

ASPECTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MEMPHITE REGION
OF EGYPT IN THE OLD KINGDOM

VOL II

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by

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PART III

THE PRINCIPAL TITLES OF SIX IMPORTANT
ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

General Introduction.

It is proposed to deal with each of the six principal titles using a similar method. In each chapter, the most common forms of the title in question will be indentified, and then a list of all of them is given together with the writings. The titularies of the holders of the principal form(s) of the title will then be examined in turn, ascertaining the extent of these officials' tenure of other titles related to the administrative department represented in the chapter. Any associations with the other departments being studied will also be noted, as will any other characteristic titles. The less common forms of the titles will then be examined so as to ascertain the extent to which they are similar to or different from the main ones

The second major part of each chapter will examine the degree to which holders of the same title were contemporary, and if so, suggest possible reasons for this. The wider functions of the particular title and those of the whole administrative department will next be considered, attempting to ascertain the place of that department in the Egyptian system of administration in the Old Kingdom.

In the examination of the titlularies of these officials, the vizier who held the title that forms the subject of the chapter will be discussed separately from the non-viziers. The reason for this is that the study of the broad aspects of the titularies of viziers shows ^εtham to have a greater number of more important titles of almost all types than the majority of non-viziers. Overall, of a total of about 2600 titles for 173 relevant officials, approximately 1410 of them belong to 67 viziers. It will be seen from the following chapters that a non-vizier would rarely hold more than two of the five offices *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt*, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, *imy-r šnwt*

and *imy-r prwy-hd*. The titular of the vizier is also full of high honorific titles such as *iry p't*, *h3ty-* and so on; these titles are never found in the titularies of non-viziers in anything like the same concentration.

Removing the vizierial holders of each title from the primary title discussions enables the study to proceed more easily. One may concentrate then 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 may then be restricted to the chapter dealing specifically with the office of the vizier.

The terms 'memphite' and 'provincial' will be used in relation to the officials discussed. These terms refer to the places of burial, 'memphite' covering the necropolises containing the tombs of men who in all probability were based in the capital 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 Fayum and Aswan.

CHAPTER 3

imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r hwt wrt 6.General.

Of the group of important administrative titles forming the subject of this study, these two have been selected as representing the area of legal activity, hwt wrt (literally perhaps 'great mansion') being conventionally translated as 'court' or similar.¹

Table 9 gives the known holders of these titles buried in the memphite necropolises from the earliest occurrence to the end of the Old Kingdom or early First Intermediate Period.

1. Wb. III, 4.

Table 9 Holders of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r hwt wrt 6.1. imy-r hwt wrtMid Dyn 5

* k3i (136)

'nh-m-'-k3i (31)

ntr-wsr (91)

Djedkare ?

h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)

shm-'nh-ptḥ (124)

Late Dyn 5

šsm-nfr; ḥb3 (132)

3ḥt-ḥtp (4)

* pth-ḥtp; tḥi (50)

Teti-early Pepy I

* nfr-šsm-r'; šši (88)

* 'nh-m-'-ḥr; zzi (30)

nfr-šsm-ptḥ (87)

* mhḥ (69)

Middle Dyn 6

k3i-pw-inpw (142) §

r'-ḥwf (94)

ihy (14)

idw (23)

Later Dyn 6

ḥkni-ḥnmw (99)

ḥnty-k3w-ḥr (110)

* wr-k3w-b3 (40)

§ Moved to a date earlier than that given in the prosopography above according to the arguments given below on page 293.

2. imy-r hwt wrt 6Mid Dyn 5

* k3i (136)

Djedkare

* pth-ḥtp dšr (47)

* pth-ḥtp (48)

* sndm-ib; inti (120)

Late Dyn 5-early Dyn 6

* ḥnmw-nti (113)

* k3i-gmni; mmi (151)

Middle Teti-middle Pepy I

* nfr-šsm-r'; šši (88)

* mrrw-k3i; mri (68)

* mhḥ (69)

Table 9 (Continued)

<u>Middle Pepy I-middle Pepy II</u>	* nb-k3w-hr; idw (82)
* pth-htp (51)	* h'-b3w-hnmw; biw (102)
* mry-tti (63)	
	<u>End Old Kingdom or later</u>
* mrri (67)	mri; idw (57)
* nfr-ssm-ss3t; hnw (89)	
	* ttw (160)
<u>Later Pepy II</u>	

* indicates vizier at some point in his career


There is one example that is not included in this list, as it is not known to whom it belonged. It is a part of a block found in the vicinity of the tombs of q3r and idw at Giza, the title being imy-r hwt wrt 6 m3';² this is the only occurrence of the element m3' with this title. As the title is not attested for either q3r or idw, the identity of the owner of the block is uncertain.

The earliest holder of either title appears to be k3i (136), probably of the reign of Neweserre. There are three further holders of imy-r hwt wrt 6 and seven of imy-r hwt wrt in the fifth dynasty and thirteen imy-r hwt wrt 6 and eleven imy-r hwt wrt in the sixth and after. The latest holder of either title in table 9 is ttw (160) (First Intermediate Period).

There is only one possible holder of the title imy-r hwt wrt 6 buried outside the memphite region, ny-'nh-ppy km of Meir,³ who dates

2. Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, 31, fig. 42.

3. Blackman, Meir V, 1-15, pl. 1-14.

to the middle sixth dynasty.⁴ The title is here written .⁵ 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 wrt 6*. It thus appears probable that neither of the two titles currently under consideration are found outside the capital.

The writings of both titles are quite regular, and show no obvious development during the Old Kingdom that might render them useful for paleographic study. At all periods writings of the group *hwt wrt* with or without the final *t* and/ or the house determinative are common. The the writing of the figure six is most frequently $\overline{\equiv} \overline{\equiv}$, but occasional forms $\begin{array}{l} ||| \\ ||| \end{array}$ are found.

Should one differentiate between *imy-r hwt wrt* and *imy-r hwt wrt 6* ?.

The differentiation between these two titles is very straightforward, as all the holders of *imy-r hwt wrt 6* are 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 hwt wrt 6* as a corruption of *imy-r hwt wrt*.⁶ He will thus for all intents and purposes be considered as a *imy-r hwt wrt*, but his titular will only be compared with those of the more obvious *imy-r hwt wrt* after this latter title has been discussed (page 301).

4. Baer, Rank and Title, 84 (212).

5. Blackman, op. cit., pl. 12.

6. cf Helck, Beamtentitel, 73 n. 40.

The Titularies of the imy-r hwt wrt.

It is not always possible to be able to distinguish clearly separate phases of the career of an individual, as in general the titles held could represent different stages of a career or all the offices the official held during his lifetime. Among the holders of imy-r hwt wrt there are three men whose careers can be so divided: k3i, pth-htp II and nfr-s^vsm-pt^h. The tomb of k3i consists of two separate chapels, one of which was decorated before his promotion to the vizierate and the other after. Only in the former chapel is the title imy-r hwt wrt found. pth-htp II is only given the title of vizier on his sarcophagus, and it would seem that the titles in his offering-room (among which is imy-r hwt wrt) refer to the earlier part of his career. The exact extent of his vizierial titulary is unknown. The part of the tomb of nfr-s^vsm-pt^h in which this title is found was built in the reign of Teti; imy-r hwt wrt does not appear in the later offering rooms. Consequently, the titles from the earlier parts of the careers of these officials may be used in the study of imy-r hwt wrt. Other vizierial holders will be ignored for the present.

1. Legal Titles.

This section will aim to ascertain to what extent the titles of these men reflect other functions of a legal nature, perhaps earlier in their careers. As Helck has noted, the titles mdw rhyt, iwn knmwt, nst hntt and hm-ntr m3't are very much of a legal character.⁷ 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

7. op. cit., 74.

Table 10

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r hwt wrt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
k3i (136)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			2	0	0	X	2	X	
'nh-m'-k3i (31)	X	X	X	X	I	X	X			1	0	0	X	1	X	X
ntr-wsr (91)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		3	1	0	X	2	X	
h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)		X	X	X		X				0	2	0	X	2		
shm-'nh-ptḥ (124)	X	X	X	X	H	X	X			3	0	0	X	2	X	
sšm-nfr; ḥb3 (132)	X		X	X	H	X	X	X		2	0	0	X	0	X	X
3ḥt-ḥtp (4)	X	X	X	X	H	X		X	X	3	0	0	X	0		X
ptḥ-ḥtp II (50)	X	X	X	X	H	X				1	2	0	X	0	X	X
nfr-sšm-ptḥ (87)		X	X			X	X			1	0	0	X	0	X	X
k3i-pw-inpw (142)	X	X	X	X	H	X				0	0	0	X	0		
r'-ḥwf (94)										0	0	0	X	0		
iḥy (14)	X	X	X						X	1	1	0	X	0		
idw (23)	X	X	X						X	3	0	0	X	0		X
ḥkni-ḥnmw (99)		X				X				1	6	0	X	0		
ḥnty-k3w-ḥr (110)		X	X							0	2	0	X	0		
mri; idw (57)	X	X	X			X				1	0	0	X	0		

mri; idw is included for comparative purposes

Key to Columns:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. ḥm-ntr m3't | 2. mdw rḥyt |
| 3. iwn knmwt | 4. nst ḥntt |
| 5. H = ḥrp wsḥt, I = imy-r wsḥt, X = both | |
| 6. z3b 'd-mr | 7. wr md šm'w |
| 8. titles with hwt wrt | 9. titles with wd'-mdw |
| 10. Number of scribal titles | |
| 11. Number of labour-related titles | |
| 12. Number of granary/treasury titles | |
| 13. ḥry-tp nzwt | |
| 14. Number of other high administrative titles | |
| 15. titles with wd(t)-mdw | 16. Royal Institution Titles |

the terms rhyt and knmwt. nst hntt is frequently linked with z3b 'd-mr, which has also legal connotations (but see further below page 291).⁸ The connection of the title hm-ntr m3't with the Goddess of Order is obvious, and this title is doubtless in the period under consideration more of a secular and administrative than religious title. The titles connected with the wsht, 'broad hall', are also of a legal nature.⁹ Others with a similar function are obviously those connected with the hwt wrt. wr md šm'w also falls into this group,¹⁰ but this title can also be associated with the organisation of workforces.¹¹ There are also titles specifically mentioning judgement (wd'-mdw).

Table 11

Total Occurrences of Principal Legal Titles held by imy-r hwt wrt.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Total here</u>	<u>Total overall</u>
mdw <u>rhyt</u>	13	51
iwn <u>knmwt</u>	14	53
<u>hm-ntr m3't</u>	10	64
<u>nst hntt</u>	9	54
<u>z3b 'd-mr</u>	11	81
<u>wr md šm'w</u>	6	80
<u>imy-r/hrp wsht</u>	8	39
Titles with <u>hwt wrt</u>	3	36
Titles with <u>wd'-mdw</u>	3	59

8. id. ib., 82.

9. id. ib., 72-3.

10. id. ib., 19.

11. Fischer, JNES 18 (1959), 265-6.

The frequency with which titles from this group are associated with *imy-r hwt wrt* compared with their total of memphite occurrences (from a total of approximately 1500 officials) is illustrated by table 11. It will be noted that the concentration of the first five titles among this small group of fifteen officials is very marked, and certainly suggests that most of them had some legal background before being promoted to *imy-r hwt wrt*.

Table 10 shows the tenure of 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 overall number of legal titles held by these men decreased in the sixth dynasty, and some of them are no longer found after the reign of Pepy I or so. The two that disappear most noticeably are *hrp wsht* and *nst hntt*.

The title of *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.¹² 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,¹³ but there are several whose date cannot easily

12. Apart from the *imy-r hwt wrt* there are also at this time: *ph-nfr* (PM 3², 632), *htp* (PM 3², 633), *pth-htp*; *iy-n-'nh* (PM 3², 606), *s'm-nfr* (PM 3², 249), *shtpw*; *tpw* (PM 3², 222), *pth-htp* (51), and *sd-b3f*; *ibi* (Giza tomb G7523, unpublished). *pth-htp* (51) is the only one who can be dated as late as the middle of the sixth dynasty, while the tombs of *ph-nfr* and *htp* are adjacent to one another and to that of *r-'huf* (94): as a group they may belong to the first thirty or so years of the sixth dynasty. The others are of similar date.

13. Latest examples other than *imy-r hwt wrt*: *k3i-m-nfrt* (PM 3², 293), *ny-k3w-hr* (PM 3², 236), *s'nh-n-pt* (118), *ny-'nh-snfrw* (PM 3²,

be determined.¹⁴ The title is found in the provinces, but these holders all date to periods later than that already mentioned.¹⁵ *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.¹⁶ Fischer notes that it is a separate title in the twenty-sixth dynasty,¹⁷ but suggests that it was not so earlier.¹⁸ Both writers connect it with *z3b 'd-mr* or *wr md šm'w* as an epithet 'of foremost place', reading *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:

tp-m-'nh - a) *z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt*. b) *hry-tp nzwt, nst hntt*.¹⁹

'nh-m-'-k3i - a) *z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt*. b) *wr md šm'w, nst hntt*.²⁰
(31)

ntr-wsr (91) - a) *z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt*. b) *wr md šm'w, nst hntt*.

892), *šsm-nfr* (PM 3², 249), *nfr-ih* (PM 3², 149, plus unpublished material).

14. *3ht-htp* (PM 3², 57 plus unpublished material), *r'-htp* (PM 3², 125 plus unpublished material), *3ht-htp* (PM 3², 55), *b3-špss* (PM 3², 145), *k3i* (Giza tomb G7524, unpublished), *sd-b3f* (Giza tomb 7523, unpublished).

15. For example, q3r of Edfu (reign of Merenre, *Urk.* I, 251 ff.), and *hm-r'*; izi of Deir el Gebrawi (First Intermediate Period, Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi II*, pl. 17-21.).

16. *Giza VII*, 199-200.

17. *Wb*, Belegstellen II, 323.14.

18. *Dendera*, 99 n. 451.

19. Borchardt, *Neuserre*, a) Abb. 101. b) p. 121 (bottom).

20. Mariette, *Mastabas*, a) 214, 216, 217, 218. b). 219.

c) wr md šm'w, nst hntt.²¹

r'-špss (95) - a) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt. b) wr md šm'w, nst hntt.²²

k3i-'pr - shd n srw, nst hntt.²³

šm-'nh-ptḥ (124) - a) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt. b) wr md šm'w, nst hntt.²⁴

st-k3i - hrp wr md šm'w, nst hntt.²⁵

šsm-nfr; hb3 (132) - a) iwn knmwt, nst hntt. b) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt.²⁶

k3i-pw-ptḥ - a) z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt. b) wr md šm'w, nst hntt.²⁷

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 of titles:

z3b 'd-mr, nst hntt, iwn knmwt, shd wr md šm'w, nst hntt, imy-r
hwt wrt;²⁸

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 šm'w, it is found only with titles that have legal connotations (for hry-tp nzwt as a legal title see below). 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. Corroboration of a sort may be

21. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, a) pl. XX, XXIV. b) pl. XXI. c) pl. XXIV.

22. a) LD II, 64b; Erg., pl. XLI. b) LD, Erg., pl. XLII.

23. Hassan, Giza II, fig. 185.

24. Simpson, Sekhem-ankh-ptah, a) pl. B, D. b) pl. B.

25. Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 85.

26. a), b) Mariette, Mastabas, 399.

27. a), b) Cairo, CG 1563.

28. Tomb of ntr-wsr (91) - Murray, op. cit., pl. XXIV.

gained from Baer's charts of ranking titles, in which $wr \underline{md} \check{s}m'w$ falls below $z3b \ 'd-mr$ and $nst \ hntt$ from period VIC (middle sixth dynasty) onwards.²⁹

In table 10, the example of $k3i-pw-inpw$ is prominent by having more titles than other officials of a similar date. It is suggested that this be made an argument for dating him a little earlier in the sixth dynasty, when his titular would better resemble those of contemporary legal officials.

Only three examples of the title $imy-r \ wsht$ are found with the holders of $imy-r \ hwt \ wrt$, and it does not seem to survive beyond the fifth dynasty. $imy-r \ wsht$ was held in the fourth dynasty by $'nh-h3f$ (34) and Name Lost (170); they were not $imy-r \ hwt \ wrt$, nor were several fifth dynasty holders of $imy-r \ wsht$.³⁰ All these men were 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.

Titles incorporating $w\underline{d}'-mdw$ appear with these officials only from the end of the fifth dynasty. A survey of other holders of titles incorporating this function 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 then in the early fifth ($'nh-irs$ (25)).

It is evident that all holders of $imy-r \ hwt \ wrt$ held several other titles which may be associated with the area of legal activity, presumably acquired in the period preceding their appointment to this office.

29. Rank and Title, 231-9.

30. $pth-htp$ (48), $k3i-m-nfrr$ (PM 3², 467), $r'-\check{s}pss$ (95), $3ht-htp$ (2), $r'-htp$ (PM 3², 241).

2. Scribal Titles.

It is likely that any official who attained a high administrative position may have had titles connected with scribal administration in his titulary, as a man of such importance must have acquired the ability to read and write. In a legal environment this might especially apply, assuming that verdicts, disputes and so on were recorded either for archives or the benefit of the parties involved.

Column 10 of table 10 shows that most of the *imy-r hwt wrt* held some such titles, although only three at most. In many cases the title is also associated with a legal function. Two such titles are *z3b imy-r zš* and *z3b šd zš* (held by *iḥy* and *3ḥt-ḥtp*), as well as those concerned with petitioners (*iry sprw*³¹), found with *k3i*, *ntr-wsr*, *pth-ḥtp II*, *3ḥt-ḥtp* and *nfr-sšm-pth*, and those connected with the *hwt wrt* or *wsht - sšm-nfr*; *ḥb3* and *'nh-m'-k3i*.

3. Titles associated with the Organisation of Labour.

These only appear with *ḥkni-hnmw* and are in all probability unrelated to his tenure of *imy-r hwt wrt*.

4. Honorific Titles.

Column 13 of table 10 shows that all holders of *imy-r hwt wrt* bore the title *hry-tp nzwt*. Such a connection between this and the legal titles has already been noted by Junker³² and Helck.³³ Examination of all 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. *hry-tp nzwt* appears to be held

31. Following this reading against that suggested by Fischer, ZAS 105 (1978), 58-9.

32. Giza VII, 200-1.

33. Beamtentitel, 60.

in almost all examples in conjunction with smr w'ty.³⁴ The occurrence of the title hry-tp nzwt m hwt wrt in the tomb of 'nh-ppy hry-ib may emphasize a less prominent association of hry-tp nzwt alone with titles of a legal nature by the need to add the qualifying phrase, suggesting that the title hry-tp nzwt may have acquired other functions.³⁵ On examining the relationship between the title smr w'ty and hry-tp nzwt in the capital, one finds a strikingly analogous situation with many officials not relevant to this work.³⁶ 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.³⁷

The function of hry-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.³⁸

The title of smr w'ty has been discussed above. It is apparent that the non-vizierial holders of imy-r hwt wrt were not of the high-

34. Exceptions: iti of Zawiet el Mayitin (LD II, 110e-g) and mniw of Meir (Blackman, Meir V, pl. 47-8).

35. Blackman, Meir IV, pl. XV.

36. This is not so marked with the relevant officials because, being of much higher rank overall, they were more likely to have been granted the title smr w'ty anyway.

37. Rank and Title, 231-9.

38. cf Helck, Beamtentitel, 60.

est rank - there are no occurrences of *iry p't* or *h3ty-* in their titularies. There is however only one example of an honorific title of low rank, *rh nzwt* in the titulary of *hkni-hnmw*. This title is overall far more common than *hry-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 *rh nzwt* is not uncommon among the titularies of officials to be discussed below who hold such titles (page 367). *hkni-hnmw* also held *hry-tp nzwt*, and it will be noted from the strings of titles in his tomb that the labour-organisational titles associated with *rh 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.

Table 12

Other High Administrative Titles of imy-r hwt wrt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
<i>k3i</i> (136)	X	X		
<i>'nh-m--k3i</i> (31)		K		
<i>ntr-wsr</i> (91)	X	X		
<i>h'-mrr-ptḥ</i> (106)	X	X		
<i>shm-'nh-ptḥ</i> (124)	X		X	


Key to Columns:

1. *imy-r zš' nzwt*
2. X = *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, K = *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*
3. *imy-r šnwtj*
4. *imy-r prwy-hd*

This term indicates the other titles forming the subject of this work. The most interesting feature is that examples of these titles in the titularies of the *imy-r hwt wrt* are confined to the fifth dynasty, and primarily to *imy-r zš ' nzwt* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* (see table 12). It would appear that there was some concentration of the offices of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, *imy-r zš ' 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 at the end of the dynasty, at least as far as the *imy-r hwt wrt* were concerned, who henceforth held only that one high office. The less elaborate nature of the mens' tombs in the sixth dynasty (with the exception of that of *idw*) suggests that their status was generally lower 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 departments concerned with legal, scribal and labour-organisational matters, at least as far as the non-viziers were concerned.

6. Religious Titles.

The most frequent of such titles is *hm-ntr hqt*, held by *k3i*, *'nh-m-k3i*, *sšm-nfr*; *hb3*, *3ht-htp* and *pth-htp* II. A possible connection between this title and legal officials is noted as inexplicable by Helck,³⁹ who points out that it is often found with the title *ht h3* () . Helck would prefer to associate these two titles with scribes, suggesting that *hqt* in particular was a protective deity for that profession.⁴⁰ There are three occurrences of the second title

39. Beamtentitel, 47-8.

40. op. cit., 121.

Table 13

Presence-absence chart of certain titles of hm-ntr hqt and ht h3.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
ph-r-nfr (46)	X	X				X	X			
wp-m-nfrt ^a	X	X				X			X	
s ^v sm-nfr I (129)	X	X			X	X	X			1
'nh-wsr-k3f (27)	X	X			X	X	X			
k3i (136)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	X	
Name Lost ^b	X	X	X		X		X			
ph-n-wi-k3i (45)	X	X	X		X		X	2		
'nh-m-'-k3i (31)	X		X	X	X	X	X	1		
r'-špss (95)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	X	1
s ^v sm-nfr; hb3 (132)	X	X		X	X	X	X	1		1
k3i-'pr ^c	X				X		X			
3ht-htp (4)	X		X	X	X		X	2		1
pth-htp II (50)	X	X	X	X	X		X	1		
'nh-m-'-hr (30)	X		X				X		X	

References:

- a. PM 3², 57.
 b. PM 3², 339.
 c. PM 3², 762 (unpublished).

Key to Columns:

1. hm-ntr hqt. 2. ht h3.
 3. mdw rhyt. 4. iwn knmwt.
 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.

amongst the *imy-r hwt wrt*: *k3i*, *ssm-nfr*; *hb3* and *pth-htp II*, all of whom also held *hm-ntr hqt*. Table 13 shows the correlation of the two titles with each other and a number of further ones. The table includes all holders of either title in the Old Kingdom, 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 frequent scribal titles are those which also have legal associations (column 8; these aside, the high-ranking title *mdh zš nzwt* is the most common (column 9)). Two very consistent features are the frequency of their occurrences with *z3b 'd-mr* and *hry-tp nzwt*, both of which titles are predominantly legal. 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 did not form part of the standard legal titulary. They may indeed have been guardian deities for this profession.

7. Titles connected with Royal Institutions.

The term 'Royal Institution' is intended to cover royal pyramids, mortuary cults, sun temples and *mrt* temples. Such as are held by the *imy-r hwt wrt* are listed below:

<i>'nh-m-'-k3i</i> (31)	<i>hm-ntr s3hw-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m nhn-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'</i>
<i>ssm-nfr; hb3</i> (132)	<i>hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr</i>
	<i>hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'</i>
<i>pth-htp II</i> (50)	<i>shd w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr</i>
	<i>hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'</i>
	<i>imy-r niwt ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr</i>

	imy-r niwt nfr-dd-k3-r'
3ht-htp (4)	hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'
	hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis
nfr-sšm-ptḥ (87)	shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti
idw (23)	shd w'b 3ht-hwfw
	shd w'b wr-h'f-r'
	hnty-š mn-nfr-ppy

These examples are nearly all of fifth dynasty date. Only four of the officials of that period in table 10 do not appear in this list. One feature common to these four (k3i, ntr-wsr, h'-mrr-ptḥ and shm-'nh-ptḥ) 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 is perhaps possible that the generally less important officials had more 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.⁴¹ These may thus be termed the 'old-style' priesthoods. The titles of shd hm-ntr.... (ptḥ-htp II, nfr-sšm-ptḥ) presumably reflect the new state of affairs where such a title is only found with the highest and most important officials.

Apart from nfr-sšm-ptḥ who was an important official of the reign of Teti (he married a king's daughter and possessed a tomb in a prominent location next to those of the viziers), the only other sixth dynasty example is that of idw. His priesthoods at the Giza pyramids reflect some special association with those cults; his title at the

41. Baer, Rank and Title, 271.

pyramid of Pepy I indicates a position in the hierarchy inferior to that of nfr-ssm-pth. Otherwise the sixth dynasty holders of imy-r hwt wrt show the exact opposite of the situation in the fifth; this is probably as a result of the administrative change which, as noted above (page 297) lowered the relative status of the holders of this title.

8. Other Titles.

Titles with wd(t)-mdw are not infrequent, particularly wd-mdw (m3') n hryw-wdb (holders of these titles are indicated in column 15 of table 10). Together with other examples, these suggest possible legal connotations for this expression.⁴²

On a wider view, all but seven of the thirty-six Old Kingdom holders of titles with wd(t)-mdw are officials discussed in this work. It is thus possible that as well as having these legal associations, this title was the mark of an important official, perhaps signifying his power to command that the business for which he was responsible be carried out.⁴³

As this concludes the major title-groupings to be discussed, the features of the titulary of mri; idw may now be compared with the characteristics noted. He has been omitted from this discussion so far because of the problem of his title of imy-r hwt wrt 6. As will be seen from his inclusion in table 10, his titulary is not dissimilar

 42. ny-m3't-sd (PM 3², 584) was wd-mdw n hwt wrt, while mrrw-k3i was wd-mdw n srw, presumably srw referring to those officials who were often responsible for judgement. See also Helck, Beamtentitel, 74.

43. Three of these exceptions bore very high honorific titles: pr-nb (PM 3², 497), ny-'nh-ppy (PM 3², 630), and hwi (PM 3², 519). Of the others, the titulary of im3 (PM 3², 228) was legal, k3i-m-nfrt 's (PM 32, 467) was legal/scribal, and those of shm-k3i (PM 3², 465) and dw3-n-r' (PM 3², 608) scribal.

to that found with legal officials who date to the sixth dynasty, particularly omitting any higher functions, and it would seem that the grouping of him with the other *imy-r hwt wrt* is correct.

The Viziers who held *imy-r hwt wrt*.

These are six in number: *k3i*, *pth-htp II*, *nfr-sšm-r'*, *'nh-m'-hr*, *mhw* and *wr-k3w-b3*. As it is possible to separate the pre- and post-vizierial titularies in the first two examples, they have already been discussed. An attempt will now be made to discern whether or not the remainder were *imy-r hwt wrt* before their vizierates by searching for significant titles.

Table 14

Presence-absence chart of certain titles of Viziers who held

imy-r hwt wrt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>
<i>nfr-sšm-r'</i> (88)		X	X							X	X	
<i>'nh-m'-hr</i> (30)	X	X	X							X	X	X
<i>mhw</i> (69)		X	X			X				X	X	
<i>wr-k3w-b3</i> (40)												
<i>k3i</i> (136)	X	X	X		X				X		X	(For comparison)

Key to Columns:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>hm-ntr m3't</i> | 2. <i>mdw rhyt</i> |
| 3. <i>iwn knmwt</i> | 4. <i>nst hntt</i> |
| 5. Titles with <i>wsht</i> . | 6. <i>z3b 'd-mr</i> |
| 7. <i>wr md šm'w</i> | 8. Titles with <i>hwt wrt</i> |
| 9. Titles with <i>wd'-mdw</i> | 10. <i>hry-tp nzwt</i> |
| 11. Scribal titles | 12. <i>hm-ntr hqt</i> and/or <i>ht h3</i> . |

Table 14 shows the tenure of legal and scribal titles by 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*.⁴⁴ The titles of *nfr-sšm-r* and *'nh-m'-'-hr* include several which are to be found in the earlier titulary of the almost contemporary *nfr-sšm-pth* and the slightly earlier *sšm-nfr*; hb3 and 3ht-htp. From these it would seem likely that they held the office of *imy-r hwt wrt* before their promotion. This suggests the interesting possibility that the three tombs in the 'Rue de tombeaux' at Saqqara were originally started for men who all at some time held the office of *imy-r hwt wrt* and were of similar rank, and who all 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 may also have held the office of *imy-r hwt wrt* before promotion.

The titulary of wr-k3w-b3 is very different, with none of the distinctive legal titles. It is perhaps possible that much of it has been lost, but also that the titularies at the end of the Old Kingdom were much different to what had gone before, and even that *imy-r hwt wrt* was written for *imy-r hwt wrt 6* (reversing the position of mri; idw noted above) with which office far less legal titles are found (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 t3yty z3b t3ty;⁴⁵ nowhere do *imy-r hwt wrt* and

44. The titles of pth-htp II cannot unfortunately be included in this table, as the exact details of his vizierial titulary are not known.

45. Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 6A; the positions of

imy-r hwt wrt 6 appear together. Thus the evidence for the association of *imy-r hwt wrt* with the vizierate is not very strong. In the cases of *k3i*, *nfr-sšm-r'* and *mhw* it was presumably replaced by *imy-r hwt wrt 6*; there is no such evidence for *pth-htp II*.

Details of the Titularies of the Holders of *imy-r hwt wrt 6*.

A fuller treatment of the titularies of these officials will be found below in chapter seven, for it has been noted that this title appears to be the prerogative of the vizier at least until the end of the Old Kingdom. The only matter to be resolved here is the extent to which the holders of this title had previous legal careers judged in the terms or reference established for the holders of *imy-r hwt wrt*.

Table 15 gives viziers who held legal titles apart from that of *imy-r hwt wrt 6*. It is evident from this that the tenure of such titles by a vizier did not automatically qualify him for the office of *imy-r hwt wrt 6*; for example, *3ht-htp*; *hmi* (3) held many legal titles but does not seem to have held that position. Conversely, there are several *imy-r hwt wrt 6* in the sixth dynasty without any further legal titles: *k3i-gmni*, *mry-tti*, *mrri*, *nb-k3w-hr*, *h'-b3w-hnmw* and *ttw*. Several holders of this office held but one legal title.

Consequently it may be said that tenure of *imy-r hwt wrt 6* did not have a clear relationship to a legal career as indicated in the titularies of these officials given in their tombs. This contrasts sharply with *imy-r hwt wrt*. The motive for promotion to the office of *imy-r hwt wrt 6* must have been different; suggestions for the reasons for promotion to the vizierate will be discussed below.

imy-r hwt wrt in the tomb of *mhw* are not currently known.

Table 15

Viziers who held legal titles apart from imy-r hwt wrt 6.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
w3s ^v -pth (37)	3		X
k3i (136)	8	X	X
shm-'nh ₂ -pth (123)	2		X
ph-n-wi-k3i (45)	4		X
ssm ^v -nfr III (131)	2		
pth-htp dšr (47)	1	X	
pth-htp (48)	1	X	
pth-htp I (49)	3		
sndm-ib; inti (120)	1	X	X
3ht-htp (2)	7		X
sndm-ib; mhi (121)	1		X
ihy (15)	2		X
iy-nfrt (6)	1		X
hnm-nti (113)	2	X	X
nfr-sšm-r'; šši (88)	2	X	X
'nh ₂ -m-'-hr (30)	2	?	X
mrrw-k3i; mri (68)	1	X	
mhw (69)	3	X	X
tp-m-'nh ₂ (155)	1		X
pth-htp (51)	1	X	
nfr-sšm-sš3t (89)	2	X	X
idw I; nfr (22)	3		X
k3i-nfr (148)	3		X

Key to Columns:

1. Number of Legal Titles (not including imy-r hwt wrt 6)
2. imy-r hwt wrt 6
3. hry-tp nzw

The Functions and Organisation of the hwt wrt and its

Principal Offices.

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.⁴⁶ In general, the conclusions he obtained exceed the available evidence, but a summary of the main points is of assistance. Pirenne saw the establishment of the hwt wrt 6, presided over by the vizier, as the major change in the juridicial administration of the Old Kingdom. He believed that each of the six courts was in the charge of a z3b iry nhn, and that the 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,⁴⁷ and suggests that this title shows the senior level of control of the hwt wrt. He assumes that the six courts were situated in the residence, and that each individual court was controlled by a imy-r hwt wrt.⁴⁸

The logical conclusion from Helck's remarks about the overseers of individual courts 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.

46. Institutions et Droit I, 274-7, II, 114-20, III, 78-80.

47. This observation seems first to have been made by Sethe, ZAS 28 (1890), 44.

48. Beamtentitel, 73.

In fact there are seventeen 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, which would give an average tenure of office of approximately fifteen years per man. The total of holders of *imy-r hwt wrt 6* is sixteen, which is sufficiently similar to the total of *imy-r hwt wrt* for there possibly to have been one holder of each title at the same time (for the question of the number of contemporaneous viziers see chapter seven).

The view of Pirenne that the *z3b iry nhn* were in control of the individual elements of the *hwt wrt 6* is based on the career of *wni*. The latter 'heard alone, together with the vizier, all secret matters conducted in the king's name for the harim (*ipt nzwt*) and the *hwt wrt 6*'.⁴⁹ Including *wni* there were at least seventeen *z3b iry nhn* in the Old Kingdom,⁵⁰ one *z3b iry nhn m3'*,⁵¹ and one *z3b iry nhn n hwt wrt*.⁵² It will be noted that 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.⁵³ Further evidence from the same text

 49. *Urk.* I, 99.6.

50. *ny-m3't-sd* (PM 3², 584), *htp-hr-3ht* (PM 3², 593), *shm-k3i* (PM 3², 596), *3ht-mhw* (PM 3², 87, unpublished), *nfr-hr-n-pt* (PM 3², 126), *'nh-m-z3f* (PM 3², 246), *mhw* (PM 32, 94), *ny-k3w-r'* (PM 3², 697), *nh-t-z3s* (PM 3², 721), *'nh-ir-pt* (PM 3², 721), *'nh-ir-pt* (PM 3², 87), *sndm-ib* (PM 3², 756), *inti* (PM 3², 823), *sndm-ib* (PM 3², 253), *sndm-ib* (PM 3², 310), *'nh-m-tnt* (PM 3², 308), *inpw-m-h3t* (PM 3², 562), *nfrn* (Giza tomb G7631, unpublished) and *pth-spss* (PM 3², 626).

51. *hwi* (PM 3², 769).

52. *shm-k3i* (PM 3², 596).

53. cf. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 74 n. 50.

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.⁵⁴ 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 per se it was perhaps not the usual association of the office.⁵⁵

From the evidence of their titularies, it seems that the imy-r hwt wrt were almost always 'career' legal officials, and that 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,⁵⁶ while the ordinary day-to-day running of the institution was carried out on the spot 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 from table 16, 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,

54. Urk. I, 100-1.


55. de Cenival has noted 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).

56. This is perhaps implied by a passage in the biography of k3i-gmni, where he says that he saw to all the matters dealt with in the hwt wrt 6 for the king (see further below page 312).

at which time it is possible that the terms *hwt wrt* and *hwt wrt 6* may refer to the same institution (page 286); consequently 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, so as to connect them with an office otherwise associated only with viziers.

One may only speculate on the reasons for the number six. The obvious conclusion is that 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, so as to differentiate 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. The Location, Nature and Functions of the *hwt wrt* (6).

The exact location of these 'great courts' is unknown. In no instance of either of the above titles is their place specified. However, two titles are found that give locations to individual *hwt wrt*'s: the earlier is *hry-sst3 m hwt wrt nt pr nzwt*,⁵⁷ and the later *z3b shd zš n hwt wrt* () *imy-wrt nt hnw*.⁵⁸ The first title seems to be the earliest mention of the institution, and antedates further examples by several years. 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*.⁵⁹ Both of

57. *3ht-htp* (PM 3², 453).

58. *wr-hnw* (PM 3², 254).

59. Another is also in the tomb of *wr-hnw*, *imy-r gs imy-wrt '3 hr*; one is in the sixth dynasty letter to the vizier, *shd imy-wrt*

these Old Kingdom titles are unique, and such uniqueness may suggest that they refer to special positions. This lack of precision in titles of the hwt wrt is encountered time and time again and impedes one's understanding of the workings of the office, although this is a common feature of all Old Kingdom titles. Even in the rare examples of the hwt wrt (6) being mentioned outside of a title (see below), no indication of their location is given. 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 it as a nome court,⁶⁰ based on the old view of the z3b 'd-mr as a provincial administrator. 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.

 (Grdseloff, ASAE 48 (1948), 510-11); there is also an example in the 18th. dynasty - z3b imy-wrt in the titulary of the vizier imn-m-ipt (Urk. IV, 1440 (D)).

60. Institutions et Droit II, 118-9.

Little evidence is forthcoming from contemporary sources as to what took place in the *hwt wrt* (6) in the Old Kingdom, and occurrences of these terms separate from titles are especially rare.

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 mrt 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 //*.⁶¹ '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,⁶² you shall send him to the *hwt wrt*. He shall be sent to the granite (quarries) and his harvest ?shall be given to...??'.⁶³
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-' srw n rwt hwt wrt 'Have I not come back because of the officials at the gate of the hwt wrt ?'*.⁶⁴
3. In the biography of *k3i-m-tnt* (146), the 'secret matters of the *hwt wrt* 's' are mentioned:- *//w hr mdw n st3 m hwt wrt*.⁶⁵
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. In the second section however, the deceased speaks to anyone who may have been beaten or imprisoned

61. Goedicke, Königl. Dokumente, 31; Fischer, MDAIK 16 (1958), 135 n. 2.

62. For these terms, see Goedicke, op. cit., 26-7.

63. For the restoration, see id. ib., 31-2.

64. HPBM, pl. LXXXA 3; Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 453, 458-9.

65. Urk. I, 183.10; Schott, Fs Otto, 450.

through the actions of the hwt wrt because of him:- ir rmt nb
 hnr.sn hr.s hwiw.sn hr.s m hwt wrt.⁶⁶

5. The responsibility of k3i-gmni (151) for carrying out the desires of the king in the hwt wrt 6 is mentioned in his biography:- wd.n hm.f ht nbt mrret 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'. 'His majesty ordered all that he desired to be done in the hwt wrt 6; regarding all the things which his majesty ordered be done in the hwt wrt 6 in truth, they happened truly through my action'.⁶⁷
6. The function of the vizier and the z3b iry nhn is mentioned in the biography of wni (see discussion here page 307).⁶⁸

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 is used as a general term to refer to all the happenings in the law-courts. Turning to the references to the hwt wrt, from the Abydos decree it is clear 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.⁶⁹ The biography of k3i-m-tnnt (146) 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 3ht-htp; hmi is the only evidence

66. Inscription A: Hassan, Saqqara I, pl. XXVII B, fig. 18 (line 48); Inscription B: id. ib., pl. XXVIII C, fig. 17 (line 26-7).


