions in Memphis before moving to their new locations. With this number of concurrent holders of imy-r snwty, it is clear that they cannot all have had the same overall control of the granary organisation, but rather in many cases their control was more localised, and they were fulfilling a role more like that of imy-r snwt in the sixth dynasty.

The range of locations of these provincial imy-r snwty is rather restricted - Thebes, Abydos, Meir, Deir el Gebrawi and Akhmim. There is no obvious reason for the choice of these particular provinces, such as that they were centred on the most productive land in Upper Egypt, or that they were distributed evenly through this area. Unless there was some strategic significance that is not immediately apparent, the appearance of members of the same

---
1 cf. Helck, Verwaltung, Register, 24-5.
2 Martin-Pardey, Provinzialverwaltung, 137.
3 Compare the data in Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 6-10.
families suggests that it may have been as much to do with royal advancement of particular favoured groups as anything else. The exact datings of these officials are not relevant here; what is important is that during the second half of the sixth dynasty they compensate for the low number of equivalent officials in the memphite area, implying that previously part of the functions of the memphite holders of this title was to manage the provincial granaries. It is likely that there were often at least two simultaneous holders of this title in different nomes, presumably each responsible for the management of the granaries in the surrounding areas.¹ Thus the effect of decentralisation of administrative offices is as evident here as it was with imy-r zā' nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

B. Other Aspects

Old Kingdom evidence for the activities of the administration of the granary is very slight, due to the lack of preservation of documents and the bias of the remaining material towards the funerary aspect. That the state granaries dealt with the collection and distribution of grain can only be clearly attested from a variety of later sources.² Also, an inscription dated to the reign of Senwosret I refers to the bread and beer of the workmen on a quarrying expedition as coming from the 'granary of the lord' (snwt n nb), clearly meaning the royal granary.³ In view of the importance of such expeditions in the Old Kingdom, we can envisage the granary performing the same function in that period.

Scenes relating to the cultivation and storage of grain are common in private tombs, although models of granaries are not really an Old Kingdom feature.⁴ Buildings which are presumably small granaries are frequently shown from early times, and more often than not bear no descriptive tag. However the granaries shown in the tomb of ty (157) are termed ūnwtr ntt m pr-šn' hry wd'w n hrt 3 bd, 'the granaries which are in the storeroom which are concerned with the supply (?) of the requirements of the month',⁵

¹ For discussion of the possible datings, juxtapositions and functions of these officials, see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms 74 (c), 97.
² Principally New Kingdom material, for example, that presented by Gardiner in JEA 27 (1941), 19-73, and P. Geneva D191, which refers to grain received into the granary of Amun (Černý, LRL, 57-60 (37) and translation, Wente, LRL, 71-4 (37)).
³ Inscription of imny in the Wadi Hammamat, Goyon, Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat, no. 61, line 19; comments by Mueller, JNES 34 (1975), 261.
⁴ Perhaps the earliest example is British Museum 21804, probably of sixth dynasty date (Breasted, Egyptian Servant Statues, 12-13, pl. 9 c; cf. Vandier, Manuel VI, 223). For a discussion of the collection of grain, see Vandier, op. cit., 183-208.
⁵ Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. LXX.
and those in the tomb of šy šnwt nt dbhw prt-hrw nt šy, 'the granaries for the requirements of invocation offerings of šy'.

The main problem regarding these and all granaries shown in tomb reliefs is whether they belonged to the estates of the deceased or to the state. We have assumed on page 265 that the išmy-r šnwt who owned tombs were employed in the state granaries, and those shown on tomb walls in the private funerary estates. The frequency of depictions of grain-related activities in tomb scenes must in all probability refer to the deceased's estates, doubtless intending to show the perpetuation of his own private income and funerary offerings.

It will be seen later that granaries and treasuries were in many ways related, but the latter hardly ever appear in tomb decoration, which is a further argument for the restriction of these depictions to the tomb owner's estates.

While the existence of a granary can be documented in the residence and in private estates, the location of the principal state ones remains unknown. It is possible that there were local granaries responsible to the central office, as this would surely be the most efficient means of ensuring the collection and distribution of the grain. Institutions of all sorts may have had their own granaries, especially those that owned land which would produce grain for them, but, apart from the residence, information is very restricted.

The Abusir Papyri attest the movement of grain: one document refers to types of grain brought from the granary, and this is thought by Posener-Kriéger to have come from a state granary. Without doubt, this would have been put into a granary inside the temple, although this may have been within the pr-šn'. The same group of texts provides some information about the existence of other granaries. An institution called ḫs-□ is attested, and there are several examples of the word šnwt or the sign for granary, the context of which has been lost. Posener-

-----------------------------

1 Jéquier, Tombeaux, fig. 69. A very similar example may be found in the tomb of ḫnmw; ḫnmw-nti (111), id., ASAE 35 (1935), 145.
2 Advanced on different grounds by Kaplony, Studien zum Grab des Methethi, 88. There is also an explicit reference to the šnwt nt pr-ḥt (Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchnnum, Taf. 23).
3 The Gebelein Papyri may shed more light on the running of such an estate granary; for example, a sdšwty šnwt is found therein - Posener-Kriéger, RdE 27 (1975), 219.
4 HPBM, pl. XLI c2; Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb I, 329, II, 628; also Kaplony, Or 41 (1972), 72.
5 An analogy from the tomb of ty suggests this - the šnwt ntt m pr-šn' are shown (see above). Recording and movement of grain can take place in the presence of officials of both the granary and the pr-šn' (Moussa-Altenmüller, loc. cit.).
6 HPBM, pl. LXIII A; Posener-Kriéger, op. cit. I, 390 (c).
7 HPBM, pl. LXXVI M, LXXIX X, CIII B.
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

Krieger does not believe these necessarily to have been parts of the mortuary or sun temples of Neferirkare. There are other possible references to the tnt-granary, which may perhaps localise it in the memphite area, in the tomb of ny-'nh-hnnw and hnnw-hpt. Moussa and Altenmüller take the word tnt to be related to tnwt 'counting'. However, the reference in the Abusir Archive might suggest that it was an institution in its own right. It is referred to in this tomb as the tnt of wheat and the tnt of barley. The granary sign is somewhat different in its internal decoration from that normally found in the word snwt, which argues against it being a simple logographic writing of that word, but rather a determinative. In a higher register of the same scene a scribe is seen doing accounts who is called zs tnt it, where the determinative is not found. Perhaps the verb tnt had some connection with reckoning, and the granary was a tax collection point.

Other special granaries are attested in relation to funerary and other offerings. The title imy-r snwt swt htpw df3w (perhaps 'overseer of the granary of the offices of food-offerings') is found in the titulary of 'nh-m-\-r' (28), and we have already seen lines of granaries concerned with funerary offerings in various tombs. In the case of the latter, it is probable that they represent granaries on the deceased's estates, but this title of 'nh-m-\-r' may either refer to state granaries designated for this particular purpose but only appearing in this one title or else be a title created specially for him.

The state granaries certainly played a role in the provision of offerings for the dead in the Old Kingdom. Several funerary inscriptions give, in a formulaic manner, the origin of some of the principal offerings to the deceased. A typical example comes from the tomb of the imy-r pr-hd k3i-pw-r' (143) at Saqqara:

\[ htp \ di \ nzwt \ htp \ di \ inpw \ hnty \ zh \ ntr \ rdi \ n.f \ prt-hrw \ m \ hnw \ it \ bdt \ m \ snwty \ hbs \ m \ prwy-hd \ mh\-t \ m \ izwy \ ht \ bnr\-t \ m \ pr-i\-\-d. \]

1 op. cit. II, 516-7.
3 op. cit., 127.
4 Agreeing with this view, Meeks, Année Lexicographique I (1977), 419 (77.4828).
5 It could also represent the quantity 100, perhaps the capacity of the granary; an example possibly to be interpreted this way is Jéquier, Tombeaux, fig. 83 (tomb of mhi). For an example of granaries bearing names of types of grain see the panel of the false door of nfri, Cairo, CG 1653.

269
An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis who dwells in the divine booth gives, that there be given to him invocation offerings from the residence, wheat and barley from the two granaries, clothing from the two treasuries, mrht-oil from the two chambers and sweet things from the house of iśd-fruit.\(^1\) 

Here we have actual examples of what was intended by the phrase htp di nzwt, 'an offering which the king gives', coming from a state institution.\(^2\) There are several other similar examples of these formulae which mention granaries, sometimes in the dual,\(^3\) sometimes in the singular.\(^4\) No obvious difference seems to exist between the singular and dual formulae, although two of the latter mention two types of grain (it and bdt) whereas the former mention only it. References to the treasury mention almost always just the prwy-hd. It is possible that śnwt is used in the earlier examples and śnwty in the later, but also it can be said that one reference is to a specific granary and the other to the granaries of the whole land.

One further granary is attested, but of a very different sort. In the Pyramid Texts is found: śzp (King) pn st hₜ m ntt m śnwt nt ntr-'3 - 'This (king) receives a meal from that which is in the granary of the Great God'.\(^5\) The signs following st hₜ show that bread and beer were very much concerns of the granary (compare the provisions mentioned above page 267). Thus mythological granaries took much the same form as those on earth.

Two further references to granaries in Old Kingdom texts may be noted, although they add nothing to the picture gained above. A hry-tp śnwt ny-k₃w-r' appears in the Abusir Papyri; however his relationship with the temple is unknown, although he may have been working in the storerooms or perhaps linked with the bringing of bricks for repairs to the temple.\(^6\) The other reference is in the biography of 3ḥt-hṭp; hmi (3), where the deceased addresses the officials (imy-st-') of several institutions including the granary.\(^7\) However, the text of his words is lost.

Helck suggests that the organisation of the estate granaries imitated that of the state ones.\(^8\) Below are listed granary officials who appear in tomb scenes which tell us something about the activities of this section of the administration, whether these officials be working for state or private granaries. In addition

---

1 Urk. I, 177.8-10.
3 s₃bw; ibbi (116), Urk. I, 177.14-6; ḥzzi (98), Cairo, CG 1413; 'nh-m'-r' (28), unpublished; ny-k₃w-r', Cairo, CG 1414.
4 k₃i-m-snw (144), Urk. I, 175.10-12; šhm-k₃i, Urk. I, 177.2-4; tnti, Urk. I, 164.13-4.
5 Pṣr. 1182a.
6 HPBM, pl. LXII (46); Posener-Kriéger, op. cit. II, 385-88, 598.
7 Hassan, Saqqara I, fig. 18, pl. XXVII (B).
8 Beamstentitel, 64.
to these, there are a number of granary officials who appear in uninformative contexts, such as acting as offering bearers, good examples of which are the two *imy-r šnwt* discussed on page 251 above.

**hry-tp šnwt**

1. LD Erg., Taf. XIV  
   Carries a papyrus roll.
   Presents a papyrus to the deceased (*k3i-gmni* (151)); above is the caption *ḥšb ḫnwt*, 'reckoning cargoes (?)'.
3. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, pl. LXXXVII  
   Writing at the side of a fishing and fowling scene, accompanied by the text iw jr ḫq3t ḫ wr, perhaps 'I shall give a ḫq3t of grain to the great one', meaning the deceased.

**zs šnwt**

1. LD II, 56.  
   Seated before a small granary with the text ipt ḫt in zs šnwt, 'making accounts by the scribe of the granary'.
   Shown as a member of the *d3d3t n[t] pr-dt*.
3. LD Erg., Taf. XXI.  
   Writing before a line of small granaries.
   Is accompanied by a quantity of scribal equipment.
5. Curto, *Gli scavi italiani a el-Ghiza*, fig. 35.  
   Presumably recording agricultural activity.
6. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, 22 (nr. 2)  
   Presents a papyrus to the deceased.
   Writing next to a corn-measuring scene.
8. LD II, 51.  
   As 7.

**shd zs šnwt**

   Adjacent to *hry-tp šnwt* no. 3, with the text it ḫq3t 10 r ṣh3.f, perhaps 'ten ḫq3t of grain to satisfy him', presumably meaning the deceased.

**nḥt-hrw n šnwt**

1. LD II, 103a.  
   Watches (or supervises ?) the measurement of grain.
2. LD II, 62.  
   Stands behind three scribes who record something to do with grain: *d3d3t n[t] pr-dt ḫ t3 // (the figure 32 and a granary sign are visible) int m ṣm ' ḫwt nruw.t.f // m nb zs, 'The *d3d3t* of the funerary estate who are measuring
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

The work of all these officials, with the exception of nḥt-hrw n śnw.t, was apparently involved with reckoning. It is clear that the office of ḫry-tp śnw.t was principally concerned with the administration of the granaries, and one may assume that the same was true for the imy-r śnw.t, doubtless his immediate superior. The representations described above do not show the ḫry-tp śnw.t acting any differently from the holders of the purely scribal offices of zā śnw.t and shd zā śnw.t. The difference was thus presumably in seniority and the degree of responsibility carried. Only the nḥt-hrw n śnw.t is shown supervising work with the grain itself - this title should perhaps be translated as 'Foreman of the granary'.

One further group of title-holders which must have been involved with the granaries was the grain measurers (ḥ3w), who are shown at work in various tomb scenes, and of whom a number of small figures have survived. A number of tomb-owners who held such titles are known.

The range of granary and related titles found in the titularies of tomb owners is shown in table 23. These titles suggest that very many offices specifically mentioning the granary were of a bureaucratic nature and concerned with the keeping of records. Other less specific administrators appear with the titles of ḫry-ḥt, as well as sealers, men concerned with scribal equipment (ḥryt-), and also the important connection with the central bureaucracy through the nzu.t. The latter are documents coming from the central administration which would presumably authorise certain actions in the granary. Again the only offices not concerned with the bureaucratic side are those with nḥt-hrw.

For most titles in table 23 it is unsure where they were placed in the hierarchy of the granaries. However, from the monuments of

1 Further comments, Fischer, Offerings, 73.
2 Posener-Kriéger, RdE 32 (1980), 84. The same papyrus also contains the title shd ḫry-ḥt n śnw.t.
3 Moussa-Altenmüller, Nianchchnum, Taf. 23.
4 For example nfrn (Junker, Giza VI, Abb. 76), rdif (id., Giza IX, Abb. 41) and nfr (Cairo, CG 1313).
Chapter 6 - The Overseers of the Granaries

Table 23

List of Granary Titles in the titularies of Tomb Owners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number of Holders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 hry-tp šnwt</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ḫtm šnwt nzwt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 īmy-r zš md3t nt šnwt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 īmy-r zš šnwt</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 nḥt-ḥrw n šnwt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 nḥt-ḥrw n šnwt nt hnw</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 šhd īry-ḥt n šnwt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 šhd īry-ḥt šnwt nt hnw</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 šhd zš ' nzwt šnwt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 šhd zš šnwt</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 zš ' nzwt šnwt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 zš hryt-' šnwt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 zš šnwt</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 zš šnwt ḫwt-'3t</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 īmy-r zš md3t šnwty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 īmy-r zš šnwty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References:

1 ny-k3-r' (80) - unpublished; irw-k3-pṭḥ (12) - LD Text I, 13
2 'nh-m-'-r' (28) - unpublished
3 k3i-m-snw (144) - Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 63 (5)
4 imbi (11) - Drioton-Lauer, ASAE 55 (1958), pl. XX (d)
5 sndm-[ib] - Martin, Hetepka, pl. 24 (33)
6 nfr-ḥr-n-pṭḥ - Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. VIIA
7 ny-k3-r' (80) - as 1
8 irw-k3-pṭḥ (12) - as 1
9 tnti - Giza tomb G4311 - unpublished
10 Name Lost - Cairo, CG 1719
11 mḥy-nzwt - Fischer, Offerings, 70, fig. 1
12 mḥy-nzwt - as 5
13 itif-h3i - Bakir, Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, pl. I
14 mḥy-nzwt - as 5
15 mḥy-nzwt - as 5
16 nḥt-k3i - Hassan, Giza VII, fig. 20
17 'nh-m-r' - Curto, Gli scavi italiani a el-Ghiza, fig. 34
18 ny-k3-r' (80) - James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I, pl. XIX (A, B)
19 nḥt-k3i - as 9; ẖḥt-ḥtp - Hassan, Giza I, fig. 134
20 irw-k3-pṭḥ (12) - as 1
21 k3i-ḥṛ-pṭḥ - unpublished (son of 'nh-m-'-r' (28))
22 irw-k3-pṭḥ (12) - LD Text I, 12

continued
the \textit{imy-r šnwty irw-k3-pth} (12) we obtain the sequence \textit{hry-tp šnwty}, \textit{imy-r zš n šnwty}, zš 'nzwt šnwty. To the beginning of this we can safely add \textit{imy-r šnwt}, \textit{imy-r šnwty}.

Most of the titles in the sequence given above are found only in the titularies of the most important granary officials. As well as being of lower rank and having no rankable granary titles, the less important officials show a different pattern of burial places from the \textit{imy-r šnwty}. The latter are all buried at Saqqara with the exception of \textit{'nh-m-'-r} (28), while the majority of the less important men have their tombs at Giza. This emphasises that the site of Giza was generally the less important of the two after the early fifth dynasty.

The titles in table 23 also attest further the granary of the residence (\textit{šnwty nt hnw} - seen previously in the title \textit{imy-r šnwty nt hnw} of \textit{ny-k3-r}' (80)), which seems to have had an independent existence. If it had a consistent body of officials to run it, they did not always mention it in their titles. The possession of a title specifically naming this institution could have been a special privilege, granted here to only three men.

The other important feature is the low number of titles associated with the two granaries (\textit{šnwt}), and, by inference, the overall control of the granaries of the land. A parallel may again be drawn with the \textit{hwt wrt}: the vast majority of the subordinate titles in that institution were associated with the singular \textit{hwt wrt} and not the \textit{hwt wrt 6} (see also \textit{prwy-hd} below). When discussing the subordinate titles formed with \textit{hwt wrt 6} we proposed that the existence of a full bureaucracy for these courts was unlikely, and it is more plausible that the use of the figure '6' indicated an honoured status in the administration of the \textit{hwt wrt} (above page 190). It is inherently probable that the same argument can be used with the two occurrences of \textit{šnwt}: as the only other office incorporating the term \textit{šnwt} was \textit{imy-r šnwt}, usually held by very important officials and particularly viziers, it would again be a mark of importance and privilege to be permitted to use this element in another title. \textit{sndm-[ib]} (table 23, (1) and (16)), who held \textit{imy-r zš šnwt}, also held a more conventional office (\textit{hry-tp šnwty}), thus suggesting the former title to be a special position granted him. Nothing more is known about the titulary of \textit{ḥtpi} (table 23, (15)), holder of \textit{imy-r zš md3t šnwty}. The use of \textit{šnwty}
in a subordinate granary title probably indicated a functional office while the employment of the dual indicated a special and probably honorary position.

Conclusions

The administration of the state granaries was divided in the fifth dynasty between the imy-r šnwty and the imy-r šnwty. Before that time no standardised granary title had existed, but in all probability the titles imy-r šnwty nbt nt nzwt, imy-r šnwty nzwt and imy-r šnwty nzwt represented such an office. Little else is known about the administration in the fourth dynasty; presumably it would have been one of the undefined tasks of the vizier or the overseer of works.

The titulary of a holder of imy-r šnwty generally shows that he held other positions within the granary administration, while the imy-r šnwty did not, although two men did attain the latter office from the former. The title of imy-r šnwty is not very common, and the principal management of the granary was in the hands of the imy-r šnwty. Viziers principally held the latter position during the sixth dynasty, but there was a reversion to lower-ranking holders at the end of the Old Kingdom.

Confusion may arise between men who were officials at the state granaries and those who worked on private estates. The former were in all probability men of sufficient means to warrant a tomb, while our knowledge of the latter is confined to tomb walls. It seems probable that the hierarchy and administration of the two groups of granaries was the same. The majority of titles connected with granaries are of a scribal and bureaucratic nature.

Little evidence exists for the location of the state granaries. They are however attested as sending grain to other granaries or as supplying offerings to deceased officials. Other types of granaries are occasionally attested.

The granary was one of the principal institutions in the organisation of the Egyptian state, as it was responsible for the grain - and hence food - supply. As such it was also an important element in the financial administration of the land, contributing to the revenue of the treasuries. It is very likely that these two institutions were closely linked. An examination of the titularies of viziers shows that the titles imy-r šnwty and imy-r prwy-hd there appear together with regularity, and this matter will be discussed in chapter eight. Further similarities will be noted in the next chapter.

-------------------

1 Noted by Pirenne, Institutions et Droit II, 195-6.
7 The Overseers of the Treasurers

General

The titles _imy-r pr-hd_ and _imy-r prwy-hd_ appear to have been the most important titles in the administration of the treasury in the Old Kingdom. Their forms closely parallel those of the principal titles in the granaries (chapter 6), but only the following variants are found: _imy-r pr-hd n hnw, imy-r prwy-hd n hnw_, and _imy-r pr-hd n snfrw/hwfw/ddf-r_ (?). These five titles appear to indicate specific treasuries, but only occur eight times in total. It is again preferable to postpone discussion of these latter forms until the simpler and more frequent ones have been discussed.

Table 24 gives the known holders of the titles. There is only one possible addition to this, the man depicted in a fragment from the mortuary temple of Pepy II. As there is no record of the name of the owner, he is excluded from the table as he might already feature in it.

Two officials are sometimes referred to as 'Overseers of the Treasury' who on closer inspection are not. A title of _htw_ is read by Helck _imy-r pr-hd_, whereas it is actually _imy-r pr_2 _k3i-pr_ (138) is called 'Overseer of the Two Treasuries' by Porter and Moss. As seen in the Prosopography above it is actually _imy-r pr, hm-k3_, or _imy-r pr hm-k3_.

_imy-r pr-hd_ appears at the beginning of the fourth dynasty, but most examples are of fifth dynasty date. _imy-r prwy-hd_ is first found in the middle of the fourth dynasty but is most frequent from the middle fifth onwards. These titles are not common in the provinces, but are found sporadically from the reign of Pepy I to the late Old Kingdom.

---------------------
1 Jéquier, _Pepi II II_, pl. 72.
2 _Beamtenstitel_, 61 n. 26, following Fisher, _The Minor Cemetery at Giza_, 154 (37); see id., ib., pl. 50 [3].
3 _PM 32_, 205.
### Table 24

List of Overseers of the Treasuries

#### A. Memphite

1. **Imy-r pr-hd**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Fourth Dynasty</td>
<td>Ph-r-nfr</td>
<td>Middle-late fourth dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(46)</strong></td>
<td><strong>H'-inpw</strong>; (101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nfr</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sasmw</td>
<td>(128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K3i-pw-r'</td>
<td>(143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ny-sw-wsrt</td>
<td>(74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-late fourth dynasty</td>
<td>Mry</td>
<td>(58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nfr</td>
<td>(84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Izi</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle fifth dynasty</td>
<td>K3i-m-qdi</td>
<td>(145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wr-irni</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ny-k3w-pth</td>
<td>(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Df3wi</td>
<td>(167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End fifth-early sixth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K3i-dbhn</td>
<td>(153)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nh-h3f; q3r</td>
<td>(35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Imy-r pr-hd n hnw**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-late fifth dynasty</td>
<td>Df3wi</td>
<td>(167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K3i-pw-r'</td>
<td>(143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name Lost</td>
<td>(171)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Imy-r prwy-hd**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle fourth-early fifth dynasty</td>
<td>Nfr</td>
<td>(84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3hi</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle fifth dynasty</td>
<td>K3i</td>
<td>(136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ph-n-wi-k3i</td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Df3wi</td>
<td>(167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K3i</td>
<td>(137)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Nh-zzi</td>
<td>(98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Hnmw-nti</td>
<td>(113)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Nh-m-3h; zzi</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Djedkare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Pth-htp</td>
<td>(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Pth-htp 1</td>
<td>(49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Snm-ib; inti</td>
<td>(120)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* K3i-gmni; mmi</td>
<td>(151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Nfr-sasm-r'; ssi</td>
<td>(88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Nh-m-3h; hr; zzi</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 24 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Early Pepy I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* hnty-k3i; ibbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* nhw</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-s'nh-3ht; iti</td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pth-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Pepy I - early Pepy II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-šps</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrri</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išši; ttwtw</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* mrri</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* idw I; nfr</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-mry-r'</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Pepy I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-s-'nh-3ht; iti</td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Later Pepy II or later</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnmw-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* h'-bšw-hnmw; biw</td>
<td></td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Pepy II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnmw-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**First Intermediate Period**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name Lost</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imy-r prwy-hd n hnw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-s-'nh-3ht; iti</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**5. Other Forms**

**Middle-late fifth dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name Lost</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name Lost</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r pr-hd n snfrw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r pr-hd n hfwf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r pr-hd n ddf-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Provincial**

**1. imy-r pr-hd**

**Early-middle Pepy II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'nh-ppy hny-km</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Blackman, Meir V, 16-56; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 70 (134).
Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

Table 24 continued

2. *imy-r prwy-hd*

Middle sixth dynasty

* iww
  ny-'nh-ppy km; sbk-htp Meir

Early Pepy II

k3i-hp; tti
  ibi

Akhmim
  Deir el Gebrawi

Middle-late Pepy II

d'w; ts3i
  d'w

Deir el Gebrawi
  Deir el Gebrawi

* indicates vizier at some point in his career

The writing of the pr-hd group exhibits a degree of variation which may be useful for dating purposes. Only one form is generally found (the combination of the house and the mace), with no phonetic writings evident. The most important feature is the extent to which the mace sign is enclosed by the house sign. There are two principal forms: and . The former is the most common prior to the mid-later fifth dynasty, while the latter is usually found after that time. The latest example of would seem to be in the tomb of 'nh-h3f; q3r (35) at Giza, perhaps at the beginning of the sixth dynasty, in which tomb is also

1 Cairo, CG 1576, LD Text II, 176 (5); date, Kanawati, Egyptian Administration, 33.
2 Blackman, op. cit., 1-15; date, Baer, op. cit., 84 (212).
3 Kanawati, Hawawish III, 7-32, including dating.
4 Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 56 (32).
5 Both d'w 's, Davies, op. cit., 1-13; date, Baer, op. cit., 157 (592). For the separation of the depictions of the two men see Kanawati, JEA 63 (1977), 59-62.
6 This paragraph is a very brief summary of the development of this group as set forth in the writer's paper to be published in JEA 71 (1985).
found.  