67. As reconstructed by Edel, MIO 1 (1953), Taf. II.


68. Urk. I, 99.6


69. See Posener-Kriéger, op. cit., 459-60 (p).

for the punishments meted out by the *hwt wrt*.⁷⁰

Sparse though this material is, it tends to reinforce 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 residence⁷¹ may derive from a Middle Kingdom title  found on a stela of *ddw-sbk*.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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 *dhwtj-nht* at El Bersha (no. 1) , presumably *imyw-r hwt wrt*, are shown among people pulling a shrine.⁷⁴ With them are men of *p*, *dp*, *wnw*, Lower Egyptian Nomes 4/5 as well as the *mrt nzwt* and the *msw nzwt*. Nothing seems to be known about the *hwt wrt* in the Middle Kingdom, but the association of these men with such ceremonies as this, as well as with the people

70. 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 */// hr.s gri m hwt wrt ipi* (el-Fikey, *Re-wer*, 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.

71. *Beamtentitel*, 73.


72. British Museum 255 - *BM Stelae* IV, pl. 36, cf Helck, *Verwaltung*, 73.

73. For a convenient, if not exhaustive, set of examples, see Weil, *Veziere*, Indices, 54 (Middle Kingdom), 123 (New Kingdom) and 162 (Late Period).

74. Newberry, *El Bersheh* II, pl. IX (8).

of these ancient cities is not what one would expect in the Old Kingdom from the above study of titles.

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.⁷⁵

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 of the 'Duties of the Vizier' found in Theban private tombs;⁷⁶ the inscription of *ms* is also important, especially from the viewpoint of disputes over land.⁷⁷ From these 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 would always act for 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' (), 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

75. Smither, *JEA* 34 (1948), 31-4.

76. Tomb of *wsr* (no. 61; PM 12, 246); tomb of *imn-m-ipt* (no. 29; PM 12, 46); tomb of *rh-mi-r'* (no. 100; PM 12, 206). A convenient edition may be found in *Urkunden* 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).

77. Gardiner, *Inscr. of Mes.*

refer back to an ancient one that had survived in a title only held by the senior legal official of the land. That the *hwt wrt* (6) were actual institutions in the Old Kingdom seems very likely from the above evidence, and it is probable that they were replaced by a new system in a later period, with only the title *imy-r hwt wrt 6* remaining.

The range of activities connected with the *hwt wrt* may be gauged from the titles associated with it, which are given in table 16.⁷⁸ Titles 1-6 in this table are scribal in character, titles 7-14 connected with judgement, and titles 15-23 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 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 *z3b imy-r zš* and *hrp zš iry 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 officials may have been of insufficient status or means to have an elaborate tomb.

Far more references are made to the *hwt wrt* in titles connected with judgement (*wḏ'-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 are split between judging everything (*wḏ'-mdw (nb)*) and judging secret matters (*wḏ'-mdw št3*). These may be not unrelated to the two catego-

78. There is no representational evidence for the activities of the *hwt wrt* in the Old Kingdom.

Table 16Titles incorporating the element hwt wrt (6).



<u>Title</u>	<u> Holders</u>
1. shd zš n hwt wrt	2
2. imy-r zš n hwt wrt	1
3. hrp zš n hwt wrt	2
4. zš smsw n hwt wrt	1
5. imy-r zš 'prw n hwt wrt	1
6. z3b shd zš n hwt wrt imy-wrt nt hnw	1
7. hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw (nb) n hwt wrt	4
8. hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw (nb) n/m hwt wrt 6	3
9. hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw št3 (nb) n hwt wrt	3
10. hry-sšt3 n sdt w' m hwt wrt 6	2
11. wd'-mdw n/m hwt wrt	2
12. wd'-mdw m hwt wrt 6	1
13. wd'-mdw št3 n hwt wrt	2
14. sm3' wd'-mdw n hwt wrt	3
15. wd'-mdw n hwt wrt	1
16. z3b iry nhn n hwt wrt	1
17. hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt	1
18. hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt 6	1
19. hry-sšt3 n hwt wrt	10
20. wr md hwt wrt	1
21. hry-sšt3 n md3t n hwt wrt	1
22. hry-sšt3 nzwt m hwt wrt nt pr-nzwt	1
23. hry-tp mdw n wd'-mdw št3 n hwt wrt	1
24. hry-tp mdw št3 n hwt wrt	1

Table 16 (Continued)



References:

1. wr-hww (PM 3², 254), inpw-m-h3t (PM 3², 562).
2. pth-htp; iy-ni (PM 3², 606).
3. ssm-nfr; hb3 (132), pth-htp; iy-n-'nh (PM 3², 606).
4. pth-htp; iy-n-'nh (PM 3², 606).
5. sbky (Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916), 198-204).
6. wr-hww (PM 3², 254).
7. 3ht-mhw (PM 3², 87, unpublished), pth-htp (PM 3², 160), b3-špss (PM 3², 145), 3ht-htp (4).
8. mrrw-k3i; mri (68), ny-'nh-snfrw (PM 3², 892), sbky (Daressy, loc. cit.).
9. mhw (PM 3², 94), r'-wr II (PM 3², 162), pth-htp (PM 3², 160).
10. nn-ki; nni-ppy (PM 3², 686), pth-špss; impy (PM 3², 626).
11. k3i-'pr (PM 3², 262), 3ht-mhw (PM 3², 87).
12. ihy (PM 3², 673).
13. st-k3i; si (PM 3², 160), 3ht-mhw (PM 3², 87).
14. hnw (PM 3², 306), k3i-'pr (PM 3², 248), 'nh-m-tnnt (PM 3², 308).
15. ny-m3't-sd (PM 3², 584). 16. shm-k3i (PM 3², 596).
17. r'-špss (95). 18. ntr-wsr (91).
19. k3i-m-nfrt (PM 3², 467), ny-m3't-sd (PM 3², 584), htp-hr-3ht (PM 3², 593), pth-špss (PM 3², 582), iti-sn (PM 3², 252), ny-sw-qd (PM 3², 585), ny-k3w-r' (PM 3², 697), wr-ddd-pti (PM 3², 541), pth-htp (PM 3², 160). 20. sndm-ib (PM 3², 253).
21. pth-m3'-hrw (PM 3², 498). 22. 3ht-htp (PM 3², 453).
- 23, 24. 3ht-mhw (PM 3², 87, unpublished).

ries of legal documents referred to in the eighteenth dynasty 'Duties of the Vizier' texts.⁷⁹

For the associations of the title z3b iry n_hn with the hwt wrt see above page 307. The element iry n_hn, 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.⁸⁰

79. For example, Urkunden IV, 1109.11-1110.6.

80. Examples, Weil, Veziere, Indices, 34 (Middle Kingdom) and 122 (New Kingdom). It is perhaps unlikely that it is connected with the Old Kingdom title  , probably read mniw n_hn.

The title $wr \underline{md} \underline{hwt} wrt$ recalls the groups of ten men present in the 'Duties of the Vizier'.⁸¹ These latter groups are the $wr \underline{md} \overset{v}{sm}'w$, which have a separate existence in the Old Kingdom, and possibly had a work-organisational as well as a legal function.⁸² The title $wr \underline{md} \underline{hwt} wrt$ is only held by one man who also holds the comparable (and similarly unique) title of $wr \underline{md} \underline{hwt} 'nh$. These may be special titles referring to a more ordinary function such as $wr \underline{md} \overset{v}{sm}'w$ (not held by this man, $sn\underline{dm}$ -ib) in the later Old Kingdom, and may be associated with legal administration. Thus in this respect the functions of the $\underline{hwt} wrt$ 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 $\underline{hwt} wrt$ would seem to be, to judge from the number of holders, \underline{hry} - $\overset{v}{sst}3 n \underline{hwt} wrt$. The ten holders of this office date between the middle of the fifth and the early sixth dynasty. Their titularies differ from those of the \underline{imy} - $r \underline{hwt} wrt$ in some degree, and only one of them subsequently held the latter title (\underline{ntr} - wsr (91)). Legal titles do not seem to be particularly prevalent among the holders of \underline{hry} - $\overset{v}{sst}3 n \underline{hwt} wrt$ with the exceptions of $k3i$ - m - \underline{nfrt} and \underline{ntr} - wsr (91); only the title \underline{hm} - $\underline{ntr} m3't$ is held in nearly all cases. The most frequent honorific title they held was not \underline{hry} - $tp \underline{nzwt}$ but rather $\underline{rh} \underline{nzwt}$, indicating lower rank. However, titles that may have some lower-ranking judicial connotations ($z3b \underline{imy}$ - $r/shd \overset{v}{z}3$, $z3b \underline{shd} \underline{iry} \underline{md}3t$) are not infrequent, and so these men may have been connected with the less important and scribal sides of the courts' activities.

 81. Urkunden IV, 1104.8; for an illustration, see Davies, Rekh-mi-re' II, pl. 25.

82. Fischer, JNES 18 (1959), 266.

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.⁸³ It follows from this that the most probable solution is that the functions of *hry-sst3 n hwt wrt* were incorporated into those of another title, perhaps *imy-r hwt wrt*, which seems to have been the only frequent administrative title in the *hwt wrt* during the sixth dynasty.

General Conclusions on the *hwt wrt* (6).

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 hwt wrt 6*. The courts (the overall number and location of which are uncertain) were controlled on a practical basis by an *imy-r hwt 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 *wd'-mdw* in the *hwt 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 hwt wrt*, with the *imy-r hwt wrt 6* as the hearer of special types of

 83. This is reflected in the lower number of titles and tombs in this dynasty as opposed to the fifth; further evidence will be found in the following chapters in the reduction of the numbers of holders of very important titles in the sixth dynasty.

case or perhaps acting as a court of appeal.⁸⁴ The number of specified scribal functions in the *hwt 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 *hwt wrt* to be usefully established.

84. 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.

CHAPTER 4

imy-r zš^v ' nzwt.General.

This title, 'Overseer of the scribes of the king's documents', is to be regarded as the senior title in the area of scribal activity in the Old Kingdom. Helck sees it as a later equivalent of the older title mdh zš^v nzwt,¹ although this would seem a little simplified as it ignores the element ' nzwt (see further 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 the title in the Old Kingdom, together with the writings. Alone among the titles forming the subject of this study, it does not have variant forms in the manner of imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r hwt wrt 6 or imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd.²

1. Beamtentitel, 75-6.

2. One wonders whether the title imy-r zš^v md3t held by h'-b3w-hnmw (104) is not in fact an abbreviation for imy-r zš^v ' nzwt. The title is written inside a small compartment on a wall of his burial chamber (Jéquier, Pepi II, III, pl. 52); it will be argued below (page 382) that imy-r k3t nbt in a similar location is in fact imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt shortened for reasons of space, and the above title could fall into the same category.

Table 17

List of holders of imy-r zš ' nzwt.A. Memphite:Neferirkare* w3s^v-pth; izi (37)Neweserre/mid Dyn 5s^vsm-nfr II (130)z_{tw} (115)* sh_m-nh-pth (123)

* k3i (136)

Menkauhor

* ph-n-wi-k3i (45)

ty (157)

n_{tr}-wsr (91)Early Djedkare* s^vsm-nfr III (131)* r'-š^vpss (95)* pth-htp d^vsr (47)Mid-later Djedkare

* pth-htp (48)

* pth-htp I (49)

Later Dyn 5

h'-mrr-pth (106)

k3i-pw-inpw (141)

m3-nfr (54)

sh_m-nh-pth (124)Early Wenis

* sndm-ib; inti (120)

* 3ht-htp (2)

* 3ht-htp; hmi (3)

irw-k3-pth (13)

* sndm-ib; mhi (121)

Later Wenis

* ihy (15)

* iy-nf^vrt; š^v3nf (6)End Dyn 5-early dyn 6

* hnm-nti (113)

* k3i-g_{mni}; mmi (151)Teti* nfr-s^vsm-r'; š^vši (88)

* 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi (30)

* mrrw-k3i; mri (68)

Early Pepy I* hnty-k3i; ih_{hi} (109)* mh_w (69)

* pth-htp (51)

Middle Pepy I-early Pepy II

* mry-tti (63)

* m_{rri} (67)* nfr-s^vsm-s^vš3t; h_{nw} (89)

Table 17 (Continued)

* idw I; nfr	(22)	* mry-r'-mry-'nh-ptḥ	(62)
* 'nh-mry-r'	(33)	<u>Later Pepy II</u>	
<u>Middle Pepy II ?</u>		* ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r'	(72)
hnmw; hnm-nti	(111)	* tti	(156)

B. ProvincialLate Dyn 5

* hrwy I Akhmim³

Teti

* izi Edfu⁴

Pepy I ?

* iww Abydos⁵

Early/middle Pepy II

* d'w Abydos⁶

* idi Abydos⁷

Middle-late Pepy II

* ppy-nḥt Abydos⁸

* 'nh-ppy hry-ib Meir⁹

3. Newberry, AAA 4 (1912), 112 (19); dating, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 3.

4. Alliot, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932-3), 22-7; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 60 (62).

5. Cairo, CG 1576, LD Text II, 176 (5); date, Kanawati, op. cit., 33.

6. Cairo, CG 1431; also mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 279.18, 280.15; date, Baer, op. cit., 156-7 (591).

7. A variety of monuments: Baer, op. cit., 61-2 (73a); also Fischer, AJA 66 (1972), 65-9; date, see the prosopography under ihy-nḥt (16).

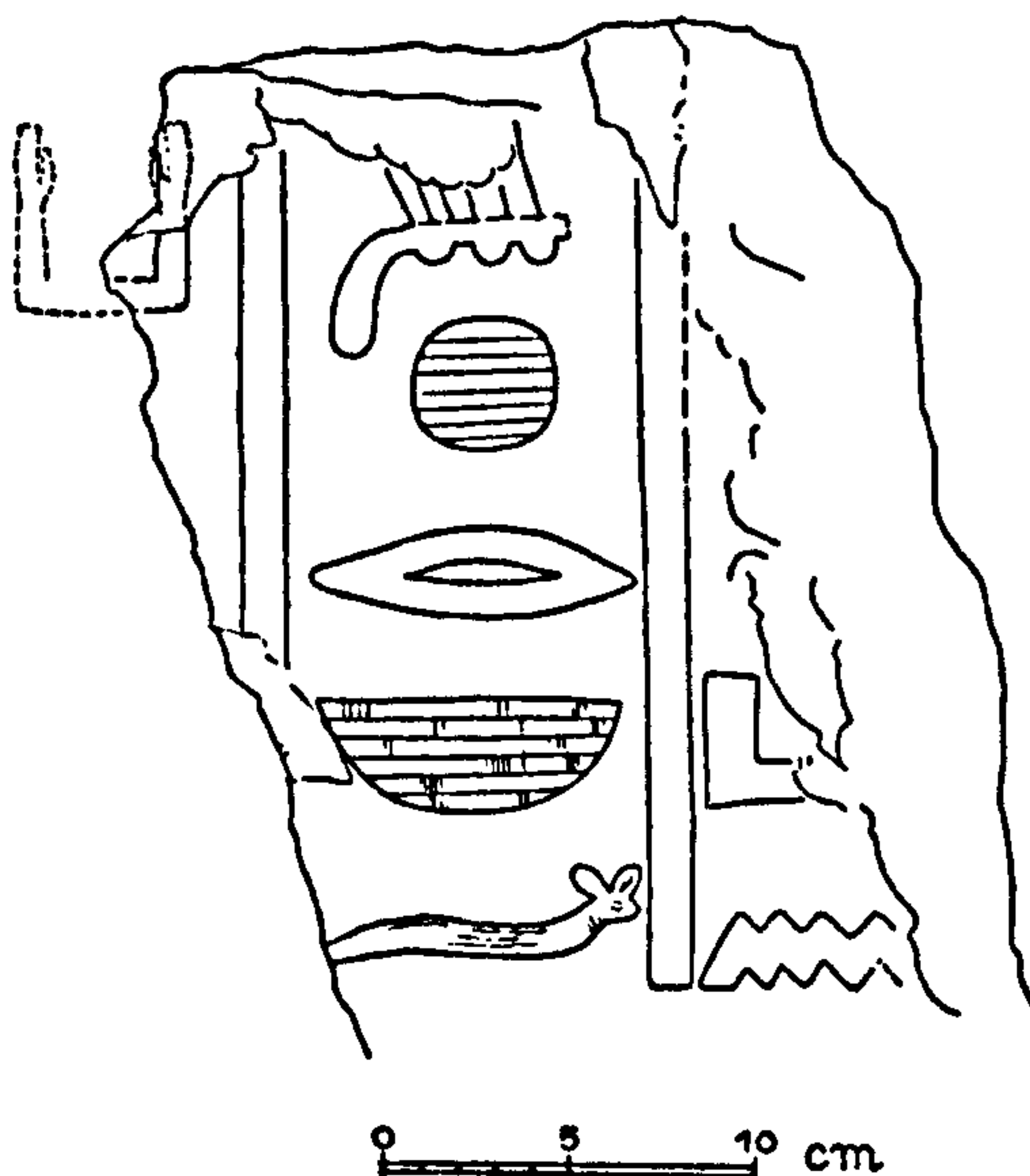
8. Cairo, CG 1573; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 71 (135), Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 89.

9. Blackman, Meir IV, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (133).

Table 17 (Continued)Late Pepy II-post Old Kingdom* $\text{Ym}3i$ Koptos¹⁰* hnqw; iy...f Deir el Gebrawi¹¹

There are three tombs in which titles appear that have been interpreted as $\text{imy-r zš}^{\text{v}}$ ' nzwt but are not so considered here. All three antedate the earliest certain occurrences of the title $\text{imy-r zš}^{\text{v}}$ ' nzwt in the reign of Neferirkare. The first is found on a damaged block in the tomb of k3i-m-nfrt at Giza (GIIS) (figure 12).¹²

Figure 12: Block from the Tomb of k3i-m-nfrt at Giza.






Junker, Giza X, Abb. 13.

10. Mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 295-305; date, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 112-4.

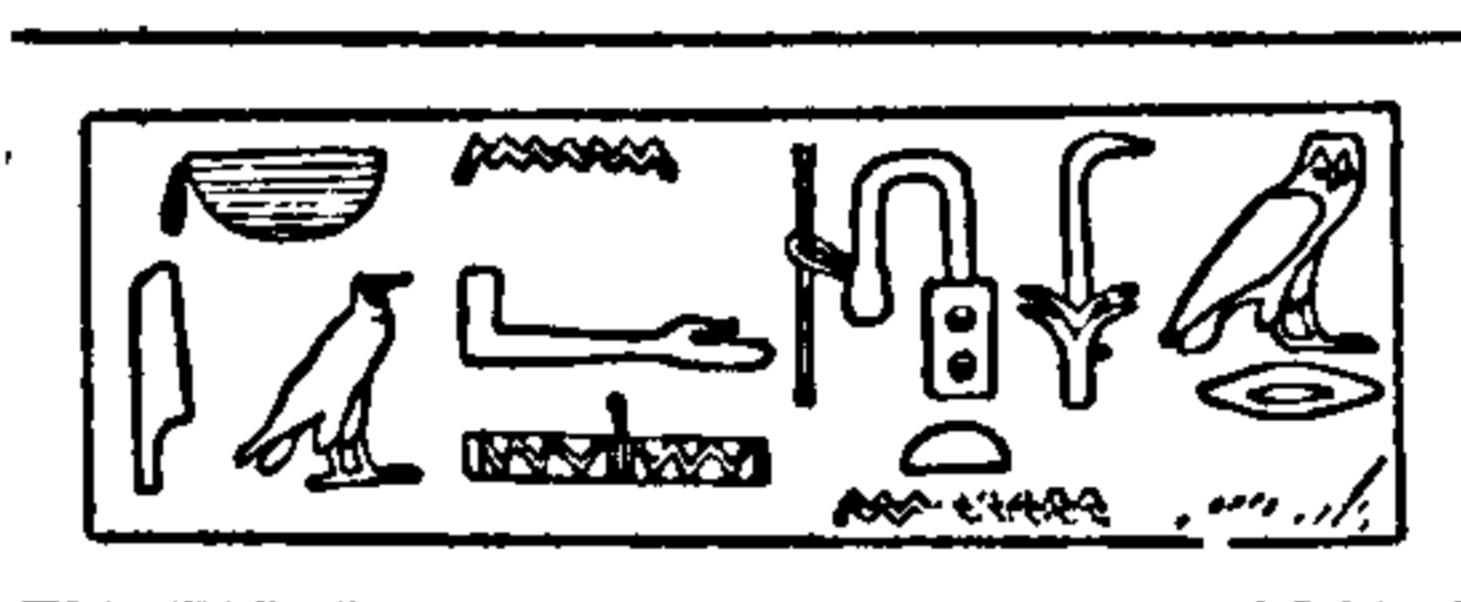
11. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XXIII-XXXVI; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 117.

12. PM 3², 218.

Junker restores this to . It is also possible to restore , zš ' nzwt, which title has the advantage of being attested in the fourth dynasty, while imy-r zš ' nzwt is not.¹³

The second occurrence is in the tomb of mry (58) at Saqqara, where  is read by Helck as imy-r zš ' nzwt,¹⁴ but corrected by Fischer to imy-r zš md3t n 'w nzwt.¹⁵ Although not an example of the title under consideration here, it is always possible that this represents an earlier equivalent (see page 354 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):¹⁶



As there is a substantial break beneath the r, it is unlikely that all the signs are to be read as one title imy-r zš ' nzwt. Since both imy-r pr and zš ' nzwt appear elsewhere in the tomb among the titles of k3i-pw-nzwt, there can be little doubt that they should be restored here.¹⁷

The title of imy-r zš ' nzwt first appears in the titulary of the vizier w3š-pth, dated to the reign of Neferirkare. There are twenty-one further holders in the fifth dynasty but only eighteen in the sixth, and that principally before the second quarter of the reign of Pepy II. After that time only 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.

13. In the titulary of izi (17) from Saqqara.



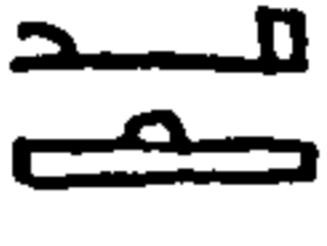

14. op. cit., 75.

15. Varia, 29-30.

16. PM 3^c, 135; this illustration is from Junker, Giza III, Abb. 16.

17. Junker, op. cit., Abb. 15 (this could also be read imy-r pr hm-k3), and Abb. 17.

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 zš^v ' nzwt*. At least five of these viziers with *imy-r zš^v ' 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 zš^v n ' nzwt*, with an extra *n* not belonging to the writing of *nzwt*.¹⁸ The position of the *t* of *nzwt* varies in the fifth dynasty but in the sixth is most frequently written after the  , above the  . The 'element is usually written  , but occasionally appears without the bookroll, or with the bookroll written after the  . In the latter case (that of *h'-mrr-ptḥ* (106)), it is indeed not impossible that the title should be read *imy-r zš^v md3t n ' nzwt* as with *mry* (58) (see previous page), although the rarity of this title and the relative commonness of *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt* perhaps argue against this.

The Titularies of the non-vizierial *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt*.

The need to distinguish between non-vizierial and vizierial holders of any title has already been discussed. Of the memphite holders of this title there are only twelve who did not hold the vizierate, as opposed to twenty-nine who did. It is additionally possible to study the titles of three men who certainly held *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt* before their promotion as vizier - *k3i*, *šsm-nfr* III, and *r'-šps* - making a total

18. On the question of this extra *n*, and a somewhat unlikely later interpretation, see Ward, *Or* 51 (1982), 382-9.

of fifteen.

1. Scribal Titles.

Under this heading are included all titles incorporating the word $z\check{s}$, 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 in preference to) simply scribal functions, such as $hrp\ z\check{s}$ $iry\ sprw$ and $hrp\ z\check{s}\ wsht$. These and other major title groups may be represented as a presence-absence chart in table 18.

The most obvious conclusion from table 18 is that the number of scribal titles was not necessarily high, which suggests that these men may have in many cases followed careers that were not solely involved with the processes of writing. Such a general scattering of scribal titles would perhaps result from involvement with the bureaucratic aspects of an administrative department.

2. Legal Titles.

The number of principal legal titles (as established in chapter 3) held by $imy-r\ z\check{s}'\ nzwt$ is given in column 10 of table 18. $hrp\ z\check{s}$ $iry\ sprw$ is counted as a legal as well as scribal title.

It is apparent that far more legal than scribal titles were held. It would thus seem quite likely that about half of these officials followed a mainly legal career before receiving a promotion to the office of $imy-r\ z\check{s}'\ nzwt$. Of the seven officials with many legal titles ($k3i$, $ntr-wsr$, $h'-mrr-pt\check{h}$, $k3i-pw-inpw$, $r'-\check{s}pss$, $m3-nfr$, $shm-'nh-pt\check{h}$), 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 to be also promoted to $imy-r\ z\check{s}'\ nzwt$.

Table 18

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r zš ' nzwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>ssm-nfr</u> II (130)				X		X			X	0	0	1		X		
<u>k3i</u> (136) *		X	X						X	6	0	2	X	X	X	
<u>ztw</u> (115)			X							0	0	0				X
<u>ty</u> (157)				X						0	0	1			X	X
<u>mrw-k3</u> (65)										0	0	1				
<u>ntr-wsr</u> (91)	X	X								7	1	2	X	X		
<u>ssm-nfr</u> III (131) *										2	0	0				X
<u>r'-špss</u> (95) *	X	X	X						X	8	0	2	X	X	X	
<u>h'-mrr-ptḥ</u> (106)										4	2	2	X			
<u>k3i-pw-inpw</u> (141)	X	X						X		6	0	0	X			
<u>m3-nfr</u> (54)	X	X			X		X		X	7	0	0	X			X
<u>shḥ-'nh-ptḥ</u> (124)	X				X					7	0	2	X	X	X	
<u>irw-k3-ptḥ</u> (13)										1	0	0				
<u>hnmw</u> (111)										0	0	0				X

* indicates vizier in later career

Key to Title columns:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <u>hrp zš</u> (nb) | 2. <u>hrp zš iry sprw</u> |
| 3. <u>mdh zš nzwt</u> | 4. <u>zš hryt-' nzwt</u> |
| 5. <u>zš wr md šm'w</u> | 6. <u>zš ' nzwt</u> |
| 7. <u>hrp zš pr hry-wdb</u> | 8. <u>hrp zš wsḥt</u> |
| 9. Other scribal titles | 10. Number of legal titles |
| 11. Number of Labour titles | 12. Number of other high offices |
| 13. <u>hry-tp nzwt</u> | 14. Titles with <u>wd(t)-mdw</u> |
| 15. Religious titles | 16. Royal Institution titles |
-

This does not explain the titularies of the seven remaining officials ($\check{s}\check{s}m-nfr$ II, $z\check{t}w$, $mrw-k3i$, $\check{t}y$, $\check{s}\check{s}m-nfr$ III, $irw-k3-pt\check{h}$, $hnmw$). That of the last is damaged, but he was also so far separated from the others in date that conclusions valid for them may not apply to him. The data on $irw-k3-pt\check{h}$ is so restricted that little can be said, although his possession of the title $z3b$ 'd-mr may group him with the legal officials. Little also is preserved of the titulary of $mrw-k3i$. $\check{s}\check{s}m-nfr$ II is an example of a $imy-r$ $z\check{s}$ 'nzwt who may have worked his way through a series of scribal offices. $z\check{t}w$ held the title $md\check{h}$ $z\check{s}$ nzwt, found with $k3i$ and $r'-\check{s}pss$ here as well as with other very important officials.¹⁹ This was presumably an important scribal office (see further below page 352 ff.). The relationship of $\check{s}\check{s}m-nfr$ III to $\check{s}\check{s}m-nfr$ II may permit his titulary to be explained in the same manner as that of his father. $\check{t}y$'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 11 of table 18 shows that there is very little in the way of this type of title in the titularies of the $imy-r$ $z\check{s}$ 'nzwt. The two officials so indicated, $n\check{t}r-wsr$ and $h'-mrr-pt\check{h}$, also held $imy-r$ $k3t$ nbt (nt) nzwt, and this may well be the explanation for the occurrences of these titles.

4. Honorific Titles.

The most frequently found honorific title is $hry-tp$ nzwt (column 13 in table 18). This is not surprising because of the relationship

 19. For example: third dynasty, $hzy-r'$ (PM 3²,437); dynasty four, $hm-iwnw$ (96) and $dw3-n-r'$ (161); dynasty six, $'nh-m'-hr$ (30), mrr (67) and $nfr-\check{s}\check{s}m-s\check{s}3t$ (89).

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 z_{tw}, ty, and hnmw. As illustrated by its position in Baer's ranking charts,²⁰ this title outranks that of hry-tp nzwt. This is more significant with the two fifth dynasty examples, as most of even the moderately important officials buried around the pyramid of Pepy II (of which hnmw is one) hold at least the rank of smr w'ty and not infrequently that of 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 which are almost as exceptional as that of ty were also possessed by other men with titles not unlike those of iri sn which he mentions very frequently, such as ny-'nh-hnmw and hnmw-htp (manicurists)²¹ and nfr and k3h3i (singers),²² but their titularies are shorter than that of ty and do not contain such a high honorific title as smr w'ty. Thus ty should be viewed as 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 by virtue of royal favour. This is an alternative to the view of him making his career principally as a scribe.

z_{tw} attained even higher rank than ty, possessing additionally the titles of h3ty-', sd3wty bity, and r p nb among others. His especially high rank is to be attributed to his position as z3 nzwt n ht.f (compare r'-m-k3i²³). As such people in the middle fifth dynasty did not generally hold high civil office,²⁴ he may have acquired the title

20. Rank and Title, 231-9.

21. PM 3², 641 ff.

22. PM 3², 639 ff.

23. PM 3², 487.

24. Schmitz, Königssohn, 167-8.

before his attainment of the highest position, assuming that he was not a true king's son.

The titularies of ^vssm-nfr II and III do not incorporate a single honorific title. The similarity is surely to be explained by their relationship, but it is interesting that they do not fall into either of the two classes (favoured individuals or legal officials) described above. They add weight to the contention that the title hry-tp nzwt is an honorific title reserved principally for legal officials, as otherwise one might expect them to have held it.

Other honorific titles are few in number and in all cases seem to be held by either ty or z_{tw} (or both). This is in accordance with the points about their titularies made above.

5. Other High administrative Titles.

A detailed breakdown of the tenure of these titles will be found in table 19. The connection of imy-r z_s^v 'nzwt with the title of imy-r hwt wrt has been mentioned above on page 327, and obviously the careers of holders of these two titles must have often been quite similar before their promotion.

The number of men who held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt as well as imy-r z_s^v 'nzwt in the fifth dynasty is very notable (seven out of fifteen). Some relationship must have existed between the control of royal documents and the execution of works.²⁵

From the almost complete lack of high titles connected with the treasuries and granaries, and the total absence of subordinate ones, one may remark that from the standpoint of imy-r z_s^v 'nzwt, connections with these other institutions were almost non-existent. In

25. Fischer, OMRO 41 (1960), 6.

Table 19

Correlation of High Administrative Titles of imy-r zš ' nzwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
sšm-nfr II (130)		X		
k3i (136)	X	X		
ty (157)		X		
ntr-wsr (91)	X	X		
r'-špss (95)		X	X	
h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)	X	X		
shḥ-'nh-ptḥ (124)	X		X	

Key to columns:

1. imy-r hwt wrt
3. imy-r šnwt

2. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
4. imy-r prwy-ḥd

fact, both examples of such titles above are in connection with the granaries and the officials (r'-špss and shḥ-'nh-ptḥ) hold a total of three 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.

Tenure of more than one high office seems again to be confined to the fifth dynasty holders of imy-r zš ' nzwt, as hnmw, the only non-vizier who held this title in the sixth dynasty, had only this one high office.

6. Religious Titles.

Titles in this group are mainly found in the titularies of ty, ztw and hnmw. The former two officials gained them by the importance of their positions (cf page 330 above), and the latter because such titles

were very much part of the titular in the reign of Pepy II. Most other occurrences of religious titles can be simply explained. The associations of $\dot{h}m-ntr \dot{h}qt$, $\dot{h}t \dot{h}3$, and $\dot{h}m-ntr m3't$ with legal officials have already been noted and these form the bulk of examples. The title $\dot{h}m-ntr \dot{h}r qm3-$ is found in three instances ($k3i$, \underline{ty} , $m3-nfr$). Helck divides the holders of this title into two groups, close royal acquaintances, and legal officials.²⁶ He notes the diversity of the two types of holder. It is perhaps better to term Helck's second group as scribal rather than legal officials, as such classification best covers the examples he quotes and others he does not. In addition to the seven examples quoted by Helck, this title was held by $\dot{h}'f-\dot{h}wfw$ I (104), $\check{s}psi$,²⁷ $b3-b3f$ (42) and $k3i$. $\dot{h}'f-\dot{h}wfw$ and $b3b3f$ fall into Helck's first category, while the titular of $\check{s}psi$ contains primarily titles of a scribal nature ($\dot{i}my-r \check{z}s sp3t$, $\dot{i}my-r \check{z}s 3ht$ LE nome 12, $\check{z}s pr \dot{h}ryw-wdb$); that of $k3i$ contains both legal and scribal titles. A legal official, as seen above, was likely also to have had scribal functions, but the reverse was not necessarily true, as in the cases of $\check{s}sm-nfr$ II and III. The titular of $\check{s}psi$, along with that of $\check{s}sm-nfr$ I, reinforces the conclusion that $\dot{h}m-ntr \dot{h}r qm3-$ is to be associated more with scribal than legal titles. 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.

26. Beamtentitel, 120 n. 3.

27. Cairo, JdE. 68923; PM 3², 443 - unpublished.

7. Titles connected with Royal Institutions.

The principal official in this context is ty, who held titles connected with four sun temples and the pyramids of Neferirkare and Neweserre. With the exception of the title shd hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', these titles are all imy-r of the relevant institution. Such an office at fifth dynasty sun temples and pyramids is unique to ty, and suggests that, whether these titles had any practical function or not, they 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.

The possible associations of titles incorporating wd(t)-mdw were discussed under legal titles in relation to imy-r hwt wrt (above page 301). Ten of the fifteen men under discussion here held such titles, the commonest of which is hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw (nb) n nzwt (9 examples), with k3i, ntr-wsr and shn-'nh-ptḥ additionally holding wd-mdw n hryw-wdb. The tenure of these titles is more common than was found with the holders of imy-r hwt wrt, and suggests that the title hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw, whether legal or not, was in some way associated with the function of imy-r zš ' nzwt. Assuming imy-r zš ' nzwt to be involved with record-keeping, the function of wd(t)-mdw was not dissimilar, particularly if connected with the term wd nzwt used at the beginning of royal decrees.

The Vizierial Holders of the Title imy-r zš ' nzwt.

The details of the titularies of the viziers will be more fully dis-

cussed below; for the present purposes it will suffice to ascertain the extent to which they may have followed the career types already discussed, and whether they held the title before or during their vizierates (or both).

The titularies of *k3i* and *r'-špss* show that they held the office both before and after their promotion to vizier. If the south wall of the tomb of *šsm-nfr* III represents his full titulary as vizier, then he did not continue to hold the office after his promotion.

The viziers in table 20 held the title *imy-r zš ' nzwt* at some as yet undetermined point in their careers. Other important titles identified above are also indicated in this table for comparative purposes. The viziers who were not *imy-r zš ' nzwt* held virtually no scribal titles.

This tabulation shows that the viziers with *imy-r zš ' nzwt* held few scribal titles, less in fact than the non-vizierial holders. The appearance of legal titles and those with *wd(t)-mdw* is however a little more frequent. The number of legal titles held by viziers with *imy-r zš ' nzwt* in the fifth dynasty is much higher than in the sixth. In the sixth dynasty it is possible that several of the viziers held the title before their promotion. Only the isolated example of *hnmw*; *hnm-nti* (111) contradicts the suggestion 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 this title, but since their tombs were built during their tenure of the vizierate there is no way of substantiating this proposal. *hnmw*; *hnm-nti* could have been an intended vizier who died before he was able to hold the office.

It is however dangerous to speculate as to which viziers may have held the title before their promotion. For example, *šsm-nfr* III does

Table 20

Viziers who also hold imy-r zš ' nzw.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
w3s-pt ^v h (37)				X
sh ^v m-'nh-pt ^v h (123)	1			X
ph-n-wi-k3i (45)	1	5	X	X
pth-ht ^v p dš ^v r (47)				
pth-ht ^v p (48)		1		
pth-ht ^v p I (49)		3	X	
sndm-ib; inti (120)	1	1	X	
3ht-ht ^v p (2)	2	7		X
3ht-ht ^v p; hmi (3)				
sndm-ib; m ^v hi (121)		1		X
i ^v hy (15)		2		X
iy-nf ^v rt (6)		1		
hnmw-nti (113)		2	X	X
k3i-g ^v mi (151)			X	
nfr-sš ^v m-r' (88)		2	X	X
mrrw-k3i (68)			X	
hnty-k3i (109)			X	
m ^v hw (69)		4	X	X
pth-ht ^v p (51)		1		
mry-tti (63)				
mrri (67)	1			
nfr-sš ^v m-sš ^v 3t (89)	1	2		X
'nh ^v -mry-r' (33)			3	
idw I; nfr (22)		2		X
ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72)				
tti (156)	1			

Key overleaf

Key to columns:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Number of scribal titles. | 2. Number of legal titles. |
| 3. Titles with <u>wd(t)</u> -mdw. | 4. <u>hry-tp</u> nzwt. |

not include imy-r zš 'nzwt in his vizierial titulary but it is clear that he held it in his earlier career. The unknown factor is however whether ssm-nfr did not bother to include it on this one wall as it was to be found elsewhere in the tomb, although against this one notes that the titles hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nb n nzwt and imy-r prwy-'h3w appear in both locations.