The Titularies of the Non-viziers

Consideration will firstly be given to the titles \textit{imy-r pr-hd} and \textit{imy-r prwy-hd} as these are the most frequent, and the variant titles will be compared later.

A. \textit{imy-r pr-hd}

Table 25 sets out the holders of \textit{imy-r pr-hd} and the principal groups of titles that they possessed. This title does not seem to have been held by any viziers buried in the memphite region. It is attested four times in the fourth dynasty (ph-r-nfr, izi, nfr (84) and mry). The dating of the remaining examples is somewhat vague, but the majority seem to have lived between the reigns of Neferirkare and Djedkare or Wenis. The two latest examples belong either to the end of the fifth dynasty or the beginning of the sixth (*nh-h3f and k3i-dbhn).

1. Titles Relating to the Treasury

The first group of such titles are obvious ones mentioning \textit{pr-hd} (columns 1-4 of table 25). Helck has noted these and others such as those that mention the \textit{prwy-nwb}, and those connected with the supply of clothing, as well as the appearance of the obscure title \textit{wr bzt}.  

One particular combination of treasury titles is evident from table 25 - that of \textit{imy-r pr-hd}, \textit{imy-ht pr-hd} and \textit{shd zs pr-hd} (three examples). These presumably represent the senior and deputy offices and head of scribes in the treasury.

The title \textit{wr bzt} is found four times in the titularies of these officials. As two of these, df3wi and \textquoteleft nh-h3f, also held the title of \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}, we cannot tell with which title \textit{wr bzt} should be associated. k3i-pw-r' was additionally \textit{imy-r pr-hd n hnw}, another holder of which (Name Lost (171)) was also \textit{wr bzt}. Only izi was just \textit{imy-r pr-hd} - perhaps this is related to the fact that this was the only one of these titles in existence in the fourth dynasty.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Hassan, \textit{Giza III}, fig. 114-5.
\item Such a date raises the possibility that he could be identical with the vizier k3i (136); the latter's writing of the \textit{pr-hd} group cannot be accurately ascertained, and, although the titles \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzw} and \textit{imy-r prwy-hd} are held by both, the honorific titles do not match.
\item Beamtentitel, 60-3.
\end{enumerate}
Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

Table 25
Principal Titles of holders of imy-r pr-hd

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>ph-r-nfr (46)</th>
<th>nfr (84)</th>
<th>mry (58)</th>
<th>izi (17)</th>
<th>k3i-m-qdi (145)</th>
<th>wr-irni (38)</th>
<th>ny-k3w-pth (77)</th>
<th>df3wi (167)</th>
<th>nfr (128)</th>
<th>k3i-pw-r' (143)</th>
<th>ny-sw-wart (74)</th>
<th>'nh-h3f; q3r (35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Columns:

1. imy-ḥt pr-hd
2. shd zš pr-hd
3. (shd) iry-ḥt pr-hd
4. sd3wt(pr-hd
5. Titles using prwy-nwb
6. wr bzt
7. Titles concerned with linen
8. Titles with hkr nzwt
9. Number of Scribal Titles
10. Number of Legal Titles
11. rh nzwt
12. hry-tp nzwt
13. Number of other High Offices
14. Royal Institution Titles
15. Religious Titles

One further group of titles which appears quite frequently in the titularies of treasury officials is those incorporating the element hkr nzwt (table 25, column 8). Helck does not include these in his survey of treasury titles, but he does attest certain connections that they bear with that institution, and the high number of occurrences here marks this as probable. There are in particular three occurrences of the title imy-r iz(wy) (n) hkr nzwt (nb) (mry, h'-inpw and 'nh-h3f). This title is often found in conjunction with important officials, many of whom were imy-r prwy-hd (below page 285-6). The singular version appears only in the titulary of mry of the fourth dynasty, and may well have possessed the same importance as the later dual form, since it is likely at that time that imy-r pr-hd represented the same office as imy-r prwy-hd later did (below page 291).

1 op. cit., 65-6.

281
Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

Helck would also include the titles connected with the supply of provisions with the treasury, but here they have been discussed in the context of the granaries (above page 256). Four such examples may be found here: $htm \, df3w \, bity \, (\text{'nh-h3f})$, $htm \, h3t \, df3w \, bity \, (k3i-dbhn \, and \, probably \, ny-k3w-pth)$, $imy-r \, sty \, df3w \, (nfr \, (84))$, and $imy-r \, swt \, df3w \, (df3wi)$. These titles are perhaps to be associated equally with the treasury and granary. Incidentally, no granary titles are found with the exception of that held by $ph-r-nfr$, suggesting that, although it will be seen later that the two institutions are often closely linked, there were no obvious connections at the administrative level of $imy-r \, pr-hd$.

There are three occurrences of the title $imy-r \, prwy-nwb$, and two of these men were also $imy-r \, prwy-hd \, (df3wi \, and \, 'nh-h3f)$. It is likely that $imy-r \, prwy-hd$ is more to be associated with $imy-r \, pr-hd$ (below page 284-5). It is thus possible that the third of these officials, $h'-inpwn$, was in fact a holder of $imy-r \, prwy-hd$ as well as $imy-r \, pr-hd$; the large sections missing from his false door could easily have included this title.

2. Scribal and Legal Titles

The few scribal titles found were principally held by the fourth dynasty officials, who were some of the most important holders of $imy-r \, pr-hd$. There are a very limited number of legal titles, such as $z3b \, nht-hrw \, (nfr \, (84))$, $mdw \, rhyt \, (ny-k3w-pth)$, and $z3b \, 'd-mr \, ('nh-h3f)$, hardly surprising in view of the parallel lack of scribal titles. These two classes of titles did not generally feature in the careers of treasury officials.

3. Honorific Titles

Only three honorific titles appear among the titularies of this group of officials: $smr \, (mry)$, $hry-tp \, nzwt \, (ph-r-nfr \, and \, 'nh-h3f)$, and $rh \, nzwt \, (ph-r-nfr, \, mry, \, nfr \, (84), \, h'-inpwn \, and \, k3i-dbhn)$. Both the holders of $hry-tp \, nzwt$ held other important titles. The majority of these titles occur in the titularies of the fourth dynasty holders of $imy-r \, pr-hd$ who were perhaps more important than their fifth dynasty counterparts. The most frequent honorific title encountered is $rh \, nzwt$ which shows that they were not of the highest status, but ranked similarly to the $imy-r \, snwt$ and $imy-r \, k3t \, (nt) \, nzwt$.

4. High Administrative Titles

With the early exception of $ph-r-nfr$, such titles are restricted to others in the treasury administration. The exact significance of $imy-r \, pr-hd \, n \, hnw \, (df3wi \, and \, k3i-pw-r')$ is not yet known (but see section C. below); on the analogy of $imy-r \, snwt$, $imy-r \, prwy-hd$ would be a higher office in the department. This was attained only by three men, $nfr \, (84), \, df3wi$ and $'nh-h3f$. Like the holders of $imy-r$...
r ŋnwt, the imy-r pr-hd remained within the same institution and promotion to a higher office was rare.

5. Religious Titles

A number of religious titles are found in the titulary of ph-r-nfr, but these do not reappear in those of any other official. Of more interest are the two occurrences of the title hm-ntr rnnwtt with mry and df3wi. These appear to be the only mentions of this deity in Old Kingdom titles, but rnnwtt may have been a protective goddess with regard to the treasury in the manner of ḫqt and ḫ3 to legal officials and scribes, although the evidence is far more restricted. In the New Kingdom rnnwtt is very often associated with the granary, but there is no clear Old Kingdom evidence for this, only one depiction of what appears to be a stela bearing the figure of a snake (symbol of rnnwtt) alongside tomb scenes of measuring grain. The reason for the apparent Old Kingdom association of rnnwtt with the treasury may lie in her being (in some contexts) the personification of linen, which commodity has been identified above as a responsibility of the pr-hd.

The title w'b nzwt appears twice (k3i-m-qdi and ny-k3w-pth). It is most frequently found with officials not of the higher ranks, and particularly together with the title rh nzwt. These two officials do not hold the latter title, but it is not uncommon among their fellow holders of imy-r pr-hd.

6. Titles related to Royal Institutions

Column 14 of table 25 shows that such titles are very frequent, held by almost every fifth dynasty holder of imy-r pr-hd. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-qdi</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr-irni</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-pth</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df3wi</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'-inpw</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-r'</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr r' m nḥn-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr s3hw-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr r' m nḥn-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr b3-nfr-ir-k3-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r zā ḫt-hfwfw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hṛy-sšt3 ḫt-hfwfw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are all, with the exception of k3i-pw-r', examples of what we may term 'old-style' priesthoods, which are basically relatively low-ranking offices (above, page 186). This again generally follows the pattern established for imy-r ŋnwt and imy-r k3t (nt)

---

2 Tomb of 'nh-h'f-r' at Giza, LD II, 9 (lower).
nzwt. Royal priesthoods in the fourth dynasty were generally reserved for privileged officials or members of the royal family, and the newer style priesthoods (later fifth dynasty and later) were usually confined to more important officials.

7. Other Titles

Only one further title calls for particular comment, imy-r pr-'h3w, held by mry, nfr (84) and h'-inpw. Some link between the treasury, granary and pr-'h3w is suggested by Helck. From these occurrences it is possible that it was closely associated with the treasury, perhaps because the provision of weapons (and perhaps tools) would be made from the national expenditure.

B. imy-r prwy-hd

There were thirty-seven memphite holders of this title in the Old Kingdom, of which twenty-four were viziers. The remaining thirteen will be discussed here, and their names and principal titles will be found in table 26.

1. Titles relating to the Treasury

Table 26 shows in columns 1-8 a selection of such titles. Those actually mentioning the treasury are different from those in table 25 above, and are confined to two men, ny-s'nh-3ht and izi. The latter's treasury titles in fact mention the prwy-hd, not the pr-hd as in other cases.

The title wr bzt appears with about the same frequency as with imy-r pr-hd. Titles associated with clothing are found only with df3wi; as he held imy-r pr-hd as well it is not impossible that such titles are to be associated more with that title than imy-r prwy-hd.

imy-r prwy-nwb is more common with imy-r prwy-hd than imy-r pr-hd. Looking more generally at this title, it is most frequently found in conjunction with imy-r prwy-hd: of the eighteen known Old

1 mry and h'-inpw write this title and imy-r pr-hd together in the same manner, with the imy-r element applying to both titles (see page 120 n. 2).
2 op. cit., 65.
3 Metal is a feature common to tools and weapons, and royal expeditions and building projects must have required them, although the issue of these cannot be directly linked with the treasury. However, the metals gold and silver have indirect links with the pr-hd, and this may be so for other metals. The value and importance of metal in the work of craftsmen may be judged from the (later) accounts of weighing tools and the like, for example in Papyrus Reisner II (Middle Kingdom; Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, 24 ff), and, more generally, at Deir el Medina (cf. Černý, CAH II, pt. 2, 621).
### Table 26

Principal Titles of non-viziers who held *imy-r prwy-hd*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nfr (84) *</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫṣi (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏꜣḏw (167) *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫḏ (137)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫz (98)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫʾḥ-ḥšt; ẖt (35) *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣy-sʾḥḥ-ḥšt (73)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫḥ-ʾḥḥš (53)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣrḥ (66)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫʾš (19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡʾḥḥw-hḥt (112)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫʾz (18)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣyḏ-ḥḥ (134)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates also holder of *imy-r pr-hd*

#### Key to Columns:

- **1** *imy-hḥ prwy-hd*
- **2** *shd zš pr-hd*
- **3** *imy-r zš prwy-hd*
- **4** *ḥry wdš prwy-hd*
- **5** *wr bzt*
- **6** Titles concerned with Linen
- **7** Titles using *prwy-nwb*
- **8** Titles using *ḥkr nzwt*
- **9** Number of Scribal Titles
- **10** Number of Legal Titles
- **11** *ahr nzwt, ḫ = ḫry-tp nzwt*
- **12** *smr wʾty*
- **13** *ḥḥtyʾ, X = ḫty pʾt and ḫḥtyʾ*
- **14** Number of other High Offices
- **15** Royal Institution Titles

#### Kingdom examples, only four are not in this combination (*smnhw-ḥḥ*, 1 *sḥm-ib; mḥi (121), ny-ḥšw izzi (76) and *ʾḥš; ṣnti* 2). The first and last of these four are probably associated with this title by virtue of being metal-workers; of the others, the titulary of *ny-ḥšw izzi (76) is not yet complete, and as *sḥm-ib; mḥi (121) was one of the few viziers to hold *imy-r šnwt but not *imy-r prwy-hd* one wonders whether this is not true of him also.

The term *ḥkr nzwt* (column 8 of table 26) appears most frequently in the title *imy-r izwy ḫkr nzwt.* *nfr (84) is the only official marked in this column who did not hold this title; however, he seems to have lived before its introduction. *imy-r izwy ḫkr nzwt* is frequently found associated with *imy-r prwy-hd* (seventeen out of

---

twenty-seven examples), but the former is not necessarily subordinate to the latter. It is however most frequently held either by viziers or imy-r prwy-hd (or holders of both). Exceptions to this rule tend to have held titles which may have been under the control of the izwy n hkr nzwt,\(^1\) or else were very high officials in the sixth dynasty, where their importance as officials may have resulted in their overseeing this department.\(^2\) The izwy hkr nzwt thus appear to have formed an independent department, but very closely linked to the treasury, concerned principally with certain personal services to the king (for example, hairdressing (iri šn)), as well as oils and metals, which are often associated also with the treasury.

Titles bearing some relationship with the treasury are thus evident in the titularies of these imy-r prwy-hd. It is not clear however as to which of them were held prior to receiving this office, and consequently one cannot say whether these officials had an earlier career in the treasury. nfr (84), df3wi and 'nh-h3f seem to have been promoted from imy-r pr-hd but it is perhaps likely that many of the other officials had no such experience.

2. Scribal and Legal Titles

Examples of neither category are common, legal titles being only slightly more frequent than scribal ones. The title of z3b 'd-mr is found with 3hi, 'nh-h3f and ny-s'nh-3ht, although this scarcely represents any consistent tenure of this position.

3. Honorific Titles

Some similarity is evident here with the pattern noted above for imy-r šnwty and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. Ranking titles are not particularly common with this group of officials before the end of the fifth dynasty. nfr was rh nzwt, doubtless a higher title in the fourth dynasty than in succeeding periods; the only honorific title in the fifth dynasty is smr w'ty n mrwt held by k3i (137). He also held several 'courtly' titles as will be seen below. It is generally difficult to draw conclusions for the fifth dynasty on this limited evidence.

With the exception of śdy-pth, the sixth dynasty holders of imy-r prwy-hd all held smr w'ty or hry-tp nzwt (or both). Additionally, pth-špps, mrri and hnmw-htp were ḫ3ty-', and the latter added iρy p't as well. mrri and pth-špps have the common feature of possessing tombs in the northern section of the Teti Pyramid Ceme-

---

1 Helck, Beamtentitel, 65-6; metalworkers can probably be added to his list. Some examples: pr-sn (Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. IX) was imy-r mrḥt hkr nzwt; r'-wr (Hassan, Giza I, pl. XI, XXX) was iri śn; pr-ndw (Giza, Eastern Cemetery, unpublished), was a metalworker; dmd (Cairo, CG 1323), was imy-r nwb pr-3.

2 nfr-sṣm-pth (87) (later career) and nhri (Jéquier, POPY II III, fig. 62).
Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

tery, which may bear some relation to their rank.¹ The most sig
nificant feature is however the consistent ranking of all these men
as smr w'ty or hry-tp nzwt, placing them on a level with their
colleagues who held imy-r šnwty and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The
example of izi shows this rank to have been the same in the late
Old Kingdom, although the number of examples is very limited.

One further title of a courtly and probably honorific nature
stands out by its four appearances - hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, found with
k3i (137), mrri, išfi and šdy-pth. The appearance of this title
among officials discussed before has been very sporadic and not
noted; while by no means frequent here, it is held by almost a
third of the imy-r prwy-hd. A brief survey of all its holders
reveals many of them to have been principally men who were con-
cerned more with the direct service of the king than as opposed to
those who held real administrative offices.² They seem very much
to have formed a royal 'court'. Viziers are of course an exception
to this as they had to fulfil both roles. Non-viziers with real
administrative titles are not often found among this group, and
some are noted above as rather honoured and special officials (for
example, ty (157) and ztw (115)). In the fifth dynasty hry-sšt3 n
pr-dw3t is frequently found together with titles such as smr, hry-
'ḥ and hry-wdb m ḫwt-'nh (for example k3i (137) here), but it is
the only title to appear consistently in the sixth. Its holders
here should perhaps again be regarded as specially favoured offic-
ials, members of the 'court'. Thus generally the imy-r prwy-hd had
a rank not unlike that of the holders of some other high titles in
the fifth and especially sixth dynasties.

4. Other High Administrative Titles

Leaving aside nfr, dfšwi and 'nh-h3f who were additionally imy-r
pr-hd, and ny-s'nh-3ḥt who was imy-r prwy-hd n ḫnw, the pattern of
other high titles found is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ḥi</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hzzi</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>išfi</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrmw-htp</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Columns:

1 imy-r ḫwt wrt  2 imy-r šš ' nzwt
3 imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt  4 imy-r šnwty

¹ Compare the rank of other non-vizierial officials from the same
area, such as ny-k3m-izz (76) and mrw (64).
² cf. Helck, Beamtentitel, 43; other such titles, id., ib., 68.

287
The conclusions to be drawn are very different from those in previous chapters, as tenure of these titles is confined only to imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt and imy-r šnwty. The occurrence of imy-r šnwty in four out of five examples suggests a close link between these two departments. Why imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt should be present in three cases is not clear; it is however the most common of the high administrative titles down to the middle sixth dynasty, and as its functions are very wide-ranging its presence should come as no surprise. The relative lack of fifth dynasty examples of imy-r prwy-hd accounts partly for the non-appearance of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zaš' nzwt; in the sixth dynasty the holders of imy-r hwt wrt are of much lower rank than the imy-r prwy-hd, while non-vizierial holders of imy-r zaš' nzwt are almost non-existent. The lack of legal and scribal titles in the titulary of a typical imy-r prwy-hd may be an additional factor.

The majority of holders of imy-r prwy-hd did not hold important positions in the other major areas of the administration covered by this study. This supports the contention that it was deliberate policy in the sixth dynasty for most high officials to hold the principal office of only one department of the administration, more titles being conferred only on very special officials, the greatest number of whom were viziers.

5. Religious Titles

The only religious title found in more than one instance is hry-hb (k3i (137), pth-špss, mrri and išfi). These men all held the title smr w'ty, and there is a clear link between the two titles. For the title of ḥm-ntr rnnwtt (df3wi) see above page 283.

6. Titles associated with Royal Institutions

The following such titles are found with the holders of imy-r prwy-hd:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>df3wi (167)</td>
<td>ḥm-ntr ny-wsr-r'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-špss (53)</td>
<td>shd ḥm-ntr dd-swt-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izi (18)</td>
<td>imy-ḥt ḥm-ntr dd-swt-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣdy-pth (134)</td>
<td>mty n ṣ3 dd-swt-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r wpt mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy</td>
<td>w'b 200 mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sixth dynasty titles may to some extent be related to the rank of their holders: pth-špss held the high rank of b3ty-' and the most elevated office in connection with the royal pyramid; the next highest offices were held by izi who was smr w'ty, and then we find

1 It is unclear whether this title of df3wi is to be related to his tenure of imy-r pr-ḥd or imy-r prwy-hd; on the more frequent occurrences of similar titles with the former one might suggest it to be associated more with imy-r pr-ḥd (cf. table 25 and pages 283-4 above).
The conclusions from the foregoing are very similar to those obtained for \textit{imy-r šnwty}, namely that the \textit{imy-r pr-hd} show a far higher degree of involvement with other aspects of treasury administration than do the \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}. The latter title is definitely the higher ranking and thus presumably the more important of the two.

Two of the variant forms of these titles are distinguished by the addition of the element \textit{(n) Jinw}. There are three instances of \textit{imy-r pr-hd n hnw, df3wi} (167), \textit{k3i-pw-r'} (143) and Name Lost (171), and one of \textit{imy-r prwy-hd n hnw} (ny-s'n'nh-3bt (73)). As far as can be discerned, only Name Lost (171) did not hold the simple title without the \textit{hnw} element, and thus the separation of distinctive features is rather difficult. The only other title certainly held by this man is \textit{wr bzt}, also found with the three other officials named above; as noted earlier (page 280), it does not seem to occur with men who held the title of \textit{imy-r pr-hd} after the fourth dynasty. \textit{wr bzt} otherwise appears with two \textit{imy-r prwy-hd} ('nh-h3f; q3r (35) and i3i (18)), and consequently is a treasury-related title. The \textit{imy-r pr-hd n hnw} may have been specially treated by the granting of the uncommon title \textit{wr bzt}, and although their other titles do not seem to distinguish them from the \textit{imy-r pr-hd}, they may perhaps have been slightly more honoured officials, holding a title otherwise given only to the higher \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}. The evidence is insufficient to note any further special features of \textit{imy-r prwy-hd n hnw}.

The other variant forms are all held by the same man (Name Lost (172)), and apparently refer to treasuries of the kings Sneferu, Sneferu II and Merenra.

---

Khufu and Djedefre, although this arrangement of the blocks is not altogether certain. This man's only non-treasury titles are zš' nzwt and imy-r iz ///. Such scribal titles make the occasional appearance, but titles beginning imy-r iz are quite common in the titularies of treasury overseers, particularly imy-r izwy hkr nzwt (above page 281, 285-6). The very limited evidence from this tomb suggests that his titulary, like that of the other variants, was not dissimilar to that of an ordinary imy-r pr-hd.

The Viziers

imy-r prwy-hd is the only treasury title held by viziers, a total of twenty-four examples. Their titularies contain no subordinate titles in the treasuries. Two titles associated with linen are found, imy-r sār (nten-k3i (109)) and imy-r sār nzwt (sndm-ib; mhi (121)). By far the most common treasury-related term in the titles of the viziers is hkr nzwt, particularly in the form imy-r izwy hkr nzwt. Titles incorporating this element are found in the titularies of almost all viziers who also held imy-r prwy-hd. imy-r izwy n hkr nzwt is doubtless held by viziers to indicate their authority over this department. The titulary of k3i (136) shows that he did not hold the title of imy-r prwy-hd until he became vizier, and he had no titles vaguely connected with treasury administration before this promotion. This gives a clue to the problem of the titles with hkr nzwt: in his case the title imy-r hkr nzwt m izwy was associated with his promotion to vizier and imy-r prwy-hd, which indicates that the presence of such a title in the titulary of a vizier need not signify that he held it earlier in life.

The Administration of the Treasury

A. The Overisers of the Treasuries

The title imy-r pr-hd seems to be confined to the period from the fourth to very early sixth dynasties (ph-r-nfr (46) to 'nh-h3f; q3r (35)). It seems to have disappeared at about the same time as did imy-r snwt and a little later than the date at which the title imy-r zš' nzwt became confined to the vizier only, that is, towards the end of the fifth dynasty.

The title of imy-r prwy-hd made its first appearance in the later fourth dynasty (nfr (84) and 3bi (1)), but then is not found again until it was held by viziers in the middle of the fifth dynasty (k3i (136) and ph-n-wi-k3i (45)). Its occurrences in the titularies of non-viziers in this dynasty are very restricted (k3i (137) and df3wi (167)). Apart from two imy-r pr-hd at the beginning of the sixth dynasty, k3i-dbhn (153) and 'nh-h3f; q3r (35), only holders of imy-r prwy-hd are found in that period, nine non-viziers and fourteen viziers.

It would seem that the treasury was generally administered in the fourth and fifth dynasties by an imy-r pr-hd, with a vizier holding imy-r prwy-hd from the mid-fifth dynasty. The infrequent appearances of non-vizierial imy-r prwy-hd are not easy to explain.
Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

The two fourth dynasty examples both come from tombs at Giza, while their counterparts at Saqqara were only *imy-r pr-hd*. It is possible that as the most important officials of this time were buried at Giza, the new title would have made its first appearance there. One is tempted to regard the titles *imy-r pr-hd* and *imy-r prwy-hd* at this time as representing similar levels of authority; it was only with the apparent expansion of the number of treasury overseers in the early fifth dynasty that the writings came to represent different functions. Otherwise, the earliest *imy-r prwy-hd* were either very high officials who bore another important office (*k3i* (137)) or those who were presumably promoted from *imy-r pr-hd* (*df3wi* (167) and *nh-h3f; q3r* (35)). The infrequency of *imy-r prwy-hd* with non-viziers suggests that such occurrences in the later fifth dynasty were special appointments, elevating a man to an office otherwise associated only with the vizier.

The holding of the office of *imy-r prwy-hd* by non-viziers was set on a more regular basis in the early sixth dynasty. However, the number of non-viziers is surely insufficient for a continuous succession in the office considering the length of the period, and it must be assumed that the vizier bore a large measure of control of the institution. In this respect the high offices of the granary and treasury are again parallel, especially as both continued to be held by non-viziers during the sixth dynasty.

In the opinion of Helck, the men in charge of actual treasuries were the *imy-r pr-hd*, and the vizier and others who were in overall control of the department bore *imy-r prwy-hd*. For the fifth dynasty this seems to fit the evidence - the *imy-r pr-hd* was an official who seems to have spent much of his working life in the treasury and was presumably responsible for everyday matters, and the vizier and other special officials held the dual version of the title.

In the sixth dynasty however, there seem to be only *imy-r prwy-hd*. Unless the holders of *imy-r pr-hd* did not have the means to build a tomb (perhaps unlikely), the office seems to have disappeared. Most likely the non-vizierial *imy-r prwy-hd* took over part of the role, with perhaps more direct involvement on the part of the vizier.

As with *imy-r šnwt*, it is perhaps unlikely that holders of *imy-r pr-hd* were responsible for treasuries of private estates. However, due to the small amount of evidence of any private treasury administration from tomb scenes (details below on page 293-4), we cannot be sure that such institutions did not exist on private estates.

The only certain example of a specific treasury as mentioned in titles is that of the 'treasury of the residence' (*pr(wy)-hd n hnw*). References to this institution date from the later fifth and early sixth dynasties, and are only slightly more frequent than those which mention the 'granary of the residence' (*šnwt nt hnw*).

---

1 Beamtentitel, 58, 61.
2 Indicating the treasuries of the Two Lands and therefore the whole country, in order to represent overall responsibility.
3 Suggested by Kaplony, Studien zum Grab des Methethi, 88.
With such a lack of evidence it is impossible to tell whether this is indeed the principal state treasury, with the official being allowed the honour of so mentioning it in his titles, or a special one for the personal benefit of the king and his household.

The other evidence for the existence of independent treasuries is less clear. An official whose name is lost (172) may have been overseer of treasuries of Sneferu, Khufu and Djedefre, although such a reconstruction of these blocks is far from certain. The only similar reference is to a treasury at the pyramid of Merykare in the First Intermediate Period. Unfortunately, the Abusir Papyri shed no additional light on this problem.

Into this picture of the treasuries must be fitted the provincial holders of the titles, listed in table 24. There are six holders of imy-r prwy-hd and one (apparently) of imy-r pr-hd. The latter title of 'nh-ppy hny-km of Meir appears in close proximity to that of the vizierate, and we have seen that in the Memphite Region only the title imy-r prwy-hd is found in the titulary of the vizier. It is suggested that imy-r pr-hd here is in fact imy-r prwy-hd abbreviated for uncertain reasons, perhaps lack of space.

These treasury titles are found on monuments from Abydos, Meir, Deir el Gebrawi and Akhmim. The Abydene connection is particularly strong as the three holders of imy-r prwy-hd buried at Deir el Gebrawi were also nomarchs of Abydos. Although only two of its holders were viziers (iww and 'nh-ppy hny-km), this title is most frequently associated with the two nomes in which were buried the greatest number of provincial viziers and very high officials in the sixth dynasty - Abydos and Meir. The holders of this title are less widely spread out over Upper Egypt than the holders of imy-r šnwty. The reason for this may be that if, as is normally assumed, the treasury was responsible for revenue collection, overseers of this institution would perhaps not have to be quite so close to the sources of revenue as would the granary officials to the sources of grain. This title is found very frequently in the provinces together with imy-r šnwty (only iww of these examples does not hold this latter title), and stresses the link between the institutions.

The establishment of imy-r prwy-hd in the provinces may go some way to accounting for the decrease in the number of memphite overseers of the treasury in the sixth dynasty who were not viziers. The majority of these provincial officials date from the second half of the dynasty when there are few memphite non-vizierial imy-r prwy-hd. Such a gradual devolution of responsibility to a local level would necessitate fewer officials in the capital, which in turn indicates that in the fifth dynasty the number of officials

1 htpi, Quibell, Excav. Saqq. (1906-07), pl. VI (3).
2 Blackman, Meir V, pl. XL (top right).
3 Kanawati observes that the title of imy-r prwy-hd was not held by the later nomarchs of Deir el Gebrawi who held control in the twelfth Upper Egyptian Nome alone (Governmental Reforms, 90).
4 cf. Kanawati, op. cit., 74 (d).
must have been sufficient to manage the revenues of all parts of the country.

B. Other Aspects

There is very little direct evidence as to the precise functions of the treasury. The incidence of treasury officials in tomb-scenes is very low in comparison to those of the granaries; it is possible that this is a reflection of the lack of private treasuries in funerary estates parallel to private granaries, although we will see below that some sources can be best interpreted by assuming that the financial administration of an estate was sometimes termed pr-hd. In only the following examples are treasury officials seen acting probably in their official capacity.¹

\( \text{z\'\text{s} pr-hd} \)

1. Junker, Giza V, Abb. 9
   Shown recording linen

2. Hassan, Saqqara I, pl.XXI B
   Shown writing with the remains of a text above beginning \( d3d3t //// \) presumably \( d3d3t nt pr-dt \)

3. Junker, Giza IV, Abb. 9
   Shown writing, with behind him the \( d3d3t nt pr-dt. \)

\( \text{z\'\text{s} sd3wty pr-hd} \)

1. LD II, 56a bis.
   Shown seated, writing, between a man who is described by the text \( ipt \ h\text{t} \text{\'snwt}, \) 'making the accounts of the granary', and another described as \( ipt \ h\text{t} \text{imy-r pr}, \) 'making the accounts of the imy-r pr'.

\( \text{iry-h\text{t} pr-hd} \)

1. LD II, 96 (bottom)
   Stands at the end of a register watching men carrying boxes of linen, above whom is the text \( stp r pr-hd, \) 'transporting to the treasury'.

The \( \text{z\'\text{s} pr-hd} \), as one might expect, is shown involved with the process of making records of the activities he surveys. His presence in the \( d3d3t nt pr-dt \) may be as a state official concerned with the dues of the estates, but this can also be construed as evidence for a treasury administration on some private estates. The \( \text{z\'\text{s} sd3wty pr-hd} \), may in fact be noting down what is being

¹ Some examples of such officials acting as offering bearers and the like: Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII; Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. XIV.

293
recorded by the scribes either side of him; he was certainly con-
cerned with creating documents. Finally, the iry-ht is clearly
watching over the interests of the treasury in this particular
scene.

The first and last examples quoted above confirm the observation
made previously that the treasury was concerned very much with
types of linen. Also in the tomb of 3ht-htp there is the following
text in a scene of rewarding weavers: tzt r pr-hd, 'taking
(some form of linen) to the treasury'. Likewise the biography of
d'w from Deir el Gebrawi refers to various types of linen for
bandaging as coming from the two treasuries, and offering formulæ
frequently refer to hbs m prwy-hd, 'clothing from the two
treasuries'.

The offering formula of the dog 'bwtyw shows that coffins as
well as linen could come from this institution. Other texts
simply refer to offerings (especially prt-hrw) generally as coming
from the treasury. In the Abusir Papyri, mibt oil is shown coming
from the pr pr-hd, perhaps 'the administration of the treasury'.
This latter reference is important in that it serves to link fur-
ther the treasury and the izwy (probably the izwy n hkr nzwt) as
this oil is often mentioned in offering formulæ as coming from the
latter institution. The same text is also significant for the
only mention of the 'department of the treasury' (pr pr-hd) in the
Old Kingdom. The organisation of scribal departments is often
expressed in such terms, for example, the pr hry-wdb and the pr
md3t, but nothing comparable has been found for the granaries or
for labour organisation. It is very likely that it was largely
synonymous with pr-hd.

Also in the Abusir Papyri, a shd iry-ht pr-hd named ny-m3't-inpw
is recorded with other officials bringing bricks to the temple; the
precise nature of his involvement with this institution is
unknown. The other officials in the document hold a wide range of
titles, some of which are shd iri ën pr-13, iri 'nwt pr-13, shd haw
pr-13, zwnw pr-13, z3b shd zš, qbh hwt-nmt pr-13 and z3b iry nhn.
The only common link between these very varied officials is that
they were all part of the central or royal administration.

---------------------
1 cf. Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb II, 600.
2 Urk. I, 146.11-13; Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XIII (13).
3 Examples: k3i-m-snw (144), Urk. I, 175.10-12; šhm-k3i, Urk. I,
177.2-4; k3i-pwr' (143), Urk. I, 177.8-10 (translated on pages
269-70); snfwr-nfr, Urk. I, 178.5-6; s3bn, Urk. I, 138.4-9.
4 Fischer, ZAS 93 (1966), 57.
5 s3bw; ibbi (116), Urk. I, 177.14-6; ḥžzi (98), Cairo, CG 1413;
ny-k3w-r', Cairo, CG 1414.
6 HPBM, pl. LXXIIIB; Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb II, 426.
7 See especially the above-quoted texts of k3i-pwr' and snfwr-
nfr.
8 HPBM, pl. LXXII (9), reconstructed from pl. LXXXVIII.
9 This juxtaposition of titles with pr-13 and those without
may be no other connecting thread between them, so the treasury
official need not be carrying out the functions inherent in his
title in this instance. However, this group of officials may also
be viewed as a selection of royal servants (notably those with pr-
'3 in their titles) accompanied by treasury and legal officials for
the purposes of administration.

Another interesting document concerning the work of the treasury
comes from the tomb of ftk-t3 at Saqqara/Abusir. Above a scene of
men sealing wine jars is the text htm r pr-hd m irp n hwt-k3,
perhaps, 'sealing wine from the hwt-k3 for the treasury'. This
apparently refers to dues being paid in the form of wine; even if
it should refer to a treasury on a private estate, there is no
reason why wine cannot by analogy be added to the list of concerns
of the state treasuries.1

Clearly, the treasury was involved with private estates and
tombs, partly from the viewpoint of recording of dues, but also
beneficially as providing at least some part of the tomb-offerings,
doubtless as indicated by the htp di nzwt formula. As with the
granaries, a relationship is attested to some extent between the
state treasuries and the magazines of the royal mortuary temple,
although there is no evidence as to whether an actual part of this
complex was termed pr-hd.

More is known about the treasury from later evidence.3 The New
Kingdom gives us the most information as to the role of the
treasury in the collection of taxes, where it is seen as the re-
sponsibility of the vizier.4 Of particular interest from the
Middle Kingdom is an inscription from the reign of Senwosret I in
the Wadi Hammamat, where the equipping of an expedition is split
between the granary, treasury and the royal storehouse.5 The
granary provided the bread and beer, the royal storehouse the meat
and fowl, and the treasury the technical equipment. Clearly the
granary supplied the grain-based products; it would appear that the
treasury was responsible for the non-food supplies. This text thus
shows how the treasury and the granary would work together on such
a task. Another source of the same date shows the z3 pr-hd whmy
making the accounts of the days worked and the consequent pro-

suggests that the latter group belonged to the royal or central
administration without needing to specify it, further em-
phasing that the pr-hd referred to in the titles imy-r pr-hd
and imy-r prwy-hd is the state one.

1 LD II, 96 (middle).
2 One other potentially interesting reference to the treasury in
the Old Kingdom is unfortunately bereft of its full context: in
his biography, 3ht-htp; hmi (3) addresses officials of the
treasury, but the text of his speech is lost (Hassan, Saqqara
I, fig. 18 (1. 50)).
3 Summary, Helck, Verwaltung, 180-91, particularly with reference
to the New Kingdom.
4 id., ib., 185-6.
5 See also above page 267; comments, Mueller, JNES 34 (1975),
261-2.
visions of the royal dockyard of This.\(^{1}\) This official is not
organising the actual supply, but perhaps was assessing the
treasury's outlay which would then be provided by the granary.

Table 27 is our last source, namely further treasury titles
found in the titularies of tomb-owners. These are not as infor-
mative as we might like, and, with one exception, give us no more
information about individual treasuries. Clearly, scribal titles
were the most frequent, followed by those composed with \(\text{iRY-hift}\)
'administrator'; we have seen illustrations above of the functions
of some such officials. These titles also show us officials con-
cerned with sealing (2), and there is one reference to the 'store-
house of the two treasuries' (15). We have seen officials of the
rank of \(\text{nhT-hrw}\) either in a legal context (page 196) or actually
concerned with the products which were the central concern of the
department (page 272). Perhaps they supervised the products which
came and went as revenue and expenditure (6-7). The link with the
central bureaucracy is shown by the title \(\text{shd zš' nzwt pr-hd}\), also
implying the existence of further officials about whom nothing is
known. By virtue of their frequency it would seem likely that \(\text{imY-
hT pr-hd}\) and \(\text{shd zš pr-hd}\) were the most important titles below that
of overseer. Most of the occurrences listed belong to the sixth
dynasty, and show that although the overall head of the treasury
was no longer \(\text{imY-r pr-hd}\) but \(\text{imY-r prwy-hd}\), the singular form was
used for the lower offices. We have seen that titles subordinate
to that of \(\text{imY-r}\) incorporating the elements \(\text{hwT wRt}\) or \(\text{šnwty}\) are
rare, and that the administrators normally used the forms \(\text{hwT wRt}\)
and \(\text{šnwT}\). The same is clearly true of the treasury. The only
examples of lesser titles using \(\text{prwy-hd}\) belong to \(\text{izi}\) (18) and \(\text{htpi}\)
(13-15) either these men were granted special titles employing this
term, or else (especially as they are the two latest officials in
table 27) the forms \(\text{pr-hd}\) and \(\text{prwy-hd}\) had become largely synonymous
by the end of the Old Kingdom.

Apart from the treasury titles of \(\text{ph-r-nfr}\) (46), the oldest in
table 27 is \(\text{hrp pr-hd}\), held by \(\text{k3i-pr}\) (139) in the early fifth
dynasty. Fischer has noted that the use of the title \(\text{hrp}\) is a
little unusual in this man's inscriptions.\(^{2}\) It is conceivable that
as there are few known holders of treasury titles at this date,
that of \(\text{k3i-pr}\) may have represented the most important office in this
institution prior to the establishment of \(\text{imY-r pr-hd}\) and \(\text{imY-
r prwy-hd}\) on a regular basis. Also, like two other early treasury
officials (\(\text{ph-r-nfr}\) (46) and \(\text{3hi}\) (1)), he held one of the overseer
of works titles.

The position of \(\text{shd pr-hd}\) in the treasury hierarchy appears to
have been lower than that of \(\text{imY-hT pr-hd}\), as several holders of
the latter, but none of the former, attained the level of \(\text{imY-r pr-
hd}\). Relative rankings of some of the other titles may be obtained
from an examination of the titularies (admittedly limited in num-
ber) of some officials who bear more than one treasury title in a
rankable sequence. In the tomb of \(\text{k3i-m-nh}\), the sequence \(\text{zš pr-}

\(^{2}\) *JNES* 18 (1959), 267 (20, 21).
## Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

### Table 27

**Treasury Titles held by Tomb owners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number of Holders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫrp pr-hd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫry sd3wty pr-hd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īmy-ht pr-hd</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īry-hτ pr-hd</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shδ īry-hτ pr-hd</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shδ nht-hrw n pr-hd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nht-hrw pr-hd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh δ pr-hd</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh δ za pr-hδ</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za pr-hδ</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za δ nzwτ pr-hδ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za pr-hδ m3δ-swτ-mry-k3-r'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īmy-hτ prwy-hδ</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īmy-r za prwy-hδ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īry w3δ prwy-hδ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References:**

1. k3i-'pr (139) - Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pl. IX (A)
2. ph-r-nfr (46) - Junker, *ZAS* 75 (1939), 64 (3)
4. ph-r-nfr (46) - Junker, *op. cit.*, 64 (1)  prni-'nw - Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl VII A
5. ph-r-nfr (46) - Junker, *op. cit.*, 64 (2)  nfw - Statue Boston Museum of Fine Arts 31.777, unpublished  k3i-m-'nh - as 3  sd3fw - Headrest in Giza tomb G7215u, unpublished
6. k3i-m-'nh - Junker, *Giza* IV, Abb. 6  tnti - Baumgartel, *JARCE* 7 (1968), pl. XI (fig. 22)
7. msdrw - Fischer, *Offerings*, n. 25, fig. 9  nfw - as 5
8. nfw - as 5; tnti - Giza tomb G7946, unpublished
9. k3i-m-'nh - Junker, *op. cit.*, Abb. 7  k3i-dbhn (153) - as 3  ny-s 'nh-3ht; iti (73) - Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 107 (?)
10. 3ht-hτp - Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 136  'nh-h3f - BM Stelae 12, pl. XV (7)
11. iy-mry - Junker, *Giza* X, Abb. 53  

continued
hd, shd iry-ḥt pr-hd is regularly found; if the titles on the architrave read from right to left in descending order, then we also have the sequence shd pr-hd, zš pr-hd, shd iry-ḥt pr-hd.\(^1\) On the statues of tnti and nfw in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston the following sequences are found: statue 31.776 gives shd pr-hd, shd iry-ḥt pr-hd, while statue 31.777 bears shd iry-ḥt pr-hd, nḥt-hrw pr-hd.\(^2\) Finally, on the false door of k3i-pw-r\(^1\) (143) is found shd zš pr-hd, imy-ḥt pr-hd, imy-r pr-hd hnw.\(^3\) One wonders whether these titles of k3i-pw-r\(^1\) are not in fact written in reverse order, especially as the title hm-ntr nfr-izzi (perhaps the most prestigious one he held) appears at the end of the string.

After conflating the above titles, it is impossible to link the resulting sequences shd pr-hd, zš pr-hd, shd iry-ḥt pr-hd, iry-ḥt pr-hd and imy-r pr-hd hnw, imy-ḥt pr-hd, shd zš pr-hd as no officials have shd pr-hd and (for example) shd zš pr-hd together. From this it seems that the types of titulary divide into two groups by this sequence, the second selection of titles generally being held by the more important officials, and the first by the lesser ones.

There is an interesting division in location of the tombs of these men. Most of the overseers of the (two) treasuries after the early fifth dynasty were buried at Saqqara (exceptions, k3i-dbhn (153), 'nh-h3f; q3r (35) and his son ny-s'nh-3ḥt; iti (73)), while the majority of officials named in table 27 were buried at Giza. This again emphasises that the more important officials were generally buried at Saqqara.

We conclude from the titles above that, not surprisingly, scribal offices were the most frequent in the administration of the treasury, with shd pr-hd and zš pr-hd being the most common. There were doubtless other positions in the department, but either by chance of preservation or insufficient status for an elaborate burial, evidence of them has not survived.

---

1 Metscher, Giza IV, first sequences on Abb. 6.
2 From tomb Giza G7946, see PM 32, 207.
3 Mariette, Mastabas, 278-9.
Chapter 7 - The Overseers of the Treasuries

Conclusions

The writing of the titles imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd provides some useful palaeographic dating criteria, as the form of the pr-hd group changes in the later fifth dynasty.

Holders of imy-r pr-hd are normally officials who held other titles in the treasury and related institutions. They are generally not of the highest rank, and this title is never held by viziers. It exists from the beginning of the fourth dynasty to the beginning of the sixth. Imy-r prwy-hd appears only sporadically with non-viziers in the fourth and fifth dynasties, but there are a number of such holders, both memphite and provincial, in the sixth dynasty. Only a few holders of this title show other links with the treasury, sometimes in the form of tenure of imy-r pr-hd.

Many viziers held imy-r prwy-hd from the mid-fifth dynasty onwards. It is evident that from this time at least there was a minimum of two and perhaps even three contemporary holders of the two senior treasury titles. There was thus a division of responsibility, and some memphite officials probably dealt with revenues in the provinces until some local nomarchs were granted the title of imy-r prwy-hd, when a corresponding drop in the number of memphite holders of the latter title is found.

Little evidence survives as to the exact function of the treasury in the Old Kingdom. Scribes of the treasury occasionally appear in private tombs, perhaps reckoning state revenue on private estates, although they could also be part of the administration of the same. The treasury may have provided a part of the funerary offerings or equipment of the deceased. There is very little evidence of the extent of treasuries outside the principal state one(s): they may have existed in institutions such as temples, and possibly on private estates. The evidence from titles connected with the treasury below the rank of overseer shows that the majority of offices were scribal and associated with reckoning.

The Old Kingdom supplies no evidence at all of the role of the treasury in the economic life of Egypt, with the exception that certain commodities, such as metals, linen, wine and possibly oils, were controlled by it in particular contexts. One must then assume that as an institution it was concerned with the supervision of central government expenditure, and the assessment of dues from various institutions and individuals. As Egypt had a non-money or redistributive economy, such dues as had to be paid would have been most frequently in the form of produce, and paramount among this must have been grain. Parallels between the titles imy-r šnwty/imy-r šnwty and imy-r pr-hd/imy-r prwy-hd have been noted where they occur, and it will be seen below in chapter 8 how the two institutions are linked in the titularies of viziers. A similar organisation of these two institutions is thus very likely, as is the possibility that between them (together with other less significant departments such as the pr-'h3w and the izwy n hkr nzwk) they formed part of the administration concerned with the economic management of the country.
8 The Viziers

General

It has long been realised that the title of t3yty z3b t3ty represents the highest administrative office in Ancient Egypt at almost all periods.\(^4\) Alone among the group of titles forming the subject of this study, it is regularly translated by a term from a far-removed period of history, namely 'Vizier'.\(^2\) The word 'Vizier' originally refers to the senior minister in a moslem country, especially to the 'Grand Vizier', the chief minister of the Sultan of Turkey; this term expresses the wide scope of the responsibilities of the ancient title as it cannot be associated with any specific functions as can, for instance, that of overseer of works. Table 28 is a list of holders of this title in the Old Kingdom. t3yty z3b t3ty seems to be the oldest of the group of titles studied in this work. The first certain occurrence of it in Egyptian history may antedate the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, as it was written on stone vessels found in the galleries beneath that monument, and was held by a man named mn-k3.\(^3\) No certain further examples of it are however attested before nfr-m3't (86) at the beginning of the fourth dynasty. For other different early forms of t3yty z3b t3ty, see below page 335.

Several occurrences of the title have been excluded from table 28 as the identities of the holders are not certain. A vizier, the first letter of whose name is p (surely a pth-htp), is referred to in the Abusir Papyri.\(^4\) wni twice mentions a vizier in his biography without giving the name.\(^5\) Similarly, the letter to the

---

1 This first seems to have been noted in an Egyptian context by Brugsch (Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch VII, 1307).
2 Term perhaps first used in this context by Meyer, Geschichte des alten Ägyptens (1887), 62.
3 Lauer, Pyramide à Degrés V, pl. I.
4 HPBM, pl. LXIV G; Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 590.
5 Urk. I, 99.9; 100.15.
Table 28

List of Viziers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Memphite:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneferu</td>
<td><strong>sšm-nfr III</strong> (131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-m3't</td>
<td><strong>pth-htp</strong> (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* r'-špss (95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khufu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-h3f</td>
<td><strong>pth-htp I</strong> (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-iwnw</td>
<td><strong>sndm-ib; inti (120)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Khufu-early Khafre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-w'b</td>
<td><strong>3ht-htp</strong> (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Lost</td>
<td><strong>3ht-htp; hmi (3)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-minw</td>
<td><strong>sndm-ib; mhi (121)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-m3't</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Khafre-Menkaure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-hwfw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwn-minw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb-m-3ht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m'-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Wenis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Wenis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Teti-early Pepy I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menkaure-early fifth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-n-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sš3t-htp; hti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b3-b3f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-k3-r'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahure-early Neweserre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* wr-b3w-b3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3š-pth; izi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* minw-nfr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid fifth dynasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* tp-m-'nh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm-'nh-pth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph-n-wi-k3i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-špss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early to middle Djedkare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp dšr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Middle Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Titulary</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h'-b3w-hrmw; biw</td>
<td>(102)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r'</td>
<td>(72)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnw</td>
<td>(108)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* ihy-hnt</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>End Old Kingdom or later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-htp</td>
<td>(149)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-r'-i3m</td>
<td>(61)</td>
<td>wr-k3w-b3; ikw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-r'-mry- nh-pth</td>
<td>(62)</td>
<td>tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3bw-pth; ibbi</td>
<td>(117)</td>
<td>k3i-nfr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šn'y</td>
<td>(133)</td>
<td>ttw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Later Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Titulary</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nb-k3w-hr; idw</td>
<td>(82)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates vizierial titulary certainly incomplete

### B. Provincial:

#### Late fifth dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h'rwy I</td>
<td>Akhmim¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'rwy II</td>
<td>Akhmim²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>izi</td>
<td>Edfu³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Perhaps Pepy I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iww</td>
<td>Abydos⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Early Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d'w</td>
<td>Abydos⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idi</td>
<td>Abydos⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Newberry, AAA 4 (1912), 112 (19); dating, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 3.
2 Newberry, op. cit., 105 (7); this man could be a son of the above.
3 Alliot, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933), 22-7; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 60 (62).
4 Cairo, CG 1576, LD Text II, 176 (5); date, Kanawati, op. cit., 33.
5 Cairo, CG 1431; also mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 279.18, 280.15; date, Baer, op. cit., 156-7 (591).
6 A variety of monuments: Baer, op. cit., 61-2 (73a); also Fischer, AJA 66 (1962), 65-9; date, see ihy-hnt (16).
Middle Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ppy-nht</td>
<td>Abydos¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-ppy ḫry-ib</td>
<td>Meir²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Late Pepy II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'nh-ppy ḫny-km</td>
<td>Meir³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šmjši</td>
<td>Koptos⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idi</td>
<td>Koptos⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End Old Kingdom and later

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hm-r'; izi</td>
<td>Deir el Gebrawi⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnqw; iy...f</td>
<td>Deir el Gebrawi⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vizier published by Gunn does not name the addressee.⁸ The biography of š3bnj of Aswan mentions a vizier, but his name, if it had ever been present, is damaged.⁹

It appears from the stela of ḥwi and nbt from Abydos that nbt, the mother-in-law of Pepy I, also held this title, although it is likely that it was not in a full administrative capacity.¹⁰ Also from the reign of Pepy I comes the mention of the vizier in the Dahshur decree of that king.¹¹ This occurrence is also omitted as it is probable that this vizier was r'-wr (93).¹²

---

1 Cairo, CG 1573; date, Baer, op. cit., 71 (135), Kanawati, op. cit., 89.
2 Blackman, Meir IV, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (133).
3 Blackman, Meir V, 16-56; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (134).
5 Mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 299-306; date, Kanawati, loc. cit.
6 Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XVII-XX; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 117.
7 Davies, op. cit., pl. XXIII-XXVI; date, Kanawati, loc. cit.
8 ASAE 25 (1925), 248, pl. I a (line 3).
9 Urk. I, 140.4.
10 Cairo, CG 1578; see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 31, for the view that she held it in an administrative capacity. Perhaps in reality her husband ḥwi exercised the powers, while she held it in an honorific fashion (Fischer, Varia, 74-5).
11 Borchardt, ZAS 42 (1905), pl. I.
12 The tomb of a vizier š3m-nfr, perhaps of the reign of Pepy I, has been discovered recently in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

The writing of the title t3yty z3b t3ty in the Old Kingdom is composed of three separate elements: t3yty, perhaps 'he of the door/curtain', z3b, perhaps 'judge' or at least a legal official, and t3ty, which is used alone in the Middle Kingdom and later to signify 'vizier'. That the last element is the principal one is clear from the fact that it is never omitted in the Old Kingdom, and becomes the normal writing in later periods, usually with the addition of a phonetic complement and stroke - . The t3yty z3b elements are also found in the New Kingdom but are not as common as t3ty alone, whereas the three elements together form the normal Old Kingdom writing. It is very likely that these were originally construed as two or three separate titles, but for the Old Kingdom and much of the Middle Kingdom were regarded as one coherent entity.