The tomb of ssm-nfr III thus throws some doubt on the generally accepted view that an official would represent in his tomb titles that were probably, in Baer's words, 'the accumulation of a lifetime'.²⁸ Baer in fact quotes evidence in the pages following this remark that contradicts it - the title strings of izi (Edfu) and nḥbw (90) do not in fact include all the titles held in the earlier stages of their career as given in their biographies.²⁹ The same may also be said for the biographies of pth-špss, k3i-gmni (151), and s3bw; ibbi (116).³⁰ This suggests that titles shown in the main strings (the principal listings) were those considered the most important at the time of the tomb's decoration. It has also been seen in the previous chapter that k3i did not continue to hold the title of imy-r ḥwt wrt after his promotion to the vizierate. Similar examples must be visible elsewhere.

28. Rank and Title, 35.

29. The title smw h3yt nt //// appears in the biography of izi but not in his title strings (cf Baer, Rank and Title, 36). Similarly the titles qd, shd qd, imy-r qd and mdh qd are only found in the biography of nḥbw (cf Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 7-8).

30. pth-špss and s3bw; ibbi mention the title hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt in their biographies but not in the strings of titles (false doors: BM Stelae I, pl. XVII (BM 682); Cairo, CG 1565). The title z3b 'd-mr in the biography of k3i-gmni (151) (Urk. I, 194.9) does not seem to reappear in the rest of the tomb.

The conclusion from this is that the titles in a tomb may represent those of a whole career or equally those held at the time a tomb was decorated. Much would surely depend on the preference of the tomb owner.

With the above proviso, one may note some men in table 20 who may have held the title *imy-r zš ' nzwt* before as well as during their vizierates. The two most obvious examples are *ph-n-wi-k3i* and *3ht-htp*, who are both very prominent in the above list as regards both scribal and legal titles. As a warning not to take this argument too far, it should be pointed out that *3ht-htp*'s son *pth-htp* II held a similar set of titles to those of his father before his tenure of the vizierate, but *imy-r zš ' nzwt* was not one of them.

The conclusion to this section is that many vizierial holders of *imy-r zš ' nzwt* do show traces of previous scribal and legal involvement in their careers, although not as strongly 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. It is however dangerous to search for viziers who previously held *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, as there is sufficient evidence to point to weaknesses in this procedure.

The Organisation and Functions of the Offices associated with ' nzwt.

A. The Organisation of *imy-r zš ' nzwt*.

In the discussion of *imy-r hwt wrt* and *imy-r hwt wrt 6* it was suggested that one holder of the former existed alongside one of the latter, the *imy-r hwt wrt* having control of the practical running of the *hwt wrt* (s) and the other (the vizier) being in overall charge. Such

a situation is also possible for *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt*. Separation of the vizierial and non-vizierial men concerned with the *hwt wrt* is rendered simple as the former held *imy-r hwt wrt 6* and the latter *imy-r hwt wrt*; with *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt* there is no such division. Thus for the present purposes, any viziers who have not left clear evidence of tenure of *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt* before their vizierates will be regarded as holding it only at the one stage of their careers.

The possibility of such duality is only to be considered in the fifth dynasty, for it has been noted above that there is only one non-vizier with this title in the sixth dynasty. Fifteen non-viziers with the title of *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt* are known for the fifth dynasty, together with fourteen or fifteen 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^v-pth*) a while before it is found with a non-vizier (*sšm-nfr II* or *k3i*). It is immediately obvious that the number of each class of holder is very similar, which would suggest that at the same moment in time there were likely to have been two *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt*, a vizier with overall charge and a non-vizier who would presumably 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. No evidence exists in writing for this subordination. It is, however, difficult to find another explanation which equally fits the facts.³¹

31. A similar conclusion has been reached by Helck for a division of responsibility in the fifth dynasty (Beamtentitel, 72).

As observed, such a partition was not maintained after the later fifth dynasty. This development may be connected with the other administrative changes in the late fifth dynasty suggested by Baer.³² Another possibility is 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 *t3yty z3b t3ty* and *imy-r zš^v 'nzwt* date from the end of the fifth dynasty onwards. The administration headed by the *imy-r zš^v '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 zš^v 'nzwt* a degree of devolution of administration may have been obtained, and thus one of the probable functions of the non-vizierial *imy-r zš^v 'nzwt* disappeared.

Such a concentration of this office on the vizier may have come about as a result of *imy-r zš^v 'nzwt* being one of the most important of the group of high titles presently under discussion when held by the vizier. All such titles occur frequently in the titularies of viziers, but in cases where the vizier is addressed directly by the king (in letters or decrees), the frequency with which *t3yty z3b t3ty* is accompanied by *imy-r zš^v 'nzwt* is remarkable. Examination of such texts in Urk. I shows this in the following examples: the letters of Djedkare to *r'-špss* (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 beginning of the address of the Dahshsur decree of Pepy I is another possibility (p. 209), although this has been interpreted differently.³³ The other

32. Rank and Title, 300-2.

33. Helck, op. cit., 140.

decrees of Neferkauhor and those of Horus dmd-ib-t3wy to sm3i 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. 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 zš ' 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'-špss (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.

Only limited discussion has been devoted previously to the exact functions of this title, partly because little evidence is forthcoming and partly because the connection with royal records and document scribes is self-evident for most authors.³⁴

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 (above), and without any surviving text to explain its appearance in the Abusir Papyri (irw-k3-ptḥ (13)).³⁵ For this reason, study must turn to the simple title zš ' nzwt and the nature of an ' nzwt.

It is likely that work connected with ' nzwt took place in the iz

34. Helck is more concerned with the history of the title (op. cit., 75-6); he translates it as 'Vorsteher der Königlichen Briefschreiber'. Pirenne translates it as 'directeur de la chancellerie' (Institutions et Droit II, 181, III, 94), associating it with royal archives without further comment.

35. This latter is also the only high title found in these papyri apart from the mentions of bodies of priests named after viziers (Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb II, 568-70, 590).

n pr ' nzwt mentioned in various royal decrees.³⁶ 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 the royal decrees noted above. Helck remarks that there is no example of an overseer (imy-r) for the iz(wy) pr ' nzwt, as there is for the other three in a vizier's titulary, to show overall control of this department.³⁷ He suggests that imy-r zš ' 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/ pr md3t/ pr hryw-wdb, and also imy-r zš ' nzwt; similar titles were held by m3-nfr (54). 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'-špss (95), pth-htp dšr (47), pth-htp (48), pth-htp I (49), k3i-gmni (151) and nfr-ssm-r' (88)). It will be noted that all these officials were also imy-r zš ' nzwt.

It is possible that the title of imy-r zš ' nzwt may have carried with it overall responsibility for these other three related departments, as it is the only senior title connected with them that is found consistently from the middle of the fifth dynasty onwards. There are a few lesser titles found in the departments of the pr hryw-wdb, pr md3t and (pr) hry htm md3t (list in table 21). 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 which used documents to a great extent to be supervised by the same man. k3i and m3-nfr must have been highly fav-

 36. Urk. I, 281.8; 281.14; 284.15; 290.12.

37. Helck, op. cit., 72.

oured to have been the only non-viziers to hold all these four offices.

Table 21

Titles in Departments related to that of ' nzwt.

<u>Department/ Title</u>	<u>Official</u>	<u>Reference</u>
a) pr hryw-wdb		
imy-ht pr hryw-wdb	dw3-n-r'	PM 3 ² , 608
imy-r pr hryw-wdb	h'-b3w-hnmw; t _u tti (159) t _u tw (160)	biw (102)
shd pr hryw-wdb	mtn	PM 3 ² , 493
b) pr md3t		
shd pr md3t	tnti	Berlin 7721
	nfr-s ^v sm-k3	PM 3 ² , 128
c) (pr) hry htm md3t		
imy-r hry htm md3t	hnmw-htp	PM 3 ² , 213
	h'-b3w-hnmw; t _u tti (159) t _u tw (160)	biw (102)

B. Other Offices and Activities.

As with the institution of the hwt wrt (6) 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, and probably at Memphis.

Much has been written as to the nature of an ' . 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.³⁸ It is used in the expression *ir.f ' n dqr.f*, 'to bring suit';³⁹ it can define the limits of an official's jurisdiction, *mhty ' m niwt sp3wt rsy ' m mn-nfr-ppy*;⁴⁰ and can even possibly refer to functions of gods, ' *ntrwy '3 m qbhw*, probably referring to *hw* and *si3*.⁴¹

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.⁴²

The group of men most relevant to the further study of *imy-r zš ' nzwt* are the *zš ' nzwt (pr-'3)* themselves, who would have presumably written and administered the documents, A related title is *zš ' nzwt hft-hr (pr-'3)*.

As a preliminary remark, it is notable that 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* (Meir)); the memphite examples are *šsm-nfr* II (130), *shu-'nh-ptḥ* (123) and *idw* I (22). Of these four only *šsm-nfr* II was not a vizier.

A brief comparison of *zš ' nzwt* and *zš ' nzwt hft-hr* is relevant here. It is immediately apparent that they were titles with different career patterns. Of the thirty memphite holders of *zš ' nzwt hft-hr*

38. For example, Théodorides, *RIDA* 3e Ser. 20 (1973), 78; Vandier, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 37; Baer, *ZAS* 93 (1966), 6-7; Gunn, *JEA* 34 (1948), 28 (3).

39. *Urk.* I, 13.4.

40. *Urk.* I, 220.2-3.

41. *Pyr.* 467c, cf Baer, *loc. cit.*

42. cf Goedicke, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 31-2, with references, especially Vandier, *RdE* 2 (1936), 46, and Harari, *Contribution a l'étude de la Procédure Judiciaire dans l'Ancien Empire Egyptien*, 29.

(pr-'3)⁴³ and forty-seven zš ' nzwt (pr-'3),⁴⁴ only seven held both titles.⁴⁵ The most common honorific title with zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) is rh nzwt while with zš ' nzwt hft-hr it is hry-tp nzwt, rh nzwt being found only with the earliest examples.⁴⁶

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 at Saqqara and nfr 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/late fifth dynasty but is principally a sixth dynasty title. hry-tp nzwt is far more common than rh nzwt with zš ' nzwt (pr-'3) in

 43. zš ' nzwt hft-hr: r'-wr I (PM 3², 158), ir-n-3ht (PM 3², 250), ssm-nfr (PM 3², 891), impy (PM 3², 688), ny-sw-ptḥ (PM 3², 168), idw (23), mtw (PM 3², 736), 'nh-wds (PM 3², 167), biw (PM 3², 677), hnni (PM 3², 677), mmi (PM 3², 652), pth-m-h3t (Moussa-Altenmüller, MDAIK 36 (1980), 331-47), mri (*id. ib.*, 343-6), hzi (Saleh, MDAIK 30 (1974), 149), ttti (159), 3ht-htp; ipi-wd3w (PM 3², 606), ppy-snb (PM 3², 736), hnni (PM 3², 222), ssm-nfr; ifi (PM 3², 250), idw II (PM 3², 165), nfr-ssm-sš3t; hnw (Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916), 211-2 (1,2)), sndm-ib; inti (PM 3², 161), iy-mry (Cairo, CG 1347), sndm-ib (Giza tomb G2364, unpublished).

zš ' nzwt hft-hr pr-'3: ny-sw-ptḥ (PM 3², 168), sbk-htp (PM 3², 685), mrw (Daressy, *op. cit.*, 195-8).

44. zš ' nzwt: izi (17), nfr (84), nfr-ssm-hwfw (PM 3², 306), k3i-nfr (PM 3², 133), pr-sn (44), snnw-k3i (119), k3i-pw-nzwt (PM 3², 135), r'-wr I (PM 3², 158), ty (PM 3², 450), ssm-nfr II (130), wr-ir-n-ptḥ (PM 3², 699), ph-n-ptḥ (PM 3², 158), nht-k3i (PM 3², 240), ir-n-3ht (PM 3², 250), wr-hww (PM 3², 254), m3-nfr (PM 3², 768), nfr-n-hwfw (PM 3², 299), nfr-htp (PM 3², 451), r'-nfr (PM 3², 307), r'-htp (PM 3², 480), k3i-hr-stf (PM 3², 693), Name Lost (PM 3², 824), hnmw-htp (PM 3², 213), dw3-r' (PM 3², 611), dndnw (PM 3², 611), Name Lost (PM 3², 760), idw (23), mtw (PM 3², 736), idw I; nfr (22), ssm-nfr; iwfi (PM 3², 238), tt (Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916), 212 (4)), mhi (PM 3², 682), nbi (PM 3², 684), mrw (Daressy, *op. cit.*, 195-8), hnmw-htp (PM 3², 105), idw II (PM 3², 165), mri; idw (57), ttw (160), ib-ib (PM 3², 162), tnti (PM 3², 74).

zš ' nzwt pr-'3: shm-'nh-ptḥ (123), wr-hww (PM 3², 254), Name Lost (Martin, *Hetepka*, no. 20), hnmw-htp (PM 3², 213), ny-sw-ptḥ (PM 3², 168), mrw (Daressy, *loc. cit.*).

45. r'-wr (PM 3², 158), ir-n-3ht (PM 3², 250), idw (PM 3², 185), ny-sw-ptḥ (PM 3², 168), mtw (PM 3², 736), mrw (Daressy, *op. cit.*, 195-8), idw II (PM 3², 165).

46. r'-wr (above), nn-hft-k3i at Deshasa (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. XXIX).

the sixth dynasty, thus making this difference less marked.

More of the higher honorific titles (smr w'ty, sd3wty bity and the like), more religious titles (especially hry-hb) and less legal titles occur with zš' nzw hft-hr (pr-'3) than with zš' nzw (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. As Baer has observed,⁴⁷ there is only one example, that of r'-wr I, where these two titles appear in a rankable context, and in this case zš' nzw is the higher. 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 string of titles hry-tp nzw, zš' nzw hft-hr, shd zš' nzw, imy-r pr 's.⁴⁸ One might expect shd zš' nzw to outrank zš' nzw hft-hr although there is no explicit evidence;⁴⁹ on this assumption, zš' nzw hft-hr may have outranked zš' nzw 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' nzw is frequently found with a qualifier, the most common examples of which are zš' nzw pr-'3 and zš' nzw hft-hr. Table 22 gives a fuller list.⁵⁰ The other functions are very restricted in the number of examples, but attest ' nzw in institutions such as the granary (nos. 5 and 10), the treasury (no. 9) and royal establishments (nos. 2 and 6), as well as in connection with fields (no. 7). The common hft-hr element presumably refers to the

47. Rank and Title, 164.

48. Junker, Giza VIII, Abb. 41, 43.

49. The only other holder of either zš' nzw or zš' nzw hft-hr and shd zš' nzw (r'-h₂p, PM 3², 680), does not have the two titles in a rankable context.

50. The title imy-r hrp zš' nzw found in the titulary of k3i is very unusual and is perhaps an error (ancient or modern) for imy-r zš' nzw.

Table 22

Titles incorporating zš ' nzwt.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. zš ^v ' nzwt hft-hr iwnw	2
2. zš ^v ' nzwt m sd3wty nbt ntt m nht	1) nhn-r' 2) nt hwt-hr 3) w'b-swt-wsr-k3f
3. zš ^v ' nzwt n sb3yt nzwt	1
4. zš ^v ' nzwt pr-'3 hft-hr iwnw	1
5. zš ^v ' nzwt šnwt	1
6. zš ^v ' nzwt t _{zw} -n _{tr} tti	1
7. zš ^v ' nzwt 3ht	1
8. shd zš ^v ' nzwt	5
9. shd zš ^v ' nzwt pr-hd	1
10. shd zš ^v ' nzwt šnwt	3
11. z3b shd zš ^v ' nzwt	1

References:

1. mrw (Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916), 195-8),
hw-n-hr (id. ib., 209-11). 2. r'-špss (PM 3², 723).
 3. ssm-nfr II (130) \$
 4. sbky (Daressy, op. cit., 204-9).
 5. irw-k3-ptj (13) \$
 6. hti (PM 3², 563).
 7. hwti (PM 3², 489).
 8. shm-k3i (PM 3², 465), r'-h_{tp} (PM 3², 457),
r'-h_{tp} (PM 3², 480), hzzi (98), idw II (PM 3², 165).
 9. iy-mry (PM 3², 218).
 10. nht-k3i (PM 3², 240), 'nh-m-r' (PM 3², 123), 'nh-m-'-r' (28).
 11. spd_w-h_{tp} (PM 3², 481).
- \$ indicates holder of imy-r zš^v ' nzwt.

'presence' of the king, the theoretical issuer of all 'nzwt. This probably explains its frequency in the sixth dynasty. Some titles show the hierarchy of the department - zš 'nzwt, shd zš 'nzwt and imy-r zš 'nzwt, although as noted above, the evidence is such that it is impossible to tell which, if any, holders of imy-r zš 'nzwt also held the lower offices. They also show a higher level of supervision of the zš 'nzwt šnwt as well as the existence of a similar position in the treasury.

The title zš '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, are only of assistance to the present enquiry in a few cases:

1. Two men, called nfrt and k3i-m-nfrt are shown with the titles zš 'nzwt and imy-r pr in the tomb of ty (157). Both carry papyrus rolls.⁵¹
2. One of the Wadi Hammamat inscriptions of nhbw (90) shows a zš 'nzwt hnw among the members of the expedition.⁵²
3. A zš 'nzwt, z3b imy-r zš, (name lost) is shown doing accounts before the deceased in the tomb of 'nh-ppy hry-ib at Meir.⁵³
4. The late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period stela of irt from Akhmim bears the inscription in h3y.s zš 'nzwt hrwy ir nn zš, presumably referring to the making of the stela.⁵⁴
5. The hq3 hwt, zš 'nzwt hft-hr, gfgf is shown among prostrate defaulters in the tomb of mrrw-k3i (68).⁵⁵

51. Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. XXI, XXVII.

52. Urk. I, 94.8.

53. Blackman, Meir IV, pl. XV (middle).

54. Cairo, CG 1613; Urk. I, 119.

55. Duell, Mereruka I, pl. 37.

In none of these examples is it clear whether the official concerned is acting in his capacity as $z\check{s}$ ' $nzwt$ ($hft-hr$) or otherwise. The men in example 1 are probably acting more as $imy-r$ pr , which officials are frequently shown with a papyrus roll, reading or presenting it to the deceased.⁵⁶

If the official in no. 2 was performing duties associated with the ' $nzwt$ which were probably needed to authorise the expedition, one might expect to find more like him in other texts left by quarrying expeditions but no such examples are forthcoming. The officials from Meir and Akhmim appear to be acting as ordinary scribes while the last example is in such straits surely because of his title of $hq3$ hwt . One is forced to conclude that the proper functions of the $z\check{s}$ ' $nzwt$ were not subject-matter for the decoration of tombs, as was also the case with the activities of the hwt wrt .

The title $z\check{s}$ ' $nzwt$ continued into the Middle Kingdom, but most references also fail to give any idea of their function.⁵⁷ A $z\check{s}$ ' $nzwt$ $whmwnf$ appears in a list of men in the Illahun Papyri,⁵⁸ the context of which is unclear, but it is likely that he worked in the Pyramid-town of Senwosret II.

An additional idea of the functions supervised by the $imy-r$ $z\check{s}$ ' $nzwt$ derives from the remaining titles with ' $nzwt$ shown in table 23. The first three of these titles are concerned with transport of the ' $nzwt$.⁵⁹ Various administrative processes with these documents

56. For example, von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gemnikai I, pl. XII.

57. Several references, Helck, Verwaltung, 277 n. 5, 6; also stela Louvre C13, Pierret, Receuil des Inscriptions du Louvre II, 5.

58. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, Text, 41; Plates, pl. 14.47.

59. Depictions of iry $md3t$ with papyrus rolls are common, for example, Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. CCCIV; LD II, 61b; Junker, Giza III, Abb. 27.

Table 23

Titles with ' nzwt not previously tabulated.

<u>Official</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. <u>hrp</u> iry <u>md3t</u> ' nzwt	1
2. iry <u>md3t</u> ' nzwt (pr-'3)	3
3. <u>shd</u> iry <u>md3t</u> ' nzwt	1
4. imy-r ' nzwt 'h3w	2
5. imy-r ' nzwt	1
6. imy-r <u>hry</u> <u>htm</u> <u>md3t</u> ' nzwt	1
7. imy-r <u>hryw</u> -' ' nzwt	1
8. imy-r izwt nw ' nzwt	1
9. imy-r zš ^v <u>md3t</u> ' nzwt	1
10. iry <u>hnbtt</u> n ' nzwt pr-'3	1
11. iry <u>sd3wty</u> ' nzwt	1
12. wr z3 ' nzwt	1

References:

1. bbi (Giza tomb G2092 - Unpublished).
2. nfri (PM 3², 306), nfr-sšm-pt^h (PM 3², 205),
'nh-wds (PM 3², 298).
3. mry-nzwt (PM 3², 61)
4. htp-n-pt^h (PM 3², 94), ny-s'nh-3ht (73).
5. hm-r' (Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. 17-21).
6. hnmw-htp (PM 3², 213).
7. imi-st-k3i (PM 3², 126).
8. k3i (136) \$.
9. mry (57).
10. hnmw-htp (PM 3², 213).
11. imi-st-k3i (PM 3², 126).
12. hwti (PM 3², 489).

\$ indicates holder of imy-r zš^v ' nzwt.

are also attested - sealing (6, 11), 'authorizations' (7)⁶⁰ - as are others referring to general workmen (8). The existence of 'nzwt for weapons (4) is interesting, and adds another department to those attested as involved with these documents. There are several unclear titles, although one of these (10) is perhaps associated with land.⁶¹

Although none of the above material is directly concerned with the *imy-r zš* 'nzwt, it does give some idea of the responsibilities of the department in his charge, and the range of other departments with which he had to work.

Conclusions on *imy-r zš* 'nzwt.

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 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 n* 'nzwt, for which no other senior 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 in these are only infrequently found.

60. Fischer, ZAS 105 (1978), 52-6.

61. Fakhry, Sept Tombeaux a l'est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh, 14.

The activities of the department concerned with ' *nzwt* covered a wide range. Administrative functions are evident (sealing, transport, general overseeing), as are relations with other administrative entities (the granary, treasury, armoury, fields, and works at least).⁶² 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 often not expressed in titles.


Such a selection of relations with other departments is not unexpected, as it is probable that such royal documents were essential for all that was carried out in the king's name. Such relations 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 doubtless much time was spent on legal matters resulting from disputes provoked by ' *nzwt*.

As noted above, the title of *imy-r zš* ' *nzwt* is only attested from the reign of Neferirkare. By way of final remarks, the principal scribal titles of the preceding period will be discussed.

Helck sees *imy-r zš* ' *nzwt* as replacing a more ancient title, *mdh zš* ' *nzwt*.⁶³ 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 *z_{tw}* (115) in the middle of the

62. Regarding works, see Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960), 6.

63. *Beamtentitel*, 75-6.

fifth dynasty: $\text{hzy-r}'$,⁶⁴ wp-m-nfrt ,⁶⁵ hm-iwnw (96), mry (58), $\text{dw3-n-r}'$ (161) and ztw .⁶⁶ Only two are 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 zš nzwt continued to be held after the mid-fifth dynasty, most frequently by viziers ($\text{r}'\text{-špss}$ (95) (before vizierate), izi of Edfu,⁶⁷ $\text{'nh-m}'\text{-hr}$ (30), $\text{mry-r}'\text{-nfr}$; q3r of Edfu,⁶⁸ mrr (67), nfr-sšm-sš3t ; hnw (89) and nn-gm ⁶⁹). Some change in the functions of the title is evident as it is no longer found in conjunction with the title mdh . Although the latter title is still not understood, it would seem to have been a scribal one.⁷⁰ The reason for this change may have been the change of mdh zš nzwt from a functional title to one granted as a mark of favour to certain officials, most of whom held the title imy-r zš ' nzwt .

There is also evidence that the title may have undergone a more fundamental change. In the tomb of mrrw-k3i ; mri (68) two men by the names of mrr and whmi are shown prostrate before taxing officials, and are given the titles of hq3 hwt and mdh zš nzwt .⁷¹ There is a vast difference in rank between these men and the other sixth dynasty holders of mdh zš 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.

64. PM 3², 437.

65. PM 3², 57.

66. PM 3², 84.

67. Alliot, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932-3), 22-8; Edel, ZAS 79 (1954), 11-17.

68. Urk. I, 251 ff.

69. Unpublished, cf PM 3², 622.

70. Helck, op. cit., 76-7.

71. Duell, Mereruka I, pl. 37.

It is quite possible that in the fourth dynasty the office of vizier covered important scribal functions without expressing it in the form of titles. Some combination of viziers and earlier holders of mdh zṣ̌ nzẉt may have fulfilled the duties which were later the responsibility of the imy-r zṣ̌ ' nzẉt in the third to early fifth dynasties.

The title imy-r zṣ̌ md3t n ' nzẉt found with that of mdh zṣ̌ nzẉt in the titulary of mry (58) (above page 325) may represent a first attempt to introduce a new title to head the scribal departments, but its isolation in time suggests that it was not then accepted as a regular title.

CHAPTER 5

imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.General.

With the exception of the vizierate, the title 'Overseer of all Works of the King' is the only one studied here to be found consistently from the beginning of the fourth dynasty onwards. It is presumably a successor to the title *imy irty k3t nbt nzwt* attested in the third dynasty titulary of '3-3ht.¹

Table 24 gives the known holders of all titles beginning *imy-r k3t*. 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. Because of this difficulty, for the present purposes when no specific *imy-r k3t* title is intended, these will as a whole be referred to by the translation 'Overseer of Works'.

With regard to the differing writings and the history of this group of titles, much will depend on whether these four titles were distinct or simply variant writings for *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

1. PM 3², 500; cf Helck, ZAS 79 (1954), 76.

Helck would seem to group them all together,² while Schmitz regards these forms as separate titles.³ Writings will thus be discussed below following the study of the extent to which these forms represent the same title (page 385).

2. To judge from the examples quoted in Beamtentitel, 99 n. 56.
3. Königssohn, 150.

Table 24

List of Holders of Overseers of Works Titles.A. Memphite:1. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwtEarly Dyn 4

* nfr-m3't (86)

ph-r-nfr (46)

Khufu

* 'nh-h3f (34)

* hm-iwnw (96)

Khufu-Khafre

* Name Lost (170)

* h'f-minw (103)

ddf-hr (168)

Menkaure-early Dyn 5

mry-ib (59)

3hi (1)

* s3t-htp; hti (126)

d3ty (165)

'nh-hwfw (36)

ny-'nh-r' (71)

Sahure-Neferirkare

* b3-b3f (42)

'nh-irs (25)

pr-sn (44)

* w3s-ptb; izi (37)

Neweserre/mid Dyn 5

'nh-wsr-k3f (27)

s3m-nfr II (130)

* minw-nfr (55)

ny-k3i-'nh (75)

* k3i (136)

* shm-'nh-ptb (123)

s3mw (127)

Menkauhor-Djedkare

* ph-n-wi-k3i (45)

ty (157)

hn-k3 (97)

* pth-3pss (52)

ntr-wsr (91)

iy (5)

Djedkare (first half)

* r'-3pss (95)

* s3m-nfr III (131)

* pth-htp d3r (47)

Djedkare (second half)

* pth-htp (48)

* pth-htp I (49)

h'-mrr-ptb (106)

Table 24 (Continued)

hwfw-htp	(107)	ny-k3w-izzi	(76)
		<u>Teti-early Pepy I</u>	
k3i	(137)	* hnty-k3i; ihhi	(109)
k3i-m-tnnt	(146)	'nh-mry-r'; ny-sw-ihy	(32)
* sndm-ib; inti	(120)		
<u>Wenis (first half)</u>		<u>Middle to Late Pepy I</u>	
'nh-izzi	(26)	* mry-tti	(63)
* sndm-ib; mhi	(121)	nhbw	(90)
<u>Wenis (second half)</u>		<u>Pepy I to c. year 20 Pepy II</u>	
* ihy	(15)	* mrrr	(67)
hzz	(98)	* nfr-s ^v m-s ^v 3t; hnw	(89)
<u>End Dyn 5-early Dyn 6</u>		* idw I; nfr	(22)
* hnm-nti	(113)	* 'nh-mry-r'	(33)
* k3i-gnni; mmi	(151)	<u>Middle Pepy II</u>	
* nfr-s ^v m-r'; s ^v si	(88)	* s3bw-pt ^h ; ibbi	(117)
<u>Middle-later Teti</u>		* mry-r'-mry-'nh-pt ^h	(62)
s3bw; ibbi	(116)	<u>End Old Kingdom or later</u>	
* 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi	(30)	* ttw	(160)
* mrrw-k3i; mri	(68)		
2. imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt			
<u>Early Dyn 5</u>		d3ty	(164)
k3i-'pr	(139)	h'f-hwfw	(105)
s ^v m-nfr I	(129)	ny-k3i-'nh	(75)
<u>Neferirkare-Neweserre</u>		<u>Middle Dyn 5</u>	
snnw-k3i; kki	(119)	s ^v sw	(127)
ddf-hnmw	(169)	k3i-tp	(152)
d3ty	(166)	'nh-m-'-k3i	(31)

Table 24 (Continued)

dw3-r'	(162)	ny-k3w-r'	(79)
itti	(20)	r'-wr III	(92)
<u>Later Dyn 5-early Dyn 6</u>		'nh-ir-ptḥ	(24)
itti; 'nh-irs	(21)		
3. imy-r k3t nbt			
<u>End Dyn 4</u>		<u>Later Pepy I</u>	
iwn-r'	(8)	q3r; mry-r'-nfr	(135)
<u>Later Dyn 5-early Dyn 6</u>		<u>Middle-later Pepy II</u>	
h'-mrr-ptḥ	(106)	* mry-r'-mry-'nh-ptḥ	(62)
ḥtp-ḥr-n-ptḥ	(100)	* h'-b3w-hnmw; biw	(102)
4. imy-r k3t			
<u>Mid Dyn 5</u>		<u>Middle-later Pepy I</u>	
bb-ib; sndm-ib	(43)	Name Lost	(173)
k3i-'pr	(138)		
<u>Later Dyn 5</u>		nhbw	(90)
s'nh-n-ptḥ	(118)	mry-ptḥ-mry-r'	(60)
<u>Middle Teti</u>			
* 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi	(30)		

B. Provincial:

1. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt

Middle Pepy II* ppy-nḥt Abydos⁴

 4. Cairo, CG 1573; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 71 (135),
 Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 89.

Table 24 (Continued)2. Other FormsMid Dyn 5k3i-hnt I Hemamiya:⁵

imy-r k3t (?)

k3i-hnt II Hemamiya:⁶

imy-r k3t m sp3wt hryw-ib

imy-r k3t


imy-r k3t m sp3wt hryw-ib

End Old Kingdom or latertmrry Naga ed Deir:⁷

imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt irrt m t3-wr

imy-r k3t nbt wdt irrt m t3-wr

* indicates vizier at some point in their careers

There is one example of a man quoted as an overseer of works, the reading of whose title is not certain. A fragment from the tomb of k3i-'h3f at Dahshur bears the text .⁸ This could perhaps be read imy-r k3t nzwt, and there are further fragments from the tomb with the words //////nt nzwt.⁹ However, another title such as hry-sst3 k3t nzwt is perhaps also possible, and this example will not be found in table 24.¹⁰ An imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt (no name given, consequently

5. Petrie-Mackay, Bahrein and Hemamieh, pl. XX-XXVIII; date, Baer, op. cit., 148 (543a).

6. Petrie-Mackay, op. cit., IX-XIX; date, Baer, op. cit., 147-8 (543).

7. Peck, Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Der, 40-91, with dating on 83-7.

8. de Morgan, Dahchour I, fig. 12

9. Cairo, CG 1381-2

10. One further possible holder of this title is the official whose biography (Cairo, CG 1433) is discussed below (page 398).

excluded from table 24) is mentioned in the tomb of dbhn.¹¹

There are a number of men who bear two of the different forms of overseer of works titles (never more) in their inscriptions.¹² These are given in the following list:

ny-k3i-'nh (75)	imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
	imy-r k3t nzwt
ssmw (127)	imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
	imy-r k3t nzwt
h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)	imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt
	imy-r k3t nbt
'nh-m-'-hr (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 the two occur in the same sequence, which immediately raises the possibility that the other writings may be so for reasons 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

11. Urk. I, 20.10.

12. 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 a epithet (rather like m3' and similar).

Mariette,¹³ where *imy-r k3t nzwt* appears, is very cramped, whereas the lintel shown by Petrie is more spaciouly arranged.¹⁴ These two titles both appear on the false door of *sšmw*, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* to the left of centre, *imy-r k3t nzwt* to the right. Both titles of *h'-mrr-ptḥ* again appear on the false door. The shorter one is found on the panel, above the head of the deceased; the other is 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. 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.

It is still not clear however whether any of these shorter titles represent independent ones. Doubtless the title of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* was one very prone to compression, as the numerous omissions of the element *nt* show.¹⁵

The Titularies of the Non-vizierial Overseers of Works.

As in previous chapters, the titularies of these officials will be examined using those men who were not viziers. The commonest form of these, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, will be examined first, and the other ones subsequently compared.

 13. Mastabas, 311; now BM 1275, but now with damage to the group of signs in question, see, BM Stelae I², pl. XXI.

14. Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. III.

15. This particular variation is not noted here as significant, common as it is in all periods of the Egyptian Language.

A. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

The principal titles of these officials are arranged in table 25.

1. Titles connected with the Organisation of Labour.

Under this heading one is searching for titles related in some way to the work of the *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. Such a group has been established by Helck,¹⁶ of which the following are the principal ones: *sd3wty ntr...*, *imy-r mš'* and other 'military' titles, titles with *qd*, titles with *hmwt*, boat titles, titles with 'prw or nfrw, *smsw izt* and *imy-r gs-pr*. To this list may be added *wr md šm'w*, which Fischer has suggested represents the organisation of groups of ten men,¹⁷ as well as having legal associations - hence its position at the end of the labour titles and before the legal ones in table 25. There are also further titles incorporating the word *k3t*.

On these criteria, the following are obvious 'career' officials in this area of the administration: *mry-ib*, *šš3t-ḥtp*, *d3ty*, 'nh-wsr-k3f, *ššmw*, *iy*, *k3i-m-tnnt*, 'nh-izzi, 'nh-mry-r' and *nhbw*. With the exception of *ššmw*, these men held high titles in none of the other administrative departments under consideration; although *ššmw* held the title of *imy-r šnwty*, the remainder of his titulary makes no reference to other positions that he may have held in the granaries.

Possible career patterns have already been suggested in the previous chapters for *ššm-nfr* II (scribal), *k3i* (136) (legal), *ty* (perhaps promoted due to royal favour, or else scribal), *ntr-wsr* (legal/scribal), *r'-špss* (legal/scribal) and *h'-mrr-ptḥ* (legal). Several of these men held titles that feature in columns 1-6 of table 25:

16. Beamtentitel, 92-105.

17. JNES 18 (1959), 266.

Table 25

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of Non-vizierialimy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
ph-r-nfr (46)							X	0	0	2	X	X	X			
ddf-hr (168)					X			0	0	0					H	X
mry-ib (59)	X	X			X			0	0	0		X		X		X
3hi (1)							X	1	0	2						
ss3t-htp (124)	X		X				X	0	0	0						X
d3ty (165)		X						0	0	0						X
'nh-hwfw (36)								0	0	0				X		
ny-'nh-r' (71)		X						3	0	0			X	X		X
'nh-irs (25)							X	2	0	0	X					
pr-sn (44)							X	0	1	0		X				
'nh-wsr-k3f (27)		X	X				X	3	0	0			X		H	
ssm-nfr II (130)		X						0	4	1	X					
k3i (136)							X	5	2	2	X					
ny-k3i-'nh (75)								0	0	0				X		
ssmw (125)	X	X	X			X		0	0	1	X					
ty (155)		X						0	2	1	X			X		
hn-k3 (95)							X	4	0	0	X					
ntr-wsr (91)			X				X	6	3	2	X		X			
iy (5)		X			X		X	0	0	0		X	X			
r'-špss (95)							X	6	3	2	X					
h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)		X	X					4	0	2			X			
hwfw-htp (107)								0	0	0						
k3i (137)								0	0	1	X			X		
k3i-m-tnnt (146)	X	X			X	X		0	0	0	X			X		X
'nh-izzi (26)	X	X			X	X		0	0	0	X			X		X

Table 25 (Continued)

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
h _z zi (98)			X					0	1	2				X		
s ₃ bw; ibbi (116)		X		X				0	0	0	X					
ny-k ₃ w-izzi (76)								0	0	0				X	X	
nh _y bw (90)			X					0	0	0			X	X		
'nh _y -mry-r' (32)		X						0	0	0			X	X		

Key to Column Numbers:

1. sd₃wty ntr ...
2. imy-r mš' and military titles
3. Titles with qd, k₃t, and smsw izt, imy-r gs-pr
4. Titles with hmwt
5. Boat titles
6. Titles with '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. r_h nzwt
13. hry-tp nzwt
14. smr w'ty
15. H = h₃ty-', X = h₃ty-' and iry p't
16. Titles of "Kings's son"

sšm-nfr II - imy-r pr 'h₃w m prwy

ty - imy-r phw

ntr-wsr - smsw izt

h'-mrr-pt_h - imy-r gs-pr, imy-r phw

For the first three, it is perhaps unlikely that the titles were held before promotion to the office of imy-r k₃t nbt (nt) nzwt, as titles in other fields are more prominent - these may have been granted along with imy-r k₃t nbt (nt) nzwt. This may also be true of h'-mrr-pt_h; he does however have more labour-related titles than the others, and so his career structure may be better defined as legal/work-organisational.

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 the 'career' imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, 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. 'nh-irs and hn-k3 each held a few legal titles and wr md šm'w, which may indicate why they were promoted to imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The principal position of s3bw; ibbi was wr hrp hmwt. He is the only Memphite High Priest to attain the office of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt in the Old Kingdom, and so whether he gained this title by virtue of the traditional relationship of the wr hrp hmwt with craftsmen or by some other means is unknown. Little has survived from the titulary of hwfw-htp. 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 (ph-r-nfr, 3hi, ny-k3i-'nh, hzzi, k3i (137) and ny-k3w-izzi) 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.

2. Legal Titles.

Legal titles are not particularly common here (as they were with imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zš ' nzwt), and are actually found most frequently with officials who held one or both of the previously-mentioned two titles. Such sporadic appearances of these titles suggest that they were not an important element of these titularies. None at all appear after the end of the fifth dynasty.

3. Scribal Titles.

The above comments about legal titles apply equally here: few scribal titles appear outside the titularies of men with recognised scribal

careers (for example, $\overset{v}{s}sm-nfr$ II).

4. Honorific Titles.

Columns 12-15 of table 25 show the frequency of appearance of the principal honorific titles. No one title stands out as being a characteristic title of $imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt$ for the whole period; four officials have no honorifics at all. From the inception of the office down to the later fifth dynasty, $rh nzwt$ and $hry-tp nzwt$ are the most frequent such titles. However, 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 $\overset{v}{s}3t-htp$, although not true 'princes') and the important official $ph-r-nfr$.

From the early fourth dynasty to the later fifth there are five 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 titles of $z3 nzwt$, and that of $h3ty-$ ' with $ddf-hr$ must be because of his relationship to Khufu. Why $h3ty-$ ' should be found in the titulary of $'nh-wsr-k3f$ is unclear; honorific titles are however not necessarily related to an individual's administrative titles, but rather indicate the degree of favour granted them by the king. $'nh-wsr-k3f$ must thus have been a highly favoured man, and corroboration of a sort may be derived from the existence of his tomb so near the pyramids at Abusir, and that the plan of the pyramid of Neweserre was arranged so as not to damage this tomb.¹⁸ It has been suggested above (page 330) that ty was another favoured individual, hence the title of $smr w'ty$; the same is probably true for $ny-k3i-'nh$, whose promotion to the office of $imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt$ has been similarly explained

18. cf Baer, Rank and Title, 68-9 (123a).

above (page 366).¹⁹

More instances of *smr w'ty* are found from the later fifth dynasty onwards. The title's occurrence with *k3i-m-tnnt* and *'nh-izzi* is presumably linked with 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 k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, although *rh nzwt*, *hry-tp nzwt* and *smr w'ty* appear not infrequently. The rank of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* would thus seem to be similar to (or perhaps slightly lower than) that of *imy-r hwt wrt* and *imy-r zš ' nzwt*.

5. 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.²⁰ Of those indicated in table 25, *ddf-hr*, and *ss3t-htp*; *hti* were *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, while *ny-'nh-r*, *k3i-m-tnnt* and *'nh-izzi* 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 possessed very similar titularies, and may perhaps have been distant relatives of the king.²¹

The two later fifth dynasty holders of *z3 nzwt*, *k3i-m-tnnt* and *'nh-izzi*, may illustrate a brief resurgence of the use of 'princely'

19. It will be seen below (page 379) that *ny-k3i-'nh* was promoted from *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* to *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

20. This category of titles appears only here with non-viziers as holders of *z3 nzwt* do not feature significantly in the titularies of any other high title-holders.

21. *mry-ib* 's mother is called *z3t nzwt nt ht.f* (LD II, 21).

titles for administrative officials.²² These two and ny-'nh-r' are grouped together by Schmitz by virtue of having titles related to building work.²³

6. Other High Administrative Titles.

Table 26

Other High Administrative Titles held by imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
ph-r-nfr (46)			1	1
3hi (1)			1	2
ssm-nfr II (130)		X		
k3i (136)	X	X		
ssmw (127)			2	
ty (157)		X		
ntr-wsr (91)	X	X		
r'-spss (95)		X	2	
h'-mrr-pth (106)	X	X		
k3i (137)			2	
hzzī (98)			2	2

Key to Column Numbers:

1. imy-r hwt wrt
2. imy-r zš ' nzwt
3. 1 = imy-r šnwt, 2 = imy-r šnwty
4. 1 = imy-r pr-hd, 2 = imy-r prwy-hd

22. Schmitz, Königssohn, 30-2.

23. op. cit., 88 ff.

Table 26 shows that the only high administrative title with which there appears to be a frequent association (for a time at least) is *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt*. This link may be due to a concentration of the offices of authorisations with the office of works.²⁴ This situation 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 course of viziers.

None of the other titles is found often enough for a pattern to be evident. These titles were acquired more by virtue of being a reliable and favoured official in another department as these men often show only one career pattern.

After the later fifth dynasty the non-vizierial *imy-r k3t 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.

7. 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 specially favoured officials in the section above on honorific titles (page 367) - particularly *ph-r-nfr*, *'nh_v-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 priesthoods of Ptah, culminating in *wr hrp hmwt*.

The most commonly found religious title is *hry-hb*, with seven examples. This is confined to the higher ranking officials, those

24. cf Fischer, OMRO 41 (1960), 6.

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;²⁵ perhaps the office of *hry-hb* had developed a type of honorific or even courtly function for these high officials.

8. Titles connected with Royal Institutions.

Tenure of titles related to royal institutions, like *imy-r hwt wrt*, is not consistent, but not infrequent, as will be seen from the following list:

<i>mry-ib</i> (59)	<i>hm-ntr hfw</i>
<i>'nh-wsr-k3f</i> (27)	<i>hm-ntr s3hw-r' m swt.f nbt</i> <i>shd w'b h'-b3-s3hw-r'</i>
<i>ny-k3i-'nh</i> (75)	<i>hm-ntr r' hwt-hr m st-ib-r'</i> <i>shd w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f</i> <i>shd w'b r' m nhn-r'</i>
<i>s^vsmw</i> (127)	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
<i>ty</i> (157)	see above page 321.
<i>hn-k3</i> (97)	<i>imy-r h'wy-snfrw</i>
<i>s3bw; ibbi</i> (116)	<i>imy-ht hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis</i> <i>imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti</i>

25. Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb II, 583.

hm-ntr r' m nhn-r' / st-ib-r' /
 szp-ib-r' / 3ht-r'
 nhbw (90) imy-r hntyw-s mn-nfr-ppy
 imy-r wpt mn-nfr-ppy

It will be seen that the fifth dynasty examples are all men who held at most one other high administrative title. This strengthens the view that the higher the official in that dynasty, the less likely he was to hold such titles. It is possible that tenure of these titles may have influenced 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 permission to be buried 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, although neither of them bears the highest title of shd hm-ntr of a pyramid. 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 hwfw in that dynasty, and all may have been in some way related to Khufu.²⁶ mry-ib 's tenure of such a title is thus associated much more with his likely genealogy than his position as an official.

 26. Examples: h'f-hwfw I (104), son of Khufu; mrt-itis, daughter of Khufu(?) and husband 3ht-htp (PM 3², 200-1); mry-ib, son of king's daughter; and the unnamed woman, daughter of Khufu (?), on block Boston MFA 30.831 (unpublished).

9. Other Titles.

Titles incorporating the group wd(t)-mdw are quite frequent, found with fourteen of the officials currently under consideration. 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, and are found here with all men who held more than one such title with the exception of h'-mrr-ptḥ. Titles with wd(t)-mdw were doubtless connected with the execution of the high royal commands for which they were responsible.

There are also six examples of the title hrp 'h. These extend from the later fourth to the mid-fifth dynasty. Other examples of this title belong mainly to this same period and are found with high-ranking officials, although not necessarily those with important administrative offices.²⁷ The imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt who hold this title are mostly the higher-ranking ones: mry-ib, sš3t-ḥtp, ny-k3i-'nh, ty, sšmw 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.

It will be seen from table 27 that titles connected with expeditions and labour organisation are found with many holders of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.²⁸ The following officials may be clearly seen to have been so involved in their careers: k3i-'pr, h'f-ḥwfw II, dw3-r', itti, itti; 'nh-irs, r'-wr III and probably 'nh-ir-ptḥ. The majority of

27. cf Helck, op. cit., 32-3.

28. The following discussion will for the present ignore ny-'nh-r' and sšmw as they also held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

Table 27

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
k3i-'pr (139)		X				X	X	2	3	0	X					
s ^v sm-nfr I (129)							X	1	1	0		X	X			
snnw-k3i (119)								0	1	0		X				
ddf-hnmw (169)							X	0	0	0		X				X
d3ty (164)							X	0	0	0						
d3ty (166)							X	0	0	0						
h'f-hwfw II (105)							X	2	0	0						X
ny-k3i-'nh (75) *								0	0	0				X		
s ^v smw (127) *	X	X	X			X		0	0	1	X					
k3i-tp (152)								0	0	0		X				
'nh-m-'-k3i (31)		X					X	6	1	1	X		X			
dw3-r' (162)		X					X	0	0	0		X				
itti (20)	X							0	0	0		X				
itti; 'nh-irs (21)		X	X				X	1	0	0		X				
ny-k3w-r' (79)								0	0	0		X				
r'-wr III (92)		X						1	0	0						
'nh-ir-pth (24)				X				0	0	0						

* indicates also holder of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt

Key to Column Numbers:

1. sd3wty ntr ...
2. imy-r mš' and military titles
3. Titles with qd, k3t, and smsw izt, imy-r gs-pr
4. Titles with hmwt
5. Boat titles
6. Titles with '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"

these belong to the middle to later fifth dynasty. Many of the earlier examples have as their only possible labour-related title *wr md šm'w*, and three (*snnw-k3i*, *k3i-tp* and *ny-k3w-r'*) none at all. This is in itself not very different from the situation of the *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, especially as several holders of that title held no labour offices apart from *wr md šm'w*.

2. Legal and Scribal Titles.

'*nh-m'-k3i* is the only man to possess a number of legal titles, and this is very probably to be explained by his career as a legal official leading to promotion to *imy-r hwt wrt*. 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 such a title, it being *imy-r hwt wrt*. The lack of any other high titles is reflected by the very low number of legal, scribal, granary and treasury titles in the titularies of the *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*. Consequently, titles with *wd(t)-mdw* are found only with '*nh-m'-k3i*, and also *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 have been quite important in the early fifth dynasty (see below page 487).

4. Honorific Titles.

Only two such titles are in evidence with the *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*, *rh nzwt* and *hry-tp nzwt*. The latter title appears only twice, with *šsm-*

nfr I and 'nh_y-m-'-k3i. The titulary of the former contains the scribal title imy-r zš^v h_{ryt}-' nzwt, which could be of sufficient importance to warrant the rank of h_{ry}-tp nzwt; he was also hm-n_{tr} h_{qt} and ht h₃, which have been seen above to be almost always found with officials who hold this honorific title. 'nh_y-m-'-k3i held h_{ry}-tp nzwt by virtue of being a legal official.

Otherwise there are eight occurrences of rh_y nzwt, of which ssm^v-nfr I is also one. This title is more frequent here than with 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-h_{nmw} and h'_f-h_{wfw} II were z3 nzwt. The former held this title with rh_y 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 h'_f-h_{wfw} made great play of the fact that he was im₃hw before several kings.²⁹ 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 25 and 27), especially when compared to imy-r h_wt wrt and imy-r zš^v ' nzwt.³⁰ That there are less of these titles with the imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt further suggests that it was less important than imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

6. Religious Titles.

Few religious titles appear here. Only one lector priest is found (r'-wr III) who did not have the ranking title smr w'ty as did the

29. Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 45.

30. cf Schmitz, Königssohn, 88 ff.

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*: *h'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*.

7. Royal Institution Titles.

The following list of Royal Institution titles shows that they are more frequent with these officials than with *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

<i>snnw-k3i</i> (119)	<i>imy-r niwt 3ht-hwfw</i>
<i>h'f-hwfw</i> II (105)	<i>hm-ntr hwfw</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
<i>ny-k3i-'nh</i> (75)	See page 371 above
<i>sšmw</i> (127)	See page 371 above
<i>k3i-tp</i> (152)	<i>hm-ntr hwfw</i>
<i>'nh-m-'-k3i</i> (31)	<i>hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m nhn-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr s3hw-r'</i>
<i>dw3-r'</i> (162)	<i>hm-ntr r' m nhn-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr snfrw</i>
	<i>imy-r h'-snfrw</i>
	<i>imy-r h'wy-snfrw</i>
	<i>hnty-š w'b-swt-wsr-k3f</i>
	<i>w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f</i>
<i>itti</i> (20)	<i>shd w'b wr-h'f-r'</i>

ny-k3w-r' (79) hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'

One very interesting 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,³¹ 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.³² It is thus possible that the titles of ny-k3i-'nh fall into two groups (for which see below page 379).

8. Comparison with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

The rank of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt is thus clearly inferior to that of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, most clearly illustrated by the much smaller number of 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 receiving more of them. This is clearly only true for the fifth dynasty, when such titles are anyway less prominently placed in titularies.³³

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. It is true that some holders of the latter title (pr-sn (44) for example) have titularies that are rather similar to those of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt (for example, snnw-k3i; kki and k3i-tp), but the rest of the evidence suggests that they may have represented two different branches of the same department.

As for the manner in which these titles are written, most officials show only one example of the title imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt, and it

31. Lintel BM 1275, BM Stelae I², pl. XXI (1).

32. Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. III.

33. Baer, Rank and Title, 197.

is not clear whether it could not be an abbreviation for *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. However, in the tomb of *h'f-hwfw II* it appears many times, and one would surely expect to find at least one example of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* if that is what *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* represented. As noted earlier on, *ny-k3i-'nh* and *sšmw* held (or at least show writings of) both titles. It has been pointed out on page 378 that the titulary of *ny-k3i-'nh* can be split into two parts, neither of which overlaps the other. One may point out that as well as the pyramid and sun-temple titles noted, the title *smr w'ty* appears only in the context of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, suggesting that *ny-k3i-'nh* may have received a promotion from *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* to *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, and acquired, like several of his colleagues (above page 367 ff.), the higher honorific title.

The titulary of *sšmw* cannot be easily divided in the same way, as it all derives from his one-piece false door. The two titles in question appear in different locations, *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* to the left of the central niche and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* to the right. The sun-temple title is damaged and cannot be easily associated with either. It is very dangerous practice to divide up the titles on a false door, as one would have expected it to represent all current titles. Nevertheless, in this example several titles appear on only one jamb, while there are others which are common to both. For example, *imy-r snwty* is in the same string of titles as *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, but not *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*; also *w'b nzwt* appears with the latter title and the higher *shd w'b nzwt* with *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. This is what might be expected after a promotion from one office to the other. It can never be certain, but *sšmw* may have included all the titles he ever held on his false door, divided into two groups.

C. imy-r k3t nbt.1. Summary of Titularies.Table 28Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r k3t nbt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>iwn-r'</u> (8)								0	0	0				X	X	X
<u>h'-mrr-pth</u> (106) *		X	X					4	0	2			X			
<u>htp-hr-n-pth</u> (100)		X		X			X	1	2	0	X					
<u>q3r; mry-r'-nfr</u> (135)				X				3	1	0			X			
<u>impy</u> (62) *			X					0	0	0						

* indicates also holder of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt

Key to Column Numbers:

1. sd3wty ntr ...
2. imy-r mš' and military titles
3. Titles with qd, k3t, and smsw izt, imy-r gs-pr
4. Titles with hmwt
5. Boat titles
6. Titles with '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"

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 imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt who were mainly fifth dynasty. It is impossible to split the titles of h'-b3w-hnmw; biw (102) into pre- and post-vizierial stages, and he will thus be omitted from table 28 and the ensuing discussion; with impy, only the title gained from his appearance on the

walls of the mortuary temple of Pepy II will be used.³⁴

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 *imy-r mš'* is not found. Scribal and legal titles are in evidence in the titularies of *hṭp-hr-n-ptḥ* and *q3r*.

iwn-r', the earliest example, has no titles which connect him with the others or indeed labour organisation. It is immediately apparent that he was of higher rank than the rest. His involvement with the title of *imy-r k3t nbt* must have come about simply from royal favour, particularly as he was a true king's son.

Apart from *iwn-r'*'s titles, 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 nbt (nt) nzwt* as was the case with *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*. If the rank and other features were similar, there is more chance that the title was a variant writing of *imy-r k3t nbt (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 important offices connected with the Giza pyramids but only that of *hnty-š'* at the pyramid of his contemporary Pepy I. This latter title was borne by *nḥbw* (90) (holder of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*), and no similar titles appeared with the more lowly-ranking *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*.

2. Relationship to *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

It would seem that it is very likely that there was no difference in

34. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 48.

the functions of holders of *imy-r k3t nbt* and those who held *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. The occurrence of *imy-r k3t nbt* in the titularies of *h'-mrr-ptḥ* and *impy* is probably an abbreviated writing as they hold *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* elsewhere (see above page 362). That of *hṯp-hr-n-ptḥ* appears at the bottom of a column of text immediately above the 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-hnmw* (102), 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-sṣt3 n k3t nbt, z3b imy-r zš 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. One views this example as an abbreviation with far more hesitation.

D. *imy-r k3t*.

It has been argued above (page 362) that the examples of this title in the tombs of *'nh-m'-hr*; *zzi* (30) and *nhbw* (90) represent compressed writings of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. Table 29 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 *nhbw*) provide little useful information. Only the title *wr md šm'w* 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,

Table 29

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r k3t.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
bb-ib; <u>sndm-ib</u> (43)							X	0	0	0		X				
k3i-'pr (138)								0	0	0		X				
s' <u>nh</u> -n-pth (118)							X	4	3	0		X				
<u>nhbw</u> (90) *			X					0	0	0			X	X		
mry-pth-mry-r' (60)								0	0	0						

* indicates also holder of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt

Key to Column Numbers:

1. sd3wty ntr ...
2. imy-r ms' and military titles
3. Titles with qd, k3t, and smsw izt, imy-r gs-pr
4. Titles with hmwt
5. Boat titles
6. Titles with '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"

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, as affinities may be observed with other officials who held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt or imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. The titles of 'nh-m'-hr; zzi (30) may be abbreviations. Whether this is true for all of them is unclear, as the examples do not seem to be fitted into a cramped space, and indeed there would have been room for further

elements of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. The title of *mry-ptḥ-mry-r'* could be an abbreviation, appearing as it does in the address of a royal decree, but no exact parallel for a labour title in such a position is forthcoming. However, the overseer of works title in the titulary of *snḏm-ib; inti* (120) is always given as *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* with one exception:

iw ḥm.i rh ḥmwt.k r imy-r k3t nb ḥpr 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'.³⁵

Here Djedkare is clearly referring to *snḏm-ib*'s capacity as *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, but nevertheless shortens the title to the minimum. This again shows that *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* can be so abbreviated, and makes the example of *mry-ptḥ-mry-r'* (at least) all the more likely as an abbreviation since it also appears in a text mentioning the king.

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-'pr*, and so it may even be associated with some form of non-royal work if indeed it had a separate existence.


E. Conclusions on Titularies.

From the above discussion a form of typical titulary for a *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* has evolved, with the distinctive features of further titles connected with building, or labour organisation. Of the related 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

35. Urk. I, 63.6

mainly abbreviated writings for *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt appears at the beginning of the fourth dynasty and exists at least into the First Intermediate Period. The other frequent distinct but related form (*imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*) exists only for the duration of the fifth dynasty.

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 . 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 (for example, *h'f-minw* (103), *3hi* (1) and *ss3t-htp* (126)). Sometimes the group *nzwt* is honorifically transposed; unlike *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, such transposition is rare and the group is nearly always written in full (exceptions: for example, *h'f-minw* (103), *3hi* (1), *'nh-hwfw* (36), *'nh-irs* (25), *ssm-nfr* II (130), *ny-k3i-'nh* (75) and *hn-k3* (97)). These exceptions date to the period before the middle 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 with the title *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

It will be apparent from the preceding discussions that of those viziers who hold an overseer of works title, only one does not hold

Table 30

Viziers who hold titles often associated with the Overseer of Works.

<u>Official</u>	<u>Titles</u>
* 'nh-h3f (34)	smsw izt
* hm-iwnw (96)	smsw izt
k3i-w'b (140)	wr md šm'w
* sš3t-htp; hti (126)	pre-vizierial career above (table 25)
* k3i (136)	pre-vizierial career above (table 25)
* sšm-nfr III (131)	imy-r prwy-'h3w
r'-špss (95)	pre-vizierial career above (table 25)
* sndm-ib; inti (120)	mdh qd nzwt m prwy, imy-r prwy-'h3w
3ht-htp (2)	wr md šm'w
* sndm-ib; mhi (121)	mdh qd nzwt m prwy, imy-r prwy-'h3w
* ihy (15)	imy-r gs-pr
iy-nfrrt (6)	imy-r h3swt
* hnmw-nti (113)	mdh qd nzwt m prwy
* k3i-gmni; mmi (151)	wr m3 iwnw
* nfr-sšm-r'; šši (88)	imy-r gs-pr
* mrrw-k3i; mri (68)	imy-r gs-pr, wr m3 iwnw
mhw (69)	imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gswy-pr
tnti (158)	wr m3 iwnw
* mrrri (67)	mdh nzwt m qd m prwy
* idw (23)	imy-r gs-pr
* 'nh-mry-r' (33)	imy-r gs-pr
* impy (62)	mdh qd nzwt m prwy
* s3bw-ptḥ; ibbi (117)	mdh qd nzwt m prwy
* h'-b3w-hnmw; biw (102)	imy-r gswy-pr, imy-r h3swt nbt, imy-r r-3w
ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72)	imy-r gs-pr
tṭi (156)	imy-r gswy-pr

Table 30 (Continued)

<u>Official</u>	<u>Titles</u>
k3i-nfr (148)	smsw izt, sd3wty ntr

* indicates holder of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt

imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt but one of the shorter forms. This is h'-b3w-hnmw, but his title of imy-r k3t nbt has been cited above as an abbreviation for the longer title (page 382). 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 intended.

Several viziers held titles that have been noted already as related to the office of overseer of works (table 30). This table includes only eighteen of the thirty-five viziers who also held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. Many of the titles noted in the table, such as imy-r gs-pr, have questionable links with the organisation of labour, and do not appear very often in the titularies of the non-vizierial imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. In most cases it is impossible to tell whether this came about from the holder's tenure of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt or vice-versa (the former is perhaps more likely).

Only in a few cases then can it be stated with any certainty that the vizier was connected with those offices usually supervised by the overseer of works. These are k3i, sš3t-htp, and particularly members of the sndm-ib family - sndm-ib 's inti and mhi, hnmw-nti, impy and s3bw-ptb; ibbi (assuming them to have followed similar careers to their relation nhbw (90) as they held similar titles). The evidence is such that it is impossible to discover the extent to which viziers were recruited from this area of the administration, but the implication is that it was not a large number.

The Organisation and function of the Overseers of Works and related
Offices.

A. The Organisation of the Overseers of Works.

From the preceding discussion it will be evident that there are three principal groups of officials to be considered 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. The approximate distribution of these by date is shown in table 31.

Table 31

Distribution of Overseers of Works by Date.

<u>Period (Years)</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Early - mid Dyn. 4 (70)	2	4	0	0
Mid Dyn. 4 - early Dyn. 5 (55)	8	2	3	1
Early - end Dyn. 5 (85)	17	14	14	6 ^a
Early - mid Dyn. 6 (65)	4	6	1	1
Mid Dyn. 6 - end Old Kingdom (100+)	0	9 ^b	0	0

(All period lengths are very approximate)

Key to Columns:

1. Non-vizierial holders of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*
2. Vizierial holders of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*
3. *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*
4. Others (including those which are 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 *ph-r-nfr* (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)), as well as 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 (*ss3t-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 there could have been three contemporary holders of overseer of works titles - a vizier with *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, a *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* who was not a vizier, and an *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* from a date early in the fifth dynasty.

The probable administrative reform of the reign of Neferirkare,³⁶ which may have seen the introduction of (among other titles) *imy-r hwt wrt 6* and *imy-r zš ' 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 over-

36. Baer, Rank and Title, 296.

seer 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* (136) and *r'-špss* (95), and it is unknown whether the latter continued to hold this office as vizier); the division of the titular of *sšm-nfr* III (131) can be used to show that some viziers did not hold the title prior to their promotion (above page 335 ff.).

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 this period. Overall the number of men who held labour-organisational titles is reduced, and the figures in table 31 suggest a contemporary vizier and non-vizier together 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* in the mortuary temple of Pepy II without the title of *t3yty z3b 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 zš' nzwt* (above page 335). 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.

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 zš' 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 holders of the title of overseer 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.³⁷ It is clear from the biographies of members of the sndm-ib family (more details below, page 393) that there was more building work being carried out in the Old Kingdom than is evident from present remains.³⁸

Kanawati has discussed the probable duality of overseers of works (and viziers) in the reign of Teti.³⁹ 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-gmni (151) and 'nh-m'-hr (30). If, as seems probable, there were two contemporaneous viziers, this is not an unreasonable suggestion, but he does not fit the non-viziers into this scheme, although admitting their existence.⁴⁰ Presumably one non-vizier⁴¹ would at least be needed to assist each pair of viziers as the latter had many other responsibilities.⁴²

37. Sculpture, 357-8.

38. 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), 33-46), and various works at provincial cult-temples: at Koptos (from the decrees), Abydos (collection of material in PM 6, 40-1), and Karnak (various evidence, see Daumas, BIFAO 65 (1967), 206-14), to name three important examples.

39. Reforms, 24-7.

40. op. cit., 39 n. 44.

41. There seem to be two such men from this reign, s3bw; ibbi (116) and ny-k3w-izzi (76).

42. The inscriptions of nhbw (90) suggest that his authority may have been over a geographically limited area (more detail below, page 396).

A geographical division of responsibility may very well explain the multiplicity of overseers of works, labour organisation being doubtless a more localised matter than the other high offices. 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 hryw-ib (šm'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. As this title is found only with these two men and as these are the only occurrences of overseers of works in the provinces before the reign of Pepy II, these two facts must be related. 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, which may explain the role of many of the non-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.

Some 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. Such reduction seems to have been part of a trend; however the disappearance of non-viziers (with the exception of those destined for the vizierate) from 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.⁴³ Although it is generally not specified in titles in the Old Kingdom, given the extent of activities of these provincial officials,⁴⁴ it would hardly be surprising that they dealt with works in

 43. cf Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 44 ff.

44. cf those of *mry-r'-nfr*; *q3r*, Urk. I, 254.

their nomes.⁴⁵ The only Old Kingdom provincial holder of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* was a vizier, *ppy-nht* of Abydos, and his tenure of this office is doubtless to be associated with his vizierate, parallelling the situation evident in Memphis.

The actual evidence of the holders of the title must now be investigated. The principal sources are the biographies of the *sndm-ib* family, notably those of *sndm-ib; inti* (120) and *nhbw* (90). It is clear that his 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. Only *impy* is however clearly attested with this title both before and after his promotion.

The works referred to in the biography of *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 ////////////// zš n mrt-izzi ntt hr š n pr-'3.*

"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".

2. Urk. I, 62.1:- *dd.n.k hr hm.i wnt.k r irt š hft 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".

 45. There is some evidence that it may have been so earlier: in the biography of *izi* of Edfu, he says *rs.kwi hr k3t nbt nt nzwt ipt m sp3t.i* - "I was vigilant concerning all the works of the king reckoned in my nome" (Edel, ZAS 79 (1954), 13, 17).

3. Urk. I, 62.8:- ... r ntt ddt imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt hryw-'.
 "... to the effect that everything that the imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt says (happens ?) immediately".
4. Urk. I, 62.16-63.1:- iw m3.n hm.i sntw pn rdi.n.k int.f r si3 m stp-z3 n s n hwt-wsht n 'h n ny-hb- [sd]-izzi.
 "My majesty has seen this foundation that you have caused to be brought to attention in the palace for the workshop of the 'broad court' for the palace ny-hb-sd-izzi".
5. Urk. I, 63.2-3:- sk tw dd.k hr hm.i wnt ir.n.k sw r ?mh? 1440 hft wddt n.k m stp-z3.
 "Indeed you tell my majesty that you have made it (nature unknown) to a length of 1440 cubits (?) in accordance with what was commanded you in the palace".

One text (number 3) alludes to the power of 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 below page 540).

The information from the biography of nhbw (90) is a little less relevant here, as it is an account of what he did principally as mdh qd nzwt m prwy. It is still one of the major primary sources of information about the organisation of labour:⁴⁶

 46. Full translation and commentary, Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 1-7.

1. Urk. I, 215.11, 13:- iw h3b.n wi hm.f r hrp k3t nt mnw.f m iwnw
 [ir.n.i] rnpt 6 im hr hrp k3t.

"His majesty sent me to direct the work of his monument in Heliopolis ... I spent six years there directing work".

2. Urk. I, 216.1-4:- A list of his promotions:

- i. qd n 'š3t
- 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-ht sn.i imy-r k3t
 ////// wn.i [hr] zš wn.i hr š'.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 ist.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 limit 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 r 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) s3d.f iw s3d.n.i sw n sw/3bd (?) 3 r iwt r hnw sksw hr mw.

"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 //... hwt-hr m qis. iw ir.n.i s3d.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".

As noted above, the juxtaposition of titles at the beginnings of these texts suggest that it was more likely that these building activities took place before his promotion to imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.⁴⁷

47. There is no evidence to support Kanawati's contrary assertion (Governmental Reforms, 36).

The last part of text number 3) does however suggest that the overseer of works (here the anonymous brother (173) of nhbw) 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 he was not always the actual 'builder' of monuments. Text number 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.

The next source is the inscriptions of nhbw in the Wadi Hammamat.⁴⁸ Here nhbw (called by his other name mry-ptḥ-'nh-mry-r') is given the titles imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, smr w'ty and mdḥ 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.⁴⁹

These texts of nhbw show that the office of overseer of works included responsibility for both expeditions and constructional 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.⁵⁰ 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

48. Urk. I, 93-4.

49. cf Urk. I, 92 and 95, where expeditions are lead by imy-r mš' and sd3wty ntr.

50. Cairo, CG 1433; Urk. I, 86-7.

least mdh qd nzwt. The principal similarity comes in the following phrase:

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 they may not all (if indeed any) have been carried out in his capacity as imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. The biography is too badly damaged to ascertain the exact content.⁵¹

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 ///".⁵²

This is a clear instance of building work carried out under the supervision of this official.

From the surviving biographical evidence, the principal association of the titles under study was with building and the organisation of the workforces, which has also been suggested in the analysis of the titularies.

One overseer of works appears in a royal decree. This is the imy-r k3t mry-ptḥ-mry-r' (60) in the Dahshur decree of Pepy I.⁵³ He is

51. Urk. I, 180-6; translation with restorations (some dubious), Schott, Fs Otto, 443-61. Her reading of k3t in Urk. I, 184.15 as perhaps part of a title would not seem to be supported by the text.

52. Urk. I, 21.10-13.

53. Borchardt, ZAS 42 (1905), 1-11, pl. I; Goedicke, Königl. Dokumente, 55-77.

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 have been the reason for the mention of the senior individual in the area of labour-organisation. The non-appearance of overseers of works in other decrees may be associated with their provincial origin, and 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).

B. The Functions of the Overseers of Works and uses of the word k3t.

A wider range of uses of the word k3t⁵⁴ and the phrase k3t (nbt) (nt) (nzwt) may be found in its uses outside titles:

1. The Word k3t with 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: in the biography of dbhn,⁵⁵ in the Hammamat inscription from the reign of the obscure king Ity,⁵⁶ in a similar inscription referring to a king Imhotep,⁵⁷ and also in the Pyramid Texts.⁵⁸ A z3 k3t is found in the Abusir Papyri, and was perhaps concerned with reconstruction work.⁵⁹ There is one example which shows the use of the word in an actual constructional context: on the false door of m3-nfr there are

54. Wb V, 98-101.

55. Urk. I, 18.12, 15-6; 19.2; 20.2

56. Urk. I, 148.9.

57. Urk. I, 149.5.

58. Pyr. 1649 c d, 1656 b.

59. Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 450. The word k3t is also found in an unclear context, id. ib. I, 292-3 (document 70A).

hieratic comments marking the various levels of work achieved.⁶⁰

In the tomb of ty (157) the following occurrences are found in one scene: above a man working on a statue is the text irt k3t in hmwt, and above one boring out a stone vessel irt k3t n znht.⁶¹ In the tomb of ibi at Deir el Gebrawi a scene of a man working on a lion statue is given the caption k3t m rw-3bw in gnwty.⁶² The same tomb captions a scene of craftwork with m33 k3t nbt m iz hmwt.⁶³ Documents of the work of craftsmen are also attested in the text rdit zš n k3t hmwt nbt.⁶⁴

The word k3t is more frequently found followed by a specifier of the exact craft, in the form m k3t 'in the work (or perhaps 'practice') of ...'. This may be found with sculptors,⁶⁵ leather-workers,⁶⁶ manicurists,⁶⁷ hairdressers⁶⁸ and builders,⁶⁹ as well as in connection with the building of a tomb⁷⁰ and embalming.⁷¹

2. The Word k3t 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'.⁷² This is often followed by more specific descriptions

60. Berlin (East) 1108 - AIB I, 104; LD II, 65.

61. Both, Steindorff, Das Grab des Ti, pl. 134.

62. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. XIV.

63. id. ib., pl. XIII; for a similar scene, Moussa-Altenmüller, Nyanchnum, pl. 65.

64. id. ib., pl. 61.

65. In the decree of Merenre for the Pyramid of Menkaure, Urk. I, 276.3; a not dissimilar phrase occurs in Urk. I, 275.10.

66. In the inscriptions of wt3, Urk. I, 22.8.

67. Tomb of ny-'nh-hnmw and hnmw-htp, Moussa-Altenmüller, Nyanchnum, Abb. 3 (b, c).

68. False door of nht-z3s, Mariette, Mastabas, 366.

69. Statue of k3i-pw-nzwt, Kees, WZKM 54 (1957), 93, Abb. 2.

70. Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 78.

71. James, Khentika, pl. V (B12).

72. For a discussion of this term with examples, see Montet, Scenes, 180-3.

of these activities, for example, m33 k3t sht sht 3pdw h3m rrw '3 wrt, 'seeing the work of the countryside - the trapping of birds and the catching of fish';⁷³ also m33 k3t sht sk3 3zh hwi mhi sdt '3(w) hwi '3(w) zpwt h3h3, 'seeing the work of the countryside - ploughing, reaping, pulling flax, loading donkeys, driving donkeys on the threshing floor, winnowing'.⁷⁴ The recording of these activities is shown for instance in the tomb of wr-ir-n-ptḥ, where the text m33 ? zš n k3t sht appears beside a scribe performing the reckoning.⁷⁵ One unusual example refers to herdsmen and their produce: prt m mhit 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 great bulls'.⁷⁶ Works are referred to generally in such scenes by the phrase k3t nbt: m33 k3t nbt nfrt nt sht irrt m niwt.f, 'seeing all the good works of the countryside carried out in his towns';⁷⁷ also // // // k3t nbt nt t3-mhw, ' // // all the works of Lower Egypt'.⁷⁸

3. Other Uses of k3t.

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 these decrees, and four different phrases are generally used: k3t nbt nt nzwt, k3t nbt nt pr nzwt, k3t nt nzwt and k3t nbt.⁷⁹ The first three phrases are much more specific than the fourth. It

73. Tomb of 'nh-ppy hry-ib, Blackman, Meir IV, pl. VIII.

74. Tomb of shm-'nh-ptḥ, Simpson, Sekhem-ankh-ptah, pl. D, p. 10 and n. 38.

75. BM 718, BM Stelae I², pl. XXIX.

76. Tomb of ny-'nh-hnmw and hnmw-htp, Moussa-Altenmüller, Nyanchnum, pl. 76.

77. Tomb of nfr-ssm-ptḥ (85), Capart, Rue de Tombeaux, pl. XC.

78. Tomb of ty, Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti II, pl. CXXV.

79. Similar exemptions from work other than that intended for the king are to be found in the biography of dbḥn, Urk. I, 19.4-5.

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, as far as these decrees are concerned. This may be illustrated by comparing the very similar documents Koptos B and Koptos C:⁸⁰ B has *k3t nbt nt pr nzwt* where C has *k3t nt nzwt*;⁸¹ B has *k3t nbt nt pr nzwt* where C has *k3t nbt nt nzwt*.⁸²

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*.⁸³ Other examples of more general uses refer to works done in Upper Egypt, as found in these decrees,⁸⁴ and in the biography of *wni*.⁸⁵

The general use of the phrase *k3t nbt nt nzwt* in a specific nome has been noted above (footnote on page 393). An *imy-r mš'* refers to his business by the use of the word *k3t*: *snknt pw m-' k3t b3k im*, 'it is an ignoring of the business of this servant', in a letter to the Vizier.⁸⁶ 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 - *sn-ndsw* of Dendera says: *iw z nb mkw n k3wt.f*, 'Every man was protected for his works'.⁸⁷

80. Koptos B: *Urk. I*, 280-3; Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 87-116. Koptos C: *Urk. I*, 284-8; Goedicke, *op. cit.*, 117-127.

81. *Urk. I*, 281.9, 15 against 284.16 and 285.6.

82. *Urk. I*, 282.13 against 286.6.

83. *Urk. I*, 286.14; 289.11,15; 290.9; 307.13.

84. *Urk. I*, 282.17.

85. *Urk. I*, 106.6, referring to what he did as *imy-r šm'w*.

86. Gunn, *ASAE* 25 (1925), 253, pl. Ia, line 6.

87. Fischer, *Dendera*, 154.

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 the first group of activities is the organisation of workforces, which has been shown above (page 384) to have been 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 *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,⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰

88. The exemptions of the various royal decrees are clearly intended to prevent this practice in particular cases.

89. cf Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum, 130-1. For a general account of 'corvée' labour, see Lexikon der Ägyptologie II, 333-4 ('Fronddienst').

90. Endesfelder, ZAS 106 (1979), 42-3; Butzer, Early Hydraulic

Little evidence is forthcoming from the royal decrees to indicate exactly what was meant by their frequent use of the word *k3t*. Decrees Koptos A and B suggest that the three terms *k3t nbt nt nzwt*, *k3t nbt nt pr nzwt* and *k3t nt nzwt* were largely synonymous in the reign of Pepy II (above, page 402). By this time the independent title *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* had died out (above, page 390), and it is probable that any differentiation recognised in the fifth dynasty was no longer valid.

More may be learnt however about the nature of any 'office of works'. It is evident from some passages in these 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*.⁹¹ An actual office of works (*iz n k3t* or the like) is not attested in the Old Kingdom. It is inevitable that there must have been some physical office in which the business of the overseers of works was co-ordinated, but it did not have the independent status of the *iz n ' nzwt* or the *hwt wrt* which were controlled by their respective overseers.

A similar conclusion may be deduced from the final source of evidence about *k3t*, namely further titles incorporating this word. 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 works did not exist as an independent administra-

Civilization in Egypt, 45 ff.; Schenkel, Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten, 25-9. Endesfelder (op. cit., 49) 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.

91. Urk. I, 281.7-10, 13-16 and parallels 284.14-17 and 285.4-7.

tive office, one might not expect to find many subordinate positions as indeed is the case. Such titles are given in table 32. Number 4) in this table can be disregarded as it is in all probability a forerunner of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* itself (above page 355). It will be seen that with the exception of *'nhi; inti* and *pth-špss*, all the officials were overseers of works.⁹² Thus these titles are in some way related to the tenure of a senior work-organisational title, as subordinate offices held either before or at the same time as the higher one.

Table 32

Further Titles incorporating the word k3t with Holders.