More detailed examination of the writing of t3yty z3b t3ty presents a few noteworthy aspects. Where the vizier is referred to outside strings of titles in tombs, the title is usually written with a seated man determinative. Perhaps in a funerary context, the large figures of the deceased in the scenes acted as determinatives. Turning to more detailed matters, we can observe the appearance of small protrusions on either side of the frieze of uraei on the t3yty sign ( as against ). It is evident that the more complex form of this hieroglyph did not appear before the later fifth dynasty. The earliest examples appear in the reign of Wenis (3ht-htp (2), 3ht-htp; hmi (3) and sndm-ib; mhi (121)). In fact, the tomb of 3ht-htp contains both the older and newer writings, suggesting that the form was not then fully

Saqqara, although no details of his titulary are available (cf. Kanawati, Excavations at Saqqara I, 9). Helck refers to a vizier as 'Berlin 1187' (Beamtenzettel, 56 n. 11); it has not yet proved possible to locate this monument.

2 cf. Sethe, ZAS 28 (1890), 43; Helck, op. cit., 56.
3 This is certainly true for the writing of the name of the deceased, Fischer, MMJ 8 (1973), 7.
4 Respectively, Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. VI; Hassan, Saqqara I, pl. XXVII A; LD II, 75.
5 The older writing appears on Davies, op. cit., pl. XIV; two different forms of the pr-hd group were also found in this tomb, suggesting that the forms of a number of signs were changing at the same period.

304
established. Some examples from the later sixth dynasty do not exhibit these protrusions; this may in some cases be due to the poor quality of the work involved and does not necessarily imply a reversion to the older form. These protrusions seem to have developed as time went on, becoming in later periods.\(^1\) Some Old Kingdom writings in fact suggest that these protrusions may originally have been extensions of the first and last elements of the frieze of uraei on top of the sign, which later became part of the outer frame (for example, that of k3i-gmni (151)).\(^2\) The number of these uraei in the frieze seems to vary between four (h'f-hwfw (104) for example) and seven (ht-htp (2)), but this scarcely seems consistent by date.\(^3\) That of h'-b3w-hnww; biw (102) omits the frieze completely, doubtless to avoid the presence of potentially hostile creatures in the burial chamber, while that of sndm-ib; mhi (121) is composed of two facing sub-groups of four uraei.\(^4\)

The forms of the z3b and t3ty elements do not generally call for comment. However it is a feature of some fourth and early fifth dynasty examples to add a phallus to the normal group of signs that write the title - . This addition is doubtless due to the associations of t3ty with the word t3y, 'male'.\(^5\) The extra sign is not very common, and it disappeared at about the same time as did the titles of king's sons from the titularies of viziers, that is about the reign of Neferirkare.

There are three very unusual writings. The first is that of mrri (67) with the central element as .\(^6\) This is perhaps due to a confusion with the word t3y 'male'. Another explanation is that it was changed to remove the depiction of a potentially dangerous creature from the sarcophagus. The other examples come from the provinces. izi of Edfu seems to omit the t3ty element; one is inclined to regard this as an error, as otherwise his titulary features titles that are usually found with the vizier in the provinces. The writing of iww is more unusual, and as such is the only Old Kingdom illustration of the fact that the t3ty element was the most important of the three; from his titulary,

---

1 For example, that of rh-mi-r', Davies, Rekhmire' II, pl. LXXIV.
2 von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai II, Taf. V.
3 Respectively, Cairo, CG 46 and Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhetetep II, pl. VI.
4 Respectively, Jéquier, Pepy II III, pl. 52 and LD II, 75.
5 cf. Sethe, op. cit., 43; Helck, op. cit., 56.
6 Hassan, Saqqara III, 36-7; comment, Fischer, JEA 65 (1979), 181 (p. 26).
7 Alliot, Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933), 24.
t3yty z3b t3ty was clearly meant.\textsuperscript{1}

The Titularies of the Viziers

A. Summary of Results from Previous Chapters

Chapters 3-7 have each devoted a short space to the extent to which viziers held either the principal title with which each chapter was concerned or subordinate ones in each particular administrative area. Chapter 3 showed that, while \textit{imy-r hwt wrt} 6 was only held by the vizier, these holders did not necessarily hold many other legal titles. A number of viziers did hold legal titles, but they were not necessarily those who also held \textit{imy-r hwt wrt} 6; the total was not sufficiently high for it to be apparent that such a career was instrumental for later promotion to the vizierate and \textit{imy-r hwt wrt} 6. Occurrences of legal titles can in some instances be traced to earlier tenure of the title \textit{imy-r hwt wrt}.

Chapter 4 concluded that viziers holding \textit{imy-r zä' nzwt} held fewer titles of a scribal nature than did their non-vizierial fellows. When compared to the viziers who did not hold \textit{imy-r zä' nzwt} however, it was seen that the latter held far fewer scribal titles. Overall, the number of such titles held by all viziers is not very remarkable, and again does not form a particularly significant feature of their titularies. Tenure of \textit{imy-r zä' nzwt} by a vizier does not necessarily presuppose a pre-vizierial scribal career.

Some pre-vizierial involvement in a related area is evident from study of the viziers who were overseers of works (Chapter 5). This was principally confined to members of the \textit{sndm-ib} family, the viziers of whom (\textit{sndm-ib} 's \textit{inti} and \textit{mhi}, \textit{hnmw-nti}, \textit{impy} and \textit{s3bw-pth}) probably held \textit{imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt} before their final promotions. Further viziers are attested as holding the same office before their promotion. Others did hold labour-related titles, and indeed were not always those who were overseers of works. Again, tenure of this title by a vizier does not necessarily indicate pre-vizierial tenure of titles relating to the office of overseer of works. Of the different forms of overseer of works titles found, only that of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} seems to occur in the titularies of viziers.

No subordinate granary titles may be found in vizierial titularies, and it is evident that the involvement of viziers with that institution was solely with the title \textit{imy-r snwty}; there is very little evidence of the extent to which viziers held this title before their promotion (chapter 6).

In similar vein, \textit{imy-r prwy-hd} is found with viziers, but there are in their titularies no subordinate titles specifically mentioning the treasuries (chapter 7). Titles with \textit{hkr nzwt} are the only ones to appear frequently in the titularies of viziers that attest any association with the treasury, and they are very closely related to the appearance of \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}. It is vir-

\textsuperscript{1} LD Text I, 176 (5); the writing on Cairo, CG 1576 is normal.
tually impossible to tell whether any viziers were overseers of the treasuries or held titles with hkr nzwt before their promotion. Thus subordinate titles in the areas of scribal and legal administration and the organisation of labour are found with moderate frequency in the titularies of viziers, but those associated with the granary and treasury are not.

B. Other Principal Title Groups

1. Honorific Titles

A cursory examination of the titles of viziers reveals the remarkable number of honorific titles that they held. With many of these titles it is impossible to be totally sure whether they should be classed as 'honorific' or 'religious' titles; in all cases however, it is unlikely that they involved more than a ritual or courtly function, and their multiplication in number probably served both to enhance the status of the individual and, at least where they refer to particular benefits such as cults, to increase his income. For the present purposes those titles which have no obvious religious associations will be considered here.

The most frequent ones are also the most well-known, principally iry p't, h3ty-, smr m'ty, sd3wty bity and hry-tp nzwt. The distribution of these among the viziers is given in columns 1-5 of table 29, and in relation to the total number of holders in table 30.

iry p't is found most consistently before the reign of Neferirkare or thereabouts, being held by every vizier from the early fourth dynasty onwards (nfr-m3't to shm-k3-r'). Comparison of columns 1 and 6 of table 29 shows this to be closely related to the presence of a z3 nzwt title. There are no holders of iry p't from the reign of Neferirkare to that of Djedkare (wr-b3w-b3 to pth-špsa), showing that the rank of the vizier was reduced, and one may speculate that this may in part have been a reaction against the practice of the previous period when the vizier came from the family of the king. From the reign of Djedkare to perhaps some point in that of Pepy I, most viziers were again iry p't (pth-htp dšr to mrri). A general increase in rank may have been one of the changes introduced by Djedkare (others were, for example, the ending of construction of sun-temples and the establishment of a vizier in the provinces). No viziers with iry p't, with the exception of ihy-ḥnt and mry-r'-i3m, appear from the later part of the reign of Pepy I until some point in the second half of the reign of Pepy II, although one wonders whether this is not in some cases due simply to the non-preservation of this title, especially as it was held with one exception by all the provincial viziers at this time (see table 30). Most of the viziers at the end of the sixth dynasty and after that to the end of the Old Kingdom were again iry p't.

1 cf. Schmitz, Königssohn, 328.
### Table 29

**Principal Titles of Memphite Viziers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nfr-m3't</td>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-h3f</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-lieww</td>
<td>(96)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-w'ib</td>
<td>(140)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Lost</td>
<td>(170)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(X)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-minw</td>
<td>(103)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-m3't</td>
<td>(85)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'f-hmfw</td>
<td>(104)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-k3w-r'</td>
<td>(78)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwn-minw</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb-m-3ht</td>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m-r-r'</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-r'</td>
<td>(161)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss3t-htp</td>
<td>(126)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b3-b3f</td>
<td>(42)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbm-k3-r'</td>
<td>(125)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr-b3w-b3</td>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w38-pth</td>
<td>(37)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minw-nfr</td>
<td>(55)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbm-'nh-pth</td>
<td>(123)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i</td>
<td>(136)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph-nt-k3i</td>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-3ps</td>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbm-nfr III</td>
<td>(131)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-3ps</td>
<td>(95)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbm-ib; inti</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ht-htp</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ht-htp; mni</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbm-ib; mghi</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihy</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key to Columns:**

1. iry p't
2. h3ty-
3. smr w'ty
4. sd3wty bity
5. hry-tp nzwt
6. Titles of king's son
7. imy-r hwt wrt 6
8. imy-r zš' nzwt
9. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
10. imy-r šmnyt
11. imy-r prwy-hd
12. Titles with wd(t)-mdw
13. imy-r šm'w
14. wr 5 pr dhwty
15. '3 dw3w
16. shd hm-nfr of a pyramid
17. imy-r niwt of a pyramid

*continued*
Table 29 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ny--'nh-b3</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy-nfret</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp II</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnmw-nti</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-gnni</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-s3m-r'</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-m-'-hr</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrrw-k3i</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnty-k3i (109)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh (69)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pth-htp (51)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tp-m-'nh (155)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnti (158)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-tti (63)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r'-wr (93)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrrt (67)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-s3m-s3nt (89)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zzi (114)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idw (; nfr (22)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-mry-r' (33)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnw (108)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihy-bnt (16)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-htp (149)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry-r'-i3m (61)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy (62)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3bw-pth (117)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn'y (133)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb-k3w-hr (82)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-b3w-hnw (309)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-hbsd-nfr-k3-r' (40)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr-k3w-b3 (156)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-nfr (148)</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>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt (160)</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>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Columns:

1  iry p't
2  h3ty-
3  smr w'ty
4  sd3wy bity
5  hry-tp nzwt
6  Titles of king's son
7  imy-r hwt wrt 6
8  imy-r zs' nzwt
9  imy-r k3t nb (nt) nzwt
10  imy-r snwty
11  imy-r prwy-hd
12  Titles with wd(t)-mdw
13  imy-r sm'w
14  wr 5 pr dhwt
15  '3 dw3w
16  shd hym-nfr of a pyramid
17  imy-r niwt of a pyramid

309
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

Table 30

Frequency of the more important Honorific Titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iry p't</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h3ty-'</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w'ty</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd3wty bity</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp nzwt</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh nzwt</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mniw nhn</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp nhb</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-iz</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smsw snwt</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r p nb</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im3- '</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-iz nhn</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Columns:
1. Total Old Kingdom holders
2. Total memphite holders
3. Total provincial holders
4. Total viziers with the title
5. Total memphite viziers with the title
6. Total provincial viziers with the title

Figures in columns 1-3 are approximate

The spread of vizierial holders of the titles h3ty- ' and smr w'ty is much less noteworthy, being reasonably consistent at all times.

sd3wty bity appears most frequently in the fourth dynasty and from the beginning of the sixth onwards. Why it should be so sporadic in the fifth is unclear, unless it be due to its being reserved principally for men granted the highest rank, as in most cases it appears with holders of iry p't. Otherwise it is usually found alongside h3ty- ' or smr w'ty (or both).

The pattern of occurrence of hry-tp nzwt is different from the above. It is a lower-ranking title than smr w'ty, and has featured prominently in the discussions of the titularies of non-viziers above, where it was most frequently found among the titles of scribes and legal officials (see table 8). These types of title are uncommon in the titularies of viziers in the fourth and later sixth dynasties, and there is a corresponding lack of hry-tp nzwt in these periods. One wonders then whether this title is not in some manner related to features of the career of a vizier in the period before he was promoted, as it bears no relation to the other
common vizierial honorifics. It is also possible that the rank of
the vizier was lower in the fifth dynasty, for which compare the
non-appearance of *iry p't* noted above.

Two viziers, *k3i* and *idw I*, apparently bear no honorific titles
other than *hry-tp nzwt*. Particularly in the case of *idw* it is
possible that damage to their tombs has caused evidence of higher
honorific titles to be lost. This is a more likely explanation
than to postulate a special group of viziers who were not elevated
to the rank of their fellows, especially as these two officials
date to widely separated periods (but for *k3i* see further below
page 320).

The title of *rh nzwt* never appears in vizierial titularies.
This is hardly surprising, as it is by far the lowest-ranking of
the group of honorifics in table 30 during the Old Kingdom. Viz­
riers were clearly a consistently very high-ranking group of offic­
ials, and hence the lack of *rh nzwt* and the comparative rarity of
*hry-tp nzwt* compared with *iry p't*, *h3ty-'* and *smr w'ty*. This may
be illustrated by the presence of the title *rh nzwt* in the pre­
vizierial titulary of *s3t-h3tp; hti* and its absence from his titles
as vizier.

A multitude of less frequent honorific titles is found, the most
common of which are *mniw nnh, hry-tp nhb, smsw snwt, r p nb, im3-*,
imy-iz* and *imy-iz nnh* (see table 30).1 In comparison with the
first group these are numerically not very significant; however,
their occurrences in the titularies of viziers is very marked when
compared with those officials discussed in the previous chapters.
Viziers form the major portion of the holders of these less fre­
fquent titles, notably of *imy-iz, smsw snwt, r p nb, im3-* and *imy-
iz nnh*. While these titles were not reserved solely for the viz­
ier, it is clear that they were otherwise granted only to very
important or favoured officials, as a feature common to the titular­
yes of all holders of this group of titles is the rank of at
least *smr w'ty* and not infrequently that of *h3ty-’* and *iry p't*.

Holders of one of these less frequent honorific titles usually also
bear at least one of the others. The titles *hry-tp nhb, mniw nnh
and imy-iz (nnh)* often occur together. A change is evident in the
pattern of tenure of this trio of titles in that the only men to
hold more than one of them before the end of the fifth dynasty are
viziers, but in the sixth the spread becomes wider, and the holders
are principally provincial officials.

The following viziers had large numbers of infrequent and indeed
rare honorific titles: *dw3-n-r’, b3-b3f, w3s-pth, pth-5ps*, *3ht-
h3tp; h3i-gmn*, *mrw-k3i*, *hnty-k3i*, *mhw*, *mry-tti*, *d’w* (Abydos),
*’nh-ppy hry-ib* (Meir), *h’-b3w-hnmw, tti, k3i-nfr* and *ttw*. Why these
viziers should have had so many honorific titles may only be gues­sed at. If we assume that one's basic rank in Ancient Egypt was
provided by the more common titles such as *iry p’t* and *h3ty-’*, then
the granting of other rarer titles with presumably 'courtly' func­tions may have to some extent been due to the level of the indivi­

1 Discussion of functions and origins of some of these, Helck,
*Beamtextitel*, 22-3, 30, 38.
idual's favour with the king. There is also clearly a bias in these long titularies towards sixth dynasty men, in part because of the appearance of some extra honorifics at the end of the fifth dynasty, such as im3-, hrp i3ts km and hq3 b3t, but also due to the re-appearance of a number of older titles.1

The honorific content of vizierial titularies is generally less complex and smaller for most of the fourth and fifth dynasties. There are many titles distinctive of the earlier part of the period which do not recur later, although several of these are religious in nature (see below). Others that disappear in the fifth dynasty are smr and hrp 'h, the ritual significance of which can be to some extent ascertained.2 hrp 'h is one of several titles, the meaning of which can be associated with a function, although it seems that by the fourth dynasty it had become another mark of honour and rank. Other similar titles are hry-wdb m hwt 'nh, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t and 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, which were originally doubtless associated with the personal service of the king and his lands.3 Although more common in the titularies of viziers than in those of officials treated in earlier chapters, viziers do not represent a significant proportion of the holders of these titles; they were frequently held by officials whose titularies consist principally of honorific titles such as those who must have formed a sort of 'court' of men favoured by the king, but without any important administrative office.4

2. Titles of 'King's Son'

Column 6 of table 29 shows that all viziers from the beginning of the fourth dynasty to about the reign of Sahure held the title of king's son. These men were either true members of the royal family or 'titular princes'.5 Most fall into the former category; hm-iwnw, nfr-m3't (85), dw3-n-r', ss3t-htp; hti and b3-b3f belong to the latter. Of these men, the first two were probably related to the royal family, as hm-iwnw was almost certainly the son of nfr-m3't of Meydum (a son or brother of Sneferu), while nfr-m3't of Giza was a son of nfrt-k3w (daughter of Sneferu); the descent of the others is unknown, although b3-b3f was perhaps the son of dw3-n-r'.

These titular princes date only from the end of the fourth dynasty and the beginning of the fifth. Schmitz is probably correct to see in this a connection with changes in the nature of the Egyptian kingship.6 The logical next development from this was to exclude king's sons from the senior administrative offices of the

1 Helck, op. cit., 111 ff.
2 id., ib., 24-5, 32-3.
3 id., ib., 68.
4 Some examples: dbhn (PM 32, 235-6), ny-k3-nzwt I (PM 32, 78-9), ztw (PM 32, 135-6), nn-hft-k3i (PM 32, 580-1), tp-m-'nh (PM 32, 343-4), k3i-m-rhw (PM 32, 690), hnmw-htp (PM 32, 578-9).
5 Schmitz, Königssohn, 84.
6 op. cit., 166.
land, a process completed by the reign of Sahure. Schmitz would prefer to place the active lives of these last king's sons at the end of the fourth dynasty. However, the number of viziers and other high officials known who were king's sons was surely too great for all to have been active in the fourth dynasty, and there is a corresponding lack of viziers who were not king's sons in the early fifth dynasty; a more logical solution would be, at the beginning of the fifth dynasty, for all the king's sons who were already in high administrative positions to be allowed to act out the remainder of their careers, but to appoint no further such officials. One is discussing a period here of no more than twenty years for this change to have been completed.

The remaining king's sons who were also viziers are seven in number. sḫm-nfr III acquired the title of z3 nzwt n ḫt.f with his promotion to the vizierate; this must have been due to royal favour, and perhaps is an example of a resurgence of the use of z3 nzwt titles in the reign of Djedkare. The viziers in the sixth dynasty are the only king's sons of that period to hold administrative office; as such this title must have been an indication of the special favour granted by the king to some of his viziers, rather than an indication of royal birth.

3. High Administrative Offices

Tenure by viziers of the other titles forming the subject of this study will be found in columns 7-11 of table 29. The only such title found before the reign of Neferirkare is imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. This is held by nearly all viziers in the early part of the fourth dynasty, disappears, and then reappears at the end of that dynasty in the titularies of ss3t-ḥtp and b3-b3f. These two were the first viziers of certain non-royal descent; by analogy, dw3-nr' of the same group may have held this title, which has perhaps been lost as a result of the damage suffered by his tomb. Clearly, the office of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt was not again given to true royal viziers; the non-royal viziers above were complemented by several non-viziers who held this title at that time. This was conceivably the beginning of the removal of the royal family from high offices by permitting them to hold the vizierate alone.

The period from the reign of Neferirkare to that of Neueserre saw the first appearances of the remaining high administrative offices studied here in the titularies of viziers, although imy-r prwy-ḥd had previously been found with a non-vizier. The remainder of this discussion will concentrate on this period and later. From w3š-pṭḥ; izi onwards, imy-r ḫwt wrt 6 occurs sixteen times, imy-r zš' nzwt twenty-nine times, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt twenty-eight times, imy-r šnwty twenty-four times and imy-r prwy-ḥd twenty-four times. The similarity between the frequency of imy-r zš' nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt and also that between imy-r šnwty and imy-r

1 op. cit., 168.
3 id., ib., 93, 170.
prwy-hd may be coincidental, but it also emphasises the links already noted between these titles. There may have been some association between charge of royal documents and the organisation of labour, and the interdependence of the granaries and treasuries with regard to the collection of income in kind and its consequent (re)distribution is undoubted.

On the basis of the observed close association between offices of scribal and legal natures, such as between imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zā' nzwt in the case of non-viziers, we might expect to find imy-r hwt wrt 6 and imy-r zā' nzwt held by the same viziers. Columns 7-8 of table 29 show this consistently to be the case until the reign of Pepy II and later. One may hesitantly try to fill the two gaps in the latter reign. It has been suggested above that imy-r zā' md3t in the tomb of h'q-b3w-hnnmw; biw may be an abbreviated writing for imy-r zā' nzwt (page 199), while it is very likely that the titulary of nb-k3w-hr; idw is not complete, and so this title could be restored. It is evident that for most of the Old Kingdom, the supreme juridical office was held by the same man as was in charge of the issuing of royal commands, many of which, it can be imagined, would have been of a legal nature.

Table 29 also shows that for most of the Old Kingdom after the reign of Neferirkare, imy-r zā' nzwt and imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt tended to be held by the same individual. We have suggested various associations between these two administrative areas above, although one suspects that in the case of the viziers both titles tend to appear together simply as an expression of that official's control over major administrative areas.

Again, this table shows that nearly all holders of either imy-r šnwty or imy-r prwy-hd (or both) also held imy-r zā' nzwt. These exceptions are almost all viziers for whom partly incomplete titularies have been argued, such as nḥ-m'-ḥr; zzi, nb-k3w-hr and h'-b3w-hnmw.

From this one may conclude that imy-r zā' nzwt stood in a pivotal relationship to all these other titles, in that a vizier who held one of these others would almost certainly have been imy-r zā' nzwt. This was so that as well as being in charge of one of the major areas of the administration he would also have the authority of being in overall charge of the necessary bureaucracy, that is the 'nzwt, 'royal documents'. Further evidence for this view is that only one vizier appears in table 29 to have held imy-r zā' nzwt as his only high administrative title. Closer examination shows this man to have been r'-ṣps, the exact extent of whose vizierial titulary is unclear, and who in fact held imy-r zā' nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt and imy-r šnwty before his promotion.

The only vizier who cannot be fitted into this scheme is ttw, who held all the high titles with the exception of imy-r zā' nzwt. It is not possible to restore this title with ease. One may however argue that this could possibly reflect some administrative change that took place after the end of the end of the sixth dynasty, as no memphite examples of imy-r zā' nzwt are known from that period.

imy-r zā' nzwt is thus perhaps the most important (or at least essential) element of a vizier's titulary after the early fifth
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

dynasty. This supports the similar conclusion arrived at from the frequency of this title's appearance in places where the vizier is addressed directly by the king, as in letters and decrees (above page 214-15).

Apart from the significance of \textit{imy-r zš ' nzwt}, it will be seen from table 29 that the concentration of other high offices on a vizier, which was rather haphazard at first, became a little more regular in the second half of the fifth dynasty, perhaps from the reign of Djedkare or so. This may possibly coincide with the gradual reduction of the number of non-vizierial holders of the titles \textit{imy-r zš ' nzwt} and \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}, and the associated concentration of more offices on fewer individuals.

Much more difficult to explain is the actual selection of titles granted to individual viziers. It has already been shown in the preceding chapters that a vizier's tenure of an office (assuming that the title in question does actually apply to that period in his career) is not necessarily related to the holding of titles in a related field. Some viziers in fact seem to have held no other high administrative titles, such as \textit{tnti}, \textit{ny-`nh-b3} (tomb damaged), \textit{r'-wr}, \textit{k3i-htp}, \textit{mry-r'-i3m} (tomb damaged), \textit{sn'y} (tomb damaged) and \textit{k3i-nfr}. Two possible explanations of this (to be explored further below) are that there were two contemporary viziers in some periods, or that these viziers were complemented by non-viziers holding the particular titles in question.

4. Religious Titles

A very wide range of titles are found which are representative of priestly offices, but many of them are rather rare. The most common are those such as \textit{hry-hb}, \textit{hry-hb hry-tp} and \textit{hrp i3t nbt ntrt}. The first title is not unusual with men of the rank \textit{smr w'ty} and above, while the second, being of a higher rank, is most often found in the titularies of very high officials, usually of the rank of \textit{iry p't} and/or \textit{h3ty-`}. Consequently its appearance with viziers is more frequent than with the holders of other administrative titles. \textit{hrp i3t nbt ntrt} may have originally been the supreme religious office and, whatever its function during the Old Kingdom, it continued to be held by men of high rank, and is very common with viziers in the fourth dynasty.

It is evident that very many religious titles had a great deal in common with the rarer honorifics discussed above. Many of the former titles doubtless served to express the individual's favour with the king, while many of them served to emphasise a variety of features of the concept of Egyptian kingship. Viziers occur very frequently among holders of these titles due to their special position as the senior administrative official and the close relationship with the king that this must have entailed.

\begin{itemize}
  \item[2] To illustrate this, one may note the mixture of these two types of titles discussed together by Helck, \textit{op. cit.}, 29-44.
  \item[3] \textit{id.}, \textit{ib.}, 45-54.
\end{itemize}
The more exotic religious titles are particularly common at two periods of the Old Kingdom, the fourth to early fifth dynasties and the first half of the sixth. Fourth dynasty officials, and the viziers in particular, exhibit several very distinctive titles, such as \textit{w' m wr(w) zh}, \textit{hm-ntr b3 'npt}, \textit{hm-ntr b3stt}, \textit{hm-ntr ssatt} and \textit{hm-ntr wnw-r hnty minw}. These and others like them fell into disuse after the early fifth dynasty. The later fifth and early sixth dynasties are marked by a revival of many archaic titles; this is one of several features that changed at this time and, as Helck has noted, is exemplified by the titularies of \textit{k3i-gmni} and \textit{mrrw-k3i}.2

Such changes may be illustrated by the example of the title \textit{'3 dw3w} (\textit{column 15 of table 29}). This title is found fifteen times with viziers out of a total of twenty-five occurrences. Before \textit{w38-pth; izi} (reign of Neferirkare) it was held exclusively by men with the titles of king's son. The only holders in the middle part of the fifth dynasty are \textit{pth-åpsss} and \textit{r'-m-k3i}; of these two \textit{r'-m-k3i} was not a vizier but a true king's son,3 while \textit{pth-åpsss} was married to a daughter of Neweserre. Their relationship to the king thus links them with the earlier holders of this title and separates them from contemporary administrative officials. The title then reappears at the end of the dynasty with both non-viziers (for example, \textit{htp-hr-n-pth} (100) with the remarkable archaising titulary) and viziers, and is found sporadically in the sixth dynasty.

A title of some importance to the study of the vizierate is \textit{wr 5 pr dhwyty}. This title probably represents the chief priesthood of the cult of Thoth, but is important here as it is only found regularly in the titularies of viziers in the fourth and early fifth dynasties.4 It reappears in the sixth dynasty, and the form \textit{wr 5} is also found (sometimes with non-viziers) in the second half of that dynasty.5

A further pair of titles with religious import which are associated with attendance on the king are \textit{sm} and \textit{hrp snyt nbt}.6 These are found once in the fifth dynasty (\textit{w38-pth}) and regularly from the early sixth onwards. They are more generally a feature of high-ranking titularies of the later Old Kingdom.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Helck, \textit{op. cit.}, 40-1, 122-3; Junker, \textit{Giza} I, 149; the last one should perhaps be read \textit{hm-ntr wnw-r hnty-hm}, \textit{id.}, \textit{Giza} II, 191.
\item \textit{op. cit.}, 111-2.
\item \textit{PM} 32, 487-8; cf. Schmitz, \textit{Königssohn}, 87-8.
\item cf. Sethe, \textit{ZAS} 28 (1890), 44; Helck, \textit{op. cit.}, 56-8.
\item There are three occurrences of this title: the vizier \textit{zzi}, \textit{hrdni} (Jégoulier, \textit{Tombeaux}, 111) and \textit{nhrri} (\textit{id.}, \textit{Pepy II} II, fig. 62). The titularies of the first and last are so unlike that of \textit{hrdni} that in their cases \textit{wr 5} must be a shortened version of \textit{wr 5 pr dhwyty} and not a title of scribes as Helck suggests (\textit{op. cit.}, 58).
\item Helck, \textit{op. cit.}, 16-18, 35.
\end{enumerate}
5. Titles connected with Royal Institutions

Previous chapters have shown that the majority of such titles occur with lower-ranking officials, and it is only after the changes of the later fifth dynasty that those associated with royal pyramids appear in the titularies of men of higher rank. Considering the rank of the vizier, one would not expect to find any significant occurrences of these titles in their titularies before the reign of Wenis; an absence of sun-temple titles is also rather likely.

These predictions turn out to be very close to the truth. Of the viziers before the later fifth dynasty, h'f-hwfw was hm-ntr hwfw, probably to be explained by his relationship to that king, and ph-n-wi-k3i was shd w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, by no means a low-ranking office. The earliest examples of the newer type of priesthoods are found with 3ht-htp, who was shd hm-ntr of the pyramids of Neweserre, Menkauhor and Djedkare; some of these titles may have been applied retrospectively. With the reign of Teti one finds all the viziers bearing the title shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti (column 16 of table 29). The title of imy-r niwt mr, usually not specifying the name of the pyramid, also became part of the vizierial titulary (column 17 of table 29).

The reign of Pepy I saw a continuation of this practice, but it is not so frequent, and many officials other than viziers, especially provincial ones, held one or other of the titles shd hm-ntr... or imy-r niwt mr. Few viziers bore the office of shd hm-ntr of the pyramids of Merenre or Pepy II, holders of this title being largely concerned with administration in the provinces, and imy-r niwt mr became the principal pyramid title of the viziers of the reign of Pepy II. Thus shd hm-ntr was effectively replaced in importance by imy-r niwt mr. The holders of these titles may as part of their vizierial duties have supervised the activities in the pyramid towns, since the importance of these institutions must have warranted the attention of the highest officials, but it is also likely that it was as much a status-indicator as anything else.

6. Other Titles

Titles incorporating the expression wd(t)-mdw often occur in the titularies of the high officials discussed previously. Column 12 of table 29 shows these titles not to be especially frequent with viziers; those who did bear them were generally the holders of a number of other high administrative titles. It would appear that it was not imperative for the vizier, perhaps by virtue of his high rank, to hold such titles which are more common with non-viziers.

The title of imy-r sm'w has not previously entered into these discussions. It is however held by at least nine memphite viziers.

1 Baer, Rank and Title, 264-5.
3 'Overseer of Upper Egypt' is one of the most intensively studied Old Kingdom titles, for example: Kees, Provinzialverwaltung
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

(column 13 of table 29), and it made its first appearance in the capital, although the majority of its holders are provincial. The earliest holders are k3' and r'-šps₂, but it is unknown whether either held this title while vizier (see the Prosopography). The earliest certain holders of this title buried in the provinces belong to the reign of Merenre (for example, mry-r'-nfr; q₃r of Edfu); before that time there were also non-vizierial memphite holders in addition to viziers. After this date however, the only memphite holders were the viziers indicated in table 29. There is no obvious consistent pattern evident in the tenure of this title (but see further below page 325-6).

C. A Comparison of the Titularies of Provincial Viziers

The viziers buried in the provinces form the largest group of extra-memphite officials discussed in this work. In general the patterns of their titles, given in table 31, are very similar to those of the memphite viziers. All viziers with the exception of 'nh-ppy ħny-k₃m of Meir were ivery p't,² and all were smr ṻ'ty except for the second hrwy at Akhmim; all were ḫɔty⁻¹. In keeping with the majority of their memphite colleagues of similar date, no provincial viziers were king's sons.

The distribution of their high civil administrative titles has been referred to in the preceding chapters. The most common by far is imy-r ṭḥ ' nzwt, and this stresses the association of the title with the vizier, and its consequent central position. Of those who held more than one other high administrative title, only 'nh-ppy ħny-k₃m did not possess imy-r ṭḥ ' nzwt and this title may even have been lost from his tomb. The only other offices found on more than one occasion are imy-r šnwt and imy-r prwy-hd; perhaps that this is due to the concern of these individuals with revenue collection. All provincial viziers from the early or middle part of the reign of Pepy II to the end of the Old Kingdom were imy-r šm'w, showing the emphasis on this title in the provinces. Finally, as noted above, shd ḥm-ntr of a royal pyramid is not common after the middle of the sixth dynasty, and is replaced in titularies of viziers (particularly the provincial ones) by imy-r niwt mr.

------------

1 I, 85-98; Helck, Beamtenstitel, 109-10; Baer, Rank and Title, 281-6; Goedicke, MIO 4 (1956), 1-10; Fischer, Dendera, 94-99; Martin-Pardey, Provinzialverwaltung, passim; Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, passim.
2 For a comment on this see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 93, also on the surprising distribution of the title t3yty z3b ṭ3ty on the walls of this tomb.
3 It is possible that imy-r ' nzwt in the tomb of ḥm-r' at Deir el Gebrawi stands for imy-r ṭḥ ' nzwt (Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XIX).
### Chapter 8 - The Viziers

#### Table 31

**Principal Titles of Provincial Viziers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hrwy</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hrwy</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>izi</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>iww</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>d'w</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>'idi</td>
<td></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></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ppy-nht</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>'nh-ppy hry-ib</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>'nh-ppy hny-km</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>šm3i</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>idi</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>hm-r'; izi</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>hnw; iy...f</td>
<td></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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key to Columns:**

1. iry p't
2. ḥ3ty-'
3. smr w'ty
4. sd3wty bity
5. hry-tp nzwt
6. Titles of king's son
7. imy-r ḫwt wrt 6
8. imy-r zš' nzwt
9. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
10. imy-r šnwty
11. imy-r prwy-hd
12. Titles with wd(t)-mdw
13. imy-r šm'w
14. wr 5 pr dhwty
15. '3 dw3w
16. shd hm-nfr of a pyramid
17. imy-r niwt of a pyramid

It may thus be concluded that the titularies of the memphite and provincial viziers who were approximately contemporary were not dissimilar. The non-memphite viziers, not surprisingly, show more involvement with provincial administration, while the supreme office of legal administration and labour organisation remained the preserve of the memphite incumbents.

### D. The Career Structure of the Vizier

It will be evident from the preceding sections that there is no clear-cut common path taken by all officials who reached the vizierate. None of the biographies speak of this final stage of promotion. The nearest one may come is in the late Old Kingdom to Middle Kingdom 'Instruction of Kagemni', which only shows that the previous vizier was reappointed to his post by the new king.¹

---

¹ Gardiner, JEA 32 (1946), pl. XIV (II, lines 7-9).
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

The pre-vizierial careers of the following non-royal holders of t3ty z3b t3ty can be documented as they were promoted after much of their tombs had been decorated: ss3t-htp; hti (labour organisation), k3i (136) (legal), ssm—nfr III (scribal), r'-şpss (legal), pth-htp II (legal with some provincial administrative titles) and tp-m-'nh (unclear, perhaps legal/scribal). ss3t-htp belonged to the period when king's sons (real or otherwise) formed the upper levels of the administration. For the rest, there is a preponderance of officials with a basic legal or scribal background. However, chapters 3 and 4 have shown that there is insufficient evidence from the titularies of viziers for this certainly to be the case for most of the other holders of the title.

This does imply that the other viziers were appointed before the construction of their tombs, as if they in fact knew that they were to be promoted to the vizierate in due course, or else that the construction of a tomb was left until the owner felt he had reached his highest likely office. It is possible that a man may have been singled out as a future vizier earlier in his career and generally would have received this promotion by the normal (at present unknown) age when an individual constructed his tomb. Doubtless several of these picked individuals died before taking up their promotions; hnmw; hnmw-nti (III) of the reign of Pepy II may have been one such official (page 208). Following the death of such an official it may have been sometimes necessary to promote a man who would not otherwise have reached the rank of vizier. In the case of k3i (136) such an unexpected promotion may explain the prominence he gave to his old honorific title hry-tp nzwt in his vizierial titulary.

The career of a vizier may be seen more clearly in the fourth and early fifth dynasties. Most of the holders in this period were true king's sons, and it is very likely that promotion to high offices and ultimately the vizierate was made on a basis of seniority, providing the individual was still in favour. There is no

---

1 Doubtless other men were similarly promoted but it is not so immediately obvious. 'nh-m-ḥr; zzi is one such possibility, as his vizierial titulary seems only to be found in the innermost part of his tomb, while the outer parts show him as imy-r hw t w rt, a title not found with viziers. Detailed examination of the layout of further tombs will doubtless establish similar examples.

2 Further evidence to support this contention may be derived from one of his titles, skt t, perhaps t3ty sktt. The appearance of the word t3ty suggests some connection with the vizierate; Jequier has suggested that this title represented a senior administrative position (ASAE 35 (1935), 146). sktt could derive from a number of words: if one were to relate it to the verb ski (Wb IV, 311-2), 'go down', one could see in it a term for a subordinate vizier so as to differentiate between him and the full vizier, t3ty z3b t3ty.
evidence for or against kings having held the vizierate in the Old Kingdom before their accession to the throne. At least four of the sons of Khufu buried in the principal mastabas of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza reached this office (k3i-w'b (140), h'f-minw (103), Name Lost (170), and h'f-hfw (104)). Similarly, the elder sons of Khafre would seem to have been those buried in the quarry east of his pyramid, many of whom reached the vizierate (ny-k3w-r' (78), nb-m-3ht (81) and iwn-minw (7) for example). As far as is known, hw-n-r', the eldest son of Menkaure,1 did not reach this office; from about this time onwards, non-royal individuals attained the vizierate, although granted the title of king's son. This can only have been due to the special favour that they enjoyed, and they were consequently allowed to build large tombs at Giza.

Thus can be seen the beginning of the promotion of private individuals to the highest office by virtue of their favour with the king as opposed to simple family choice. Also possible for the succeeding periods (where there are no family ties between the viziers and the king) is promotion through excellence. Although stereotyped, this (and performing one's tasks satisfactorily) is a virtue much emphasised in the Old Kingdom biographies especially where it relates to the king.2 It is perhaps then very likely that a mixture of administrative efficiency and royal favour combined to elevate a man to the vizierate; in an autocratic society such as ancient Egypt, no king would surely ever promote a man to the vizierate if he were not already a favoured individual.

The number of important administrative titles actually held by a vizier may similarly be related - the more trusted an official, the more offices he held. It is possible that to some extent offices would continue to be held from the pre-vizierial career, but the material is insufficiently clear for the truth of this proposition to be established.

The Organisation and Functions of the Vizierate

A. The number of contemporary Viziers

By far the greatest problem with the office of t3yty z3b t3ty is the degree to which its holders were contemporary. This may be divided into two particular issues, the existence of a vizier in the provinces, and the number of contemporary viziers in the capital.

1. The Provincial Viziers

The viziers buried in the provinces probably date from the later fifth dynasty until after the end of the Old Kingdom. Their order by date is only tentative (table 31), and it is by no means certain

---

1 Tomb, PM 32, 293-4.
2 For example: r'-wr (Urk. I, 232.12), nhbw (90) (Urk. I, 220.12), and ppy-nht (Urk. I, 134.12).
that they followed in an unbroken sequence, with just the place of burial varying. The two most dubious dates are those of the second hrwy at Akhmim and iww at Abydos, as so little information is available about them. They are so placed because the ensuing order provide a reasonably consistent sequence of locations of places of burial: Akhmim, Edfu, Abydos, Meir, Koptos and Deir el Gebrawi (after the end of the Old Kingdom).

That these men existed alongside a memphite vizier is likely, firstly because of the improbability of the senior administrator's office being well away from the capital; secondly, the depiction of the vizier idi known from Abydos is found in the same room as that of the presumed memphite holder of the office, ihy-hnt (16), in the pyramid temple of Pepy II.1 That these two men represented the administration of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively has been suggested by Kees,2 but denied by Helck. The latter's reluctance to admit of more than one vizier with administrative power leads him to postulate the existence of 'titular viziers', that is, men bearing the title t3ty z3b t3ty with honorific function only, and no association with the practising holder of the title.3

Such a view seems a very desperate attempt to explain away an embarrassingly large number of viziers. It is clearly impossible to tell whether such a division of the title t3ty z3b t3ty would have created problems for the ancient Egyptians, but those that it places before the modern reader are best illustrated in Helck's own words:

Auch hier is "Vezir" also nicht die Bezeichnung eines Inhabers eines bestimmten Amtes, sondern bezeichnet den Träger einer bestimmten Befehls'gewalt, auch ohne Verbindung mit dem Amt eines Vezirs.4

It is perfectly comprehensible for an ancient functional title to have lost its original significance and become an honorific or ritual title (as is the case with hrp 'h and hry-wdb m hwt 'nh for example), but I cannot bring myself to believe that a title could have both functional and honorific meaning simultaneously.

No evidence exists in writing for a 'Southern' and 'Northern' vizier, although the Old Kingdom is notoriously imprecise in the qualifications of very important titles. A division of the office into two parts would surely be the first step towards the better-attested divisions of that office in the Middle and New Kingdoms.5 Kanawati has proposed the existence of a division along geographical lines from the later fifth dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom.6

--------------------

1 Jéquier, Pepi II II, pl. 48, 57.
2 Vezirat. 39 ff.
3 Beamtentitel, 116-7, 136 ff.
4 op. cit., 116.
5 For a survey of the evidence for this, id., Verwaltung, 19-28.
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

2. The Number of contemporary Memphite Viziers

Table 32

Distribution of Old Kingdom Viziers by date

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period (Years)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fourth - early fifth dynasty (115)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahure - early Djedkare (45?)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djedkare - end fifth dynasty (51)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teti - early Pepy I (35?)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1?</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Pepy I - early Pepy II (55)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Pepy II - end Old Kingdom (90?)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediately post Old Kingdom</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All period lengths are approximate

Key to Columns:

1 Number of memphite viziers.
2 Number of provincial viziers.
3 Average length of tenure by memphite viziers, based on consecutive holding of the office.

This problem is far more difficult to resolve. Table 32 sets out the distribution of viziers by date over the Old Kingdom. This is based on the sequence of viziers given in table 28, which is only very approximate, and for many of the viziers at the extremes of the periods in table 32 the assignation to a particular period is almost arbitrary; for example, hnw-niti (113) is placed in the reign of Teti but could equally be at the end of the reign of Wenis, while the reverse is true for pth-htp II (50). The averages based on consecutive tenure are not high at all periods; the average length of an Egyptian official's career is not known, but one would not expect the vizier to be the youngest of officials, even though the nature of his previous career is uncertain. Possibilities that would lengthen the average tenure of this office are short overlaps between viziers, or a practice of appointing contemporary viziers.

It is very difficult to find evidence to substantiate either of these proposals, especially since the chronology of viziers is far too fluid for any such overlaps to be immediately apparent. Regarding the first suggestion, it would seem reasonable that the incumbent vizier would perhaps take alongside him at some date in his office the future holder of the office to prepare for a smooth transfer of power at the end of the former's career.

It is possible that at some points such a practice developed into the existence of two full contemporary viziers. Helck has advocated this from the reign of Djedkare onwards, but with the second man holding the office of t3ty z3b t3ty in a purely honorific capacity. This has been rejected above. More recently,
Kanawati has advanced the theory that, beginning in the reign of Djedkare, there were two viziers serving simultaneously in the capital. This reduces the number of successive viziers in this reign, and avoids the problems of having viziers of different types. As Kanawati points out, the two officials would have had different functions, and it is very likely that this may have been on a geographical basis, which explanation has also been advanced for the multiplicity of non-viziers holding titles such as imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt at this time. This situation probably still applied in the reign of Wenis, although exact details are not clear because of possible incompleteness in the material. As the exact datings are still not sure, it is preferred not to place these officials into specific pairs.

The appearance of this probable duality in the vizierate coincides to some extent with the changes noted in the previous chapters. At some point in the later fifth dynasty the number of non-vizierial holders of the other major offices was reduced, resulting in no further non-vizierial imy-r zś' nzwt and only a few overseers of works, the two granaries and treasuries. The number of holders of imy-r hwt wrt does not seem to have changed, only the status of its holders. It is suggested that an increase in the number of contemporary viziers resulted in a decrease in the number or complete disappearance of non-vizierial holders of these other titles. In the case of imy-r zś' nzwt, the likelihood of there being two contemporary viziers holding the same office obviated the need for a non-vizier with the same title.

The remaining non-viziers at this time with important offices may have to some extent filled the gaps in the titularies of the viziers: for example, in the reign of Wenis the overseers of works 'nh-izzi (26) and hzzi (98) may explain the low number of viziers with this title. As hzzi was also overseer of the two granaries and two treasuries, his functions may have completed further gaps.

The reign of Teti provides more substance for these theories concerning the vizierate. Kanawati believes the duality continued, and if one fills the gaps in the titulary of 'nh-m-'-hr (30) on the grounds of the damage to his tomb, then all the viziers of the reign held the same high offices. One also notes from this (admittedly short) reign a lack of non-viziers with high administrative offices; only attested with any certainty are ny-k3w-izzi (76) and s3bw; ibbi (116), both overseers of works. This reign seems to have witnessed the transfer of most power to the vizier; that there were two contemporary holders of this office is possible, and one has then to regard the very similar titularies as an expression of the particular favour and trust placed by Teti in a small group of men. Two of the high titles of mrrw-k3i (68), imy-r

1 op. cit., 15.
2 For example, the vizierial titulary of pth-htp II (50) is incomplete, and no holder of imy-r hwt wrt 6 is yet known, with the exception of hnmw-nti (113) who could also belong to the next reign.
3 op. cit., 24-7.
šnwty and imy-r prwy-hd, appear only on the temenos wall of his tomb. This suggests that he may have acquired these titles later in his vizierate, after the rest of his tomb had been decorated, as if to replace another holder who had recently died. This person could have been k3i-gnni (151) or nfr-sâm-r' (88), and suggests a duality or at least overlapping of the office at that time.

The viziers of the period from the reign of Pepy I to the early part of that of Pepy II must be discussed as a group, since, with a few exceptions, it is not possible to place them in a particular sequence. Kanawati again argues for a duality of viziers in this period. The first viziers of Pepy I were probably ŋnty-k3i (109) and mhw (69). Their titularies are not totally alike (mhw was imy-r hwt wrt 6 and imy-r šm'w while ŋnty-k3i was overseer of works), which is different from the situation in the reign of Teti. If they were contemporary, they could have divided the functions, mhw being concerned with legal administration and ŋnty-k3i with labour organisation, and both with the control of finance. In this period there is a wide variety of combinations of high titles held by viziers, which could imply, if there were two contemporary holders of this office, that only between them they have encompassed all the necessary functions. This period sees the first appearance of a number of viziers holding no other high titles - tp-m-'nh (155), tnti (158) and zzi (114). The functions of these viziers may have been something apart from the high administration, and they must have worked alongside another holder of the office with more administrative titles. r'-wr (93) is effectively between these two types of official, since he bore only the title of overseer of Upper Egypt, held otherwise only by mrri (67).

The same period may also complement the viziers with several non-viziers. 'nh-mry-r' (32) and nhbw (90) were overseers of works, išfi (19) and perhaps k3i-hr-pth (150) were imy-r šnwty, and išfi, ny-s'nh-3ht (73), pth-špss (53) and mrri (66) were all imy-r prwy-hd. Clearly at this time the high offices were held by a greater number of individuals than in the reign of Teti.

The biography of wni provides a small piece of more direct evidence for the duality of the vizierate at that time. In his mention of the proceedings against the unnamed queen of Pepy II he says: n wnt tšty tšb tšty nb su nb im, 'there being no vizier nor official there'. As Kees has suggested, there would be no need

---

1 Duell, Mereruka II, pl. 218A.
2 op. cit., 34-5, 54.
3 This suggests that Kanawati has perhaps overstated the case for Pepy I placing his trust in a few high officials (op. cit., 28-30). Such a view does not really accord with the somewhat haphazard locations of the burials of these men, and the actual increase in the number of high officials known. wni was clearly a favoured official, but it is not to say that this was any more so than in earlier times, but rather that such an account has only survived from this particular period.
4 Urk. I, 100.15.
for the first nb if there was only one vizier anyway. Apart from the possibility that this may be too literal an interpretation, it could perhaps also refer to a provincial vizier.

In addition to the Upper Egyptian vizier idi and the Memphite vizier ihy-hnt (16) in the pyramid temple of Pepy II (above page 322), there is also the vizier ēnw (108) shown in the original decoration. It is possible that he may have been contemporary with ihy-hnt (16) thus showing the existence of two simultaneous memphite viziers in the second quarter of the reign of Pepy II. Nothing further is known about the titularies of these two memphite officials. Apart from them there are five further viziers known from South Saqqara for this reign: mry-r'i3m (61), śn'y (133), ē'3w-hnmw (102), ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72) and tti (156). Additionally there was k3i-htp (149), impy (62) and s3bw-pth (117), whose tombs were constructed elsewhere, as well as the less well-dated officials nfb-k3w-hr; idw (82) and wr-k3w-b3; ikw (40). Numerically there is no reason to suppose that the probable duality of the earlier period was not continued. From the standpoint of the titularies there is a distinct lack of instances of the high administrative titles. Overseers of works became very infrequent, and only ē'3w-hnmw and tti held anything like a wide-ranging set of titles. The period immediately following the decoration of the pyramid temple (about the second third of the reign) is especially poor in viziers with these high titles. Non-vizierial officials may have supplied the functions of imy-r śnwty and imy-r prwy-hd (hnmw-htp (112) and d3-mrw (163), and mn-nh-ppy (56), śdy-pth (134) and ēzi (18) at the end of the period), while other holders of these titles, especially imy-r śnwty, are found in the provinces, both with viziers and non-viziers. The office of imy-r śm'w still appears occasionally with these memphite viziers (śn'y and ē'3w-hnmw). One wonders whether this reduction might in many ways be related to the large-scale developments in provincial administration taking place in and after the reign of Merenre, in that the latter reduced the burden on the memphite officials.

In very broad terms, the reign of Pepy II and its immediate aftermath is very similar to the preceding period: many viziers are encountered, not all with high administrative titles, and they are complemented by several non-viziers. This spread of titles suggests that power was divided principally between two viziers, who together held most of this set of important administrative titles.

The conclusion from the above survey of the period from the reign of Djedkare to the end of the Old Kingdom suggests that the vizierate in the memphite region was generally held by two men simultaneously. It is very likely that one would have been senior

---

1 Provinzialverwaltung II, 596 n. 1.
3 This again disagrees with the viewpoint of Kanawati, that the vizierate returned to the hands of one man in the second half of the reign of Pepy II (op. cit., 98-9). His conclusions may be partly based on his overlooking the titles imy-r k3t nbt (nt nzwt) and imy-r śm'w in the titulary of ē'3w-hnmw.
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

to the other, and in fact the dividing line between there being two full viziers and one vizier accompanied by a junior one preparing to succeed him is very fine indeed.