<u>Title</u>	<u> Holders</u>
1. <i>hry-sšt3 k3t nbt nt nzwt</i>	2
2. <i>hry-sšt3 k3t nbt</i>	2
3. <i>hry-sšt3 k3t nbt mrrt hm.f irt.f</i>	1
4. <i>imy irty k3t nbt nt nzwt</i>	1
5. <i>imy-r ht wdt m k3t hft-hr</i>	1
6. <i>z3b imy-r zš n k3t nbt</i>	1

References:

1. *sš3t-htp; hti* (126) *, *'nhi; inti* (PM 3², 608)
2. *s3bw; ibbi* (116) *, *q3r; mry-r'-nfr* (135) *
3. *pth-špss* (PM 3², 464).
4. *'3-3ht* (PM 3², 500)
5. *hzzi* (98) *.
6. *q3r; mry-r'-nfr* (135) *

* indicates also an Overseer of Works

92. In fact *pth-špss* can be related to the others in that he was a *wr hrp hmwt* like *s3bw; ibbi* (116), and thus had some connection with labour organisation, with craftsmen at least.

It has been seen in the title section above that the Old Kingdom did not lack in offices relating to all grades and types of labour organisation (page 363). Instead of an established hierarchy linked by the use of the word *k3t*, it would seem that the offices under the control 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 would be in keeping with the probability of a very flexible organisation of the department of works.

The office of Overseer of Works is therefore seen to be a very varied one, with a wide range of responsibilities, and was the senior office 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,⁹³ 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 on the Titles of 'Overseer of Works'.

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 variant writings of the title, some of which on examination have proved to be titles with an independent existence and career pattern. The principal among these is *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*.

No evidence exists for defining the different areas of responsibility of the contemporaneous non-vizierial holders of *imy-r k3t nbt*

93. cf. list in Helck, Verwaltung, Register, 25.

(nt) nzwt and imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt. As the latter title disappeared 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. 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.

One imagines 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. It is very likely that they would have needed the semblance 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 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 *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 *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, *imy-r šnwt* and *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 *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.

CHAPTER 6

imy-r šnwt and imy-r šnwtj.

General.

These two forms are by far the most common Old Kingdom titles representing 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 šnwt nzwt, imy-r šnwt nt hnw, imy-r šnwt swt htpw df3w, imy-r šnwt nbt, and imy-r šnwtj nt htpw ntr. In contrast with the variants of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, these differ insofar as there appears to be only one example of each. Table 33 contains all known holders of these titles in the Old Kingdom, both memphite and provincial.

Table 33

List of Granary Overseers.A. Memphite1. imy-r šnwtEarly-middle Dyn 5

iffi (10)

wr-k3-ptḥ (41)

shṭpw (122)

irw-k3-ptḥ (12)

'nh-m-'-r' (28)

k3i-m-snw (144)

Early-middle Dyn 6Later Dyn 5

imbi (11)

2. imy-r šnwtjMiddle Dyn 5

šsmw (127)

* ph-n-wi-k3i (45)

ny-k3-r' (80)

* sndm-ib; mhi (121)

Later Wenis

* ihy (15)

hzzī (98)

Djedkare

r'-špss (95)

* pth-ḥtp (48)

* pth-ḥtp I (49)

* sndm-ib; inti (120)

End Dyn 5-early Dyn 6

* hnm-nti (113)

* k3i-gmni; mmi (151)

Djedkare-Wenis

shṭpw (122)

shm-'nh-ptḥ (124)

k3i-hr-ptḥ; ftk-t3 (150)

* mrrw-k3i; mri (68)

Early Wenis

* 3ḥt-ḥtp (2)

* 3ḥt-ḥtp; hmi (3)

Teti

* nfr-šsm-r'; šsi (88)

Early Pepy I

* mhw (69)

* hnty-k3i; ihhi (109)

* pth-ḥtp (51)

Table 33 (Continued)

<u>Middle Pepy I-early Pepy II</u>		<u>d3-mrw</u>	(163)
išfi	(19)	* tti	(156)
* mrri	(67)	mn-'nh-ppy; mni	(56)
* idw I; nfr	(22)	<u>End Old Kingdom and later</u>	
* 'nh-mry-r'	(33)	k3i-ny-nbfwi; hnw	(147)
<u>Middle Pepy II</u>		<u>ttti</u>	(159)
hnmw-htp	(112)	ipi-hr-ssnbf	(9)
* nb-k3w-hr; idw	(82)	* ttw	(160)
<u>Later Pepy II</u>		gmni-m-h3t; gmni	(154)
* h'-b3w-hnmw; biw	(102)		

3. Other Forms

ph-r-nfr	(46):	imy-r šnwt nbt nt nzwt
3hi	(1):	imy-r šnwt nzwt
iffi	(10):	imy-r šnwt nzwt
ny-k3-r'	(80):	imy-r šnwt nt hnw
'nh-m-'-r'	(28):	imy-r šnwt swt htpw df3w
mrw	(64):	imy-r šnwt nbt

Table 33 (Continued)B. Provincial1. imy-r šnwtyEarly-middle Dyn 6

'nh-wnis	Thebes ¹
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Middle Dyn 6

ihy	Thebes ²
-----	---------------------

ny-'nh-ppy; sbk-htp	Meir ³
---------------------	-------------------

Early-middle Pepy II

* idi	Abydos ⁴
-------	---------------------

ibi	Deir el Gebrawi ⁵
-----	------------------------------

Middle-late Pepy II

* 'nh-ppy hry-ib	Meir ⁶
------------------	-------------------

* 'nh-ppy hny-km	Meir ⁷
------------------	-------------------

d'w; šm3i	Deir el Gebrawi ⁸
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d'w	Deir el Gebrawi ⁹
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1. Saleh, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, 12-17.
 2. id. ib., 23 ff; for a later dating of both 'nh-wnis and ihy, see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 132-42.
 3. Blackman, Meir V, pl. I-XV; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 84 (212).
 4. 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).
 5. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 56 (32).
 6. Blackman, Meir IV, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (133).
 7. Blackman, Meir V, pl. XV-XLIII; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (134).
 8. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. I-XVII; date, Baer, op. cit., 157 (592).
 9. Davies, op. cit., pl. I-XVII; date, Baer, op. cit., 157 (592).

Table 33 (Continued)2. Other FormsEarly Pepy IIk3i-hp; ttiAkhmim:¹⁰

imy-r šnwty nt htpw ntr

Middle-late Pepy IIk3i-hp; tti-iqrAkhmim:¹¹

imy-r šnwty nt htpw ntr

* indicates vizier

Four instances of such granary titles are not included in this list. In the tomb of pth-htp II two men with the title of imy-r šnwty, k3i-hp and hp, are depicted among his dependents.¹² The reason for keeping these two men apart from the others is that they are the only holders of any of the titles discussed in this work who appear as dependents in tomb scenes. One cannot be sure that they are not just overseers of the granary of the estate of pth-htp II; this question of

For the separation of the depictions of this man from those of his father see Kanawati, JEA 63 (1977), 59-62.


10. Kanawati, Hawawish III, 7-32, fig. 1-21, including dating.

11. id. ib. I, 12-37, including dating.

12. The former appears twice on the south wall (Paget-Pirie, Ptah-hetep, pl. XXXI, and perhaps also with the title hry-tp šnwty on pl. XXXIV), and the latter once on the west wall (id. ib., pl. XXXIV). In the tomb of pth-htp I a certain k3i-hp who occurs with the remains of a granary title could possibly be the former official (Murray, Saqgara Mastabas I, pl. XIV).

the number of contexts in which this title could be used is an important one, and will be discussed more fully below (page 435).

The other two examples both come from representations in pyramid temples, and in each case the name of the owner is lost. Consequently, the officials may be already included elsewhere and are best omitted. The earlier is shown on a block reused in the Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht, and is perhaps of sixth dynasty date,¹³ and the second is in the pyramid temple of Pepy II.¹⁴

There is in addition one official often quoted as an *imy-r šnwt*, who in all probability did not hold this title. *k3i-'pr* of Giza is quoted by Porter and Moss as holding this title;¹⁵ figure 13 shows that only the  element of the title is clear. The all-important determinative is damaged, 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)*.¹⁶

This group of granary titles appears at the beginning of the fourth dynasty and is the longest lasting of those under consideration, with late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period examples. It is also found in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Provincial senior granary titles are virtually restricted to *imy-r 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 paleographic interest.¹⁷ These considerations concern two parts of the writing, the

13. Goedicke, Reused Blocks ... from Lisht, 81

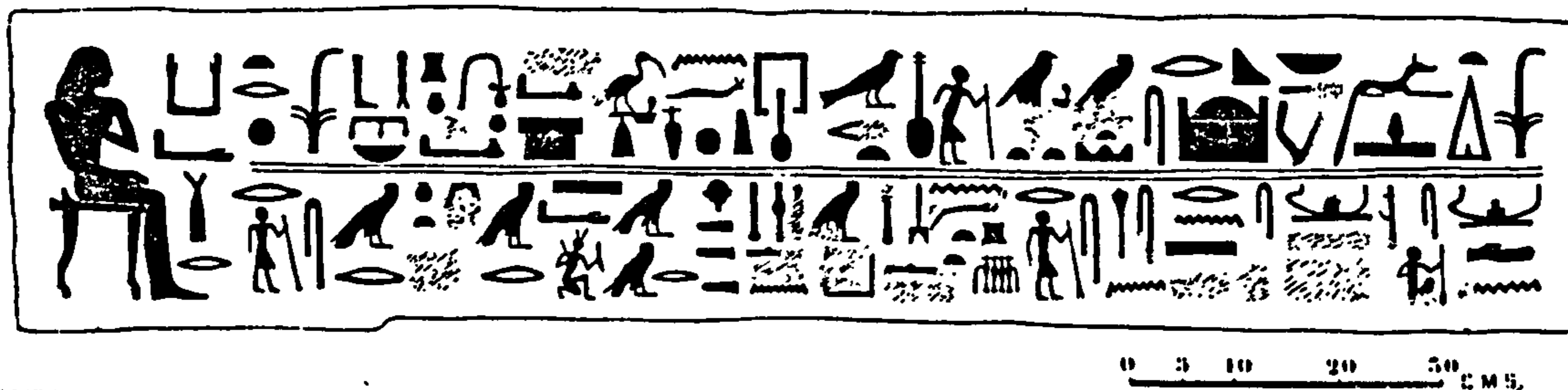
14. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 75.

15. PM 3², 262-3.

16. cf Fischer, JAOS 81 (1961), 423.

17. cf Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 93.

Figure 13: Architrave from tomb of k3i-'pr at Giza.



Hassan, Giza II, fig. 185.

phonetic elements and the determinative of the granary itself.

Where the phonetic elements of the word $\check{s}nwt$ appear, they are invariably in the form $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$. They feature in the writing consistently from the earliest examples until the later fifth dynasty. In this context it may be noted that the title of *iffi* (10) is sometimes written with $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$ for $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂐}$.¹⁸ The earliest writing to omit the phonetic elements is that in the tomb of *pth-htp* (48).¹⁹ Writings both with and without the phonetic elements are found in the later fifth dynasty.²⁰ In the sixth dynasty the writing without phonetic elements is the rule.²¹



The central lines are perhaps the most important paleographic feature of the determinative of the word $\check{s}nwt(y)$. In nearly all fifth






18. Mariette, Mastabas, 101.

19. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. IV.

20. Examples: *3ht-htp* (2) (Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. XIV, XXIX), '*nh-m-'-r*' (28) (Cleveland Museum Bulletin 51 (1964), 237) and *k3i-m-snw* (144) (Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 62-3)

21. Exceptions are mainly to be found in the first half of the dynasty - *nfr-ssm-r*' (88) (Capart, Rue de Tombeaux, pl. XI), *mrrw-k3i* (68) (Duell, Mereruka II, pl. 218A), *isfi* (19) (Capart, op. cit., pl. LXXIII) and '*nh-mry-r*' (33) (Lauer, Saqqara, XVIII, pl. 133).

dynasty examples these lines reach from the bottom of the granary to at least the middle, and in many cases almost to the top ().²² 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 ().²³

The size of the determinative is generally smaller and squatter in the sixth than the fifth dynasty ( against ),²⁴ 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. The tenth dynasty example of *gmni-m-h3t* seems to have reverted to older forms.²⁵ Examples from the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II show some increase in the height of the sign, causing it to appear narrower and taller.²⁶ Some from the reign of Pepy II show a rounded lower edge with a triangular-shaped internal mark .²⁷ The granary determinative is not accompanied by the house sign  until the end of the fifth or early sixth dynasties, and it is never particularly common.²⁸

The principal paleographic 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

22. For example, that of *ph-n-wi-k3i* (45), LD II, 48.

23. For examples, see Strudwick, *op. cit.*, 94 n. 9.

24. Compare the examples of *r'-špss* (95) (LD II, 63) with those of *nb-k3w-hr* (82) (Hassan, *Saqqara I*, fig. 24).

25. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, pl. 27.

26. *isfi* (19) (Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, pl. LXXIII) and *mrri* (67) (Hassan, *Saqqara III*, fig. 17b).

27. *hnmw-htp* (112) (Jéquier, *Pepi II, III*, fig. 63), *h'-b3w-hnmw* (102) (*id. ib.*, pl. 52).

28. *hzzī* (98) (Cairo, CG 1413), and *isfi* (19) and *'nh-mry-r'* (33) as above.

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 titles has not been encountered in the discussions of previous offices. The most important ones incorporating the element šnwt are indicated in table 34, along with other principal 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 in the granary; it is the most common non-scribal title apart from that of overseer.

Given that granary work is connected with food supply, one may speculate that titles concerned with such work were related to the office of the imy-r šnwt. Such titles as imy-r swt ḥtpw df3w (šḥtpw and 'nh-m-'-r'), imy-r bh't (nbt) nt nzwt (k3i-m-snw), imy-r i'-r nzwt and zš šḥt ḥtp-nzwt (both 'nh-m-'-r') perhaps fall into this category. These titles are concentrated on three officials; that they had wider responsibilities than the other four imy-r šnwt, may be judged from the more elaborate nature of their tombs. Consequently, these titles

Table 34

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r šnwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>
iffi (10)						1	1	0	0			0	X	X
wr-k3-ptḥ (41)						0	0	0	0	X		0		
shṭpw (122)						0	0	0	0		1	X		
irw-k3-ptḥ (12)	X	X	X	X		0	0	1	0			0		
'nh-m-'-r' (28)	X				X	0	0	0	2	X		0		
k3i-m-snw (144)	X					0	0	0	X			0	X	
imbi (11)	X					0	0	1	0		X	0		

Key to Title Columns

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. hry-tp šnwt | 2. imy-r zš šnwt |
| 3. zš ' nzwt šnwt | 4. zš hryt-' šnwt |
| 5. zš šnwt | 6. Number of Treasury Titles |
| 7. Number of Labour Titles | 8. Number of Scribal Titles |
| 9. Number of Legal Titles | 10. rh nzwt |
| 11. hry-tp nzwt | 12. Number of Other High Offices |
| 13. Royal Institution Titles | 14. Religious Titles |

are to be associated with the work of the imy-r šnwt, but are of a more privileged nature than most of the others included in this table.

2. Scribal Titles.

Apart from the scribal titles associated with the granary itself held by irw-k3-ptḥ and 'nh-m-'-r', there are two examples of hrp zš ('nh-m-'-r' and imbi), one of shḏ zš (irw-k3-ptḥ), and one of zš nzwt ('nh-m-'-r') held by imy-r šnwt. 'nh-m-'-r' and irw-k3-ptḥ were evidently men with substantial scribal experience whose careers lead them to work principally in the granaries. Otherwise, scribal titles do not seem to have been a consistent element in the titularies of imy-r šnwt.

3. Legal Titles.

Legal titles are held only by 'nh-m-'-r' (hm-ntr m3't and nst hntt, the latter of which would presumably have been preceded by another legal title (see above page 291 ff.)). 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 (above, page 327). Otherwise these titles are not a feature of the titulary of an imy-r šnwt.

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.²⁹ 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 titles rh nzwt and one of hry-tp nzwt are found among the holders of imy-r šnwt. The occurrence of hry-tp nzwt is in the titulary of imbi, the only sixth dynasty holder of imy-r šnwt, 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

29. cf Freier, Altorientalische Forschungen 4 (1976), 5-34.

'nh_u-m-'-r' with legal and scribal titles as noted above did not qualify him for the rank of h_ury-tp nzwt; it would seem that the rank of the overseer of the granary was restricted to that of rh_u nzwt.

6. Other High Administrative Titles.

Only sh_utpw advanced to a high office beyond that of imy-r šnwt, and that was to (presumably) the next stage in the granary, imy-r šnwt_y. Like the low-ranking overseers of works, the careers of the imy-r šnwt seem to have remained very much in the one department, having limited opportunities for rising to higher rank or office.

7. Religious Titles.

Only the titles of iffi noted above in the section 'Labour Organisation', 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 šnwt.

8. Titles related to Royal Institutions.

It has been noted above (page 300) that the lower ranking holders of imy-r h_uwt wrt bore more royal institutional titles than their more senior colleagues. The same is true for the holders of imy-r šnwt, who were not of the highest rank:

iffi (10)	hm-n _u tr r' m nh _u n-r'
	w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f
sh _u tpw (122)	hm-n _u tr nfr-ir-k3-r'
	hm-n _u tr r' m st-ib-r'
	w'b h _u '-b3-s3hw-r'
k3i-m-snw (144)	hm-n _u tr nfr-ir-k3-r'

hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'

hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'

hm-ntr r' hwt-hr m st-ib-r'

w'b b3w-nfr-ir-k3-r'

w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r'

w'b s3hw-r'

These constitute about half of the holders of imy-r šnwt. A very consistent feature is that each man held the combination of hm-ntr r' in a sun-temple and w'b of a royal pyramid (at least). To these k3i-m-snw added some royal priesthoods. 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 imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

B. imy-r šnwt.

Of the thirty-seven memphite holders of imy-r šnwt during the Old Kingdom, twenty-two were viziers, who will be discussed separately.

1. Granary Titles.

As will be apparent from table 35, among the imy-r šnwt only ny-k3-r' held any titles connected with the lesser offices in the granary, apart from the title of imy-r šnwt held by shtpw. The granary titles of ny-k3-r' closely parallel those noted among the holders of imy-r šnwt, particularly in the titulary of irw-k3-ptḥ (12), suggesting that he probably followed a similar career. His tenure of the title imy-r šnwt nt hnw may thus indicate that title was similar in function to imy-r šnwt. There is only a very limited number of the further granary titles discussed on page 417 ff. above: shtpw was imy-r swt

Table 35

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r šnwt.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
šsmw (127)					0	8	0	0					1	X		X
ny-k3-r' (80)	X	X	X	X	0	1	1	0				X	0			X
r'-špss (95)					0	0	3	6			X		2	X		
šhtpw (122)					0	0	0	0					1			X
šhm-'nh-ptḥ (124)					0	0	2	5			X		2	X		
ḥzzi (98)					0	1	1	0			X		2			
k3i-ḥr-ptḥ (150)					0	0	3	4					0			X
išfi (19)					0	0	0	0		W			1	X	X	
ḥnmw-ḥtp (112)					X	0	0	0	X	X						
d3-mrw (163)					0	0	0	0	X	W			0			
mn-'nh-ppy (56)					0	0	0	0		W			0			X
k3i-ny-nbfwi (147)					0	0	0	0				X	0			
ttti (159)					0	0	3	0		X			0			
ipi-ḥr-ssnbf (9)					0	2	0	0				X	0			X
gmni-m-ḥ3t (154)					0	0	0	0	X		X		0			X

Key to Title Columns.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. ḥry-tp šnwt | 2. imy-r zš md3t šnwt |
| 3. imy-r zš šnwt | 4. šḥd zš šnwt |
| 5. Number of Treasury Titles | 6. Number of Labour Titles |
| 7. Number of Scribal Titles | 8. Number of Legal Titles |
| 9. iry p't and ḥ3ty-' | |
| 10. W = smr w'ty, B = sd3wty bity, X = both | |
| 11. ḥry-tp nzwt | 12. rḥ nzwt |
| 13. Number of Other High Offices | 14. Titles with wd-mdw |
| 15. Religious Titles | 16. Royal Institution Titles |
-

htpw df3w, and išfi held both imy-r i'-r nzwt and imy-r sht htpw.

The other imy-r šnwty have titularies that are either unclear as to their career patterns, or show that they were involved in works, scribal matters or a legal career. The evidence, or lack of it, points to the possibility that, as suggested above for certain other officials (for example, ty (157) in relation to the title of overseer of works), men were chosen for this position as much for their abilities as administrators than for their past experience relative to the granaries. This would seem particularly true for the period after the middle of the fifth dynasty.

2. Scribal Titles.

The following officials have several scribal titles: ny-k3-r' (principally in the granary), r'-špss, shm-'nh-ptḥ, k3i-hr-ptḥ and ttti. These examples belong to the periods before and after the sixth dynasty. All but the first and last of these officials also had several legal titles. The holding of several scribal titles is perhaps again the mark of an efficient administrator; there is no evidence that such titles were a consistent and distinctive feature of the position of imy-r šnwty.

3. Legal Titles.

As noted, these are found only in the titularies of r'-špss, shm-'nh-ptḥ and k3i-hr-ptḥ, in conjunction with scribal titles. It is unlikely that they had any connection with the post of imy-r šnwty except for indicating the administrative ability of their holders.

4. Titles Associated with the Organisation of Labour.

Principal among the four officials indicated in column 6 of table 35

are $\check{s}smw$ and $ipi-hr-ssnbf$, at opposite ends of the time scale. The works title of $ny-k3-r'$ was $wr md \check{s}m'w$ and that of $hzzi imy-r ht nbt n k3t hft-hr$. In the cases of $\check{s}smw$ and $hzzi$ the works titles are presumably more closely associated to their tenure of the office of $imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt$ than anything else. As regards $\check{s}smw$, $imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt$ would seem to be the more logical promotion on the basis of his titularial than $imy-r \check{s}nwt$, and this latter title may have been a subsequent addition to his titularial.³⁰ 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 workers.³¹

5. Honorific Titles.

In the fifth dynasty the holders of $imy-r \check{s}nwt$ were principally $hry-tp nzwt$, but in the sixth there is a tendency for the rank to have risen at least to $smr w'ty$ and $sd3wty bity$. This is in accord with the general rise in rank noted in this period (above page 368). Both the officials certainly active in the reign of Pepy II ($hnmw-htp$ and $d3-mrw$) reached the ranks of $iry p't$ and $h3ty'$.

Only one of the earlier holders of the title, $ny-k3-r'$, held the title of $rh nzwt$. $rh nzwt$ appears again at the end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, suggesting a further change in the ranking of holders of $imy-r \check{s}nwt$, at which time it is again found together with $hry-tp nzwt$. The honorific titles of these officials serve to differentiate them from the $imy-r \check{s}nwt$.

30. This proposition may be supported from details of the arrangement of his false door (above page 379).

31. For this as a possible function of the granary and its overseers, see below page 435.

6. Other Important Administrative Titles.

Table 36

Distribution of Other High Administrative Titles of imy-r šnwty.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
sšmw (127)			X	
r'-špss (95)		X	X	
shm-'nh-ptḥ (124)	X	X		
hzzī (98)			X	X
išfi (19)				X
hnmw-ḥtp (112)				X

Key to Title Numbers:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. imy-r hwt wrt | 2. imy-r zš ' nzwt |
| 3. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt | 4. imy-r prwy-ḥd |

The distribution of these is given in table 36. The appearance of these titles is linked to the career structures indicated by the titularies of the holders. sšmw was a works official, r'-špss and shm-'nh-ptḥ scribal/legal officials, and the career patterns of hzzī, išfi and hnmw-ḥtp are not totally clear. The latter three are almost the first officials discussed so far to have held imy-r prwy-ḥd, and this shows a link with imy-r šnwty that will be seen to be common, particularly with viziers (page 512).

As seen with the other titles above, the majority of instances where more than one important administrative title is held by a non-vizier occur in the fifth dynasty. The majority of the sixth dynasty and later holders of imy-r šnwty did not hold any additional high offices. This again indicates 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. There is no consistent tenure of another title together with the non-vizierial holders of *imy-r šnwty*, in contrast to the frequency with which *imy-r zš 'nzwt* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* are found together (above page 331).

7. Religious Titles.

There are no consistent patterns of tenure of any religious titles. This suggests that there was no particular deity associated with the granary. The two occurrences of *hry-ḥb* are both of sixth dynasty date (*išfi* and *mn-'nh-ppy*), when this title was often found with individuals of the rank of *smr w'ty*.

8. Titles connected with Royal Institutions.

Such titles as these are not infrequent, and are given below:

<i>ssw</i> (127)	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
<i>ny-k3-r'</i> (80)	<i>hm-ntr hr st-ib-t3wy</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m šzp-ib-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr s3ḥw-r'</i>
<i>shtpw</i> (122)	<i>hm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
	<i>w'b ḥ'-b3-s3ḥw-r'</i>
<i>k3i-hr-ptḥ</i> (150)	<i>imy-r niwtt m3wt nt nfr-dd-k3-r'</i>
	<i>shd w'b 3ḥt-ḥwfw</i>
<i>ipi-hr-ssnbf</i> (9)	<i>mty n z3 dd-swt-tti</i>
<i>gmni-m-ḥ3t</i> (154)	<i>mty n z3 dd-swt-tti</i>
	<i>mty n z3 w3d-swt-mry-k3-r'</i>

Usually they are found in the fifth dynasty with officials who held one or no further high offices; it is quite probable that they were associated with an earlier stage of a man's career, to judge from the occurrences with *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r k3t nt nzwt* and *imy-r šnwt* (see above). 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.³²

9. 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 šnwtj*, as in each occurrence in column 14 of table 35, the individual concerned is one who held at least one further high administrative title.

C. Conclusions and Discussion of Variants.

There can be no doubt that the titularies of holders of *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r šnwtj* were very different. The *imy-r šnwt* appear to have been very much 'career' granary officials, whereas most of the *imy-r šnwtj* seem to have followed no set career pattern. The latter title was certainly the more important of the two, and the one title cannot be regarded as a simple graphic variant of the other.

There are several variants on the title of 'overseer of the granary' (see table 33). 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

32. cf Baer, Rank and Title, 264 ff.

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 šnwt nzwt* of *3hi* (1), whose other titles were *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* and *imy-r prwy-hd*.

imy-r šnwt nzwt held by *iffi* (10) is not accompanied by any other important state administrative titles. It is likely however that this title represents a promotion from the title *imy-r šnwt* attested elsewhere in the tomb. It is important to note that these three officials all antedate the earliest appearance of *imy-r šnwty*, and they may have exercised the same functions. Thus *iffi* 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) was 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 hnw* was very much like that of *imy-r šnwt* (see above page 421). *imy-r šnwt swt htpw df3w* is found in the titulary of '*nh-m'-r'* (28), who held other titles related to such offerings (above page 417). It may have been a mark of favour granted to him over 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 *mrw* (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, with duties (if any) falling somewhere between those of imy-r šnwt and imy-r šnwtj.

The Vizierial Holders of the Titles.

An examination of the titles held by viziers indicates the presence only of imy-r šnwtj; imy-r šnwt and lesser granary titles are absent. The title of imy-r šnwtj is held by twenty-two viziers. It is therefore evident that viziers were not necessarily chosen from granary officials; this is further evidence that tenure of imy-r šnwtj was not necessarily related to experience in the administration of the granaries. Secondly it confirms the importance of imy-r šnwtj over imy-r šnwt, as the latter does not appear.

There is insufficient evidence to determine the number of viziers who held the office of imy-r šnwtj before promotion to their highest office. r'-špss (95) certainly was imy-r šnwtj before his vizierate, but it is not known whether he then continued to hold this title.

To anticipate briefly some of the conclusions on the section on viziers, the concentration of other high administrative titles on viziers holding imy-r šnwtj is very high, and suggests that this title was indeed of great importance in Old Kingdom administration.

The Organisation and Functions of the Granary and its
Principal Offices.

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 šnwtj*. 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 senior granary officials.

The study of the titles *imy-r zš ' nzwt* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* concluded 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 zš ' 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 šnwtj differs slightly from these. There seem to have been five or six non-viziers who held this title in the fifth dynasty (*sšmw* (127), *ny-k3-r'* (80), *r'-špss* (95), *šhtpw* (122), *šm-'nh-ptḥ* (124) and perhaps *k3i-ḥr-ptḥ* (150)), together with eight or nine viziers. For the first part of the sixth dynasty there are at the most two non-viziers (*k3i-ḥr-ptḥ* (150) and *ḥzzi* (98)), as opposed to about eight viziers.

The reign of Pepy II seems to have seen six *imy-r šnwtj*, two of which (*hnmw-htp* (112) and *d3-mrw* (163)) 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 zš ' 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 zš ' 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 (*mn-'nh-ppy; mni* (56) to *gmni-m-h3t* (154)). There is more memphite evidence for the 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). The important non-viziers of this time held only the one high office, as did the contemporary holders of *imy-r hwt wrt* (above page 297).

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 this title seems 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 šnwt* and *imy-r šnwt*? The most plausible explanation for the dual form of *imy-r šnwt* is that it implied control of the granaries of the whole land and not two particular ones. The dual form was often used in this manner.³³

33. cf Helck, Beamtentitel, 64.

On this basis, one might expect to find the *imy-r šnwt* in charge of individual granaries.³⁴ One problem that arises in this context is that almost nothing is known about the location and number of the granaries. It is additionally possible that, as noted above (page 413), some *imy-r šnwt* may have belonged to granaries of private estates. However, the tombs of some *imy-r šnwt* (*šh̄tpw* (122), '*nh̄-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 šnwt* 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 šnwt* 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 šnwt* may have been responsible for a number of granaries; it is very likely that their work was then coordinated by the *imy-r šnwtj* (a situation very similar to that of *imy-r hwt wrt*, above page 306 ff.).

The titles *imy-r šnwt nt hn̄w* of *ny-k3-r*' (80) and *imy-r šnwt swt h̄tpw df̄3w* of '*nh̄-m-'-r*' (28) make references, unfortunately unique, to specific granaries. It cannot be discovered whether the other occurrences of *imy-r šnwt* refer to these or different granaries; there seems to have been a marked reluctance on the part of the Egyptian of the Old Kingdom to specify the particular institutions to which he belonged. One only here has to compare the above titles with a selection of those extant in the Middle Kingdom and especially the New Kingdom to see the difference.³⁵ As will be seen below, the number of

34. cf *id. ib.*, 64, 61.

35. cf Helck, *Verwaltung*, Register, 24-5.

officials who mention the granaries in titles is very much lower than must have existed for the institution.

The most plausible associations of the *imy-r šnwt* must have been with the royal 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 šnwt*, 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 holders. One of these men, 'nh-ppy hny-km of Meir, seems also to have held the title *imy-r šnwt*. This is the only such provincial example, and one is tempted to regard it as a compression (for spatial reasons ?) of *imy-r šnwt*; this argument may be supported with the occurrence (again unique for the provinces) of *imy-r pr-ḥd* in the same tomb, which was perhaps written for *imy-r prwy-ḥd* (below page 479).

imy-r šnwt 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 it was one of the most essential to the government of the provinces apart from the vizierate and the office of Overseer of Upper Egypt (*imy-r šm'w*). It is perhaps likely that the development of provincial administration in the sixth dynasty and the consequent appearance of *imy-r šnwt* 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 it was a title held in Memphis before these officials' moved to their new locations.³⁶ The function of the title would thus have changed slightly; the name still bore the implications of the dual writing, but it in fact became more localised, which in turn suggests that the difference that had existed between *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r šnwtj* had been lost.

The range of locations of these provincial *imy-r šnwtj* is rather restricted - Thebes, Abydos, Meir, Deir el Gebrawi and Akhmim. The exact datings of these officials are not relevant here; what is important is that during the second half of the sixth dynasty they complement those known from 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.³⁷ Thus the effect of decentralisation of administrative offices is as evident here as it was with *imy-r zš' nzw* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzw*.³⁸

B. Other Offices and Activities.

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

36. For this view, see Martin-Pardey, Provinzialverwaltung, 137.

37. For discussion of the possible datings, juxtapositions and functions of these officials, see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 74 (c), 97.

38. Control of grain production in the provinces may also have been in the hands of the *imy-r šm'w*, cf. Kanawati, op. cit., 46.

grain can only be attested from sources of later periods.³⁹ Other sources show that the workmen on quarrying expeditions were provisioned by the granary.⁴⁰ Given the importance of such expeditions in the Old Kingdom, one can envisage the granary performing the same function there.

Scenes relating to the cultivation and storage of grain are common in private tombs.⁴¹ Buildings which are presumably small granaries are frequently shown from early times,⁴² and more often than not bear no descriptive tag. However the granaries shown in the tomb of ty (157) are termed šnwt ntt m pr-šn' hry wd'w n hrt 3bd,⁴³ those in the tomb of šy šnwt nt dbhw prt-hrw nt šy,⁴⁴ and those in the tomb of hnmw; hnm-nti (111) šnwt nt dbht nt prt-hrw.⁴⁵ The main problem regarding these and all granaries shown in tomb reliefs is whether they belonged to the funerary or private estates of the deceased or to the state. It has been assumed above (page 432) that the imy-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

39. Principally New Kingdom material: the Turin Taxation Papyrus (P. Turin 1895 and 2006) is concerned with the transport of grain, generally to a granary on the West Bank at Thebes. This grain is referred to as m šmw, either 'from the harvest' or 'as the harvest tax'. For particular examples, see Gardiner, RAD, 36-8 and 39-40 (translation, id, JEA 27 (1941), 24-5 and 30-1). Also P. Geneva D191, which refers to grain received into the granary of Amun, see Cerny, LRL, 57-60 37 (translation, Wente, LRL, 71-4).

40. An inscription dated to the reign of Senwosret I refers to the bread and beer of the workmen as coming from the šnwt n nb, clearly meaning the royal granary (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).

41. Models of granary scenes are not really an Old Kingdom feature. 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).

42. For a general discussion of the collection of grain, see Vandier, op. cit., 183-208.

43. Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. LXX.

44. Jéquier, Tombeaux, fig. 69.

45. id., ASAE 35 (1935), 145.

depictions of grain-related activities in tomb scenes must in all probability refer to the deceased's estates, especially as the activities represented in tombs were clearly restricted to those which most closely involved the deceased - in this case, the perpetuation of his own private income. It will be seen later that granaries and treasuries were in many ways related, but the latter never appear in tomb decoration, which is a further argument for the restriction of these depictions to the tomb owner's estates.⁴⁶

While the existence of a granary can be documented in the residence and in private estates,⁴⁷ 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,⁴⁸ especially those that owned land which would produce grain for them, but, apart from the residence, information is very restricted.

Some information may be found in the Abusir Papyri about the movement of grain between granaries. One document refers to types of grain brought from the granary,⁴⁹ and this is thought by Posener-Kriéger to have come from a state granary.⁵⁰ Without doubt, this would have been put into a granary inside the temple, although this may have been covered by the term *pr-šn'*.⁵¹

46. This view has been advanced on different grounds by Kaplony (Studien zum Grab des Methethi, 88).

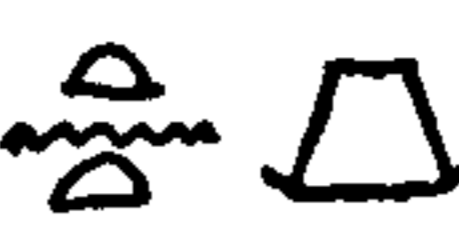


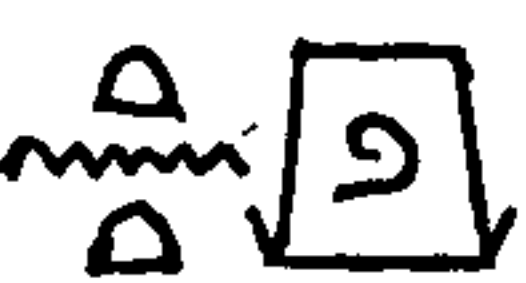
47. The Gebelein Papyri may shed more light on the running of such an estate granary when they are published, as a *sd3wty šnwt* is found therein - Posener-Kriéger, RdE 27 (1975), 219.

48. For example, the *hwt '3t*, table 38 below (14).

49. HPBM, pl. XLI c2; Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb I, 329.

50. op. cit., II, 628; also Kaplony, Or 41 (1972), 72.

51. An analogy from the tomb of *ty* suggests this - the *šnwt ntt m pr-šn'* are shown (Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. LXX).

The same group of texts provides some information about the existence of other granaries. An institution called  is attested,⁵² and there are several examples of the word \check{snwt} or the sign for granary, the context of which has been lost.⁵³ Posener-Krieger does not believe these necessarily to have been parts of the mortuary or sun temples of Neferirkare.⁵⁴ There are other possible references to the tnt granary, which may perhaps localise it in the memphite area, in the tomb of $ny\text{-}'nh\text{-}hnmw$ and $hnmw\text{-}htp$ (figure 14).⁵⁵ Moussa and Altenmüller take the word tnt to be related to $t\check{nwt}$ 'counting'.⁵⁶ However, the reference from the Abusir Archive noted above might suggest that it was an institution in its own right.⁵⁷ It is referred to in the tomb as the tnt of wheat () and the tnt of barley (). The determinative is somewhat different in its internal decoration from that found in the word \check{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 $z\check{s} tnt$ 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 $imy\text{-}r \check{snwt} swt htpw \underline{df}3w$ (perhaps 'Overseer of the granary of the offices of food-offerings') is found in the titulary of $'nh\text{-}m\text{-}'\text{-}r$ ' (28), and there are also lines of granaries such as shown in the tomb of \check{sy} at Saqqara.⁵⁸ In the latter

52. HPBM, pl. LXIII A; Posener-Krieger, op. cit. I, 389-90.

53. HPBM, pl. LXXVI M, LXXIX x, CIII B.

54. op. cit. II, 516-7, 428.