Is there any evidence that such a situation may have prevailed in the period preceding the reign of Djedkare? For the first period in table 32 the lack of a wide range of high administrative titles makes assessment of the situation as carried out in the previous pages difficult. It has been noted that among the viziers at the end of this period there were three who were not true king's sons, indicating the beginning of the move towards the exclusion of the royal family from such offices. It is perhaps possible that after this decision had been made, dw3-n-r' (161), ašš3t-htp (126) and b3-b3f (42) were appointed to work alongside the remaining true king's sons; two of them were overseers of works (and it is very possible that this title has been destroyed in the tomb of dw3-n-r'), which is not the case for any of the other viziers of the same time.

The likely true royal viziers contemporary with these men are not certain, but must have included shm-k3-r' (125) who presumably died in the reign of Sahure. The difference between the titulary of this man and those of dw3-n-r' and the others is very marked. That of shm-k3-r' is composed principally of the well-known honorific titles, and one or two less common religious ones, whereas the others consist of a wide range of honorific and religious titles as well as administrative ones. Several titles are found that previously occurred only at the beginning of the fourth dynasty, such as hrp mrt t3-mhw šmšw and hm-ntr wnw-r hnty mnw.1 Also many new titles appear, particularly in the titulary of dw3-n-r', the earliest of the three: for example, hm-ntr hr inpw hnty pr smswt, hrp i3ts km, hrw-md t3-mhw pr wy, hm-ntr, and sqt nzwt (the latter with b3-b3f). The first and last members of this group of titles, and also the much rarer hm i3qs (b3-b3f),2 appear again in the reign of Neferirkare in the titulary of w3s-pth (37), the first vizier known not to hold the title of king's son. This implies some degree of similarity in titulary and perhaps functions between w3s-pth and his predecessors. Clearly, dw3-n-r' and the others were different from their royal counterparts and illustrate the direction in which the new non-royal bureaucracy was developing. In view of this, the existence of a royal and non-royal vizier side by side from the later part of the fourth dynasty to the reign of Sahure is probable.

The remaining period, from the end of the reign of Sahure to the beginning of that of Djedkare, is perhaps the most problematical, not least because its length is uncertain. This is the period where the vizier's highest rank is h3ty-, iry p't being regained

1 These are otherwise found in the titularies of 'nh-h3f (34), hm-iwnw (96) and Name Lost (170), all of the reign of Khufu. Note that the latter of these titles can also be read hm-ntr wnw-r hnty-hm.

2 For the significance of this title, see Kees, ZAS 77 (1941), 24-6; Helck, Beamtentitel, 42.
only in the time of Djedkare. It is also important for seeing the introduction of the remaining high offices, and consequently there are not many of these that can be juxtaposed to discern whether there was more than one contemporary vizier. The first three viziers of this period in table 28 are well-dated: \textit{wr-b3w-b3} (39) in the reign of Sahure, \textit{w33-pth} (37) in that of Neferirkare and \textit{minw-nfr} (55) in that of Neweserre. The others are less surely dated, but fit into the remainder of the period. \textit{pth-špss} is the only one among them not to bear \textit{hry-tp nzwt} and \textit{imy-r zš ' nzwt}, although he may be a special case because of his relationship to Neweserre. Non-viziers holding \textit{imy-r zš ' nzwt} and/or \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} are very common, but only \textit{df3wi} (167) and \textit{k3i} (137) held \textit{imy-r prwy-ḥd} and \textit{sâmw} (127), \textit{ny-k3-r'} (80) and \textit{r'-špss} (95) (before vizierate) \textit{imy-r šnwtv}. It is evident that the policy at this time was for both viziers and non-viziers to hold similar major administrative titles with the exception of \textit{imy-r hwt wrt t}. We have to conclude from this that a duality in the vizierate is possible in view of the shortness of the period, but that it cannot be certain because of the range of contemporary officials holding the same title.

In conclusion, a duality in the vizierate is possible for much of the Old Kingdom, perhaps often in its weaker form of one vizier functioning for a time with his appointed successor. A duality in the memphite vizierate appears briefly at the end of the fourth dynasty, and is quite likely for much of the Old Kingdom from the reign of Djedkare onwards. This feature seems to have been instituted with particular purposes in mind: at the end of the fourth dynasty it was to ease the gradual removal of the royal family from state offices, while at the end of the fifth it was part of a development that concentrated more power on fewer officials, most of it falling on the vizier who had thus to have an equal, or at least a subordinate, to share the burden. This burden, exemplified in the number of high administrative titles held by the viziers, seems to have been reduced as provincial administration was set up on a more local level. The frequency of viziers does not however seem to experience a corresponding drop, and it is likely that the earlier practice of a dual vizierate continued.

B. The Functions of the Vizier

The preceding section and the earlier chapters have made references to the function of the vizier. It is quite clear that when two viziers existed simultaneously in Memphis, some of the duties were shared between them, and some suggestions have been made above. Firstly, when there were other subordinate holders of one of these titles, it is probable that the non-viziers carried out the bulk of the work, with the vizier acting as overall head of that administrative area. One may imagine that he would pass on the royal commands and only in special cases actually be involved in the work itself, perhaps on particular tasks important to the king. Secondly, when no such subordinates existed, he may have had to carry a greater volume of the work. However, given the limits to the capa-
city of one official, it is perhaps likely that the changes noted, whereby these high titles were gradually transferred to the vizier, in fact only referred to the status of the title itself, and that the daily work was still carried out by lesser officials. This change can then be viewed as the transfer of more titles away from men not of the vizier's rank, thus raising the status of t3yty z3b t3ty against that of the non-viziers. This may be the result of a desire on the part of the king to concentrate official responsibility on fewer persons, suggesting that the proliferation of offices in the preceding period had gone a little too far. Thus it is likely that for much of the time the vizier bore his high titles as a mark of his importance and a reflection of final responsibility in matters. This view probably holds true for most important offices he held.

The only title carrying a specific role that was confined to the vizier is imy-r hwt wrt 6. It is still thought to represent the overall legal authority of the holder of that office, but it would also appear from later evidence that the vizier acted as a court of appeal, and also that there were certain matters with which only he could deal (above page 194).

The following are the principal sources of information as to the responsibilities of the vizier in the Old Kingdom:

1 The names of two viziers appear in the Abusir Papyri. One, whose name begins with p (see above page 300), is found in a list of officials, the nature of whose relations with the temples of Neferirkare is unclear. It does show however that viziers were sometimes in contact with such institutions. There also appears a body of priests named after minw-nfr (55), vizier of Neuser-re.1 This is however probably to be viewed more as part of the relationship between the royal cult and those of private individuals than as any particular concern of the vizier with the temple.

2 The decree of Pepy I for the two pyramids of Sneferu at Dahshur,2 and that of Pepy II for the temple of Min at Koptos,3 have the common purpose of exempting the employees and tenants of the two institutions from specific types of service, notably that on behalf of the state. The vizier is mentioned among the addressees of these decrees, and is clearly the senior official to be charged with the duty of ensuring that these exemptions were enforced, or indeed was the senior official who might attempt to conflict with the purpose of the decree.

3 In the decree of Neferkauhor to officials of Upper Egyptian nomes five to nine inclusive is found the following text:

------------

1 Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 568-70.
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

h3 rk r sht hn' (titulary) t3ty t3ty šm3i ir nk (for rk ?) wpt- n minw-gbtyw-s'nh-nfr-k3w-hr m b3wy ..... 
smnh wpt tn m zā ..... sip.k n (titulary) t3ty t3ty šm3i swt m3' r hry htm md3i r iti r ht ..... 

Go down to the fields with the vizier šm3i and make an inventory (?) for the estate "Min of Koptos causes Nefer-kauhor to live" in the Koptite Nome ..... record it carefully in writing ..... and hand it over to the vizier šm3i who shall take it to the department of sealing documents and to the land-registry.1

4 A letter, probably of the later sixth dynasty, contains a complaint to the vizier about commands he had sent concerning the supply of clothing to the workmen at Tura.2 The precise details of the text are not important here; what matters is that the vizier is shown concerned with the administration of labour-organisation.

5 The biography of k3i-m-tnt (146) provides further evidence for the involvement of the vizier in labour-organisation. The vizier r'-spss (95) is twice mentioned in damaged portions of this text, which are conjecturally restored to show this man being summoned to the palace and sent to Tura to obtain a false door for the tomb of k3i-m-tnt (146).3

6 The biography of wni illustrates the legal functions of the vizier. He, as z3b iry nhn, heard cases along with the vizier,4 and heard the case against the queen of Pepy I alone, without the presence of the vizier.5 The implication of the second example is that the vizier would have heard the case but was prevented from so doing (perhaps by disgrace - see in the Prosopography under r'-wr (93)). wni thus acted in the manner of the vizier, assisted by a z3b iry nhn (cf. page 189).

7 That the vizier visited the various provinces, inspecting, giving judgement and enforcing royal commands, is suggested by a passage from the decree of king Horus dmd-ib-twy for the estates and monuments of the Upper Egyptian vizier idi:

\[
\text{ir gr hry-tp sr nb nfr.n hsf.f ht m sp3t.f n nmt nb irt.ty.sn sšrw pn r ph nzwt t3ty z3b t3ty srw .....}
\]

2 Now Cairo JE 49623: Gunn, ASAE 25 (1925), 242-55, pl. I a, b; further comments, Gardiner, JEA 13 (1927), 75-8, Grdseloff, ASAE 48 (1948), 505-12.
3 Urk. I, 183.12, 17; restorations, Schott, Fs Otto, 450.
4 Urk. I, 99.5.
5 Urk. I, 100.15-6.

330
Chapter 8 - The Viziers

As for any local notable or official who does not punish anyone in his name who does damage to these things until the king, vizier or officials come round ...... 1

8 The arrival of a command sent by the vizier is mentioned in the biography of s3bni of Aswan: iy.n wd n t3yty z3b t3ty..., 'the command of the vizier arrived...'. 2

Other letters, decrees and the like to viziers from the king are usually concerned with praising the individual, as opposed to giving us some ideas of his functions, with the exception of those of Djedkare to sndm-ib; inti (120) relevant to labour organisation (see above page 240-1).

The associations shown of the Old Kingdom viziers with temples seem to have been very much on a secular level; where this can be distinguished, it would seem that it was his job as senior administrative official to ensure that these requirements of the king were carried out. Other texts show the vizier performing activities which were perhaps done in his function of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt and imy-r zš' nzwt.

One feature common to all the above pieces of evidence is that they could all be regarded as special responsibilities of the vizier. The royal decrees all refer to institutions of importance (cult temples and pyramids) and the letter of Djedkare to sndm-ib; inti refers to the king's mrt temple, while the Tura quarry must have been especially important to the king as it was the major source of high-quality building stone for the memphite region. The particular lawsuit referred to by wni was against no ordinary individual but a queen. This would support the suggestion that the bulk of the work associated with the titles held by the vizier would be performed by lesser officials; one of the clear roles of the vizier would be to take charge of particular sub-sections of the responsibilities of these titles, mainly those which were the most important to the king and the state. This latter conclusion fits best the available evidence, even though this must be biased by the non-survival of documents of a more everyday nature. It is also clear from this material that it was one of the vizier's tasks to visit the provinces to ensure that royal commands were being enforced.

This evidence applies to viziers of the fifth and sixth dynasties, and none is forthcoming from the preceding period. The range of high titles evident in the fourth dynasty was just t3yty z3b t3ty, imy-r pr-hd and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The latter title has been suggested above as possibly covering a greater range than in the fifth dynasty (page 250), and the same could be true of the vizierate and imy-r pr-hd. The vizier is likely, on evidence from the rest of the Old Kingdom, to have controlled the royal documents and the legal system. It is evident that the creation of a sep-

1 Urk. I, 306.2-8; Goedicke, op. cit., 215.
2 Urk. I, 140.4.
A separate overseer of the treasury was found to be necessary, probably because of the workload. The question of revenues would thus have been dealt with by both the *imy-r pr-hd* and the vizier, and the same pair may have also been in charge of the administration of the granaries. Presumably the creation of new titles in the fifth dynasty represented an acknowledgement of the wide and diverse responsibilities previously held by the vizier and holders of these other offices. The function of the vizier in the Middle and New Kingdoms is somewhat clearer than in the Old. Helck gives examples of holders of this office in charge of, for example, building works, expeditions, the necropolis, military matters and the installation of priests.¹ To this we can add the administration of royal dockyards,² prisons,³ as well as the more obvious legal system and revenues (about which more below). The most convenient ancient Egyptian source to consult for this subject is the group of texts known as the 'Duties of the Vizier'.⁴ In this text, the vizier is shown to be responsible for the following: fortresses, storehouses, the activities of the royal palace, daily reporting to the king, judgement (especially of disputes over the ownership of land, and other localised affairs),⁵ the sending and receiving of documents concerned with judgement and also of royal commands, the sealing of wills, appointment of local officials, the assembly of the army when required, the organisation of work on the land and finally the assessment of taxes.

Some degree of parallel may be found between this later evidence and that from the Old Kingdom. Expeditions and military matters do not seem to have been part of the vizier's responsibilities, except perhaps if he was an overseer of works. Matters relating to domestic labour-organisation seem to have come under the vizier to some extent, as did the legal system. Nothing is known about the appointment of priests in the Old Kingdom as far as the vizier was concerned; his connections with temples were mainly secular; about

¹ *Verwaltung*, 44-50.
² Vizier *ini-itif iqr*, reign of Senwosret I, Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, 20 (D), 22 (G) (text), 23 (comments).
³ Thirteenth dynasty vizier *nhw*, Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, 71, 72 (text), 82 and 85 (comments).
⁴ Principally that in the tomb of *rh-mi-r* at Thebes, *Urk.* IV, 1103-17, with additions from parallel texts. These are translated by Helck, *op. cit.*, 29-43 and Davies, *Rekh-mi-re' I*, 88-94. This has often been thought to be a composition originally of New Kingdom date, but it has recently been argued that it was produced in the early eighteenth dynasty, at a time when the country was looking towards the achievements of earlier times (van den Boorn, *Or* 51 (1982), 369-81; this also contains further references to other aspects of the text).
⁵ A Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period vizier is shown acting in judgement regarding the possession of a slave-girl, and enforcing his judgement when it was queried (Smither, *JE* A 34 (1948), 31-4).
the necropolises and revenues little is known, but the presence of the titles *imy-r w'bty*, *imy-r šnty* and *imy-r prwy-hd* in vizierial titularies strongly suggest that these were also his responsibility in the Old Kingdom.

The following additional comments apply specifically to the extra responsibilities noted in the 'Duties of the Vizier' texts: the concern of the Old Kingdom holder of *t3ty z3b t3ty* with documents is embodied in the very frequent appearance of *imy-r zš' nzwt* in his titulary, while the decree of Pepy II noted above illustrates the concern of the vizier with fields. In this case *šm3i* was responsible for sealing the deed when produced; however the sealing of wills in the New Kingdom text is not paralleled in the Old Kingdom where it seems to have been the responsibility of groups of witnesses. The vizier of the Old Kingdom could have controlled the organisation of work on the land in his capacity as overseer of works.

Nothing is known about the other responsibilities, although there is no reason for doubting that they existed in some form in the Old Kingdom. One receives the impression that the New Kingdom texts describe an all-important role for the vizier which was also true for the Old Kingdom, making due allowance for intermediate administrative changes.

There is no apparent equivalent in the Old Kingdom to the Middle and New Kingdom *hš n t3ty*, 'the office of the vizier'. The Old Kingdom exhibits no title that is compounded with the expression *t3ty z3b t3ty*. Only twice do titles occur that may be related to the vizier. One is *t3ty sktt*, which has been explained above as possibly a term for an intended vizier (page 320 n.2); the other is *t3ty*, found alone on several monuments of *ztw*. This title must be associated with the 'curtain' or 'door' element included in the term translated here as 'vizier'; it cannot be an abbreviation for *t3ty z3b t3ty* as the all-important *t3ty* element is missing, and in addition *ztw* 's simple titulary (*rh nzwt, hry-sššš, z3b imy-r zš*) is hardly in keeping with the forms outlined above. It could perhaps be a rare title denoting a position in the palace (?)..

The equivalent of the *hš n t3ty* in the Old Kingdom was probably the conglomeration of important departments supervised by the vizier, the principal ones of which have been examined above. Two stand out as being his particular concern: the courts (*hwt wrt 6*) and the document offices (*iz n nzwt* and associated departments). Doubtless the vizier would have needed his own personal bureau-

1 cf. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 41, 195; the will (*imyt-pr* of *ppi* (Urk. I, 35) was witnessed by a group of individuals, while the document concerning the sale of a house (Urk. I, 157-8) was sealed in the presence of the *d3dšt* of the pyramid of Khufu.

2 Offering stands Cairo, CG 1298 and 1301 and block Cairo, CG 1494.
cracy, as shown by the existence of the title \textit{z\textasciicircum n t\textasciitilde ty} in the New Kingdom; it is inherently probable that the Old Kingdom lack of precision in the qualification of such titles prevents one from identifying those officials concerned particularly with the responsibilities of the vizier. The concern of the vizier identified above with scribal and legal matters places officials of both types in the forefront of those belonging to the Old Kingdom office of the vizier;\textsuperscript{1} titles of these types form the largest sub-groups in the titulary of a vizier, although they are by no means found with every holder of that office.

The exact division of functions between the viziers in the capital and those in Upper Egypt is of course unknown. It is to be presumed that they exercised very similar functions for the two parts of the country. It is perhaps unlikely that two separate bureaucracies existed, but rather that the principal administrative centre of both viziers was in Memphis, with only a small bureaucracy in Upper Egypt, probably at the place of residence of the vizier. This is advanced because of the fact that this location changed during the sixth dynasty, and there is no evidence to suggest that the king who issued decrees like those discussed above resided anywhere else in the Old Kingdom but the memphite region where he was to be buried. It is thus probable that the provincial vizier was subordinate to the one in the capital, which latter would have been at the centre of matters. The memphite vizier bore the greater number of administrative titles; the provincial holder of that office seems to have functioned as the senior government representative in Upper Egypt, with duties not unlike those of the overseer of Upper Egypt.\textsuperscript{2}

Conclusions

The vizier was clearly the senior administrative official in the Old Kingdom, with a very distinctive titulary, particularly as regards honorific and religious titles. It is likely that two memphite viziers existed simultaneously at several periods, particularly from the later fifth dynasty onwards, at which time they were complemented by a vizier with special responsibility for Upper Egypt. The duties of the vizier were very wide. He seems to have been particularly concerned with matters directly relevant to the king, but also to have acted as the final authority below the king. He was very closely associated with the administration of royal commands and documents as well as the legal system.

The origin of the title \textit{t\textasciitilde ty z\textasciitilde b t\textasciitilde ty} is unknown. The officials discussed above cover the period from the beginning of the fourth dynasty onwards, although there is an isolated instance of

\textsuperscript{1} Such a collection of titles is given by Helck, \textit{Beamtentitel}, 68-77.

\textsuperscript{2} Martin-Pardey, \textit{Provinzialverwaltung}, 158, although her concept of the provincial viziers is somewhat different from that advanced here.
this title from the end of the second or beginning of the third dynasty (mn-k3, above page 300).¹ Sethe and Gardiner² suggest that the term t3yty z3b t3ty be derived from the title found on the Narmer Palette, although Helck views this personage as a precursor of the later sm priest.³ There are other titles from the early period which may have represented the later office of vizier.⁴ The office of vizier or an equivalent may thus have existed in the Archaic Period, but a continuous line of holders is only clearly attested from the reign of Sneferu.

In conclusion, it may be seen why the title t3yty z3b t3ty was translated 'vizier' in the nineteenth century: allowing for the differences between the societies of the Ottoman Empire and ancient Egypt, the image of an individual responsible only to the king who had then to pass on his commands to officialdom is not very far removed from the picture built up here of the office of t3yty z3b t3ty in the Old Kingdom and later.

¹ If the other sign in this inscription really is hwt wrt then we can have a clear connection of the vizier with legal matters going back well before such titles as imy-r hwt wrt 6 were created.
² Respectively, Pyr. Übers. I, 11 (137d); AEO I, 19 *.
³ Beamtentitel, 16-7.
⁴ Kaplony, Inschriften, 488-9.
The preceding analysis of titles shows that in the fourth dynasty there seem to have been two principal state offices, those of the vizier and overseer of works. Between them they probably controlled most areas of the administration, although the existence of some overseers of the treasuries indicates that responsibility for financial management may not have been solely their concern.

The end of the fourth dynasty and the beginning of the fifth saw an expansion in the number of offices. The functions of the overseer of works were clearly divided, some being exercised by the holders of \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}, others by officials who were \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt}. The offices of overseer of the king's document scribes, overseer of the great mansions, overseer of the six great mansions, overseer of the granary and overseer of the two granaries were created; in addition, those of overseer of the treasury and overseer of the two treasuries, the appearances of which had formerly been somewhat irregular, were organised in a more systematic manner.

Whether these changes took place simultaneously is not so immediately apparent. The earliest holders of \textit{imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt} are recorded slightly before the reign of Neferirkare; the first holder of \textit{imy-r zÌå' nzwt} was a contemporary of Neferirkare; \textit{imy-r hwt wrt} and \textit{imy-r hwt wrt 6} appear early in the reign of Neweserre; titles relating to the offices of overseer of the granaries appear in the early fifth dynasty but the first recorded holder of \textit{imy-r šnwty} was in the time of Neweserre. The same reign also saw the first fifth dynasty holder of \textit{imy-r prwy-hd}, which had previously appeared twice only in the fourth dynasty.

The above summary points to the period of the reigns of Neferirkare to Neweserre as being that in which these offices were organised on a systematic basis. It is tempting to associate this change with others in the administration which were taking place at about the same time. In his study of the title sequences of the Old Kingdom, Baer has suggested that a relatively organised system of ranking titles was introduced in approximately the time of Neferirkare.¹ The number of different titles in use seems to have increased at about the same time; clearly, the introduction of these new administrative offices was part of a more general change. The purpose of this change may have been to place the administration of the country on a more organised basis: one result of the creation of new offices would be to reduce the scope of those which had existed in the previous period, making the duty of each more specific. As an example, the functions of the title \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} may be noted: in the fourth dynasty it is likely that this position, together with that of the vizier, was concerned with most higher state administrative matters. With the creation of new offices, such as \textit{imy-r zÌå' nzwt} and \textit{imy-r šnwty}, the responsibilities of the \textit{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt} may have been reduced to matters concerned more specifically with the organisation of labour, not only in building projects, but also more generally, such as in agricultural work.

¹ \textit{Rank and Title}, 296, 299-300.
Conclusion

This increase in the number of offices was matched by a more or less equivalent increase in the number of officials, as judged from the number of tombs known from the early to middle fifth dynasty when compared with the fourth. It is to be presumed that this increase in the size of the bureaucracy was planned by the rulers of the day, probably as a result of an eventual failure of the system as it was before.

As is well-known, the prevailing system for the larger part of the fourth dynasty was for the prime offices of state to be held by members of the royal family; there is an unbroken line of viziers certainly related to the king from nfr-m3't (86) at the beginning of the dynasty until perhaps some time in the reign of Menkaure or so, when dw3-n-r' (161), in whom there is no certain evidence of royal blood, is found as vizier.¹ Most overseers of works in the fourth dynasty were also related directly to the ruling king; many additionally reached the vizierate. However, from the later part of that dynasty onwards, more high officials are found for whom, like dw3-n-r', there is no evidence of any family connection with the king. A conscious decision had been made, which can only have originated with a king, to open the higher state offices to men without affiliation to the royal family. This is most clearly illustrated by the viziers dw3-n-r', s83t-htp; hti (126) and b3-b3f (42): if this position was open to men of such origins, other high offices could similarly be exercised by men with no connection by blood to the royal family. The transition was probably carried out in the following manner. It seems that a number of members of the royal family had been nominated for, or perhaps promised, the vizierate. To fulfil this promise, they were in fact granted the office of vizier but no other important state offices; alongside them was appointed a sequence of men of non-royal birth who held the offices of t3yty z3b t3ty and overseer of works. Of the two viziers probably in office simultaneously, the non-royal individual was the more important in the actual running of the country, while the 'royal vizier' was perhaps concerned only with the ceremonial and courtly functions of the office. The same may be true for the mixture of true king's sons and non-royal individuals who held the office of overseer of works at the end of the fourth dynasty. This process of gradual removal of the true members of the royal family seems to have been complete by about the reign of Sahure, from which time onwards the above-noted expansion of the administration took place.

It thus appears that the removal of the royal family from the administration and the increase in the number of offices and their holders were a result of the same policy decision. It does appear that the second change probably came out of a need to reorganise

¹ It seems that none of these men can can be considered as the 'crown prince'; there is no evidence of the actual position held in the Old Kingdom by the designated successor to the ruler of the time. This may be contrasted with, for example, the evidence for the future Amenhotep II as crown prince in the eighteenth dynasty (Glanville, ZAS 66 (1931), 106).
the administration as a result of the first.

The reasons for this change must have political. It is possible that they may have been connected with the evident, but very shadowy, disputes in the royal family in the middle of the fourth dynasty. Although we know nothing about the order of precedence at that time, perhaps the fact that the high administrative officials were also potential successors to the throne had caused the strife suggested by the damage to the funerary monument of Djedefre and the short and very obscure reign between those of Khafre and Menkaure indicated in the Turin Canon. Menkaure, or whoever authorised this change, may have hoped that by removing the family ties between the throne and the administration, civil strife, or at least disputes concerning the succession (inevitable with polygamy) might be harder to organise.

In the period immediately following this change, there seems to have been a reduction in the status of the vizier - no holders of this office in the mid-fifth dynasty held the highest honorific title of iry p't, which instead seems to have been held by officials holding no civil administrative titles, some of whom were actually true king's sons. This change may be explained as an attempt to preserve some distinction between royal and non-royal individuals, now that the former were not part of the administration.

The next apparent change in the organisation of the administration, as witnessed from the evidence of the titles studied here, took place in the later fifth dynasty, no earlier than the reign of Djedkare. This latter reign is known to have seen changes in a number of different areas: for example, sun temples were no longer built and the system of ranking titles was changed for the first time since its inception. Additionally, king's sons (although usually titular princes) were again permitted to hold administrative titles (such as k3i-m-tnnt (146) and 'nb-izzi (26)), and the rank of the vizier was raised to iry p't. With regard to the high administrative titles, the most important change was the reappearance of the practice, perhaps discontinued in the early fifth dynasty, of appointing more than one contemporary vizier. This now took the form of one 'Southern' or provincial holder and two men with the same title in the memphite region; from this time on it seems to have become a regular practice. Also in the later fifth dynasty occurred a change in the status of the less-elevated titles considered in this work. Those of overseer of the granary, overseer of the treasury and imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt began to disappear, a process complete with hardly any exceptions by the early part of the sixth dynasty. This left the titles of overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two treasuries and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt in these three administrative areas, the occupants of which offices below the rank of vizier most frequently bore only the one high title, another difference from the preceding period. Changes, 1

1 Some examples may be found in Schmitz, Königsohn, 28-30; another is the recently discovered nsr-k3w-hr (Werner, ZAS 107 (1980), 164-5).
this time concerned with the status of the office, also occurred in
the two remaining administrative areas discussed in the previous
pages, those of scribal and legal administration. *imy-r hwt wrt*
was the lesser of the two titles at the head of the legal adminis-
tration: from the later fifth dynasty onwards it was most often
held by men of appreciably lower status than in the preceding
period, when its holders often simultaneously held others from the
group of offices presently being considered. The change in respect
of *imy-r zād nzwt* was quite the reverse: from the later fifth
dynasty onwards it became the preserve of the vizier (or intended
vizier) alone.

As a result of these changes it seems that more power was placed
in the hands of the vizier(s), and proportionally less in those of
officials of lower rank, while the range of high administrative
titles was reduced. This is suggestive of a reaction against the
administrative expansion apparent in the early fifth dynasty. Baer
has suggested that adjustments in the system of ranking titles in
the reign of Djedkare were as a result of officialdom amassing more
power than the king felt was desirable.\(^1\) Such concern on the part
of the king may also be reflected in these changes in the organi-
sation of the highest administrative titles in the land. It is
evident that the number of tombs known from the memphite region for
all but the least significant classes of tomb-owning officials is
almost certainly lower in the sixth than the fifth dynasty. It is
debatable as to whether it was indeed a wise decision to concen-
trate power in such a manner, but it must have seemed perhaps the
only logical alternative at that time.

However, the growth in provincial administration from the later
fifth dynasty onwards cannot be ignored in the context of the
present discussion. Such administration seems to have been con-
sciously increased, again perhaps from the reign of Djedkare, and
is best illustrated by the appearance of a 'Southern' or Upper
Egyptian vizier for the first time. Only in the case of the legal
administration does there not seem to be an example of a holder of
the supreme office, whether it be *imy-r hwt wrt* or *imy-r hwt wrt* \(^6\),
buried in the provinces; a clear case may be made for nomarchs
conducting, on a provincial level, tasks which may previously have
been the preserve of a memphite overseer of works or overseer of
the granaries. In addition, some further functions originally held
by such officials may have been subsumed into the new office of
overseer of Upper Egypt, even though holders of this title were not
buried in the provinces until the reign of Merenre.

To what extent was the decrease in holders of high-ranking
administrative titles in the memphite region balanced by an in-
crease in the number of provincial officials performing similar
tasks? This is perhaps the explanation for one further reduction
in office holders not yet discussed. After the reign of Pepy I,
there is a very marked drop in the number of officials (apart from
viziers) holding all high titles apart from *imy-r hwt wrt*. The
reign of Merenre is notable for its increase in the number of

\(^1\) op. cit., 297, 300.
provincial administrators, from which time onwards are found most provincial overseers of the two granaries and overseers of the two treasuries. There is such a close correspondence between the drop in memphite and the increase in provincial officials at this time that there can be little doubt that the two were largely complementary. Whether this change came from a desire to improve provincial administration or to disperse a number of perhaps uncomfortably powerful officials throughout the country is impossible to say.

In the period before the reign of Merenre, the evidence is less clear-cut. The reductions in the memphite administration were hardly balanced by the appointment of a vizier in the provinces, and some memphite officials must still have been concerned with provincial administration, such as the overseers of Upper Egypt buried at Saqqara. On balance it is preferable to regard the changes in Memphis at the end of the fifth dynasty from a political rather than simply economic or administrative point of view. Having altered the composition of the upper levels of the administration in the early fifth dynasty so as to stabilise the situation with regard to the succession to the throne, the rulers of the later fifth dynasty found themselves with a bureaucracy holding more power than they considered desirable. It is nearly impossible to decide whether this power was economic or political. It was perhaps economic, with these officials controlling a not insubstantial part of the wealth of the country, not only through the functions of their offices and their ability to organise manpower but also by their holdings of land in the form of funerary and other estates. Political it may also have been, as the officials' power perhaps caused them to take advantage of royal authority in a way that they had not done before. Some of the 'charters of immunity' granted by rulers of the Old Kingdom to temples and similar institutions in the form of royal decrees may have been designed to prevent such happenings.1 By the measures outlined above a large part of the power in the administration was placed on the shoulders of the vizier(s), who would no doubt have been very highly trusted men; the remainder was split in such a way as to prevent any one official amassing too much of it. The success of this measure may to some extent be judged from the fact that no further major changes in the higher levels of the administration seem to have occurred in the remainder of the Old Kingdom which need to be explained in the same manner - the alternative view, that it was a complete failure since the Old Kingdom eventually collapsed, is perhaps less likely.2 As an instance of the effects of this change on the economic power wielded by these officials, we note that a smaller number of funerary estates is attested in the sixth as against the fifth dynasty.3

1 Particularly the Dahshur decree of Pepy I, which actually mentions holders of certain titles as being prevented from taking temple personnel away for their own purposes (Goedicke, Königl. Dokumente, 56 (VI)).
2 cf. Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 131.
3 Compare the relative amounts of documentation for these periods.
Conclusion

It is clear that, at many times in the Old Kingdom, an important administrative title could be held by more than one man simultaneously. In its most frequent form, we see a vizier and a non-vizier bearing the same title, or at least a variant of it. The reason for this advanced here is that it would have been impossible for the vizier to have had a detailed knowledge of the day-to-day activities of all departments in which he held titles. The extent to which the vizier (or any official for that matter) actively exercised the functions of all the titles given him on his monument is not at all certain, since the evidence can be contradictory. In the case of the vizier it is probable that very many of his titles were acquired on promotion to that office. Only one title, imy-r hwt wrt 6, appears as solely the preserve of the vizier from its inception to the end of the Old Kingdom, although imy-r zš' nzwt acquired this position at the end of the fifth dynasty. It is clear that the principal function of the vizier was the administration of the bureaucracy and the legal system. The remaining high administrative titles were not quite so important to his position.

Different links are visible between the titles. Prior to the restriction of imy-r zš' nzwt to the vizier only, this office and that of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt went closely together, perhaps as the holder of the latter title was responsible for organising the execution of tasks planned in the office of the former. The connection between imy-r šnwty and imy-r prwy-hd was due to their concern with items of revenue, and their pairing together, especially in the titularies of the viziers, is apparent from the later fifth dynasty onwards. The offices of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r hwt wrt 6 stood apart from the others (apart from some associations of the former with imy-r zs' nzwt in the fifth dynasty only), but were doubtless linked to all of them in the course of disputes which arose in each department.

It is clear that the further up the promotional ladder an official advanced, the less evidence we find in his titulary for his holding other titles associated with the administrative departments of which he held the highest offices. The two obvious explanations for this are that proven administrative ability was of far more relevance than a detailed knowledge of the jobs to be done, and also that a favourable opinion on the part of the ruler of the land towards the particular individual and his loyalty to the crown counted for a great deal. It cannot be doubted that this personal aspect was by far the most important when it came to the selection of officials for the highest positions.

The degree to which royal favour extended in the promotion of some officials may be exemplified by the career of ły (157). To judge from the extremely elaborate nature of his tomb, he was a man who received an unusually high degree of favour from the king, whereby he gained the means to erect this monument. His position

in Jacquet-Gordon, Les noms des domaines funéraires dans l'ancien empire égyptien.

342
Conclusion

was basically that of iri šn, usually translated 'hairstylist'. Any individual carrying out such personal service for the king would have to be highly trusted; what is more, his proximity to the ruler must have given ty the opportunity to counsel him at times. Other individuals who carried out similar functions were also highly honoured, such as ny-‘nh-hnww and hnmw-htp, who were manicurists. However, the magnificence of the tomb of ty surpasses that of all other men of similar standing, and, of particular relevance to the present discussion, he was the only man from this background to attain offices of the magnitude of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt and imy-r zŞ’ nzwt. His high standing with the king can be the only explanation for these promotions.

Examination of the viziership gives us one of the most interesting illustrations of the Old Kingdom system of promotion and its relationship to the favour the individual enjoyed with the king. There can be no question that the individuals chosen for this position must have come from a very highly trusted group of officials, presumably the reason why this title was originally granted only to members of the royal family, a decision that in time seems to have given rise to unforeseen problems. The titulatures of the viziers of the fourth dynasty show that all these men were not necessarily overseers of works, the other high office in existence at that time. This raises the intriguing matter of the extent to which the vizier actually held the other high titles listed along with t3ty z3b t3ty. We have seen that often the vizier was acting as the overall head of the department, with lesser men attending to detailed matters. It is also probable that viziers exercised the powers of these other titles to different extents in different reigns. That of Teti is a good example: it seems that all five or six memphite viziers who may be assigned to this period held approximately the same set of high administrative titles, with a corresponding reduction in the numbers of non-viziers holding the same offices.

Further study of the viziership also provides some evidence regarding the timing and likelihood of an official's promotion to this supreme office. Several men, such as k3i (136) and sšm-nfr III (131), commenced the building of their tombs at a time when they were below the rank of vizier, but for the majority of officials there is no such evidence. It is possible that an official might know by a certain point in his career whether or not he was likely to be promoted to the viziership, and that there existed a very select group of officials who were intended for this office. Such an idea is supported by the one occurrence of the title t3ty sktt (hnww; hnmw-nti (111)), which perhaps indicated a vizier-designate who died before attaining the full office of t3ty z3b t3ty. The promotion of officials such as k3i and sšm-nfr III is perhaps to be explained by the unexpected death of such designated viziers. From the relatively rare biographies which give some idea of an official's promotions, one sometimes wonders whether certain individuals were elevated to very high office with few intermediate steps. This possibility aside, it is evident that an official would refrain from decorating his tomb until he felt he has attained his highest likely office, which cannot normally have been early in life.
Perhaps each official in the Old Kingdom fitted into a particular group, the potential for promotion from which would depend on his background, ability and, above all, standing with the ruler of the time. Thus there could have been one group whose careers could culminate in the vizierate, another whose members could reach the high echelons of the administration, and so on. One such group, barely noted in these pages as they held no high administrative offices, consisted of men whose titularies contained almost exclusively 'courtly' and high-ranking honorific titles. The principal concern of these men must have been with personal attendance on the king, almost certainly exercising what ritual significance remained in their titles; connections with the administration were almost non-existent.

No clear promotional path is discernible among the highest officials of the Egyptian administration of the Old Kingdom. Beyond a certain level on the promotional ladder, the principal feature common to the many officials who held the very highest positions in the land was a high standing in the sight of the ruler of the land at that time, and it is to be supposed that the fortunes of some, if not many, officials changed in the course of time, especially since the succession of a new king would probably introduce a new group of men to the administrative system of the day - this is stressed in the 'Instruction of Kagemni' by the requirement that the subject of the text be reappointed to the vizierate by the new king. The high officials buried around the pyramids of Wenis and Teti would seem to have risen to particular prominence with their king; others, such as sndm-ib; mbi (121), seem to have remained in important positions for two reigns.

The remaining comments cover several smaller points which arise indirectly out of the discussions in this book.

Concerning the administration at the end of the Old Kingdom, several officials dated above to the reign of Pepy II must have served during the brief period of the seventh and eighth dynasties, and it seems very likely that the officials discussed above who were buried in the smaller tombs of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara date to that time and the First Intermediate Period. The high office found most frequently is that of overseer of the two granaries; there are at most one or two holders of the others. The only certain memphite vizier of First Intermediate Period date is ttw (160), who, unlike many of his predecessors, did not bear the title of imy-r ȝ 38 ' nzwt, suggesting the beginning of a break with Old Kingdom tradition. The remaining viziers known from the end of the Old Kingdom and later were active in Upper Egypt, and not particularly numerous - šm3i and idi at Koptos and ūm-r'; izi and hnw; iy...f at Deir el Gebrawi. It would seem that there was at most one memphite and one provincial vizier, and several of the major administrative titles of the Old Kingdom disappeared until the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, when some semblence of the older order was restored.

The situation at the beginning of the Old Kingdom is far more obscure. Some of the titles discussed here appear without doubt in the reign of Sneferu. Titles related to the vizierate and the overseer of works seem to have existed before that time, the former
being the older, but the evidence for a continuous line of holders in the third dynasty is lacking. The advent of the reign of Sneferu clearly marks a new phase in the development of the Egyptian administration, as well as witnessing development in other areas, notably funerary architecture and practices.

An examination of the locations of the burials of the officials in the Prosopography shows, not surprisingly, no consistency within each title. However, more patterns emerge when looking at the group as a whole. The fourth dynasty officials were buried in well-defined areas at Giza; within these areas, parts were reserved for members of the royal family, such as the Eastern Cemetery and the Khafre Quarry Cemetery, with the Western Cemetery being the principal burial place of the highest non-royal individuals. The tombs of the fifth dynasty are different in that they do not cluster around the pyramids of the kings their owners served. This is often seen as evidence of the growing independence of private officials.\(^1\) In view of the suggestions above concerning the reasons for the removal of the royal family from the administration at the end of the fourth dynasty, the separation of the royal pyramid and private tombs could be as a result of a deliberate attempt to emphasise the division between the king and his high officials. The fact that most officials from the early fifth dynasty until the reign of Djedkare were buried in the Northern Cemetery at Saqqara, not an undue distance from the royal pyramids at Abusir and even closer to that of Weserkaf, suggests the designation of that area as a cemetery for such officials. Certain very favoured individuals were permitted tombs actually at Abusir; indications from recent excavations suggest the possibility that it may have been the cemetery of the royal family, including those who were no longer part of the administration of the land but whose right to a distinguished burial-place had not changed.

During both the fifth and sixth dynasties only occasional burials of important men are found at Giza - the reasons for this must have been in connection with family ties, offices connected with the pyramids there, or special causes which are no longer apparent.

A change may be seen at the end of the sixth dynasty, when many of the officials whose rise to power was due to the favour of Wenis were buried around the pyramid of that king. This may have been as a result of changes in the administration at that time: to emphasise the greater trust bestowed on perhaps fewer high officials, they were permitted to be buried in close proximity to the tomb of their king. The same practice was followed in the reign of Teti, when almost all important men known from this (admittedly short) period seem to have been buried around the pyramid.

It is evident from the officials dated to the reign of Pepy I that, as far as the available material is concerned, the above practice was reversed. Perhaps the policy of burying the highest officials around the royal pyramid had some as yet unknown undesirable consequences (possibly this practice suggested an uncomfortably close contact with the king?), and the same class of men

\(^1\) For example by Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, 301.
Conclusion

were henceforth interred in no one consistent location. That the same is true for the reign of Merenre is surely because this was too short to allow any particular such policy to develop.

Pepy II returned to the previous practice, and the majority of memphite tombs of important officials of the period following the construction of his pyramid are to be found at South Saqqara, around his funerary complex. Some officials buried there must also have exercised their authority in later reigns; however, new officials building tombs after Pepy's death seem to have sited them in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. It may be speculated that the importance of this area from this time onwards was due to the location of the administration of the necropolis in that part of Saqqara.

From the need to examine lesser officials who held titles associated in some way with the departments studied, an impression can be gained of their places of burial. Much depended on their status as to whether their tombs were at Saqqara or Giza. The majority seem to have been at the latter site, which was clearly the necropolis for less high-ranking and less favoured men. Although not of the rank of most high officials, some of them with more impressive titulatures were buried at Saqqara. Thus, in general, the location of one's tomb also depended very much on one's status and degree of favour with the king: as one of the officials discussed in this work, burial at Saqqara was almost certain, but the lower one was, the more likely was a site at Giza.

Research for the present work suggests that the structure of the upper levels of the administrative system remained much the same throughout the Old Kingdom, although with several changes in the classes of personnel chosen to fill the high offices, and there is no real evidence for a decline in the effectiveness of that system. The six offices studied seem to have controlled most secular activity in the land. Royal intervention is apparent in the form of periodic changes in this system, and there is no real basis for believing that the officials who ran the administration ever found themselves in a position where their power remotely rivalled that of the king. Many reasons have been advance for the collapse of the Old Kingdom, but the balance of power within the upper reaches of the administration should not be regarded as one of them.

ALLIOT, M., Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933), FIFAO 10, Le Caire 1935.


AUBERT, J-F., "Le mastaba de Sechemnéfer VI dit Héba", Or 44 (1975), 1-11.


-----, The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza, Berkeley 1976.

-----, The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara, Berkeley 1978.

BAER, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, Chicago 1960.


-----, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, AF 24, Glückstadt 1968.

von BISSING, F.W., Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-k3i, 2 bde., Berlin 1905-11.


-----, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re', WVDOG 7, Leipzig 1907.

-----, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke3-re', WVDOG 11, Leipzig 1909.
Bibliography

-----, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen), 2 bde., Cairo 1937-64.
BRITISH MUSEUM, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc., London 1911 ff.

CAPART, J., Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah, 2 vols., Bruxelles 1907.
CURTO, S., Gli scavi italiani a el-Ghiza (1903), Roma 1963.

DARESSY, G., "La necropole des Grands Prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire", ASAE 16 (1916), 193-212.
-----, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi, 2 vols., ASE 11-12, London 1902.
-----, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re' at Thebes, 2 vols., PMMA 11, New York 1943.

DITTMAN, K.H., "Zum Titel "", ZAS 77 (1941), 7-12.


348
Bibliography

-----, E., Altägyptische Grammatik, 2 bde., AnOr 34, 39, Roma 1955-64.


-----, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt, Locust Valley 1968.

-----, "Two Old Kingdom Inscriptions Restored", JEA 65 (1979), 42-6.
-----, Review of Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara, JEA 65 (1979), 176-82.


Freier, E., "Zu den sogenannten Hohenpriestern des Ptah von Memphis im Alten Reich", Altorientalische Forsuchungen 4 (1976), 5-34.


-----, "Ramesside Texts relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn", JEA 27 (1941), 19-73.


-----, Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich, AA 14, Wiesbaden 1967.

-----, Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich, Beihfte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 5, Wien 1970.

-----, "Notice sur deux monuments inédits de l'Ancien Empire", ASAE 42 (1943), 107-25.
-----, "Remarques concernant l'opposition à un rescrit du Vizir", ASAE 48 (1948), 505-12.

HASSAN, Selim, Excavations at Giza, 10 vols., Oxford/Cairo 1929-60.
-----, Excavations at Saqqara 1937-8, 3 vols., Cairo 1975.
HELCK, H.W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen alten Reiches, AF 18, Glückstadt 1954.
-----, "$\overrightarrow{\text{gr-\text{-}}}$ = imj-r3", ZAS 79 (1954), 76-7.
-----, "Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten im Alten Reich", MDAIK 15 (1957), 96-111.

-----, Review of Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, JAOS 83 (1963), 119-20.
JEQUIER, G., Tombeaux de Particuliers contemporaines de Pepi II, Fouilles Saqq., Le Caire 1929.
-----, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles exécutées en 1933-1934 dans la partie meridionale de la necropole memphite", ASAE 34 (1934), 76-82.
-----, "Phrnfr", ZAS 75 (1939), 63-84.

-----, "The Identification of d'w/ām3i and d'w in the Decoration of their Tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi", JEA 63 (1977), 59-62.
-----, Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, Warminster 1980.
Bibliography

-----, The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, the Cemetery of Akhmim, Sydney 1980 ff.
-----, Excavations at Saqqara, North-west of Teti's Pyramid I, Sydney 1984.
-----, Studien zum Grab des Methethi, Bern 1976.
-----, Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 2-, Bruxelles 1977-.
-----, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Vezirats im Alten Reich", NGWG N.F. 4 nr. 2 (1940), 39-54.
KLEBS, L., Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches (2980-2475 v. Chr.), AHAW 3, Heidelberg 1915.


MARTIN-PARDEY, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HAB 1, Hildesheim 1976.
MONTET, P., Scènes de la vie privée dans les Tombeaux Egyptiens de l'Ancien Empire, Strasbourg 1925.
-----, Fouilles a Dahchour, 2 vols., Wien 1895-1903.
MOSTAFA, Maha M.F., Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich, HAB 17, Hildesheim 1982.

------, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Old Kingdom Tombs at the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqara, Deutsches Archäologische Institut. Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 21, Mainz 1977.


NEWBERRY, P.E., "The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmim", *AAA* 4 (1912), 99-120.

NIMS, C.F., "Some Notes on the family of Mereruka", *JAOS* 58 (1938), 638-47.


QUIBELL, J.E., Excavations at Saqqara, 1905-14, 5 vols., Cairo 1907-23.

-----, Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza, Cambridge 1931.


SALEH, Mohamed, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichung 14, Mainz 1977.


SETHE, K., "Geschichte des Amtes im alten Reich", ZAS 28 (1890), 43-9.
-----, Urkunden des Alten Reiches, Leipzig 1933.


-----, "The Old Kingdom Linen List", ZAS 71 (1935), 134-49.


STEINDORFF, G., Das Grab des Ti, Leipzig 1913.

Bibliography

------, "Notes on the Mastaba of 3ht-ḥtp; ḫmi and nb-k3w-hr; idw at Saqqara", GM 43 (1982), 89-94.


WEIL, A., Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches, Strassburg 1908.