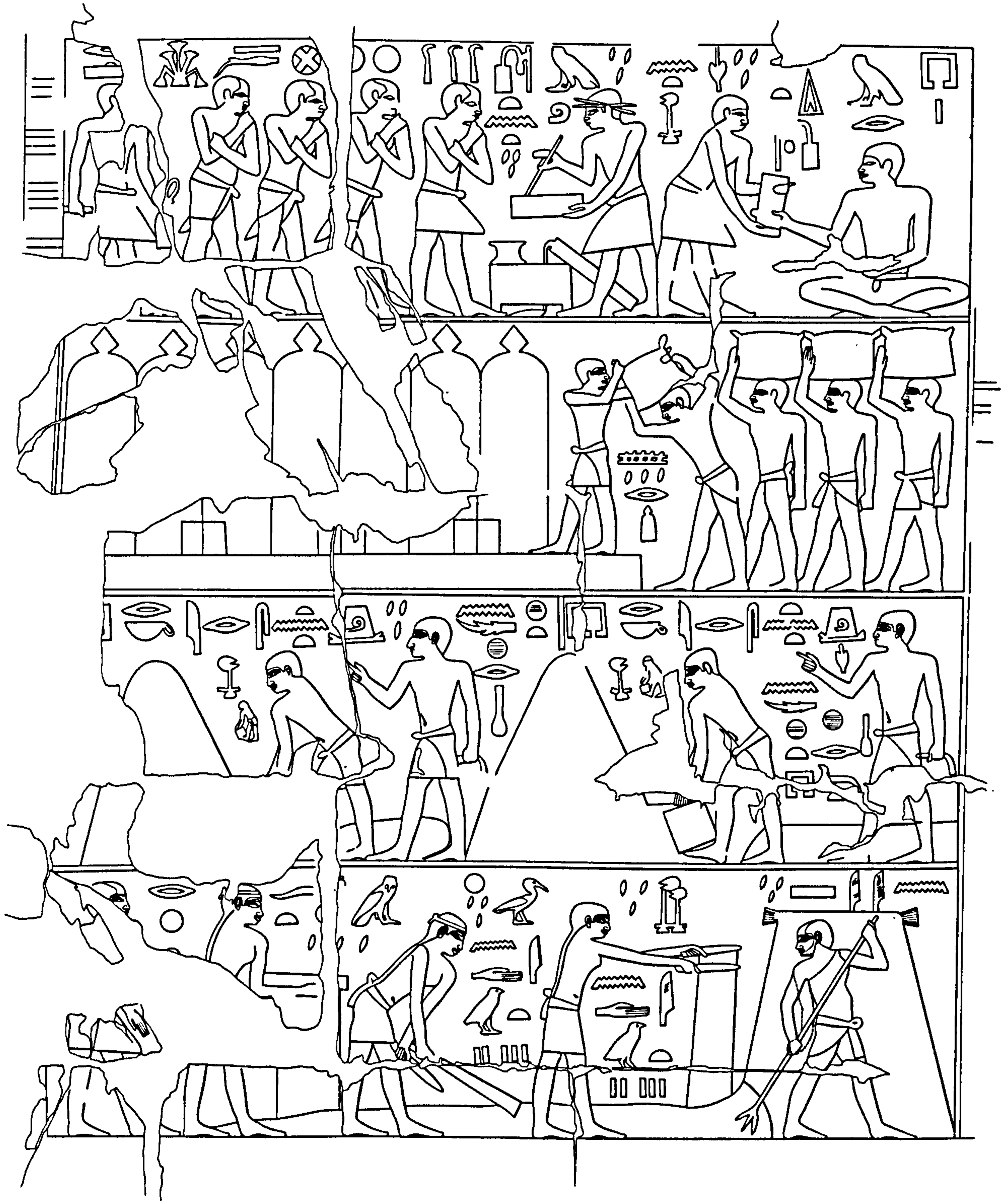
55. Moussa-Altenmüller, Nyanchchnum, Abb. 24, pl. 54 ab.

56. op. cit., 127.

57. Agreeing with this view, Meeks, Annee Lexicographique I (1977), 419 (77.4828); cf Kaplony, Fs Berlin, 147.

58. With the legend $\check{snwt} nt dbhw prt\text{-}hrw nt \check{sy}$, Jéquier, Tombeaux, fig. 69.

Figure 14: Scene from the tomb of ny-'nh-hnmw and hnmw-htp.



From Moussa-Altenmüller, Nyanchehnum, Abb. 24

case it is probable that they represent granaries on the deceased's estates, but the title of 'nh-m'-r' may refer to state granaries designated for this particular purpose but only appearing in this one title.

There is evidence for the functions of granaries in the offerings presented to 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:⁵⁹

prt-hrw m hnw it bdt m šnwty ḥbs m prwy-hd mrḥt m izwy ḥt bnrt m pr-išd.

'... that he give him invocation offerings from the residence, wheat and barley from the two granaries, clothing from the two treasuries, mrḥt oil from the two chambers and sweet things from the house of išd fruit'.

These items are presumably actual examples of what was intended by the phrase *ḥtp di nzwt*, 'an offering which the king gives', coming from a state institution.⁶⁰ There are several other similar examples of these formulae which mention granaries, sometimes in the dual,⁶¹ sometimes in the singular.⁶² 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 only the *prwy-hd*. It is possible


59. Urk. I, 177.8-10.

60. cf Posener-Krieger, op. cit. I, 263 n. c.

61. *s3bw*; *ibbi* (116), Urk. I, 177.14-6; *hzzi* (98), Cairo, CG 1413; 'nh-m'-r' (28), unpublished; *ny-k3w-r'*, Cairo, CG 1414.

62. *k3i-m-snw* (144), Urk. I, 175.10-12; *shm-k3i*, Urk. I, 177.3; *tnti*, Urk. I, 164.13-6.

that \check{y} snwt is used in the earlier examples and \check{y} snwty 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. The Pyramid Texts refer to the 'granary of the great god' in this text: \check{y} szp (King) pn st ht followed by the signs  m ntt m \check{y} snwt nt ntr-'3.⁶³ 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 \check{y} hry-tp \check{y} snwt ny-k3w-r' appears in the Abusir Papyri; however, his relationship with the temple is unknown, although he may have been involved with the transfer of grain from one granary to another,⁶⁴ or perhaps linked with the bringing of bricks for repairs to the temple.⁶⁵ The other reference is in the biography of 3ht-htp; hmi (3),⁶⁶ where the deceased addresses the officials (imy-st-') of several institutions including the granary. However, the text of his words is lost.

Helck suggests that the organisation of the estate granaries imitated that of the state ones.⁶⁷ Table 37 gives granary titles found in tomb scenes, which presumably all relate to estate granaries.

In some of the examples in table 37 the men are simply represented as offering bearers or doing nothing particularly relevant to work in the granaries: imy-r \check{y} snwt 1, 2; \check{y} hry-tp \check{y} snwt 1, 2, 6; zš \check{y} snwt 3, 7, 8.

63. Pyr. 1182a.

64. HPBM, pl. LXII (46); Posener-Krieger, op. cit. II, 598.

65. id. ib., 385 ff.

66. Hassan, Saqqara I, fig. 18 (l. 49).

67. Beamtentitel, 64.

Table 37

List of Granary Officials in Tomb Scenes.

<u>Title</u>	<u>References</u>
<u>imy-r</u> ^v <u>šnwt</u>	1. Paget-Pirie, <u>Ptah-hetep</u> , pl. XXXI 2. <u>id. ib.</u> , pl. XXXIV
<u>hry-tp</u> ^v <u>šnwt</u>	1. Davies, <u>Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II</u> , pl. XXX, XXIII, XXVI (three men). 2. Paget-Pirie, <u>Ptah-hetep</u> , pl. XXXIV, XXXV (two men). 3. <u>LD Erg.</u> , pl. XIV. 4. Firth-Gunn, <u>Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II</u> , pl. 53 (1). 5. Capart, <u>Rue de Tombeaux</u> , pl. LXXXVII 6. Blackman, <u>Meir IV</u> , pl. XV (two men)
^v <u>zš</u> ^v <u>šnwt</u>	1. <u>LD II</u> , 56. 2. Junker, <u>Giza XI</u> , Abb. 80. 3. <u>LD Erg.</u> , pl. XXIIIb. 4. <u>LD Erg.</u> , pl. XXI. 5. Simpson, <u>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</u> , pl. D, fig. 8. 6. Curto, <u>Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza</u> , fig. 35. 7. Moussa-Altenmüller, <u>Nyanchchnum</u> , pl. 5, 29, 52. 8. <u>id. ib.</u> , pl. 8, 34. 9. Kaplony, <u>Studien zum Grab des Methethi</u> , 22 (nr. 2) 10. Borchardt, <u>Neuserre</u> , Abb. 103. 11. <u>LD II</u> , 51.
<u>shd</u> ^v <u>zš</u> ^v <u>šnwt</u>	1. Capart, <u>Rue de Tombeaux</u> , LXXXVII.
<u>nht-hrw</u> ^v <u>n</u> ^v <u>šnwt</u>	1. <u>LD II</u> , 103a. 2. <u>LD II</u> , 62. 3. Moussa-Altenmüller, <u>Nyanchchnum</u> , pl. 23. 4. <u>LD II</u> , 71a bis.

Otherwise hry-tp ^Ysnwt are shown carrying out scribal activities: (3) carries a papyrus roll (tomb of sndm-ib; mhi (121)); (4) presents a papyrus to the deceased (k3i-gmni) with the text hsb hnwt, 'reckoning cargoes (?)' above; (5) is shown writing at the side of a fishing and fowling scene, accompanied by the text iw.i r dit hq3t r wr, the meaning of which is not certain but probably 'I shall give a hq3t measure (of grain ?) to the great one (the deceased ?)'. The shd zš ^Ysnwt is adjacent to this hry-tp ^Ysnwt and beside him is the text it hq3t 10 r sh3.f, perhaps 'ten hq3t of grain to satisfy him (the deceased ?)' (both tomb of nfr-ssm-pth (87)).

Again, reckoning is the subject of most of the remaining examples of zš ^Ysnwt: (1) is seated before a small granary with the text ipt ht in zš ^Ysnwt, 'performing accounts by the scribe of the granary' (tomb of nfr-b3w-pth); (2) is a member of the d3d3t nt pr-dt (tomb of ssm-nfr IV); (4) is shown writing before a line of small granaries (tomb of sndm-ib; inti (120)); (5) is accompanied by a quantity of scribal equipment; (6) is presumably recording agricultural activities (tomb of 'nh-m-r'); (9) presents a papyrus to the deceased; (10) is writing next to a corn measuring scene (tomb of tp-m-'nh); (11) is recording the measuring of grain (tomb of iy-mry).

The nh-t-hrw n ^Ysnwt are depicted as follows: (1) is watching the measuring of grain (tomb of pth-htp (51)), as does (3); (2) stands behind three scribes who are recording something to do with grain, as the accompanying text shows - d3d3t n[t] pr-dt hr h3 //// (something to do with the figure 32 and granaries) int m šm'w hwt niwt.f //// m nb zš, 'The d3d3t of the funerary estate who are measuring grain ... ? brought from his estate and towns in Upper Egypt ... in writing' (tomb of r'-špss (95)); (4) is with a h3 pr-dt and a zš d3d3t with the caption, ipt ht m niwt.f, 'doing the accounts of his towns' (tomb of

ny-ḥtp-ptḥ).

Of these four groups of officials, only the nḥt-ḥrw n šnwt are not apparently involved with reckoning. It is clear that the office of ḥry-tp šnwt was principally concerned with the administration of the granaries, and one may assume that the same was true for the imy-r šnwt, doubtless his immediate superior. The representations described above do not in themselves differentiate between the functions of ḥry-tp šnwt and the purely scribal offices of zš šnwt and šd zš šnwt. The difference was thus presumably in seniority and the degree of responsibility carried. Only the nḥt-ḥrw n šnwt is shown supervising work with the grain itself - this title should perhaps be translated as 'Foreman of the granary', befitting a man who worked on site.⁶⁸

One further group of title-holders which must have been involved with the granaries was the ḥ3, 'grain measurers', who are shown at work in various tomb scenes.⁶⁹

The granary and related titles found in the titularies of tomb owners are given in table 38. These titles again show that many offices in the granary were of a bureaucratic nature and concerned with the keeping of records. Other less specific administrators appear with the titles of iry-ḥt, as well as sealers, men concerned with scribal equipment (ḥryt-') and also the important connection with the central bureaucracy through the 'nzwt. The latter are documents coming from the central administration which would presumably author-

68. A nḥt-ḥrw n šnwt nt ḥnw named 'nḥ-ppy is found in a fragment of papyrus from Saqqara, the context of which is lost (Posener-Kriéger, *RdE* 32 (1980), 84). The same papyrus also contains the title šd iry-ḥt n šnwt.

69. For example, in the tomb of k3i-gmni; mmi (151) (von Bissing, *Gemnikai I*, pl. IX and XII), šm-'nḥ-ptḥ (124) (Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D, with the text ḥ3 it in d3d3t), ny-'nḥ-ḥnmw and ḥnmw-ḥtp (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nyanchnum*, pl. 23), and r'-špss (95) (*LD II*, 62). For some models of grain-measuring, see Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 10-12.

Table 38

List of Granary and related titles held by tomb owners.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. <u>hry</u> -tp šnw̄t *	6
2. htm šnw̄t nzwt	1
3. imy-r zš md̄3t nt šnw̄t	1
4. imy-r zš šnw̄t	4
5. nht-hrw nt šnw̄t *	1
6. nht-hrw nt šnw̄t nt hnw	2
7. shd iry-ht n šnw̄t	2
8. shd iry-ht n šnw̄t nt hnw	1
9. shd zš ' nzwt šnw̄t	2
10. shd zš šnw̄t *	3
11. zš ' nzwt šnw̄t	3
12. zš hryt-' šnw̄t	1
13. zš šnw̄t *	7
14. zš šnw̄t hwt-'3t	1
15. imy-r zš md̄3t šnw̄ty	1
16. imy-r zš šnw̄ty	1
17. hrp h3w	1
18. imy-r h3w	2
19. imy-r h3w ntr	1
20. shd h3w	1
21. shd h3w hwt	1
22. h3w *	2

* indicates title also found in tomb scene (above).

References overleaf

References:

1. ny-k3-r' (80) \$\$, irw-k3-ptḥ (12) \$, 'nh-m-'-r' (28) \$, k3i-m-snw (144) \$, imbi (11) \$, sndm-ib (PM 3², 823).
2. nfr-hr-n-ptḥ (PM 3², 295). 3. ny-k3-r' (80) \$.
4. irw-k3-ptḥ (12) \$, ny-k3-r' (80) \$\$, tnti (Giza tomb G4311 - Unpublished), Name Lost (Cairo, CG 1719). 5. mry-nzwt (PM 3², 61).
6. mry-nzwt (PM 3², 61), 'nh-ppy (Posener-Krieger, RdE 32 (1980), 84).
7. itif-h3i (PM 3², 69), Name Lost (Posener-Krieger, loc. cit.).
8. mry-nzwt (PM 3², 61).
9. nht-k3i (PM 3², 240), 'nh-m-r' (PM 3², 123).
10. ny-k3-r' (80) \$\$, nht-k3i (PM 3², 240), 3ht-htp (PM 3², 284).
11. irw-k3-ptḥ (12) \$, k3i-hr-ptḥ son of 'nh-m-'-r' (28).
12. irw-k3-ptḥ (12) \$.
13. 'nh-m-'-r' (28) \$, pth-nb-nfrt (PM 3², 129), hnmw-htp (PM 3², 449), hnmw-htp (PM 3², 458), dr-snd (PM 3², 176), ssm-nfr (PM 3², 296), 3ht-htp (PM 3², 287).
14. hnmw-htp (Giza G7836 - unpublished).
15. htpi (Fischer, JNES 18 (1959), 260).
16. sndm-ib (PM 3², 823). 17. itif-h3i (PM 3², 69).
18. 3hw (PM 3², 62), nfrn (PM 3², 120).
19. iy-df3w (PM 3², 61). 20, 21. rdif (PM 3², 115).
22. rdif (PM 3², 115), nfrn (PM 3², 120).

\$ Holder is an imy-r šnwt - see table 34 above

\$\$ Holder is an imy-r šnwty - see table 35 above

ise certain actions in the granary. Again the only offices not concerned with the bureaucratic side are those with nht-hrw.

There are insufficient titles in rankable sequences in table 38 for it to be possible to construct a hierarchy of granary titles. The following may however be derived from the monuments of the imy-r šnwt irw-k3-ptḥ (12) : hry-tp šnwt, imy-r zš n šnwt, zš ' nzwt šnwt. To this should be added the likely sequence imy-r šnwt, 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 imy-r šnwt. The latter are all buried at Saqqara with the exception of 'nh-m-'-r' (28), while the majority of the less important men have

their tombs at Giza. This illustrates the fact that generally the site of Giza was the less important of the two after the early fifth dynasty.

The titles in table 38 are also interesting for the information they provide about specific granaries. That there was a granary of the residence (\checkmark snwt nt hnw) is clear; the office of imy-r \checkmark snwt nt hnw was also noted above in the titulary of ny-k3-r' (80). 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 (\checkmark snwty), and, by inference, the overall control of the granaries of the land. A parallel may again be drawn with the hwt wrt: the vast majority of the subordinate titles in that institution were associated with the singular hwt wrt and not the hwt wrt 6 (cf. also prwy-hd below). In the discussion of the subordinate titles formed with hwt wrt 6 it was 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 hwt wrt (above page 309). It is inherently probable that the same argument can be used with the two occurrences of \checkmark snwty: as the only other office incorporating the term \checkmark snwty was imy-r \checkmark snwty, 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. sndm-ib (table 38, (1), (16)), who held the title imy-r zš \checkmark snwty, also possessed another title in the administration of the \checkmark snwt, thus suggesting this title to be a special rank granted him. Nothing more is known about the titu-

lary of ḥtpi (table 38, (15)), holder of imy-r zš md3t šnwty. Thus the use of šnwt in an subordinate granary title probably indicated a functional office while the employment of the dual indicated a special and probably honorary position.

Conclusions on Granaries.

The administration of the state granaries was divided in the fifth dynasty between the imy-r šnwt and the imy-r šnwty. Before that time no standardised granary title had existed, but in all probability the titles imy-r šnwt nbt nt nzwt, imy-r šnwwt nzwt and imy-r šnwt 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 imy-r šnwt was generally a man who had risen in rank through previous granary positions, while the imy-r šnwty was not, although two men did attain the latter office from the former. The title of imy-r šnwt 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 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 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.⁷⁰ A brief 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 8. Further similarities will be noted in the next chapter.

70. Noted by Pirenne, Institutions et Droit II, 195-6, and Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 597 ff.

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IN

ORIGINAL

CHAPTER 7

imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd.

General.

These two titles appear to have been the senior administrative offices in the treasury during the Old Kingdom. Their forms closely parallel those of the principal titles in the granaries (above), but only the following variants are found: imy-r pr-hd n hnw, imy-r prwy-hd n hnw, imy-r pr-hd n snfrw/ hwfw/ ddf-r' (?). These five titles would appear to indicate specific treasuries, but are not numerous (a total of eight examples). It will again be preferable to postpone discussion of these titles until the simpler and more frequent forms have been studied (below page 473).

Table 39

List of Treasury Overseers.A. Memphite1. imy-r pr-hdEarly Dyn 4

nfr (83)

ph-r-nfr (46)

Middle-late Dyn 5Middle-late Dyn 4

df3wi (167)

izi (17)

h'-inpw (101)

nfr (84)

ssmw (128)

mry (58)

k3i-pw-r' (143)

Middle Dyn 5

ny-sw-wsrt (74)

k3i-m-qdi (145)

End Dyn 5-early Dyn 6

wr-ir.ni (38)

k3i-dbhn (153)

ny-k3w-ptḥ (77)

'nh-h3f; q3r (35)

2. imy-r pr-hd n hnwMiddle-late Dyn 5

df3wi (167)

Name Lost (171)

k3i-pw-r' (143)

3. imy-r prwy-hdMiddle Dyn 4-early Dyn 5

* ph-n-wi-k3i (45)

nfr (84)

df3wi (167)

3hi (1)

k3i (137)

Middle Dyn 5Djedkare

* k3i (136)

* pth-htp (48)

Table 39 (Continued)

* pth-ḥtp I	(49)		
* sndm-ib; inti	(120)	ny-s-'nh-3ḥt; it̄i	(73)
<u>Wenis</u>		* pth-ḥtp	(51)
* 3ḥt-ḥtp	(2)	<u>Middle Pepy I - early Pepy II</u>	
* 3ḥt-ḥtp; hmi	(3)	pth-špss	(53)
* ihy	(15)	mrri	(66)
* iy-nf̄rt; š3nf	(6)	išfi	(19)
<u>End 5 - early 6</u>		* mrri	(67)
ḥzzi	(98)	* idw I; nfr	(22)
* hnm-nti	(113)	* 'nh-mry-r'	(33)
<u>Teti</u>		<u>Middle Pepy II</u>	
* k3i-gmni; mmi	(151)	hnmw-ḥtp	(112)
* nfr-sšm-r'; šš̄i	(88)	* h'-b3w-hnmw; biw	(102)
* 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi	(30)	<u>Later Pepy II or later</u>	
'nh-ḥ3f; q3r	(35)	* ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r'	(72)
* mrrw-k3i; mri	(68)	izi	(18)
<u>Early Pepy I</u>		šdy-ptḥ	(134)
* mh̄w	(69)	* tti	(156)
* hnty-k3i; ih̄hi	(109)	<u>First Intermediate Period</u>	
		* tt̄w	(160)
4. imy-r prwy-ḥd n hnw			
<u>Middle Pepy I</u>			
ny-s-'nh-3ḥt; it̄i	(73)		
5. Other Forms			
<u>Middle-late Dyn 5</u>			
Name Lost	(172)	imy-r pr-ḥd n snfrw	
		imy-r pr-ḥd n h̄fw	
		imy-r pr-ḥd n ḏdf-r'	

Table 39 (Continued)B. Provincial.1. imy-r pr-hdEarly-middle Pepy II* 'nh-ppy hny-km Meir¹2. imy-r prwy-hdMiddle Dyn 6* iww Abydos²ny-'nh-ppy; sbk-htp Meir³Early Pepy IIk3i-hp; tti Akhmim⁴ibi Deir el Gebrawi⁵Middle-late Pepy IId'w; sm3i Deir el Gebrawi⁶d'w Deir el Gebrawi⁷

* indicates vizier

1. Blackman, Meir V, pl. XV-XLIII; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 70 (134).

2. Cairo, CG 1576, LD Text II, 176 (5); date, Kanawati, Egyptian Administration, 33.


3. Blackman, op. cit., pl. I-XV; date, Baer, op. cit., 84 (212).

4. Kanawati, Hawawish III, 7-32, fig. 1-21, including dating.

5. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 56 (32).

6. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. I-XVII; date, Baer, op. cit., 157 (592).

7. Davies, op. cit., pl. I-XVII; date, Baer, op. cit., 157 (592). For the separation of the depictions of this man from those of his father see Kanawati, JEA 63 (1977), 59-62.

Table 39 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,⁸ written . As there is no record of the name of the owner, he is excluded from the table as he might have already featured in it.

Three officials are sometimes referred to as 'Overseers of the Treasury' who on closer inspection are not. The first is **htw**,⁹ whose title is read **imy-r pr-hd** by Helck;¹⁰ examination of figure 15 shows that it is in fact **imy-r pr**.

Figure 15: Block of **htw**.



From Fisher, The Minor Cemetery at Giza, pl. 50 [3].

8. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 72.



9. PM 3², 98.

10. Beamtentitel, 61 n. 26, following Fisher, The Minor Cemetery at Giza, 154 (37).

A similar confusion has arisen with *k3i-'pr* (138), called 'Overseer of the Two Treasuries' by Porter and Moss.¹¹ The title in question is actually *imy-r pr*, *hm-k3*, or *imy-r pr hm-k3*.¹²

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.

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 dual is usually created by a simple doubling of this group, the only exceptions being *mrrw-k3i*; *mri* (68) and '*nh-mry-r*' (33) in the sixth dynasty, to which examples a double house determinative was added.¹³

The most important observation is the extent to which the mace sign is enclosed by the house sign. The examples from the fourth and early fifth dynasty exhibit the two forms which become the principal variants:  ¹⁴ and  ¹⁵ These variants may at that time have had something to do with the locations of the tombs: the two former examples come from Giza while the latter are from Saqqara. Both these forms are found in the main part of the fifth dynasty, but the exam-


11. PM 3², 205.



12. A more detailed discussion of this matter will be found in the prosopographical section above.



13. Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl. 218A; Lauer, *Saqqara*, XVIII, pl. 133.


14. *nfr* (84) (Reisner, *Giza* I, pl. 30b) and *3hi* (1) (Junker, *Giza* I, Abb. 57).



15. *mry* (58) (Fischer, *Varia*, 29, fig. 2) and *izi* (17) (Mogensen, *La collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, pl. XCII).

ples of  tend to be the earlier in date.¹⁶

The exact date of the change is unsure. The occurrence of the title *zš pr-hd* in the tomb of *ty* (157) with the writing  shows that it was in use at least by the time of the reign of Neweserre,¹⁷ and the noted example from the tomb of *sndm-ib; inti* (120) shows it at the end of the reign of Djedkare. The examples in the tomb of *3ht-htp* (2) are of interest here: the writings of the group in the tomb of his father *pth-htp I* (49) show only , but in his tomb both writings are found,¹⁸ suggesting that by the early part of the reign of Wenis the new form was still not standardised.

The latest example of  would seem to be in the tomb of *'nh-h3f; q3r* (35) at Giza.¹⁹  is also found in this tomb.²⁰ One might expect the older form to persist longer at Giza than at Saqqara, given that the former site was not the principal necropolis in the later fifth and sixth dynasties, but perhaps not as long as the middle of the sixth dynasty.

The dating of other officials may be assisted by the paleography of this group. Given the important titles of *k3i* (137), the writing  might suggest a date in the middle to late fifth dynasty or even earlier.²¹ The forms of the group on the monument of *nfr* (83) suggest

16. The tombs of *ph-n-wi-k3i* (45) (LD II, 48) and *pth-htp I* (49) (Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII) contain well-dated examples of , against *sndm-ib; inti* (120) (LD II, 77) and *3ht-htp; hmi* (3) (Hassan, Saqqara III, pl. VIA) whose tombs show .

17. Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. LIII.




18. Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. IX, XX.

19. Hassan, Giza III, fig. 115.

20. id. ib., fig. 114.

21. Cairo, CG 57048; this raises the possibility that he could be identical with the vizier *k3i* (136); the latter's writing of the *pr-hd* group cannot be accurately ascertained, and, although the titles *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* and *imy-r prwy-hd* are held by both, the honorific titles do not match.

that he does not belong to the latter part of the dynasty.²²

Both forms  and  are found in the fourth dynasty, but the latter seems to have been the principal one in the fifth dynasty until the reign of Djedkare when  became the norm.

The Titularies of the Non-viziers.

Consideration will firstly be given to the titles imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd as these are the most frequent, and the variant titles will be compared later.

A. imy-r pr-hd.

Table 40 sets out the holders of 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 and mry). The dating of the remaining examples is somewhat vague, but the majority date 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 the obvious ones mentioning pr-hd (columns 1-4 of table 40). Helck has noted these and others such as those that mention the prwy-nwb, and those connected with the supply of clothing, as well as the appearance of the obscure title wr bzt.²³

22. Boston 21.3080, unpublished.

23. Beamtentitel, 60-2.

Table 40

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r pr-hd.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
ph-r-nfr (46)			X	X					?	0	0	X	X	2		X
izi (17)									?	1	0			0		
nfr (84)								X	?	2	1	X		1		
mry (58)								X	0	2	0	X		0		X
k3i-m-qdi (145)							X		0	0	0			0	X	X
wr-ir.ni (38)								X	0	0	0			0	X	
ny-k3w-ptḥ (77)	X	X						X	0	0	1			0	X	X
df3wi (167)					X	X	X		0	0	1			1	X	X
h'-inpw (101)					X			X	0	0	0	X		0	X	
nfr (83)									0	0	0			0	X	
ssmw (128)									0	0	0			0		
k3i-pw-r' (143)	X	X				X		X	?	1	0			0	X	
ny-sw-wsrt (74)									0	0	0			0		
k3i-dbḥn (153)	X	X					X	X	?	0	0	X		0		
'nh-h3f; q3r (35)					X	X		X	?	0	1			1		

Key to Title Numbers:

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. imy-ḥt pr-ḥd | 2. shd zš ^v pr-ḥd |
| 3. (shd) iry-ḥt pr-ḥd | 4. sd3wty ... pr-ḥd |
| 5. ... prwy-nwb | 6. wr bzt |
| 7. Titles with linen | 8. Titles with ḥkr nzwt |
| 9. Number of Labour Titles | 10. Number of Scribal Titles |
| 11. Number of Legal Titles | 12. rh nzwt |
| 13. hry-tp nzwt | 14. Number of other High Offices |
| 15. Royal Institution Titles | 16. Religious Titles |
-

One particular combination of treasury titles is evident from table 40 - that of imy-r pr-hd, imy-ht pr-hd and shd zš pr-hd (three examples). These presumably represent the senior and deputy offices and head of scribes in the treasury.

The title wr bzt is found three times. Two of these officials, df3wi and 'nh-h3f, also held the title of imy-r prwy-hd, with which title wr bzt is a little more common (see page 465). The third (k3i-pw-r') was additionally imy-r pr-hd n hnw, another holder of which (Name Lost (171)) was also wr bzt. There is no example of wr bzt occurring in the titulary of a man who was only imy-r pr-hd, and these two titles are perhaps not to be too strongly associated (page 473 below).

One further group of titles which appears quite frequently in the titularies of treasury officials is those incorporating the element hkr nzwt (table 40, 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,²⁴ and the notable number of occurrences here marks this as probable. If a title with hkr nzwt was not part of a treasury office, then it was very closely related so as to form a very frequent element in the titularies of treasury officials. 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 imy-r prwy-hd (below page 467) and is one held by quite important officials. The singular version is found only with mry of the fourth dynasty, at which time the title imy-r prwy-hd is very uncommon indeed, and it perhaps represents a very similar function to that later expressed by the dual, as indeed imy-r

24. op. cit., 66.

pr-hd at that time may have been equivalent to the later imy-r prwy-hd (below page 477).

Helck would also include the titles connected with provisioning supply with the treasury,²⁵ but here they have been discussed in the context of the granaries (above page 417). Four such examples may be found here: htm df3w bity ('nh-h3f), htm h3t df3w bity (k3i-dbhn), imy-r sty df3w (nfr 84), and imy-r swt df3w (df3wi). The function of these titles is 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.

None of the above-mentioned groups of titles are particularly common in the titularies of the imy-r pr-hd, but they do attest the probability of some related tenure of office in their career structures. The only officials who did not bear some titles connected with food-supply were izi, nfr (83), s^ymw and ny-sw-wsrt, the latter two having a total of only one title each. izi seems to have been a provincial administrator and may have held the title of imy-r pr-hd by virtue of his eminence as an official. Few titles are attested for nfr, and little idea may be gained of his career from this limited evidence.

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-nwb is more to be associated with imy-r prwy-hd than imy-r pr-hd (below page 465). It is thus possible that the third of these officials h'-inpw, 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

25. op. cit., 60.

easily have included this title.

2. Titles connected with the Organisation of Labour.

A few unremarkable examples of these are found. *ph-r-nfr* and *nfr* (84) were *wr md sm'w*, *nfr* (84) and *k3i-pw-r'* held titles associated with 'prw, *k3i-dbhn* had a boat title, while *izi* was *imy-r gs-pr* and '*nh-h3f* was *msw izt*. None of these represent any great involvement in matters concerned with labour organisation.

3. Scribal Titles.

Such few of these that are found were principally held by the fourth dynasty officials who were some of the most important holders of *imy-r pr-hd*. There is no evidence of any particularly strong associations of a scribal nature.

4. Legal Titles.

These are frequently found together with scribal titles (above page 294). There are but three isolated examples of such titles with these officials, *z3b nht-hrw* (*nfr* 84), *mdw rhyt* (*ny-k3w-pt*), and *z3b 'd-mr* ('*nh-h3f*), which is not 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.

5. 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*, *nfr* (84), *mry*, *h'-inpw* and *k3i-dbhn*). Both the holders of *hry-tp nzwt* held other important titles. It is in fact very notable that the majority of these titles occur in the titularies of the

fourth dynasty holders of *imy-r pr-hd* who, it will be suggested below (page 477), 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 rank, but ranked similarly to the *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r k3t nt nzwt*.

6. 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 šnwt*, *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 šnwt*, the *imy-r pr-hd* remained within the same institution and promotion to a higher office was rare.

7. 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, and the possibility is that *rnnwtt* was a protective goddess with regard to the treasury in the manner of *hqt* and *h3* to legal officials and scribes, although the evidence is far more restricted. In the New Kingdom *rnnwtt* is very often associated with the granary.²⁶ There is no clear Old Kingdom evidence for this, only one depiction of what appears to be a stela bearing the figure of a

 26. Broekhuis, de godin Renenwetet, 76; Leibovitch, JNES 12 (1953), 74.

snake near tomb scenes of measuring grain.²⁷ 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,²⁸ which commodity has been identified above as a responsibility of the *pr-hd* (page 457).

The title *w'b nzwt* appears twice (*k3i-m-qdi* and *ny-k3w-ptḥ*). 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*.

8. Titles related to Royal Institutions.

Column 15 of table 40 shows that such titles are very frequent, held by almost every fifth dynasty holder of *imy-r pr-hd*. They are as follows:

<i>k3i-m-qdi</i> (145)	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
<i>wr-ir.ni</i> (38)	<i>hm-ntr r' m nhn-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
<i>ny-k3w-ptḥ</i> (77)	<i>hm-ntr s3hw-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'</i>
<i>df3wi</i> (167)	<i>hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'</i>
<i>h'-inpw</i> (101)	<i>hm-ntr b3-nfr-ir-k3-r'</i>
	<i>hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'</i>
<i>nfr</i> (83)	<i>imy-r zš 3ḥt-ḥfw</i>
	<i>hry-sst3 3ḥt-ḥfw</i>
<i>k3i-pw-r'</i> (143)	<i>hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'</i>

27. Tomb of 'nh-h'f-r' at Giza, LD II, 9 (lower).

28. cf Broekhuis, op. cit., 79-85.

These are all, with the exception of *k3i-pw-r'*, examples of what has been termed the 'old-style' priesthoods, which are basically relatively low-ranking offices (above, page 300). This again generally follows the pattern established for *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r k3t nt nzwt*. Royal priesthoods in the fourth dynasty were generally reserved for privileged officials or members of the royal family, and the newer style priesthoods were usually confined to the more important officials.

9. Other Titles.

Only one further title calls for particular comment. This is *imy-r pr-'h3w*, found with *mry*, *nfr* and *h'-inpw*.²⁹ Some link between the treasury, granary and *pr-'h3w* is suggested by Helck.³⁰ From these occurrences it is possible that it was closely associated with the treasury, perhaps because the provision of weapons (and perhaps tools³¹) would be made from the national expenditure.

29. *mry* and *h'-inpw* incidentally write this title and *imy-r pr-hd* together in the same manner, with the *imy-r* element applying to both titles:



(not a facsimile)

30. op. cit., 65.

31. Metal is a feature common to tools and weapons, and it is clear that 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 Cerny, CAH II, pt. 2, 621).

B. imy-r prwy-hd.

There were forty-three holders of the title imy-r prwy-hd in the Old Kingdom, of which twenty-nine were viziers. A total of fourteen will thus be discussed here, and their names will be found in table 41.

1. Titles relating to the Treasury.

Table 41 shows in columns 1-8 a selection of such titles. Those actually mentioning the treasury are different from those in table 40 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 is a little more common with this group of officials than with the 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.

As suggested above (page 460), 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 Kingdom examples, only four are not in this combination (smnhw-pth,³² sndm-ib; mhi (121), ny-k3w-izzi (76) and 'nhi; inti³³). 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-k3w-izzi (76) is not yet complete, and as sndm-ib; mhi (121) was one of the few viziers to hold imy-r snwty but not imy-r prwy-hd one wonders whether this is not true of him also.

 32. PM 3², 452.
 33. PM 3², 608.

Table 41

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of imy-r prwy-hd.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
nfr (84) *								X	2	2	1	R				1
3hi (1)									1	0	1					2
df3wi (167) *					X	X	X		0	1	0					1 X
k3i (137)									0	0	0		X			1
hzzī (98)									?	1	0	H				2
'nh-h3f; q3r (35) *					X		X	X	?	0	1	H				1
pth-špss (53)									0	0	0		X	H	0	X
ny-s'nh-3ht (73)	X			X		X	X	0	0	1		X		0		
mrri (66)							X	X	0	0	0	H	X	H	0	
išfi (19)									0	0	0		X			1
hnmw-htp (112)								X	0	0	0		X	X		1
izi (18)	X		X	X					0	1	2	H	X		0	X
šdy-ptḥ (134)								X	0	0	0				0	X

* indicates also holder of imy-r pr-hd.

Key to Title Columns:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. imy-ht prwy-hd | 2. šhd zš pr-hd |
| 3. imy-r zš prwy-hd | 4. iry md3t prwy-hd |
| 5. wr bzt | 6. Titles with Linen |
| 7. ... prwy-nwb | 8. Titles with hkr nzwt |
| 9. Number of Labour Titles | 10. Number of Scribal Titles |
| 11. Number of Legal Titles | 12. R = rh nzwt, H = hry-tp nzwt |
| 13. smr w'ty | |
| 14. H = h3ty-', X = iry p't and h3ty-' | |
| 15. Number of other High Offices | 16. Royal Institution Titles |
-

The term hkr nzwt (column 8, table 41) appears most frequently in the title imy-r izwy hkr nzwt. nfr (84) is the only official who did not hold this title; however, he seems to have lived before its introduction. imy-r izwy hkr 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 be either associated with one or other of the subordinate functions indicated by Helck³⁴ or associated with metalwork,³⁵ or else were very high officials in the sixth dynasty.³⁶ 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. Titles associated with the Organisation of Labour.

Few such titles occur in the table above. The titles of nfr (84) and

34. Beamtentitel, 66.

35. op. cit., 65-6. Some examples: pr-sn (PM 3², 577), was imy-r mrht; r'-wr (PM 3², 265), was iri šn; pr-ndw (Giza, Eastern Cemetery, unpublished), was a metalworker; dmd (Cairo, CG 1323), was imy-r nwb pr-'3.

36. nfr-ssm-pth (87) (later career) and nhri (PM 3², 684).

'nh-h3f have been noted above (page 461), and those of 3hi (1) and hzzi (98) may be related to their tenure of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. Thus labour-related titles are not a significant feature of these titularies.

3. Scribal Titles.

There are again so few of these that they can scarcely be related to the tenure of imy-r prwy-hd, but rather indicate some not particularly deep involvement elsewhere.

4. Legal Titles.

Legal Titles are 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.

5. Honorific Titles.

Some similarity is evident here with the pattern noted above for imy-r v̄snwty 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 rh̄ 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 further honorific 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 v̄sdy-pt̄h, the sixth dynasty holders of imy-r prwy-hd all held smr w'ty or h̄ry-tp nzwt (or both). Additionally, pth-v̄sp̄ss, m̄rri and h̄nmw-h̄tp were h̄3ty-', and the latter added iry p't

as well. *mrri* and *pth-špss* have the common feature of possessing tombs in the northern section of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, which may bear some relation to their rank.³⁷ The most significant 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*, *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 general survey of all its holders reveals many of them to have been principally men who were concerned above all with the direct service of the king, as opposed to those who held real administrative offices.³⁸ 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 among this group of officials are not frequent, and some who held such titles have been noted above as rather honoured and special officials (for example, *ty* (157) and *ztw* (115), above page 330). In the fifth dynasty *hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t* is frequently found together with titles such as *smr*, *hrp 'h* and *hry-wdb m hwt-'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 officials, members of

37. Compare the rank of other non-vizierial officials from the same area, such as *ny-k3w-izzi* (76) and *mrw* (64).

38. cf Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 43, 68.

the 'court'.

In general 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. In the latter period however, several of their number rose to greater heights than holders of the other titles. The extent to which this is due to their functions in the treasury is not known.

6. Other High Administrative Titles.

Table 42

Distribution of Other High Administrative Titles of *imy-r prwy-hd*.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
<i>3hi</i> (1)			X	X
<i>k3i</i> (137)			X	
<i>hzzī</i> (98)			X	X
<i>išfi</i> (19)				X
<i>hnmw-htp</i> (112)				X

Key to Title Numbers:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>imy-r hwt wrt</i> | 2. <i>imy-r zš ' nzwt</i> |
| 3. <i>imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt</i> | 4. <i>imy-r šnwty</i> |

Leaving aside *nfr*, *df3wi* and *'nh-h3f* who were additionally *imy-r pr-hd*, and *ny-s'nh-3ht*; *iti* who was *imy-r prwy-hd n hnw*, table 42 shows the pattern of other high titles found. The results from this table are very different from those observed in previous chapters, as tenure of these 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 it is perhaps to be not unexpected in the titulary of a high official. 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 zš ' 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 zš ' 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 senior 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 (such as found with the holders of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, above page 370), more titles being conferred only on very special officials, the greatest number of which were viziers.

7. Religious Titles.

The only religious title found in more than one instance is *hry-hb* (*k3i*, *pth-šps*, *mrri* and *išfi*). These men all held the title *smr w'ty*, and there is a clear link between the two titles.³⁹

8. Titles associated with Royal Institutions.

The following such titles are found with the holders of *imy-r prwy-hd*:

39. A possible link for the title *hm-ntr rnnwtt (df3wi)* has already been discussed under *imy-r pr-hd* (page 462).


<u>df3wi</u> (167)	hm-ntr ny-wsr-r'
pth-špss (53)	shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti
izi (18)	imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti
	mty n z3 dd-swt-tti
šdy-ptḥ (134)	imy-r wpt mn-'nh-ppy
	w'b 200 mn-'nh-ppy

These belong principally to sixth dynasty officials,⁴⁰ and are of the newer type.⁴¹ The most elevated title is that of pth-špss, being the most important office or beneficiary of the cult of Teti. The titles may to some extent be related to the rank of their holders: pth-špss held the high rank of h3ty-' and this very important pyramid office; the next highest offices are held by izi who was smr w'ty, and then one reaches šdy-ptḥ who has no surviving ranking titles.

It would seem that the tenure of these titles is related more to the officials' rank and status in relation to the king than to the presence of imy-r prwy-hd.

9. Other Titles.

Titles with wd(t)-mdw appear very infrequently with the holders of imy-r prwy-hd, only being found with k3i (137) and išfi. These two both held more than one high administrative title, which continues to support the contention that titles with wd(t)-mdw were often associated with the highest officials.

The title of imy-r šwy () pr-'3 is found three times with officials of broadly similar date (pth-špss, mrrr and išfi). It

40. It is unclear whether the listed title of df3wi is to be related to his tenure of imy-r pr-hd 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-hd (cf table 40 and page 463 above).

41. cf Baer, Rank and Title, 264 ff.

probably represents the senior title in the department concerned with weaving,⁴² and doubtless had associations with the treasury because of the latter's concern with woven material (above page 457).

The two occurrences of *iry nfr-h3t* (*pth-špss* and *hnmw-htp*) call for more comment. This title is often found in connection with men who were involved in such activities as *iri šn* and *iri 'nwt*.⁴³ Their association with *hkr nzwt* in turn links them with the treasury (above page 459). Although it probably had become just another honorific title by this time in the sixth dynasty, *iry nfr-h3t* has treasury-related origins.

C. Conclusions on Titularies and Discussion of Variants.

The conclusions from the foregoing are very similar to those obtained for *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r šnwtj*, namely that the *imy-r pr-hd* show a far higher degree of involvement with different levels of treasury administration than do the *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 (n) *hnw*. There are three instances of *imy-r pr-hd n hnw* (*df3wi* (167), *k3i-pw-r'* (143) and Name Lost (171)), and one of *imy-r prwy-hd n hnw* (*ny-s'nh-3ht* (73)). As far as can be discerned, only Name Lost (171) did not hold the simple title without the *n hnw* element. In consequence, this makes separation of distinctive features rather difficult. The only other title certainly held by this man is *wr bzt*, also found with the three other officials named above; as noted earlier (page 459), it does not seem to occur with men who held the title of *imy-r pr-hd*. *wr bzt* otherwise appears with two

42. Junker, *Giza V*, 12-15; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 63.

43. Helck, *op. cit.*, 42.

imy-r prwy-hd ('nh-h3f; q3r (35) and izi (18)), and consequently is a treasury-related title. The *imy-r pr-hd n hnw* may have been specially treated by the granting of the uncommon title *wr bzt*, and although their other titles do not seem to distinguish them from the *imy-r pr-hd*, they may perhaps have been slightly more honoured officials, holding a title otherwise given only to the higher *imy-r prwy-hd*. The evidence is insufficient to note any special features of *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, 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 are occasionally found, but titles beginning *imy-r iz* are quite common in the titularies of *imy-r pr-hd*, often with relevance to the *hkr nzwt* (above page 459). The very limited evidence from this tomb suggests that his titulary was not dissimilar to that of an ordinary *imy-r pr-hd*. It seems then that the career structure of the holders of the variant forms was not dissimilar to that of the *imy-r pr-hd* and *imy-r prwy-hd*.

The Vizierial Holders of the Title.

Only the title *imy-r prwy-hd* is found in the titularies of viziers, twenty-four men in all. There is no evidence of subordinate titles composed with the elements *pr(wy)-hd*. Two titles associated with linen are found, *imy-r sšr* (*hnty-k3i* (109)) and *imy-r sšr 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*. This title is not always held by viziers (above

Table 43

Correlation of Viziers with Treasury-related Titles.

<u>Vizier</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
w3š-pth (37)			X
* k3i (136)	X		
pth-špss (52)	X		X
pth-htp dšr (47)	X		
* pth-htp (48)	X		
* pth-htp I (49)	X		
* sndm-ib; inti (120)	X		
* 3ht-htp; hmi (3)			X
sndm-ib; mhi (121)		X	
* k3i-gmni (151)	X		X
* nfr-šsm-r' (88)	X		
* 'nh-m-'-hr (30)	X		
* mrrw-k3i (68)	X		
* mh _w (69)	X		X
* hnty-k3i (109)	X	X	
* pth-htp (51)	X		
mry-tti (63)	X		
* mrr _i (67)	X		
nfr-šsm-šš3t (89)	X		
* idw I; nfr (22)	X		
s3bw-pth (117)	X		
* h'-b3w-hnmw (102)	X		X
* ttw (160)	X		

* indicates holder of imy-r prwy-hd.

Key to Table

1. Titles with hkr nzwt
2. Titles connected with linen. 3. iry nfr-h3t

page 467), but is often found with high officials who were frequently also imy-r prwy-hd. Table 43 gives a list of viziers who held treasury-related titles; it shows that those with hkr nzwt are most frequently, but not always, those who also held imy-r prwy-hd. It may thus be viewed as a type of title very frequently associated with the viziers who held imy-r prwy-hd but it does not necessarily indicate whether this title came with promotion to the vizierate or not. Table 43 also shows the incidence of iry nfr-h3t. In most cases it is found with viziers who also hold imy-r prwy-hd.

The titulary of k3i (136) shows that he did not hold the title of imy-r prwy-hd until he became vizier. 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 came along 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 does not necessarily indicate that he held it earlier in life.

The Organisation and Functions of the Treasury and its

Principal Offices.

A. The Overseers of the Treasury.

The title imy-r pr-hd seems to be confined to 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 šnwt* 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 sixth dynasty.

The title of *imy-r prwy-hd* made its first appearance in the later fourth dynasty (*nfr* (84) and *3hi* (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)). Two *imy-r pr-hd* probably belong to the early sixth dynasty, *k3i-dbh* (153) and *'nh-h3f; q3r* (35). Otherwise only *imy-r prwy-hd* are found, nine non-viziers and fourteen viziers.

From the above 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* is not easy to explain. 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 division of the treasury office 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.

It is the opinion of Helck that the men in charge of actual treasuries were the *imy-r pr-hd*, and that the vizier and others who were in more general control of the department bore *imy-r prwy-hd*.⁴⁴ For the fifth dynasty this seems to fit the evidence - the *imy-r pr-hd* was a 'career' treasury official, responsible presumably for everyday matters, and the vizier and other special officials held the dual version of the title.⁴⁵

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 by the vizier.

The possibility that the *imy-r pr-hd* may have been responsible for treasuries of private estates is not very likely,⁴⁶ mainly because of the lack of evidence of any private treasury administration from tomb scenes (details below on page 481). This should be contrasted with the frequency of such granary representations.⁴⁷

44. Beamtentitel, 58, 61.

45. Indicating the treasuries of the Two Lands and therefore the whole country, in order to represent overall responsibility.

46. Suggested by Kaplony, Studien zum Grab des Methethi, 88.

47. The question of the location of the granaries controlled by the *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r šnwtj* was discussed at length above, and the

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 (above page 473). They are only slightly more frequent than those to the 'granary of the residence' (šnwt nt hnw). 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 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 connected with treasuries of Sneferu, Khufu and Djedefre. It is perhaps possible to reconstruct these blocks so as to refer to the pyramids of these kings, as it is indeed more likely that such institutions should be so located.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the material from the Abusir Papyri (discussed more fully below, page 482) sheds no additional light on this problem.

Into this picture of the treasuries must be fitted the provincial holders of the titles (table 39). There are five holders of imy-r prwy-hd and two (apparently) of imy-r pr-hd. These latter seem somewhat out of place, as there are no other examples of this title after the beginning of the sixth dynasty. This title of 'nh-ppy hny-km of Meir is written near that of the vizierate,⁴⁹ and as seen above, in the Memphite Region only the title imy-r prwy-hd is found in the titu-

arguments used for associating the holders of imy-r šnwt with the state granaries equally apply to the imy-r pr-hd and the state treasuries (page 432).

48. There is a title referring to such an institution at the pyramid of Merykare: zš pr-hd w3d-swt-mry-k3-r', belonging to htpi, PM 3^c, 562.

49. Blackman, Meir V, pl. XL (top right).

lary of the vizier. It is suggested that the title here of *imy-r pr-hd* is in fact an abbreviation of *imy-r prwy-hd* for reasons of space.

In the provinces, treasury titles occur at Abydos, Meir, Deir el Gebrawi and Akhmim. The Abydene connection is particularly strong as the three holders of *imy-r prwy-hd* from Deir el Gebrawi were also nomarchs of Abydos.⁵⁰ 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 snwty*. The reason for this may be that if, as is normally assumed, the treasury was responsible for revenue collection, overseers of this institution would not have to be quite so close to the sources of their revenue as would the officials in charge of the grain supply. This title is found very frequently in the provinces together with *imy-r snwty* (only *iww* of these examples does not hold this latter title), and stresses the link between the institutions.⁵¹

The establishment of *imy-r prwy-hd* in the provinces may go some way to accounting for the decrease in the number of senior memphite treasury officials 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* (above page 477). Such a gradual devolution of responsibility to a local level would necessitate less officials in the capital, which in

50. Kanawati notes 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).


51. cf Kanawati, op. cit., 74.

turn indicates that in the fifth dynasty the number of officials must have been sufficient to manage the revenues of all parts of the country.

B. Other Offices and Activities.

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 likely that this is a reflection of the lack of private treasuries in funerary estates parallel to private granaries, and also because one suspects that the major function of treasury officials was assessing taxes on the individual's revenue, a scene which would not be very desirable in the ideal world of the tomb-wall !

The following tomb-scenes and related material are of direct assistance to the present enquiry:⁵²

1. An unnamed zš pr-hd is shown recording linen in the wall-scenes of the tomb of 3ht-htp in the Louvre.⁵³
2. In the same tomb, in the scene of rewarding weavers, the text
 tzt  r pr-hd is found.⁵⁴
3. In the tomb of nfr-b3w-ptḥ at Giza (G6010), a zš sd3wty pr-hd is shown seated, writing, between a man who is described by the text
 ipt ht snwt and another described as ipt ht imy-r pr.⁵⁵

52. One 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 (l. 50)).

53. Junker, Giza V, abb. 9.

54. cf Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 600.

55. LD II, 56a bis.

4. In the tomb of nb-k3w-hr (82) a zš pr-hd is shown writing with the remains of a text above beginning d3d3t ///; before him are two men carrying papyrus, one of whom also leads a dog.⁵⁶
5. In the tomb of k3i-m-'nh at Giza (G4561), an unnamed zš pr-hd is shown writing, with behind him the d3d3t nt pr-dt.⁵⁷
6. Offering formulae give some details of products supplied by the treasury. These will be discussed further below.
7. In the Abusir Papyri, mrht oil is shown coming from the pr pr-hd.⁵⁸
8. In the biography of d'w of Deir el Gebrawi, various types of linen for bandaging are referred to as originating from the prwy-hd.⁵⁹

Numbers (3), (4) and (5) show scenes probably recording dues for the state in the company of estate officials. In (3) the location of the treasury official between the other two scribes suggests that he is in fact noting down what they are recording.

Otherwise these examples illustrate aspects of the work of the treasury already noted above. The strongest of these is the association with linen, shown in numbers (1), (2) and (8), as well as in some of the offering formulae (6). These latter usually refer to hbs m prwy-hd.⁶⁰ Only in the biography of tnti is the treasury referred to in this context by the use of the singular form,⁶¹ although the reason for this is unknown.

56. Hassan, Saqqara I, pl. XXIB.

57. Junker, Giza IV, abb. 9.

58. HPBM, pl. LXXIIIB; Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 426.

59. Urk. I, 146.11-13; Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. X.

60. Examples: k3i-m-snw (144), Urk. I, 175.10-12; shm-k3i, Urk. I, 177.3; k3i-pw-r' (143), Urk. I, 177.8-10; snfrw-nfr, Urk. I, 178.5-6; s3bni, Urk. I, 138.4-9.

61. Urk. I, 164.13-6.

The offering formula of the dog 'bwt_yw shows that coffins as well as linen could come from this institution.⁶² Other texts simply refer to offerings (especially prt-h_rw) generally as coming from the treasury.⁶³

Finally reference (7) shows that mrht oil came from the treasury. This indirectly serves to link further the treasury and the izwy (probably the izwy n hkr nzwt) as this oil is often mentioned in the above formulae as coming from the latter institution.⁶⁴ Reference (7) is also significant for the only mention of the 'department of the treasury' (pr pr-h_d) in the Old Kingdom. The organisation of scribal departments is often expressed in such terms, for example, the pr hry-w_db and the pr md₃t, but nothing comparable has been found for the granaries or for labour organisation. It is very likely that it was synonymous with pr-h_d.⁶⁶

It may be seen from the above material that 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, movement of commodities 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 there was an actual part of this complex termed pr-h_d.

62. Fischer, ZAS 93 (1966), 57.

63. s3bw; ibbi (116), Urk. I, 177.14-6; hzzi (98), Cairo, CG 1413; ny-k3w-r', Cairo, CG 1414.

64. See especially the above-quoted texts of k3i-pw-r' and snfrw-nfr.

65. A piece of evidence from the Middle Kingdom gives a responsibility of the treasury which could have also existed in the Old Kingdom. In the Reisner Papyri, a zš pr-h_d whmy is found, probably in charge of workmens' rations (Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, 41-2 (10)). If, as seen above (page 435), rations such as these may have been issued from the granary, one more direct link between these two institutions may be noted.

Table 44

Treasury Titles of Children of Tomb-owners, Dependents and Others.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Reference</u>
<u>imy-ht pr-hd</u>	wnn-nfr	Petrie-Murray, <u>Memphite Tomb Chapels</u> , pl. XIV.
<u>shd iry-ht pr-hd</u>	ny-m3't-inpw	HPBM, pl. LXII, LXXXVIIIIE.
<u>shd zš pr-hd</u>	shm-ptḥ	Petrie-Murray, <u>op. cit.</u> , pl. XIV.
	hr-špss	Davies, <u>Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II</u> , pl. XXXII.
<u>zš sd3wty pr-hd</u>	No name	LD II, 56a bis (see also above page 481).
<u>htmw pr-hd</u>	No name	LD II, 96 middle.
<u>zš pr-hd</u>	ḥ'f-ptḥ	Murray, <u>Ancient Egypt</u> , 1917, 63
	ḥ'f-ptḥ	Epron-Wild, <u>Tombeau de Ti I</u> , pl. LIII (same as previous ?).
	shm-k3-hr	Petrie-Murray, <u>op. cit.</u> , pl. XIV.
	ny	Murray, <u>Saqqara Mastabas I</u> , pl. VII.
	tnti	Murray, <u>op. cit.</u> , pl. VII.
	shm	Moussa-Altenmüller, <u>Nyanchchnum</u> , pl. 4, 5, 16, 19, 29, 52.
	nfr-ssm-ptḥ	Tomb of k3i-m-'nh (Giza tomb G7211), unpublished.
	wr-hww	Junker, <u>Giza IV</u> , abb. 8, 9.

The rest of the evidence is in the form of titles of tomb owners, their children and dependents, as well as other odd references. In the scenes discussed above, only the functions of the titles zš pr-hd and zš sd3wty pr-hd have been illustrated; the remaining ones appear in contexts which do not illuminate the functions of the titles held.

Table 44 lists the titles of children, dependents and others. These people are principally attending on the deceased or bringing offerings. However *ny-m3't-inpw* in the Abusir Papyri is recorded with other officials bringing bricks to the temple. The other officials in the document (pl. LXII) hold a wide range of titles, some of which are *shd iri šn pr-'3*, *iri 'nwt pr-'3*, *shd hsw pr-'3*, *zwnw pr-'3*, *z3b shd zš*, *qbh hwt-nmt pr-'3* and *z3b iry nhn*. These cover indeed a wide range of functions, and the only common link is that they were all part of the central or royal administration.⁶⁶ There may be no other connecting thread between them, so the treasury official need not be carrying out the functions of 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.

Table 45 gives treasury titles found with tomb-owners. Clearly, scribal titles are the most frequent, followed by those composed with *iry-ht* 'administrator'. Most of the occurrences listed belong to the sixth dynasty, and show that although the senior treasury title was no longer *imy-r pr-hd* but *imy-r prwy-hd*, the singular form was used for the lower offices. It has been noted above that titles subordinate to that of *imy-r* incorporating the elements *hwt wrt 6* or *šnwt* are rare (page 447), and that the administrators mainly used the forms *hwt wrt* and *šnwt*. The same is clearly true of the treasury. The only examples of lower titles with *prwy-hd* belong to *izi* and *htpi*; either these men were granted the privilege of using this term, or else (especially

66. This juxtaposition of titles with *pr-'3* and those without suggests that the latter group belonged to the royal or central administration without needing to specify it, further emphasizing that the *pr-hd* referred to in the titles *imy-r pr-hd* and *imy-r prwy-hd* is the state one.

Table 45

Treasury Titles held by Tomb-owners.

<u>Title</u>	<u> Holders</u>
1. <u>hrp pr-hd</u>	1
2. <u>hry sd3wty pr-hd</u>	1
3. <u>imy-ht pr-hd</u>	6
4. <u>iry-ht pr-hd</u>	3
5. <u>shd iry-ht pr-hd</u>	6
6. <u>shd nht-hrw n pr-hd</u>	1
7. <u>shd pr-hd</u>	3
8. <u>shd zš^v pr-hd</u>	7
9. <u>zš^v pr-hd</u>	6
10. <u>zš^v pr-hd w3d-swt-mry-k3-r'</u>	1
11. <u>imy-ht prwy-hd</u>	2
12. <u>imy-r zš^v prwy-hd</u>	1
13. <u>iry md3t prwy-hd</u>	1

References:

1. k3i-'pr (139).
2. ph-r-nfr (46) *
3. ny-k3w-ptḥ (77) *, k3i-pw-r' (143) *, k3i-dbḥn (153) *, ny-sw-qd (PM 3², 823), k3i-m-'nh (PM 3², 191), k3i-sšmw (Moussa-Altenmüller, MDAIK 36 (1980), 331).
4. ph-r-nfr (46) *, prni-'nhw (PM 3², 295), nfw (PM 3², 207). This latter title (statue Boston MFA 31.777) could also be read nht-hrw pr-hd.
5. ph-r-nfr (46) *, nfw (PM 3², 207), k3i-m-'nh (PM 3², 191), sd3fw (Headrest in Giza tomb G7215u, unpublished), k3i-m-'nh (PM 3², 131), tnti (PM 3², 207).
6. msdrw (PM 3², 178).
7. nfw (PM 3², 207), tnti (PM 3², 207), k3i-m-'nh (PM 3², 131).
8. ny-k3w-ptḥ (77) *, k3i-pw-r' (143) *, k3i-dbḥn (153) *, ny-s'nh-3ht; iti (73) **, 3ht-htp (PM 3², 284), 'nh-h3f (PM 3², 306), iy-mry (PM 3², 218).
9. k3i-m-qdi (Cairo, CG 68), 3ht-htp (PM 3², 284), pth-nb-nfrt (PM 3², 129), 'nh-h3f (PM 3², 306), wri (PM 3², 121), k3i-m-'nh (PM 3², 131).
10. htpi (PM 3², 562).
11. izi (18) **, htpi (PM 3², 562).
- 12, 13. izi (18) **.

* indicates official found in table 40

** indicates official found in table 41

as they are the two latest officials in table 45) the forms pr-hd and prwy-hd had become largely synonymous by the end of the Old Kingdom.

Apart from the treasury titles of ph-r-nfr (46), the oldest in table 45 is hrp pr-hd, held by k3i-'pr (139) in the early fifth dynasty. Fischer has noted that the use of the title hrp is a little unusual in this man's inscriptions.⁶⁷ It is conceivable that as there are few known holders of treasury titles at this date, that of k3i-'pr may have represented the senior office in this institution prior to the establishment of imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd. Also, like two other early treasury officials (ph-r-nfr (46) and 3hi (1)), he held an important labour-organisational title, imy-r k3t nzwt.

The position of shd pr-hd in the treasury hierarchy is marked by being lower than that of imy-ht pr-hd, as several holders of the latter, but none of the former, attained the level of imy-r pr-hd. Relative rankings of some of the other titles may be obtained from an examination of the titularies (admittedly limited in number) of some officials who bear more than one treasury title in a rankable sequence:

1. In the tomb of k3i-m-'nh,⁶⁸ the sequence zš pr-hd, shd iry-ht pr-hd is regularly found; if the titles on the architrave⁶⁹ read from right to left in descending order, then one also has the sequence shd pr-hd, zš pr-hd, shd iry-ht pr-hd.
2. Statues of tnti and nfw:⁷⁰ Boston MFA 31.776 gives shd pr-hd, shd iry-ht pr-hd, and Boston MFA 31.777 gives shd iry-ht pr-hd, iry-

67. JNES 18 (1959), 267 (20, 21).

68. Giza G4561, PM 3², 131.

69. Junker, Giza IV, abb. 10,

70. In tomb Giza G7946, PM 3², 207.

ht/ nht-hrw pr-hd.

3. On the false door of k3i-pw-r' (143) is found⁷¹ shd zš pr-hd, imy-ht pr-hd, imy-r pr-hd hnw.

One wonders whether these titles of k3i-pw-r' 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.⁷²

After conflating the above titles, it is impossible to link the resulting sequences

shd pr-hd, zš pr-hd, shd iry-ht pr-hd, iry-ht pr-hd

and

imy-r pr-hd hnw, imy-ht 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 also an interesting division of a similar nature by the location of the tombs of these men. Most of the imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd after the early fifth dynasty were buried at Saqqara (exceptions, k3i-dbhn (153), 'nh-h3f; q3r (35) and his son ny-s'nh-3ht (73)), while the majority of officials named in table 45 were buried at Giza. This again emphasizes that the more important officials were generally buried at Saqqara.

One concludes from the titles above that, not surprisingly, scribal offices were the most frequent in the administration of the treas-

71. Mariette, Mastabas, 278-9.

72. cf 3ht-htp (4), although it can equally appear elsewhere, for example on the false door of k3i-pw-ptḥ (Cairo, CG 1563) and that of ssm-nfr; hb3 (132) (Mariette, Mastabas, 399-400).

ury, with $z\check{s}$ pr-hd being by far 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.

Summary and Conclusions on the Treasury.

The writing of the titles imy-r pr-hd and imy-r prwy-hd provides some useful paleographic 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 show evidence of holding 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 any possible previous treasury career, which sometimes took the form of previous 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 were a minimum of two and perhaps even three contemporary holders of the two senior treasury titles. There is 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. 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, but probably not on private estates. The evidence from titles connected with the treasury other than *imy-r pr-hd* and *imy-r prwy-hd* 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 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 šnwt*/*imy-r šnwtj* 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 sets of titles are closely linked in their titularies. 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 nzwt*) they formed that part of the administration concerned with the economic management of the country.

CHAPTER 8

t3yty z3b t3ty.General.

It has long been realised that the title of t3yty z3b t3ty represents the highest administrative office in Ancient Egypt at all periods.¹ 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; as such it gives an idea of the wide range of the title, as it cannot be associated with any specific functions as, for instance, that of Overseer of Works. Table 46 contains a list of holders of this title in the Old Kingdom.

 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, 62.

Table 46

 Holders of t3yty z3b t3ty. A. Memphite:

<u>Sneferu</u>		* minw-nfr	(55)
nfr-m3't	(86)	<u>Mid Dyn 5</u>	
<u>Khufu</u>		sḥm-'nḥ-pṭh	(123)
'nḥ-ḥ3f	(34)	k3i	(136)
hm-iwnw	(96)	pḥ-n-wi-k3i	(45)
<u>Khufu-early Khafre</u>		pṭh- [✓] sp̣ss	(52)
k3i-w'b	(140)	<u>Early Djedkare</u>	
Name Lost	(170)	sṣm-nfr III	(131)
ḥ'f-minw	(103)	pṭh-hṭp ḍsr	(47)
nfr-m3't	(85)	* r'- [✓] sp̣ss	(95)
<u>Middle Khafre-Menkaure</u>		<u>Later Djedkare</u>	
ḥ'f-ḥwfw	(104)	pṭh-hṭp	(48)
'nḥ-m-'-r'	(29)	pṭh-hṭp I	(49)
ny-k3w-r'	(78)	snḍm-ib; inti	(120)
iwn-minw	(7)	<u>Early Wenis</u>	
nb-m-3ht	(81)	3ht-hṭp	(2)
<u>Menkaure-early Dyn 5</u>		3ht-hṭp; ḥmi	(3)
dw3-n-r'	(161)	snḍm-ib; ṃhi	(121)
sṣ3t-hṭp; ḥti	(126)	<u>Later Wenis</u>	
b3-b3f	(42)	iḥy	(15)
sḥm-k3-r'	(125)	ny-'nḥ-b3	(70)
<u>Sahure-early Neweserre</u>		iy-nf̣rt; [✓] s3nf	(6)
* wr-b3w-b3	(39)	<u>End Dyn 5-early Dyn 6</u>	
w3s [✓] -pṭh; izi	(37)	* pṭh-hṭp; ṭfi	(50)

Table 46 (Continued)

<u>hnm-nti</u>	(113)	<u>Later Pepy II</u>	
		nb-k3w-hr; idw	(82)
k3i-gmni; mmi	(151)	h'-b3w-hnmw; biw	(102)
nfr-sšm-r'; ššī	(88)	ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r'	(72)
<u>Middle Teti-early Pepy I</u>		<u>End Old Kingdom or later</u>	
'nh-m-'-hr; zzi	(30)	wr-k3w-b3; ikw	(40)
mrrw-k3i; mri	(68)	tti	(156)
mhw	(69)	k3i-nfr	(148)
hnty-k3i; ihhi	(109)	ttw	(160)
<u>Middle Pepy I-c. year 20 Pepy II</u>			
* tp-m-'nh	(155)		
pth-htp	(51)		
nti	(158)		
mry-tti	(63)		
r'-wr	(93)		
mrri	(67)		
nfr-sšm-sš3t; hnw	(89)		
zzi	(114)		
idw I; nfr	(22)		
'nh-mry-r'	(33)		
<u>Middle Pepy II</u>			
* hnw	(108)		
* ihy-hnt	(16)		
k3i-htp	(149)		
mry-r'-i3m	(61)		
s3bw-ptḥ; ibbi	(117)		
mry-r'-mry-'nh-ptḥ	(62)		
šn'y	(133)		

Table 46 (Continued)B. Provincial:Late Dyn 5hrwy I Akhmim³hrwy II Akhmim⁴Tetiizi Edfu⁵Perhaps Pepy Iiww Abydos⁶Early Pepy IId'w Abydos⁷idi Abydos⁸Middle Pepy IIppy-nht Abydos⁹'nh-ppy hry-ib Meir¹⁰Late Pepy II'nh-ppy hni-km Meir¹¹sm3i Koptos¹²

3. Newberry, AAA 4 (1912), 112 (19); dating, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 3.

4. Newberry, op. cit., 105 (7); this man could be a son of the above.

5. Alliot, Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932-3), 22-7; date, Baer, Rank and Title, 60 (62).

6. Cairo, CG 1576, LD Text II, 176 (5); date, Kanawati, op. cit., 33.

7. Cairo, CG 1431; also mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 279.18, 280.15; date, Baer, op. cit., 156-7 (591).

8. A variety of monuments: Baer, op. cit., 61-2 (73a); also Fischer, AJA 66 (1972), 65-9; date, see the prosopography under ihy-hnt (16).

9. Cairo, CG 1573; date, Baer, op. cit., 71 (5), Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 89.

10. Blackman, Meir IV, passim; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (133).

11. Blackman, Meir V, pl. XV-XLIII; date, Baer, op. cit., 70 (134).

12. Mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 295-305; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 112-4.

Table 46 (Continued)

idi Koptos¹³

End Old Kingdom and later

hnqw; iy...f Deir el Gebrawi¹⁴

hm-r'; izi Deir el Gebrawi¹⁵

* indicates vizierial titulary incomplete

t3yty z3b t3ty seems to be the oldest of the group of titles studied in this work. The first occurrence of it in Egyptian History may antedate the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, as it was written on a stone vessel found in the galleries beneath that monument, and belonged to a man named mn-k3.¹⁶ 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 547.

Several occurrences of the title have been excluded from table 46. A vizier, the first letter of whose name is p, is referred to in the Abusir Papyri.¹⁷ This is surely one of the pth-htp 's. wni twice mentions a vizier in his biography without giving the name: he judged matters along with the vizier, and when he heard the case against the queen of Pepy I, he did so without the vizier being present.¹⁸

13. Mentioned in royal decrees, Urk. I, 295-305; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 112-4.

14. Davies, Deir el Gebrawi II, pl. XXIII-XXXVI; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 117.

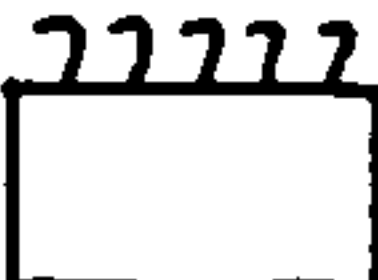



15. Davies, op. cit., pl. XVII-XXI; date, Kanawati, op. cit., 117.

16. Quibell, ASAE 34 (1934), pl. III after page 75 (lower middle left).

17. HPBM, pl. LXIV G; Posener-Krieger, ArchAb II, 590.

Similarly, the letter to the vizier published by Gunn does not name the addressee.¹⁹ The biography of s3bni of Aswan mentions a vizier, but his name is damaged.²⁰ As the names of these men are unknown, they may already feature in table 46 and so are omitted from it.

If the reconstruction of the stela of hwi and nbt from Abydos is correct, 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.²¹ Also from the reign of Pepy I comes the mention of the vizier in the Dahshur decree of that king.²² This occurrence is also omitted as it is possible to identify this vizier in all probability with r'-wr (93).²³

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 -  i. The t3yty z3b elements are also found in the New Kingdom but are not as common as

18. Urk. I, 99.5; 100.15.

19. ASAE 25 (1925), 248, pl. I a.

20. Urk. I, 140.4.




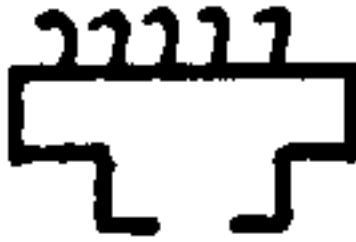
21. Cairo, CG 1578; see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 31, for the view that she held it in an administrative capacity. Perhaps in reality her husband hwi exercised the powers, or else she held it in an honorific fashion (Fischer, Varia, 75).

22. Borchardt, ZAS 42 (1905), pl. I.

23. Helck refers to a vizier as 'Berlin 1187' (Beamtentitel, 56); this monument cannot as yet be traced, as it does not appear in AIB I or II.

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.²⁴

More detailed examination of the writing of t3yty z3b t3ty presents a few noteworthy aspects. The examples above (all excluded from table 46) show the vizier being referred to as a third person, as opposed to occurrences in strings of titles in tombs, and they are all written with a seated man determinative. This stresses the difference between the way titles were written in a funerary as opposed to a functional context.²⁵

From the t3yty sign may be noted the appearance of small protrusions on either side of the frieze of uraei ( as against ). It is evident that the more complex form of this hieroglyph does 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 the form  was not then fully established.²⁶ 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 imply a reversion to the older form. These protrusions seem to have developed as time went on, becoming  in later periods.²⁷ Some Old Kingdom writings in fact suggest that these protrusions may originally have been exten-


24. cf Sethe, ZAS 28 (1890), 43; Helck, Beamtentitel, 56.



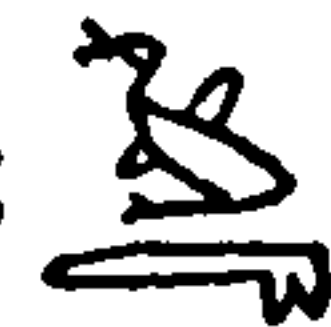
25. The term t3yty z3b t3ty is used in a general context in a royal decree meaning 'any vizier', and is there found with this same determinative (Urk. I, 306.4).

26. One notes that two different forms of the pr-hd group were also found in this tomb, suggesting that those signs were also changing at the same period (above page 456).

27. For example, that of rh-mi-r', Urk. IV, 1171.

sions 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)). The number of these uraei in the frieze seems to vary between four (*h'f-hwfw* (104) for example) and seven (*3ht-htp* (2)), but this scarcely seems consistent by date. That of *h'-b3w-hnmw* (102) omits the frieze completely, doubtless to avoid potential hostile creatures in the burial chamber, while *sndm-ib; mhi* (121) 's is composed of two facing sub-groups of four uraei.

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'.²⁸ 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 writings of the whole group that are unusual. The first is that of *mrri* with the central element as . This is perhaps due to a confusion with the word *t3y* 'male', although the resultant  was not a feature of the writing of *t3yty z3b t3ty* at this period.²⁹ The other examples are provincial. *izi* of Edfu seems to omit the *t3yty* element; one is inclined to regard this as an error, as otherwise his titular 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 titular, *t3yty z3b t3ty* was clearly meant.

28. cf Sethe, *op. cit.*, 43; Helck, *op. cit.*, 56.

29. Fischer, *JEA* 65 (1979), 181.

The Titularies of t3yty z3b t3ty.

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 *imy-r hwt wrt 6* was only held by the vizier, these holders were not necessarily 'career' legal officials. A number of viziers did hold legal titles (table 15), but they were not necessarily those who also held *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 *imy-r hwt wrt 6*. Occurrences of legal titles can in some instances be traced to earlier tenure of the title *imy-r hwt wrt*.

Chapter 4 concluded that viziers holding *imy-r zš ' nzwt* held less titles of a scribal nature than did their non-vizierial fellows. When compared to the viziers who did not hold *imy-r zš ' nzwt* however, it was seen that the latter held far less 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 *imy-r zš ' 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 *sndm-ib* family, the viziers of which (*sndm-ib* 's *inti* and *mhi*, *hnm-nti*, *impy* and *s3bw-ptḥ*) probably held *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* before their final promotions. Further viziers are attested as holding *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* before their promotion. Others did hold labour-related titles, and indeed

were not always those who were overseers of works (table 30). 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 *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 *imy-r šnwty*; there is very little evidence of the extent to which viziers held this title before their promotion (chapter 6).

In similar vein, *imy-r prwy-hd* is found with viziers, but there are in their titularies no subordinate treasury-related titles using the group *pr(wy)-hd* (chapter 7). Titles with *hkr nzwt* are the only treasury-related ones to appear frequently in the titularies of viziers (table 43), and in that table are very closely related to the appearance of *imy-r prwy-hd*. It is virtually impossible to tell whether any viziers were *imy-r prwy-hd* or held titles with *hkr nzwt* before their promotion.

Thus subordinate titles in the scribal, legal and labour-organisational areas only of the administration are found with moderate frequency in the titularies of viziers, but those associated with the granary and treasury are not.