ZIEGLER, C., "La fausse-porte du prince Kanefer 'fils de Snefrou'", RdE 31 (1979), 120-34.
### Index of Egyptian Names

* indicates beginning of entry in Prosopography

Entries not qualified by a number, place name or date do not all necessarily refer to the same individual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ḥi (1)</td>
<td>55*, 218, 223, 226, 253, 263, 277, 285, 287, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ḥt-ḥtp (2)</td>
<td>14, 16, 23, 55*, 87-8, 200, 252, 277, 301, 304-5, 308, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ḥt-ḥtp; hmi (3)</td>
<td>30, 33, 56*, 188, 192-3, 200, 252, 270, 277, 301, 308, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ḥt-ḥtp (4)</td>
<td>57*, 116, 177, 179, 182, 184, 185, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ḥt-ḥtp</td>
<td>29, 165, 190, 196, 274, 294, 297-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy (5)</td>
<td>58*, 218, 222, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy-ḥmry</td>
<td>139, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy-nfrt; ẖ3nf (6)</td>
<td>56-7, 58*, 104, 200, 277, 301, 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖww (Abydos)</td>
<td>201, 279, 292, 302, 305-6, 319, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖwn-ḫnḫw (7)</td>
<td>59*, 301, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖwn-rʼ (8)</td>
<td>59*, 219, 232-3, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖbi (Deir el Gebrawi)</td>
<td>173, 253, 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖpi-ḫn-ḥšnb (9)</td>
<td>60*, 253, 260, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖff (10)</td>
<td>60*, 252, 253, 257, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖmbi (11)</td>
<td>61*, 252, 257, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖnm-m-ḥp (Dynasty 18)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖnm-m-ḥḫt (Dynasty 13)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖnm-dfšša</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖn-bꜣ</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖnmw-m-ḥḫt</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖrw-k3-ḥnt (12)</td>
<td>61*, 252, 257, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖrw-k3-ḥnt (13)</td>
<td>62*, 200, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖrw-k3-ḥnt</td>
<td>13, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy (14)</td>
<td>62*, 177, 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy (15)</td>
<td>56-7, 63*, 200, 218, 252, 277, 301, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy (Thebes)</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy (Dynasty 12)</td>
<td>93, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iy-ḥnt (16)</td>
<td>63*, 302, 309, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖzi (17)</td>
<td>65*, 277, 280, 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖzi (18)</td>
<td>66*, 278, 284, 285, 288, 289, 296, 298, 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖzi (Edfu)</td>
<td>173-4, 201, 215, 240, 302, 305, 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖzd</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖšf; twt (19)</td>
<td>67*, 76, 252, 259, 260, 261, 278, 285, 287, 289, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖšt; ṭt</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖšff-ḥḫt</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖšt-n</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖt (20)</td>
<td>67*, 219, 228, 229, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖt (21)</td>
<td>Ṣḥ-ḥrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖt</td>
<td>(Abydos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖt (Koptos)</td>
<td>303, 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖdw I; nfr (22)</td>
<td>68*, 200, 219, 252, 278, 301, 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖdw (23)</td>
<td>69*, 177, 179, 185-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖdw II</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖdw; šššššš</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index of Egyptian Names

'3-3ht, 217
'bwtyw, 294
'nhi; inti, 248, 285
'nh-irs (25), 26, 71*, 218, 223
'nh-izzi (26), 14, 71*, 218, 222, 223, 324
'nh-wnis, 57
'nh-wnis (Thebes), 253
'nh-wsr-k3f (27), 72*, 184, 218, 222, 223, 227
'nh-ppy hny-km (Meir), 254, 266, 278, 292, 303, 318, 319
'nh-ppy hry-ib (Meir), 201, 254, 303, 319
'nh-m-'-r' (28), 73*, 252, 253, 257, 263, 265, 269, 273-4
'nh-m-'-r' (29), 74*, 301, 308
'nh-m-'-hr; zzi (30), 75*, 100-1, 167, 177, 184, 187, 188, 200, 218, 221, 277, 301, 309, 320
'nh-m-'-k3i (31), 75*, 177, 179, 183, 184, 185, 219, 228, 229, 231
'nh-m3', 27
'nh-mry-r'; ny-sw-ihy (32), 76*, 219, 222, 223, 325
'nh-mry-r' (33), 14, 77*, 153, 200, 219, 252, 278, 301, 309
'nh-m-r', 273
'nh-m-tntnt, 196
'nh-h3f (34), 42, 77*, 218, 301, 308, 327
'nh-h3f; q3r (35), 51, 78*, 104, 277, 278, 279-80, 281, 285, 286, 291
'nh-h3f, 297-8
'nh-h'f-r', 68, 125
'nh-hfw (36), 79*, 218, 223
'nh-hfw, 51

w3š-pth; izi (37), 13, 26, 79*, 200, 202, 218, 301, 308, 311, 316, 327, 328
wp-m-nfr, 37, 184
wni (Abydos), 189, 325, 330, 331
wri, 298
wr-irnri (38), 80*, 277, 281, 283
wr-ir-n-pth, 27
wr-b3w-b3 (39), 80*, 301, 308, 328
wr-rnww, 120

wr-hww, 190, 191, 195
wr-k3w-b3; ikw (40), 81*, 177, 187, 302, 309
wr-k3-pth (41), 81*, 252, 257
wr-dd-pth, 150, 196
wbnm, 216
whmy, 295
whmnwr (Dynasty 12), 213
whm-k3i, 40
wrs (Dynasty 18), 194

b3wf-r', 168
b3-b3f (42), 82*, 218, 301, 308, 311, 312, 313, 327, 338
b3-8ps, 195
biw, 121
bb-ib; sndm-ib (43), 83*, 220, 234
ppi, 333
ppy-mry-pth-'nb, 170
ppy-nht (Abydos), 201, 220, 238, 248, 303, 319
ppy-ddi, 18
prni-`nhw, 297
pr-nb, 72, 114
pr-sn (44), 48, 84*, 218, 223, 224
pr-sn, 13, 25, 43, 105
pr-[snt], 106
ph-n-mi-k3i (45), 13, 19, 23, 84*, 184, 200, 218, 252, 277, 301, 308
ph-r-nfr (46), 85*, 184, 218, 223, 226, 237, 253, 263, 277, 281, 283, 296, 297
pth-m3'-hrw, 196
pth-nb-nfr, 274, 298
pth-htp d3r (47), 85*, 177, 200, 218, 301, 308
pth-htp (48), 86*, 177, 200, 218, 252, 255, 277, 301, 308
pth-htp (49), 13, 55, 87*, 88, 200, 218, 252, 277, 301, 308
pth-htp; tfl (50), 14, 16, 23, 88*, 87, 88*, 177, 178, 179, 184, 185, 301, 309, 320
pth-htp (51), 89*, 177, 200, 252, 278, 301, 309
pth-htp; iy-n-'nh, 195
pth-htp; iy-ni, 195
pth-htp, 195, 196, 300
Index of Egyptian Names

pth-špas (52), 89*, 218, 301, 308, 311, 316

pth-špas (53), 90*, 278, 285, 288, 325

pth-špas; impy (53a), 90*, 219, 223, 224

pth-špas; impy, 196

ptli-spss, 13, 14, 19, 173, 196, 248

ftk-t3, 295

m3-nfr (54), 5, 91*, 148, 200, 204, 210

m3-nfr, 20, 105, 245

minw-nfr (55), 92*, 217, 218, 301, 308, 328, 329

minw-nfr, 92

mn-'nfc-ppy; mni (56), 92*, 253, 260, 326

mn-htpw-k3ki, 70

mn-k3, 191, 300, 335

mri; idw (57), 93*, 177, 178, 179, 186

mry (58), 13, 15, 61, 71, 83, 93*, 202, 216, 277, 281

mry-ib (59), 39, 43, 44, 45, 48, 94*, 218, 222, 227

mry-pth-mry-r' (60), 94*, 220, 234, 235, 244

mry-nzw(t, 213, 273

mry-r'-i3m (61), 95*, 103, 121, 141, 302, 309, 315

mry-r'-mry-'nh-pth; impy (62), 96*, 200, 219, 221, 233, 238, 302, 309

mry-r'-nfr; q3r (Edfu), 215, 318

mry-tti (63), 14, 97*, 177, 200, 219, 301, 309, 311

mry; tti-snb (64), 97*, 253, 263

mry-k3i (65), 98*, 199, 201, 204

mrri (66), 98*, 278, 285, 325

mrri (67), 14, 99*, 177, 200, 215, 219, 252, 278, 301, 309, 305

mmri, 216

mrrw-k3i; mri (68), 14, 97, 100*, 177, 186, 195, 200, 218, 252, 278, 301, 309, 311, 316, 324-5

mrs-'nh III, 38, 74, 108, 162, 165

mrs-'nh, 85

mrt-itis, 39, 139, 147, 165

mhi, 269

mhw (69), 14, 56, 77, 101*, 153, 177, 187, 200, 252, 278, 301, 309, 311

mhw, 195

msdrw, 297

mnt, 13, 15, 66, 85

ny-'nh-b3 (70), 56-7, 102*, 301, 309, 315

ny-'nh-ppy, 159-60

ny-'nh-ppy km; sbk-ḥtp (Meir), 176, 253, 279

ny-'nh-r', 120-1

ny-'nh-r' (71), 102*, 218, 223, 224

ny-'nh-hnw, 205, 269, 343

ny-'nh-snfrw, 195

ny-'nh-sfmt, 13, 26, 85

ny-wsr-r', 74, 162

ny-m3't-inpw, 294

ny-m3't-sd 186, 196

ny-hb-sd-ppy (Abydos), 64

ny-hb-sd-nfr-r' (72), 14, 64, 103*, 121, 200, 278, 302, 309

ny-hmt, 162

ny-s'nh-3ht; iti (73), 103*, 278, 284, 285, 297, 325

ny-sw-wsr(t (74), 104*, 277, 280, 281

ny-sw-qd, 196, 297

ny-k3i-'nh (75), 104*, 218, 219, 221, 223, 227, 229, 231, 232

ny-k3w-izzi (76), 105*, 218, 223, 285, 324

ny-k3w-pth (77), 106*, 277, 281, 283, 297

ny-k3w-r' (78), 50, 59, 106*, 301, 308

ny-k3w-r' (79), 107*, 219, 229, 231

ny-k3w-r', 270

ny-k3-nzw(t, 140, 43, 48

ny-k3-r' (80), 73, 107*, 252, 253, 259, 260, 263, 273, 328

nymb-hdb, 27

nb-m-3ht (81), 74, 108*, 162, 301, 308

nb-k3w-hr; idw (82), 109*, 177, 252, 302, 309

nbt (Abydos), 63, 303

nbt, 56
Index of Egyptian Names

nfw, 297, 298
nfr (83), 109*, 277, 280, 281, 283
nfr (84), 38, 48, 49, 94, 109*, 109, 132, 277, 281, 285, 286
nfr, 13, 15, 43, 104, 205
nfr-i, 17, 213, 269
nfr-b3w-pth, 43, 47, 48
nfr-m3’i (85), 49, 110*, 301, 308, 312
nfr, 13, 15, 43, 104, 205
nfr-m3’i (86), 110*, 218, 301, 308
nfr-hr-n-pth, 273
nfr-ssm-pth, 13, 15
nfr-ssm-r; šši; wd3-ḥ3-tti (87), 14, 22, 111*, 174, 177, 178, 179, 185
nfr-ssm-pth, 13, 15
nfr-ssm-r; šši (88), 14, 16, 76, 100-1, 112*, 177, 187, 200, 218, 252, 277, 301, 309, 325
nfr-ssm-s3št; hnw (89), 112*, 148, 177, 200, 215, 219, 301, 309
nfrt, 212
nfrt-wnsns, 65
nfrt-k3w, 110
nfrt-k3ws, 102
nn-hft-k3i, 19, 23, 27
nn-adr-k3i, 27, 43
nn-gm, 215
nnri, 17, 127
nhbw; mry-r’-mry-’nh-pth (90), 96, 113*, 170, 173, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 227, 234, 237, 241-3, 325
nhr-k3i, 273
nzw-nfr, 40, 43, 48
nsr-k3w-hr, 339
ntr-wsr (91), 13, 19, 28, 114*, 177, 179, 183, 196, 200, 204, 206, 218, 222, 223, 226
ntr-nfr, 26, 27

r’-wr (92), 69, 114*, 219, 229
r’-wr (93), 14, 17, 115*, 301, 303, 309, 315, 325
r’-wr I, 211
r’-wr II, 195
r’-m-k3i, 316
r’-hr-k3i, 17
r’-hwf (94), 116*, 177, 179
r’-fspas (95), 72, 90, 114, 116*, 151, 184, 196, 200, 204, 206, 214, 215, 218, 222, 223, 226, 252, 260, 261, 264, 301, 308, 318, 320, 328, 330
r-h-mi-r’ (Dynasty 18), 194, 332
rdi-n-pth, 70

hnqw; iy...f (Deir el Gebrawi), 202, 303, 319

hwti, 26, 212
hp, 251
hm-iwnw (96), 42, 111, 117*, 218, 301, 308, 312, 327
hm-r’; izi (Deir el Gebrawi), 303, 319
hnmt-r’, 14
hnwt, 56
hnwt-sn, 123, 147
hn-k3 (97), 118*, 218, 223, 227
hrwy I (Akhmim), 201, 302, 319
hrwy II (Akhmim), 302, 319, 322
hrwy (Akhmim), 212
hzzi (98), 118*, 218, 223, 226, 248, 252, 260, 261, 277, 285, 287, 324
hkni-hmnnw (99), 119*, 177, 179, 182, 183
htp (Dynasty 12), 161
htpi, 274, 292, 296, 297
htp-hr-3ht, 196
htp-hr-n-pth (100), 119*, 219, 232, 233
htp-hrs II, 162, 165
htp-hrs, 39, 78
htd-hkrs, 136

b’-inpw (101), 120*, 277, 281, 282, 283
b’-b3w-pth, 25
b’-b3w-hmrw; biw (102), 121*, 164, 177, 199, 219, 236, 253, 278, 302, 309, 311, 326
b’f-pth, 106
b’f-minw (103), 122*, 123, 147, 169, 218, 238, 301, 308, 321
b’f-hwrw (104), 38, 42, 49, 122*, 147, 168, 174, 301, 308, 321
b’f-hwrw (105), 123*, 135, 168, 219, 228, 229, 231, 232
b’f-snfrw, 49, 110
b’-mrwrw (106), 16, 124*, 177,
Index of Egyptian Names

179, 183, 200, 203, 204, 206, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 226, 233

h'-mrr-nbty, 89

hwi, 64

hwi (Abydos), 63, 303

hwf-htp (107), 125*, 218, 223

hnw (108), 63, 65, 113, 125*, 302, 309, 326

hnw, 196

hnty-k3i; ibbi (109), 14, 101, 125*, 200, 219, 252, 278, 301, 309, 311, 325

hnty-k3w-hr (110), 126*, 177, 179

htw, 276

hnmw; hnmw-nti (111), 126*, 200, 204, 208, 268, 320, 343

hnmw-htp (112), 14, 127*, 252, 260, 261, 278, 285, 287, 326

hnmw-htp, 13, 15, 24, 205, 269, 274, 343

hnmw-nti (113), 50, 113, 128*, 177, 200, 218, 252, 277, 301, 309

hnwi (Zawayda), 119

hndni, 316

zzi (114), 14, 17, 128*, 301, 309, 325

ztw (115), 25, 129*, 200, 204, 205, 215

ztw (115a), 129*, 177, 179, 185

ztw, 333

s3bw; ibbi (116), 14, 19, 22, 112, 130*, 218, 223, 224, 226, 227, 248, 324

s3bw-pta; ibbi (117), 96-7, 130*, 219, 309

s3bw; lti, 91

s3bni (Aswan), 331

s'nh-n-pta (118), 131*, 220, 234

sbyk, 195

sbk-m-hnt, 61

spdw-htp, 26, 27, 124

smnhw-pta; itwš, 285

snfīw-snb, 39

snnw-k3i; kki (119), 43, 48, 131*, 219, 229, 231

sndm-ib; inti (120), 50, 70, 132*, 128, 131, 140, 154, 177, 200, 214-15, 218, 239, 237, 240-1, 252, 277, 301, 308, 331

sndm-ib; mhi (121), 50, 113, 128, 133*, 200, 218, 237, 252, 285, 301, 308

sndm-[ib], 273-4

shptw (122), 134*, 150, 252, 257, 259, 260, 265

shm-'nh-pta (123), 67, 134*, 200, 218, 301, 308

shm-'nh-pta (124), 16, 135*, 149, 177, 179, 183, 200, 204, 206, 252, 260, 261

shm-k3i, 25, 92, 166-7, 196

shm-k3-r' (125), 59, 74, 136*, 301, 308, 327

shntyw, 13, 15

s3lw-htp; hti (126), 40, 42, 43, 48, 55, 136*, 174, 218, 222, 223, 237, 248, 301, 308, 311, 312, 313, 320, 327, 338

s3lw-shntyw, 37-8, 117

s5m (127), 35, 137*, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 252, 260, 261, 328

s5m (128), 138*, 277, 281

s5m-nfr (129), 39, 40, 43, 46, 48, 138*, 139, 164, 184, 219, 229

s5m-nfr (130), 43, 48, 139*, 200, 204, 205, 206, 218, 222, 223, 226

s5m-nfr (131), 43, 48, 139*, 174, 200, 204, 205, 218, 301, 308, 320, 343

s5m-nfr; hb3 (132), 20, 140*, 177, 179, 184, 185, 195

s5m-nfr, 274

st-k3i, 196

sdf3w, 297

šy, 268

špsi, 84-5

šm3i (Koptos), 202, 215, 303, 319, 330, 333

šn'y (133), 65, 121, 141*, 302, 309, 315

šry, 13, 15, 94

šdy-pta; śdhw (134), 141*, 278, 285, 288-9, 326

359
Index of Egyptian Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Subentries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q3r; mry-r'-nfr</td>
<td>69-70, 104, 142, 219, 232, 233, 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i (136)</td>
<td>5, 142, 174, 176, 177, 178, 193, 184, 187, 200, 204, 206, 210, 215, 218, 222, 223, 226, 237, 277, 290, 301, 308, 318, 320, 343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i (137)</td>
<td>144, 218, 223, 226, 277, 280, 285, 286, 287, 289, 291, 292, 328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'pr (138)</td>
<td>144, 220, 234, 235, 276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'pr (139)</td>
<td>26, 145, 219, 228, 229, 286, 297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'pr</td>
<td>184, 196, 254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-'h3f (139a)</td>
<td>146, 219, 228, 229, 231, 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-w'b (140)</td>
<td>49, 122, 123, 146, 162, 167, 301, 308, 321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-inpw (141)</td>
<td>148, 200, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-inpw (142)</td>
<td>148, 177, 179, 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i</td>
<td>41, 43, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-nzwt</td>
<td>248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-pw-r' (143)</td>
<td>16, 19, 57, 149, 269-70, 277, 280, 281, 283, 297, 298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-'nh (154)</td>
<td>154, 296, 297-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-nfrt (27)</td>
<td>196, 202, 212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-hzt (150-1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-onw (144)</td>
<td>134, 149, 252, 257, 265, 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-shm (49)</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-qdi (145)</td>
<td>27, 151, 277, 281, 283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-qdi</td>
<td>298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-m-tnt (146)</td>
<td>71-2, 86, 151, 192, 218, 222, 223, 244, 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-ny-nbf (119)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-ny-nbfwi; hmw (147)</td>
<td>152, 253, 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-nfr (148)</td>
<td>152, 302, 309, 311, 315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-nfr (37)</td>
<td>41, 43, 48, 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hp (25)</td>
<td>27, 88, 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hp; tti (Akhmim)</td>
<td>254, 279</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hp; tti-iqr (Akhmim)</td>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-htp (149)</td>
<td>153, 302, 309, 315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hnt I (Hemamiya)</td>
<td>220, 239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hnt II (Hemamiya)</td>
<td>220, 239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hr-pth; ftk-t3 (150)</td>
<td>154, 252, 260, 325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-hr-pth</td>
<td>273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-sw3 (41, 43)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-s3m (297)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-gmni; mmi (151)</td>
<td>14, 100-1, 112, 154, 173, 177, 192, 200, 218, 252, 277, 301, 309, 311, 316, 325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-tb (152)</td>
<td>155, 219, 229, 231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i-dbhn (153)</td>
<td>156, 277, 281, 297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3h3j (13, 15, 205)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gfgf</td>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmni-m-h3t; gmni (154)</td>
<td>253, 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tp-m-'nh (155)</td>
<td>156, 301, 309, 320, 325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tp-m-'nh</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tti (156)</td>
<td>14, 121, 157, 200, 253, 265, 278, 302, 309, 311, 326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ty (157)</td>
<td>27, 158, 200, 204, 205, 206, 218, 222, 223, 226, 227, 267, 342-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmrry (Naga ed Deir)</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnti (158)</td>
<td>159, 301, 309, 315, 325</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnti, 26, 273, 297, 298</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttti (159)</td>
<td>160, 253, 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttw (160)</td>
<td>160, 176, 177, 219, 253, 265, 278, 302, 309, 311, 314, 344</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-n-r' (161)</td>
<td>39-40, 43, 48, 82, 162, 301, 308, 311, 312, 313, 327, 338</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-n-hr (49)</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-r' (74, 162)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw3-r' (162)</td>
<td>118, 163, 219, 228, 229, 231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dbhn (59, 130)</td>
<td>244</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr-snd (274)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dgm (17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddw-sbk (Dynasty 12)</td>
<td>193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3-mrw (163)</td>
<td>163, 253, 260, 326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index of Egyptian Names

_ōty (164), 164*, 219, 229
_dty (165), 49, 164*, 218, 222, 223, 238
_dty (166), 166*, 219, 229
_dw (Deir el Gebrawi), 254, 279, 294
_dw; sm3i (Deir el Gebrawi), 254, 279
_dw (Abydos), 63-4, 201, 214, 302, 319, 311
_df3wi (167), 25, 35, 166*, 277, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 291, 328
_dhwty-nht (Dynasty 12), 193
_ddf-mnw, 49, 165

_ddf-hr (168), 39, 49, 147, 167*, 218, 223, 224
_ddf-hnww (169), 168*, 219, 229

Name Lost (170), 167, 168*, 218, 301, 308, 321, 327
Name Lost (171), 169*, 277, 280
Name Lost (172), 169*, 278, 280, 289, 292
Name Lost (173), 170*, 173, 220, 234, 235, 242, 243
Name Lost, 184, 243, 273
Name Unknown, 196
Index of Titles

(not including those in the listings of the Prosopography)
Index of Titles

hm-ntr zkr, 258
hm-ntr šamt, 316
hm-ntr (pyramid), 185, 231, 259, 283, 298
hm-ntr (king), 185, 227, 231, 258-9, 262, 283, 288
hm-ntr (Horus name), 231, 262
hry-wd m hwt 'nh, 287, 312
hry-sāt3 n wd'--mdw (nb) n/m hwt wrt, 195
hry-sāt3 n wd'-mdw (nb) n/m hwt wrt 6, 195
hry-sāt3 n wd'-mdw št3 (nb) n hwt wrt, 195
hry-sāt3 n wdt-mdw (nbt) n nzwt, 174, 207
hry-sāt3 n pr-dw3t, 287, 312
hry-sāt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt, 195
hry-sāt3 n md3t n hwt wrt, 195
hry-sāt3 n md3t n hwt wrt nt pr-nzwt, 190, 195
hry-sāt3 n hwt wrt, 195, 197-8
hry-sāt3 n šamt w't m hwt wrt 6, 195
hry-sāt3 (n) k3t nbt, 234, 248
hry-sāt3 k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, 248
hry-sāt3 k3t qd m ///, 248
hry-sāt3 (pyramid), 283
hry-tp mdw n wd'-mdw št3 n hwt wrt, 195
hry-tp mdw Št3 n hwt wrt, 195
hq3 b3t, 312
hq3 hwt, 213

h3w, 272
hmt, 327
hnty-š (pyramid), 185, 231, 233
hrp 3t nbt ntrt, 315
hrp 3tš km, 312, 327
hrp 'h, 228, 287, 312
hrp wsht, 179, 180, 187
hrp pr-hd, 228-9, 296, 297
hrp rdr t3-mdw šm'w, 327
hrp zā (nb), 204, 257
hrp zā iry sprw, 184, 203, 204
hrp zā wsht, 203, 204
hrp zā pr hry-wd, 204
hrp zā n hwt wrt, 195
hrp šndty nbt, 316
hṭm h3t df3w bity, 282

hṭm šnwt nzwt, 273
hṭm df3w bity, 282
ḥt hḥ, 184-5, 207

hry-hb, 226, 230, 262, 288, 315
hry-hb hry-tp, 315
hry sdšty pr-hd, 297
hry-tp nzwt, 150, 179, 182-3, 184, 185, 187, 204, 205, 211, 223, 224, 229, 230, 233, 234, 257, 258, 260, 261, 281, 282, 285, 286-7, 308-9, 310-11, 319, 320
hry-tp nzwt m hwt wrt, 182
hry-tp šnwt, 150, 256, 257, 260, 270, 271-2, 273, 274

z3b n imy-wrt, 191
z3b imy-r zā n k3t nbt, 234, 248
z3b imy-r zā (pyramid), 185
z3b iry nbn, 189
z3b iry nbn m3', 189
z3b iry nbn n hwt wrt, 189, 195
z3b 'd-mr, 173, 178, 179, 180-1, 184, 185, 187, 191, 282, 286
z3b nhtr-hrw, 282
z3b šhd zā, 182
z3b šhd zā n hwt wrt imy-wrt nt hnw, 190, 195
zš 'nzwt (pr-'3), 204, 210-13
[zš] 'nzwt 3ht, 212
zš 'nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3), 210-13
zš 'nzwt šnwt, 257, 273, 274
zš wr md šm'w, 204
zš pr-hd, 293-4, 296, 297, 298
zš pr-hd w3d-swt-myr-k3-r', 292, 297
zš mrt, 70
zš nzwt, 257
zš hryt-š nzwt, 204
zš hryt-š şnwt, 257, 273
zš n zš (pyramid), 185
zš šmsn hwt wrt, 195
zš šnwt, 271-2, 273
zš šnwt hwt-š3t, 273
zš šṭt htp-nzwt, 256
zš sdšty pr-hd, 293-4
zš n t3ty, 334
Index of Titles

sm, 316, 335
sm³' wd'–mdw n hwt wrt, 195
smr, 83, 282, 287, 312
smr w'ty, 182-3, 205, 223, 224-5, 226, 229, 233, 234, 260, 261, 285, 286-7, 288, 308-9, 310, 318, 319
smr w'ty n iti.f, 82-3
smr w'ty n mrwt, 286
smsw izt, 222, 223, 229, 233, 234
smsw h3yt, 173
smsw snwt, 310, 311
shd iry-ht pr-hd, 281, 294, 297, 298
shd iry-ht n šnwt, 273
shd iry-ht n šnwt nt hnw, 273
shd 'prw ' nzwt, 213
shd w'b r' m (sun temple), 227
shd w'b (pyramid), 185, 227, 231, 262
shd pr-hd, 296, 297, 298
shd nht-hrw n pr-hd, 297
shd nht-hrw n hwt wrt, 195
shd hm-ntr r' m (sun temple), 207
shd hm-ntr (pyramid), 99, 185, 288, 308-9, 317, 318, 319
shd zš, 257
shd zš ' nzwt, 211
shd zš ' nzwt pr-hd, 296, 297
shd zš ' nzwt šnwt, 273
shd zš pr-hd, 280, 281, 285, 296, 297, 298
shd zš n hwt wrt, 195
shd zš šnwt, 260, 271-2, 273
sd³wty bity, 79, 260, 261, 308-9, 310, 319
sd³wty ntr (etc), 222, 223, 229, 233, 234, 243
sd³wty šnwt, 268
sd³wty ... pr-hd, 281
sd t nzwt, 327

t³yty, 333
t³ty sktt, 320, 343

365
Index of other Words and Phrases

im3hw hr, 6, 123-4
imy-wrt, 191
iry sprw, 182
iz n pr ' nzwt, 209-10
iz n pr md3t, 209-10
iz n pr hryw-wdb, 209-10
iz(n hry htm md3t, 209-10
iz(wy)n hkr nzwt, 286, 294
idmy, 40

', 210
'prw, 222, 223, 229, 233, 234
' nzwt, 210-13

wsht, 178
wd(t)-mdw, 179, 186, 204, 207,
     223, 227-8, 228, 229, 233, 234, 260, 262, 289, 308-9, 317, 319
wd3t, 93
wd'-mdw (nb), 179, 181, 196
wd'-mdw št3, 196

prwy-nwb, 280, 281, 285
pr-pr-hd, 294

mrht, 294
mdd, 246

n iti.f, 7
nfrw, 222, 223, 229, 233, 234

rnpt zp, 3-4
rnnwtt, 283

hbs m prwy-hd, 294
hmwt, 222, 223, 229, 233, 234
htp di nzwt, 269-70, 295

h3 n t3ty, 194, 333

hryw-', 213
hkr nzwt, 281, 285-6, 290

z3 k3t, 245

šsm, 246

šnwt n nb, 267
šnwt nt hnw, 274

qd, 222, 223, 229, 233, 234

k3t, 222, 223, 229, 233, 234,
     244-7

tnt, 268-9
t3y, 305	nnwt, 269

366
MORE ABOUT KPI BOOKS

If you would like further information about books available from KPI please write to

The Marketing Department
KPI Limited
Routledge & Kegan Paul Plc
14 Leicester Square
London WC2H 7PH

In the USA write to

The Marketing Department
KPI Limited
Routledge & Kegan Paul
9 Park Street
Boston
Mass. 02108

In Australia write to

The Marketing Department
KPI Limited
Routledge & Kegan Paul
464 St. Kilda Road
Melbourne
Victoria 3004