B. The Remaining 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

Table 47

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of Memphite Holders oft3yty z3b t3ty.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
nfr-m3't (86)	X	X				X			X					X			
'nh-h3f (34)	X	X		X		X			X					X	X		
hm-iwnw (96)	X	X	X	X		X			X					X			
k3i-w'b (140)	X	X	X			X								X	X		
Name Lost (170)	X								X					X	X		
h'f-minw (103)	X	X	X			X			X					X			
nfr-m3't (85)	X	X	X			X								X			
h'f-hwfw (104)	X			X		X								X			
'nh-m-'-r' (29)	X	X				X											
ny-k3w-r' (78)	X	X	X	X		X								X			
iwn-minw (7)	X		X			X								X			
nb-m-3ht (81)	X		X			X											
dw3-n-r' (161)	X	X				X								X	X		
ss3t-htp (126)	X					X			X							X	
b3-b3f (42)	X	X	X			X			X					X	X		
shn-k3-r' (125)	X	X	X	X		X										X	
wr-b3w-b3 (39)																	
w3s-pt ^v h; izi (37)		X	X		X			X	X							X	
minw-nfr (55)									X								
shn-'nh-pt ^v h (123)		X	X	X	X			X	X								
k3i (136)					X		X	X	X		X	X	X				
ph-n-wi-k3i (45)		X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X					
pt ^v h-spss (52)		X	X						X							X	
ssm-nfr III (131)		X	X			X			X			X					
pt ^v h-htp dsr (47)	X	X						X	X	X							

Table 47 (Continued)

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
r'-špss (95)								X									
pth-ḥtp (48)	X	X					X	X	X	X	X						
pth-ḥtp I (49)	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X					
sndm-ib; inti (120)	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X					
3ḥt-ḥtp (2)			X		X			X		X	X		X			X	X
3ḥt-ḥtp; ḥmi (3)	X	X	X	X				X		X	X						X
sndm-ib; mḥi (121)	X	X	X		X			X	X	X							
iḥy (15)	X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X						
ny-'nh-b3 (70)	X		X												X		
iy-nfrt (6)		X	X		X			X			X						
pth-ḥtp II (50)																	
ḥnm-nti (113)	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X					X
k3i-gmni (151)	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X X
nfr-ssm-r' (88)	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
'nh-m-'-hr (30)	X	X			X				X		X	X					X
mrrw-k3i (68)	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X
mḥw (69)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X				X
ḥnty-k3i (109)	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X					X X
tp-m-'nh (155)		X	X														
pth-ḥtp (51)							X	X		X	X						
tnti (158)	X	X	X														
mry-tti (63)	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X						X		X
r'-wr (93)	X	X	X	X									X				
mrrri (67)	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		X				X
nfr-ssm-ss3t (89)			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
zzi (114)		X	X											X			X
idw I; nfr (22)					X			X	X	X	X						

Table 47 (Continued)

Official	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
'nh-mry-r' (33)		X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X					X
hnw (108)																	
ihy-hnt (16)		X															
k3i-htp (149)		X	X	X													X
mry-r'-i3m (61)	X	X															X
mry-r'-mry-'nh-ptḥ (62)		X	X	X				X	X								
s3bw-ptḥ (117)		X	X	X	X					X							
sn'y (133)		X		X									X				
nb-k3w-hr (82)		X	X	X	X	X	X			X				X			
h'-b3w-hnmw (102)	X	X	X	X				X		X	X	X		X	X		
ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72)	X	X	X	X				X			X						X X
wr-k3w-b3 (40)			X														
tṭi (156)	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X					X	X
k3i-nfr (148)	X	X	X	X	X	X							X		X		
tṭw (160)	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	

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 šnwty |
| 11. imy-r prwy-hd | 12. Titles with wd(t)-mdw |
| 13. imy-r šm'w | 14. wr diw pr dhwtj |
| 15. '3 dw3w | 16. šhd hm-ntr of a pyramid |
| 17. imy-r niwt of a pyramid | |

'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

benefices such as cults, to increase his income. For the present purposes those titles which have no obvious religious associations will be considered here.

The frequent ones are those which are the most well-known, principally *iry p't*, *h3ty-*, *smr w'ty*, *sd3wty bity*, and *hry-tp nzwt*. The distribution of these among the viziers is given in columns 1-5 of table 47, and as a proportion of the total holders in table 48.

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. In this period every vizier was a king's son of some order, and these two facts are doubtless related.³⁰ From the reign of Neferirkare to that of Djedkare, there are no holders of *iry p't*. This period shows 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 and was of the highest status. From the reign of Djedkare to perhaps some point in that of Pepy I, most viziers were again *iry p't*. 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 *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 48). Most of the viziers at the end of the sixth dynasty and after that to the end of the Old Kingdom were again

30. cf Schmitz, Königssohn, 328.

iry p't.

The spread of vizierial holders of the title of h3ty-' is much less noteworthy, being consistent at all times (although it was not held by everyone), and with no particular peaks or troughs of its holders; this is also true for smr w'ty.

Table 48

Most Frequent Honorific Titles of Viziers.

<u>Title</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
smr w'ty	322	232	90	58	46	12
h3ty-'	142	108	34	57	51	6
iry p't	96	68	28	53	41	12
sd3wty bity	136	85	51	33	28	5
hry-tp nzwt	144	119	25	23	19	4
rh nzwt	473	452	21	0	0	0
mniw nhn	40	30	10	22	19	3
hry-tp nhb	51	40	11	21	18	3
imy-iz	26	17	9	15	12	3
smsw snwt	24	16	8	15	12	3
r p nb	25	22	3	13	12	1
im3-'	20	17	3	12	12	0
imy-iz nhn	16	16	0	11	11	0

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

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 is 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 tables 10 and 18 above). Titles of these classes are virtually unknown 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 above.

Two viziers, k3i and idw I, apparently bear no honorific titles other than hry-tp nzwt. In both cases 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 compatriots, especially as these two officials date to widely separated periods (but for k3i see further below page 522-3).

The title of rhj nzwt is not found at all with viziers. This should come as no surprise, as it is by far the lowest-ranking of the group of honorifics in table 48 for most of the Old Kingdom, although

it may have had a special position in the fourth dynasty (above page 367). It is clear that with the viziers, one is speaking in terms of a consistently very high-ranking group of officials, and hence the lack of $\text{rh}_y \text{nzwt}$ and the comparative rarity of hry-tp nzwt compared with iry p't , $\text{h3ty-}'$ and smr w'ty . This may be illustrated by the presence of the title $\text{rh}_y \text{nzwt}$ in the pre-vizierial titulary of ss3t-htp; hti and its absence from his titles as vizier.

A multitude of less frequent honorific titles is found. Among these the most common are mniw nhn , hry-tp nhb , smsw snwt , r p nb , $\text{im3-}'$, imy-iz and imy-iz nhn (see table 48).³¹ In comparison with the first group these are numerically not very significant; however, the number of occurrences of them with 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 frequent titles, notably of imy-iz , smsw snwt , r p nb , $\text{im3-}'$ and imy-iz nhn . While it is not true that these titles were reserved solely for the vizier,³² it is clear that they were granted only to some more important officials, as a feature common to the titularies of all holders of this group of titles is the rank of at least smr w'ty and not infrequently that of $\text{h3ty-}'$ 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 nhn and imy-iz (nhn) 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.

 31. Discussion of functions and origins of some of these, Helck, Beamtentitel, 22-3, 30, 38.

32. Against Helck, op. cit., 23, concerning mniw nhn .

Although viziers form the majority of holders of these less frequent honorifics, in fact they were not held by the majority of viziers. Closer examination in fact shows that the same men recur in the list of holders of each: for example, a vizier would usually hold all of the series *mniw nhn*, *hry-tp nhb* and *imy-iz (nhn)* or none at all.³³ Such individuals noted are mostly also remarkable for the length of their titularies, which contain many further honorific titles. From this it is clear that not all viziers had similar titularies as far as honorific titles are concerned.

The following viziers had large numbers of infrequent and indeed rare honorific titles: *dw3-n-r'*, *b3-b3f*, *w3š-ptḥ*, *ptḥ-špss*, *3ḥt-ḥtp*; *hmi*, *k3i-gmni*, *mrrw-k3i*, *mḥw*, *hnty-k3i*, *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 one assumes 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 individual's favour with the king. There is also clearly a bias in these long titularies towards sixth dynasty men, which is 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*.

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

33. Examples: *nfr-m3't* (85), *dw3-n-r'*, *b3-b3f*, *w3š-ptḥ*, *ptḥ-špss*, *3ḥt-ḥtp*; *hmi*, *k3i-gmni*, *'nh-m--hr*, *mrrw-k3i*, *mry-tti*, *h'-b3w-hnmw*, *k3i-nfr* and *ttw*.

(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.³⁴ *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.³⁵ 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 these who must have formed a sort of 'court' of men favoured by the king, but without any important administrative office.³⁶

2. Titles of "King's Son".

Column 6 of table 47 shows that all viziers from the beginning of the fourth dynasty to about the reign of Sahure held the rank of a king's son.³⁷ These men were either true members of the royal family or 'titular princes'.³⁸ 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

34. Helck, *op. cit.*, 24-5, 32-3.

35. cf Helck, *op. cit.*, 68.

36. Some examples: *dbhn* (PM 3², 235), *ny-k3-nzwt I* (PM 3², 78), *zwt* (PM 3², 135), *nn-hft-k3i* (PM 3², 580), *tp-m-'nh* (PM 3², 343), *k3i-m-rhw* (PM 3², 690), *hnmw-htp* (PM 3², 578).

37. The only apparent exception, Name Lost (170), whose tomb is badly damaged, must have been a son of Khufu from the position of his tomb, and therefore bore this title.

38. Schmitz, *Königsson*, 84.

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'.

The king's sons who were in all probability completely unrelated to the king in this group 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.³⁹ The logical next development from this was to exclude king's sons completely from the senior administrative offices of the land, a process complete 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.⁴⁰ 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 not more than twenty years for this change to have been completed.

The remaining king's sons who were also viziers are six in number. ~~ssm~~^v-nfr III acquired the title of z3 nzwt n ht.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.⁴¹ The viziers in the sixth dynasty are the only king's sons of that period to hold administrative office;⁴² as such this

39. op. cit., 166.

40. op. cit., 168.

41. Schmitz, op. cit., 85-6, 168-9.

42. id. ib., 93, 95, 170.

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 47. The only such title found before the early fifth dynasty is *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. This is held by nearly all viziers in the early part of the fourth dynasty, and then reappears at the end of that period when it is found with *ss3t-htp; hti* and *b3-b3f*. These two were the first viziers of certain non-royal descent; by analogy, *dw3-n-r'* 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 Neweserre saw the first appearances of the remaining high administrative offices studied here in the titularies of viziers, although *imy-r prwy-hd* had previously been found with a non-vizier. The remainder of this discussion will concentrate on this period and later. From *w3s-ptb; izi* onwards, *imy-r hwt wrt 6* occurs sixteen times, *imy-r zs' nzwt* twenty-nine times, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* twenty-eight times, *imy-r snwty* twenty-three times and *imy-r prwy-hd* also twenty-three times. The similarity between the frequency of *imy-r zs' nzwt* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* and also that between *imy-r snwty* and *imy-r*

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 (above, page 331), and the interdependence of the granaries and treasuries with regard to the collection of income in kind and its consequent (re)distribution is undoubted.⁴³

On the basis of the observed close association between offices of scribal and legal natures, especially between imy-r hwt wrt and imy-r zš ' nzwt, one might expect to find imy-r hwt wrt 6 in the company of imy-r zš ' nzwt. Table 47 shows this consistently to be the case until the reign of Pepy II and later. One may hesitatingly try to fill the two gaps in the latter reign. It has been suggested above that imy-r zš md3t in the tomb of h'-b3w-hnmw; biw (102) may be an abbreviated writing for imy-r zš ' nzwt (chapter 4, note 2), while it is very likely that the titular 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 juridicial 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 47 also shows that in the middle and later fifth dynasty, only pth-špss and sšm-nfr III held imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt without imy-r zš ' nzwt, although sšm-nfr did hold imy-r zš ' nzwt before his promotion. Thenceforth to the end of the sixth dynasty only s3bw-pth; ibbi (117) did not hold both titles (only imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, but his vizierial titular is very damaged).

43. The observation that of twenty-six viziers who held either of these two latter titles, twenty held both, suggests that occurrences of the other title in the remaining six instances may have been lost.

Again, table 47 shows that all holders (with few exceptions) of either *imy-r šnwt* or *imy-r prwy-hd* (or both) also held *imy-r zš ' nzwt*. These exceptions are all viziers for whom partly incomplete titularies have been argued: 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi, nb-k3w-hr; idw and h'-b3w-hnmw; biw.

From this one may conclude that *imy-r zš ' 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 zš ' 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 47 to have held *imy-r zš ' nzwt* as his only high administrative title. Closer examination shows this man to have been r'-špss, the exact extent of whose vizierial titulary is unclear, and who in fact held *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* and *imy-r šnwt* 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 zš ' 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 sixth dynasty, as no memphite examples of *imy-r zš ' nzwt* are known from that period.

imy-r zš ' nzwt is thus perhaps the most important (or at least essential) element of a vizier's titulary after the early fifth 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 340).⁴⁴

Apart from the significance of *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, it will be seen from table 47 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 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 *imy-r zš ' nzwt* and *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 previous career experience in an associated field. Some viziers in fact seem to have held no other high administrative titles, such as *tnti*, *ny-'nh-b3* (tomb damaged), *r'-wr*, *k3i-htp*, *mry-r'-i3m* (tomb much damaged), *šn'y* (tomb damaged) and *k3i-nfr*, as well as those the data on whom is very incomplete (indicated in table 47). 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 *hry-hb*, *hry-hb hry-tp* and *hry i3t nbt ntrt*. The

44. cf Pirenne, Institutions et Droit II, 96.

first title is not unusual with men of the rank *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 *iry p't* and/or *h3ty-'*. Consequently its appearance with viziers is more frequent than with the holders of other administrative titles. *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.⁴⁵

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,⁴⁶ while many of them were to emphasize a variety of features of the concept of Egyptian Kingship.⁴⁷ Viziers occur very frequently among holders of these titles due to their special position as senior administrative official and thus perhaps one of the closest men to the king.

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. Apart from the more well-known ones, fourth dynasty officials, and the viziers in particular, exhibit several very distinctive titles, such as *w' m wr(w) zh*, *hm-ntr b3 'npt*, *hm-ntr b3stt*, *hm-ntr ssmtt* and *hm-ntr wnw-r hnty minw*.⁴⁸ These and others like them fell into disuse after the early fifth dynasty, and, until the later part of that period, there are conspicuously fewer

 45. cf Helck, Beamtentitel, 52.

46. To illustrate this, one may note the mixture of these two types of titles discussed together by Helck, op. cit., 29-44.

47. id. ib., 45-54.

48. For the first four, Helck, op. cit., 40, 41, 122 n. 17; Junker, Giza I, 149.

such titles. 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 *k3i-gmni* and *mrrw-k3i*.⁴⁹

Such changes may be illustrated by the example of the title '3 dw3w (𓄏 𓄏) ; column 15 of table 47). This title is found fifteen times with viziers out of a total of twenty-five occurrences. Before *w3s-ptḥ*; *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 *ptḥ-špss* (52) and *r'-m-k3i*;⁵⁰ of these two *r'-m-k3i* was a true king's son,⁵¹ while *ptḥ-špss* was married to a daughter of Neweserre. They are thus both of a class different to the rest of their fellow officials. The title then reappears at the end of the dynasty with both non-viziers (for example, *ḥtp-ḥr-n-ptḥ* 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 *wr diw pr dhwtj*. This title probably represents the chief priesthood of the cult of Thoth, but is important here as it is only found in the titularies of viziers in the fourth and early fifth dynasties.⁵² Again, it reappears in the sixth dynasty. Also found is the form *wr diw* in the second half of the dynasty.⁵³

49. op. cit., 111-2.

50. PM 3², 487.

51. Schmitz, Königsson, 87-8.

52. cf Sethe, ZAS 28 (1890), 44; Helck, op. cit., 56-8.

53. There are three occurrences of this title: the vizier *zzi*, *hrdni* (PM 3², 678), *nhri* (PM 3², 684). The titularies of the first and last are so unlike that of *hrdni* that *wr diw* must be a shortened version with the same honorific import as *wr diw pr dhwtj* and not a title of scribes as Helck suggests (op. cit., 58).

A further pair of titles with religious import which are associated with attendance on the king are *sm* and *hrp šndyt nbt*.⁵⁴ These are found once in the fifth dynasty (*w3š-ptḥ*) and regularly from the early sixth onwards. They are more generally a feature of high-ranking titularies of the later Old Kingdom.

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 they appear with men of the higher ranks. 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 *3ḥt-ḥtp*, who was *shd hm-ntr* of the pyramids of Neweserre, Menkauhor and Djedkare; these titles may have been applied retrospectively.⁵⁵ With the reign of Teti one finds all the viziers bearing the title *shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti* (column 16 of table 47). The title of *imy-r niwt mr*, usually not specifying the name of the pyramid, became part of the vizierial titulary (column 17 of table 47).⁵⁶

The reign of Pepy I saw a continuation of this practice, but it is not so frequent, and many officials other than viziers, especially

54. Helck, *op. cit.*, 16 n. 4, 35.

55. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 264-5.

56. cf Helck, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 101.

provincial ones, held one or other of the titles shd hm-ntr... or imy-r niwt mr. Few viziers held 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. The title imy-r niwt mr was generally a feature of the titularies of the viziers of the reign of Pepy II.⁵⁷ Thus the title of shd hm-ntr had lost the exclusive status it held at the beginning of the dynasty and was effectively replaced in importance by imy-r niwt mr. The precise function of these officials is not known; they may as part of their vizierial duties have supervised the activities in the pyramid towns, but it is also likely that it was as much a status-indicator as anything else.

These positions (priesthoods in particular) can in no way have involved daily service in the pyramid temples. One has only to compare the status of these men with those recorded in the Abusir Papyri as working in the temples to realise that the daily running of these temples was in the hands of very low-ranking men, who, although termed w'b and hm-ntr,⁵⁸ one cannot imagine being permitted to add the name of the institution to these titles.

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 47 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.

57. cf Kees, Veziat, 42.

58. Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb II, 574-82.

The title of $\text{imy-r } \overset{\vee}{\text{sm}}\text{'w}$ has not previously entered into these discussions.⁵⁹ It is however held by at least nine memphite viziers, and it made its first appearance in the capital (column 13 of table 47), although the majority of its holders are provincial. The earliest holders are k3i and $\text{r}'\text{-}\overset{\vee}{\text{spss}}$, but it is unknown whether either held this title while vizier. The latter's vizierial titulary is virtually unknown, and the occurrences in the case of the former are on two offering stands,⁶⁰ and the period of his career to which they belong is unknown, if indeed they are his at all. The earliest certain holders of this title buried in the provinces belong to the reign of Merenre (for example, $\text{mry-r}'\text{-nfr}$; q3r of Edfu); before that time there were also non-vizierial memphite holders as well as viziers.⁶¹ After this date however, the only memphite holders were the viziers indicated in table 47. There is no obvious consistent pattern evident in the tenure of this title (but see further below page 531 ff.).

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 49, are very similar to those of the memphite viziers. All viziers with the exception of $\text{'nh-ppy } \text{hny-km}$ of Meir were iry p't ,⁶² and all were smr w'ty except for the second hrwy

59. 'Overseer of Upper Egypt' is one of the most intensively studied Old Kingdom titles, for example: Kees, Provinzialverwaltung I, 85-98; Helck, Beamtentitel, 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.

60. Cairo, CG 1299, 1302.

61. 'nh-wnis (PM 3², 616), pth-htp II (50) (it is again unknown whether he continued to hold this title as vizier), and ny-k3w-izzi (76).

62. For a comment on this see Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 93, also on the surprising distribution of the title t3yty z3b t3ty on the walls of this tomb.

Table 49

Presence-absence Chart of Principal Titles of Provincial Holders oft3yty z3b t3ty.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>
hrwy I	X	X	X													X
hrwy II	X	X					X									X
izi	X		X		X		X									
iww	X	X	X				X			X						X
d'w	X		X	X			X									X
idi	X	X	X	X			X		X			X			X	
ppy-nht	X		X	X			X	X				X				X
'nh-ppy hry-ib	X		X	X	X		X		X			X				
'nh-ppy hni-km			X	X	X				X			X				
šm3i	X		X				X					X				X
idi	X	X	X									X				
hnqw; iy...f	X		X				X									X
hm-r'; izi	X	X	X		X											X

References for these Viziers will be found in Table 46

Key to Columns:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. iry p't | 2. h3ty-' |
| 3. smr w'ty | 4. sd3wty bity |
| 5. hry-tp nzwt | 6. imy-r hwt wrt 6 |
| 7. imy-r zš ' nzwt | 8. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt |
| 9. imy-r šnwt | 10. imy-r prwy-hd |
| 11. Titles with wd(t)-mdw | 12. imy-r šm'w |
| 13. wr diw pr dhwt | 14. '3 dw3w |
| 15. šhd hm-ntr of a pyramid | 16. imy-r niwt of a pyramid |

at Akhmim. The title of h3ty-' is not found as frequently in the titularies of the provincial viziers as in those of their memphite counterparts; this title is not particularly common among any group of provincial officials. 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 zš^v ' 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_v-ppy hny-km* did not possess *imy-r zš^v ' nzwt* and one wonders whether this title may have been lost from his tomb. The only other offices found on more than one occasion are *imy-r snwty^v* and *imy-r prwy-hd*; it has been suggested above 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 sm^v'w*, showing the emphasis on this title in the provinces. Finally, as noted above, *shd hm-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*.

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 legal and labour-organisational offices 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.⁶³ Some consistent patterns of titularies are evident after promotion, but the extent to which such a titulary represents all titles held at the time of the composition of the text, or alternatively, all titles held in an individual's career, is not known. The titularies of the vizier *sšm-nfr* III have been quoted above to illustrate that the second of the above possibilities may not always be correct (page 337).

The pre-vizierial careers of the following non-royal holders of *t3yty z3b t3ty* can be seen as they were promoted after much of their tombs had been decorated: *ss3t-htp*; *hti* (labour organisation), *k3i* (legal), *sšm-nfr* III (scribal), *r'-špss* (legal), *pth-htp* II (legal with some provincial administrative titles) and *tp-m-'nh* (unclear, perhaps legal/scribal).⁶⁴ *ss3t-htp*; *hti* belonged to the period when king's sons (true 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. The possibility is thus suggested that a man may have been marked out as a future vizier earlier in his career and generally would have received this promotion by


63. Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), pl. XIV (II, lines 7-9).

64. Doubtless other men were similarly promoted but it is not so immediately obvious. *'nh-m-'-hr*; *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 hwt wrt*, a title not found with viziers. Detailed examination of the layout of further tombs will doubtless establish similar examples.

the normal (at present unknown) age when an individual constructed his tomb.⁶⁵ Doubtless several of these picked individuals died before taking up their promotions; it has been suggested above that hnmw; hnm-nti (111) of the reign of Pepy II was one such official (page 335).⁶⁶ Following the death of such an official it may have been sometimes necessary to promote an official who would not otherwise have reached the rank of vizier, which may perhaps explain the individuals noted in the paragraph above. In the case of k3i it may explain the prominence he gave to his old honorific title hry-tp nzw 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 performed on a basis of seniority, providing the individual was still in favour. There is no 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, h'f-hwfw, h'f-minw and the owner of mastaba G7310 + 7320). Similarly, the elder sons of Khafre would seem to have been those buried in the quarry east of his pyramid, many of

 65. It is clear from the example of sndm-ib; inti that he was promoted to the vizierate before the decoration of his tomb had begun as it had to be built for him by his son after his death (Urk. I, 63 ff).

66. Further evidence to support this contention may be derived from one of his titles, , 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). The word 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, t3yty z3b t3ty.

whom reached the vizierate (*ny-k3w-r'*, *nb-m-3ht* and *iwn-minw* for example). As far as is known, *hw-n-r'*, the eldest son of Menkaure,⁶⁷ 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. They were consequently allowed to build large tombs at Giza.

Thus one can see the beginning of the promotion of private individuals to the highest office by virtue of that man's favour with the king. 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 emphasized in the Old Kingdom biographies especially where it relates to the king.⁶⁸ 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 vizier 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.

 67. Tomb, PM 3², 293.

68. For example: *w3s-ptḥ*; *izi* (Urk. I, 42.15), *r'-wr* (Urk. I, 232.12), *nhbw* (90) (Urk. I, 220.12), and *ppy-nḥt* (Urk. I, 134.12).

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 49), and it is by no means certain 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 that way they 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).⁶⁹

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* in the pyramid temple of Pepy II.⁷⁰ That these two men represented the administration of

69. The date of the first *hrwy* is also uncertain, although opinion currently tends towards the fifth dynasty, for example, Fischer, Dendera, 11 n. 51.

70. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 48, 57.

Upper and Lower Egypt respectively has been suggested by Kees,⁷¹ but denied by Helck.⁷² 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 t3yty z3b t3ty with honorific function only, and no association with the practising holder of the title.⁷³

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 t3yty 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 ist "Vezir" also nicht die Bezeichnung eines Inhabers eines bestimmten Amtes, sondern bezeichnet den Träger einer bestimmten Befehlsgewalt, auch ohne Verbindung mit dem Amt eines Vezirs.⁷⁴

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 it is an entirely different matter for a title to 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.⁷⁵ Kanawati has affirmed such a situation for the period from the later fifth dynasty

71. Vezierat, 39 ff.

72. Beamtentitel, 116-7.

73. op. cit., 116, 136 ff.

74. op. cit., 116.

75. For a survey of the evidence for this, see Helck, Verwaltung, 19-28.

to the end of the Old Kingdom.⁷⁶

2. The Number of Memphite Viziers.

This problem is far more difficult to resolve. Table 50 sets out the distribution of viziers by date over the Old Kingdom. This is based on the sequence of viziers given in table 47, which is only very approximate, and for many of the viziers at the extremes of the periods in table 50 the assignation to a particular period is almost arbitrary; for example, hnm-nti 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. 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 hold-

76. Governmental Reforms, 15, 23-4, 30-3, 62-4, 75-7, 89-90, 94, 96, 112-3.

Table 50Distribution of Memphite Viziers by Date.

<u>Period (Years)</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Fourth - early Dyn. 5 (115)	16	0	7
Sahure - early Djedkare (45?)	8	0	6
Djedkare - end Dyn. 5 (51)	13	2	4
Teti - early Pepy I (35?)	7	1?	5
Mid Pepy I - early Pepy II (55)	9	2	6
Mid Pepy II - end Old Kingdom (90?)	14	5	6/7
Immediately post Old Kingdom	1	2	0

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.

ing the office of t3yty 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.⁷⁷ This reduces the number of successive viziers in this reign, and avoids the problems of having viziers of different types; whether Kanawati's juxtapositions of officials is correct is a different matter, based as they are partly on slightly suspect datings. As he points out, these two men 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

77. Governmental Reforms, 15.

(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.⁷⁸ 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. From some point in the later fifth dynasty the number of non-vizierial holders of the other major offices began to be reduced, resulting in no further non-vizierial *imy-r zš* 'nzwt and only a few overseers of works, *imy-r šnwtj* and *imy-r prwy-ḥd*. The number of holders of *imy-r ḥwt 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 of non-vizierial holders of these other titles. The complete disappearance of *imy-r zš* 'nzwt from non-vizierial titularies may have been to compensate for the increase in the number of viziers who held this title, so as to maintain two contemporary holders of the same office.

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 non-vizierial *imy-r k3t nbt* (nt) nzwt 'nh-izzi (26) and ḥzzi (98) may explain the low number of viziers with this title. As ḥzzi also held *imy-r šnwtj* and *imy-r prwy-ḥd* he may have completed further gaps.

The reign of Teti provides more substance for these theories concerning the vizierate. Kanawati believes the duality continued.⁷⁹ If

78. For example, the vizierial titulary of pth-ḥtp II is incomplete, and no holder of *imy-r ḥwt wrt 6* is yet known, with the exception of *hnm-nti* who could also belong to the next reign.

79. op. cit., 24-6.

one may be permitted to fill the gaps in the titulary of 'nh-m'-hr (30), then all the viziers of the reign held the same high offices. One also notes from this 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 with imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. One may certainly postulate in this reign the transfer of most power to the vizier; that there were two contemporary holders 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 this small group of men, which may be somewhat confirmed by the elaborate nature of their tombs. Two of the high titles of mrrw-k3i (68), imy-r šnwty and imy-r prwy-hd, appear only on the temenos wall of his tomb.⁸⁰ 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-gmni (151) or nfr-ssm-r' (88), and suggests a duality or at least overlapping of the office at that time. The extent of the similarity of the titularies of these viziers suggests that they may have encompassed similar functions but over different areas.⁸¹

As it does not seem that the high officials of Pepy I were buried near his pyramid but rather at a variety of locations in the memphite area,⁸² it is not easy to assign viziers to particular parts of his reign. This remained true until the commencement of the South Saqqara cemetery in perhaps the second quarter of the reign of Pepy II. hnty-k3i; ihhi (109) and mhw (69) were perhaps the first viziers of Pepy I. Their titularies are not totally alike (mhw was imy-r

80. Duell, Mereruka II, pl. 218A.

81. cf Kanawati, loc. cit.

82. id. ib., 34.

hwt wrt 6 and imy-r šm'w while hnty-k3i was imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt), 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 hnty-k3i with labour organisation, and both with the revenues. Kanawati argues for a duality of viziers for this period.⁸³ It is clear that at this time not all viziers held the same titles, and there are several who held very few indeed (r'-wr (93), mry-tti (63), zzi (114) and nfr-ššm-šš3t (89)). The titles omitted from the titularies of all these latter viziers were imy-r šnwty and imy-r prwy-ḥd. One may be able to juxtapose these men with the viziers who did hold these titles (pth-ḥtp (51), mrri (67), idw I; nfr (22) and 'nh-mry-r' (33)), and thus arrive at a balance. mry-tti (63) and nfr-ššm-šš3t; ḥnw (89) were imy-r hwt wrt 6, and as such may have provided counterparts for idw and 'nh-mry-r' who did not. r'-wr (93) 's function alongside these viziers would seem to have been that of imy-r šm'w, held otherwise only by mrri.

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-ḥr-ptḥ (150) were imy-r šnwty, and išfi, ny-s'nh-3ḥt (73), pth-špss (53) and mrri (66) were all imy-r prwy-ḥd. Clearly at this time the high offices were held by a greater number of individuals than in the reign of Teti.⁸⁴

83. op. cit., 34-5, 54.

84. 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.

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 t3yty z3b t3ty nb sr nb im, 'there being no vizier nor official there'.⁸⁵ As Kees has suggested, on a literal interpretation there would be no need for the first nb if there was only one vizier anyway.⁸⁶ 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 525), there is also the vizier hnw (108) shown in the original decoration. It is possible that he may have been contemporary with ihy-hnt (16) thus evidencing two simultaneous memphite viziers in the second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.⁸⁷ 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), sn'y (133), h'-b3w-hnmw (102), ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72) and tti (156)). Additionally, there was k3i-htp (149), impy (62) and s3bw-ptḥ (117), whose tombs were constructed elsewhere. There are also the less well-dated officials nb-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. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt became very infrequent, and only h'-b3w-hnmw; biw (102) and tti (156) held anything like a wide-ranging set of titles. The period immediately following

85. Urk. I, 100.15.

86. Provinzialverwaltung II, 596 n. 1.

87. cf Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 78-9.

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 help to fill some of the gaps with in the *imy-r šnwt^v* and *imy-r prwy-hd* (*hnmw-htp* (112) and *d3-mrw* (163), and *mn-'nh-ppy*; *mni* (56), *šdy-pt^vh* (134) and *izi* (18) at the end of the period), while other holders of these titles, especially of *imy-r šnwt^v*, are found in the provinces, both with viziers and non-viziers. The office of *imy-r šm'^vw* still appears occasionally with these memphite viziers (*šn'y* (133) and *h'-b3w-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 placed 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.⁸⁸

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 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

88. 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 šm'^vw* in the titulary of *h'-b3w-hnmw*.

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 50 the lack of a wide range of high administrative titles makes assessment of the situation difficult. It has been noted that among the viziers of the 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), *sš3t-htp; hti* (126) and *b3-b3f* (42) were appointed to work alongside the remaining true king's sons; two of them held *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* (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 šm'w* and *hm-ntr wnw-r hnty minw*.⁸⁹ 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 šmswt*, *hrp i3ts km*, *hry-tp nzwt m prwy*, *hw-* and *sdt nzwt* (the latter with *b3-b3f*). The first and last members

89. These are otherwise found with *'nh-h3f* (34), *hm-iwnw* (96) and the owner of Giza mastaba G7310 + 7320 (170), all of the reign of Khufu.

of this group of titles, and also the much rarer hm i3qs (b3-b3f),⁹⁰ were held again in the reign of Neferirkare by $\text{w3s}^{\vee}\text{-pth}$ (37), one of the first viziers not to bear the title of king's son. This implies some degree of similarity in titular and perhaps functions between $\text{w3s}^{\vee}\text{-pth}$ and his predecessors. Clearly, $\text{dw3-n-r}'$ 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 would seem possible.

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 largely unknown. This is the period where the vizier's highest rank is $\text{h3ty-}'$, $\text{iry p}'\text{t}$ being regained 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 46 are well-dated: wr-b3w-b3 (39) in the reign of Sahure, $\text{w3s}^{\vee}\text{-pth}$; izi (37) in that of Neferirkare and minw-nfr (55) in that of Neweserre. The others are less surely dated, but fit into the remainder of the period. $\text{pth-}^{\vee}\text{spss}$ is the only one among them not to bear hry-tp nzwt and $\text{imy-r z}^{\vee}\text{s}' \text{nzwt}$, although this may be due to his special position because of his relationship to Neweserre. Non-viziers holding $\text{imy-r z}^{\vee}\text{s}' \text{nzwt}$ and/or $\text{imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt}$ are very common, but only df3wi (167) and k3i (137) held imy-r prwy-hd and $\text{s}^{\vee}\text{smw}$ (127), $\text{ny-k3-r}'$ (80) and $\text{r}'\text{-}^{\vee}\text{spss}$ (95) (before vizierate) $\text{imy-r }^{\vee}\text{snwty}$.

 90. For the significance of this title, see Kees, ZAS 77 (1941), 24-5; Helck, Beamtentitel, 42.

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 *imy-r hwt wrt 6*. One has 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.

One final piece of evidence for a possible duality of the vizierate at certain periods may be the distribution of *imy-r hwt wrt 6*, a title held only by the vizier. It is the least common of the high administrative titles found in the titularies of *t3yty z3b t3ty*. Although its occurrences are not regular (see table 47), allowing for one or two extra examples in damaged or unknown titularies, its sporadic appearances may suggest that more than one vizier existed at the same time, so as to gain a more or less continuous line of holders of the office from the mid-fifth dynasty onwards. The only exception to this is the reign of Teti, when all viziers seem to have held this particular 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 then quite likely for much of the Old Kingdom. 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 less 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 earlier practice of a dual vizierate continued.

B. The Functions of the Office of t3yty z3b t3ty.

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. These duties vary according to the nature of the particular title, and attempts have been made above to ascertain what duties were associated with *imy-r hwt wrt 6*, *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, *imy-r šnwty* and *imy-r prwy-hd*. Broadly speaking, the duties would seem to fall into two classes. 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 of one official, it is perhaps likely that the changes noted, whereby gradually these high titles were transferred principally 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. One may thus view this change 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 simply as a mark of his importance and a reflection of final responsibility in matters. This view may equally be extended to cover other important offices that 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 that there were certain matters with which only he could deal (above page 314).

The following are the principal sources of information about the office of *t3yty z3b t3ty* in the Old Kingdom:

1. The names of two viziers appear in the Abusir Papyri. One, whose name begins with p (see above page 495), 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 was also a body of priests there named after *minw-nfr* (55), the vizier of Neweserre; they are shown delivering goods to the temple.⁹¹ 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,⁹² and that of Pepy II for the temple of Min at Koptos,⁹³

91. Posener-Krieger, *ArchAb* II, 568-70.

92. Borchardt, *ZAS* 42 (1905), 1-11, pl. I; *Urk.* I, 209-13; Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, 55-77.

93. Koptos B: Weill, *Les Décrets Royaux de l'Ancien Empire Egyptien*,

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: h3 rk r sht hn' (titulary) t3yty z3b t3ty šm3i ir nk (for rk ?) wpt-' n minw-gbtyw-s'nh-nfr-k3w-hr m b3wy smnh wpt tn m zš sip.k n (titulary) t3yty z3b t3ty šm3i swt m3' r hry htm md3t r iti r ht

'Go down to the fields with the vizier šm3i and make an inventory (?) for the estate "Min of Koptos causes Neferkauhor 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'.⁹⁴

4. Gunn published a papyrus, probably of the later sixth dynasty, that forms a complaint to the vizier about commands he had sent to the workmen at Tura.⁹⁵ 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

pl. 15; Urk. I, 280-3; Goedicke, op. cit., 87-116.

94. Koptos L: Weill, op. cit., pl. X; Urk. I, 295-6; Goedicke, op. cit., 165-71.

95. Now Cairo JE 49623: Gunn, ASAE 25 (1925), 242-55, pl. I a, b; futher comments, Gardiner, JEA 13 (1927), 75-8, Grdseloff, ASAE 48 (1948), 505-12.

r'-Yspss (95) is twice mentioned in this text;⁹⁶ the context is badly damaged, but Schott conjectures that it may be restored to show the vizier being sent to Tura to obtain a false door for the tomb of k3i-m-tnnt.⁹⁷

6. The biography of wni illustrates the legal functions of the vizier. He, as z3b iry n_hn, heard cases along with the vizier,⁹⁸ and heard the case against the queen of Pepy I alone, without the presence of the vizier.⁹⁹ 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 n_hn (cf. page 307).

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-t3wy for the estates and monuments of the Upper Egyptian Vizier idi: ir gr hry-tp sr nb nfr.n hsf.f ht m sp3t.f n rmt nb irt.ty.sn s_Yrw r ph nzwt t3yty z3b t3ty srw

'As for any local notable or official who does not punish anyone in his nome who shall damage these things until the king, vizier or officials come round'.¹⁰⁰

These would seem to be the principal references. Other letters, decrees and the like to viziers from the king are usually concerned with praising the individual, with the exception of those of Djedkare to s_{ndm}-ib; inti (120) relevant to labour organisation (see above

96. Urk. I, 183. 12, 17.

97. Fs Otto, 450.

98. Urk. I, 99. 5.

99. Urk. I, 100.15-6.

100. Urk. I, 306.2-8; Goedicke, op. cit., 215.

page 393 ff.).

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 408), 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 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, imy-r pr-hd and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt.

The function of the vizier in the Middle and New Kingdoms is somewhat clearer than in the Old.¹⁰¹ A wide range of texts show holders of the vizierate in charge of, for example, building works,¹⁰² expeditions,¹⁰³ the necropolis,¹⁰⁴ royal dockyards,¹⁰⁵ prisons,¹⁰⁶ military matters,¹⁰⁷ the installation of priests,¹⁰⁸ the legal system and revenues (both below).

The most convenient Ancient Egyptian source to consult for this

101. A summary of these may be found in Helck, Verwaltung, 44-50.

102. Inscription of Ramesses III in the temple of Maat at Karnak, Varille, Karnak I, 25.

103. Vizier imny in the reign of Senwosret I, Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. 8.

104. Vizier p3-sr, Naville, XIth. Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari, pl. 4 no. 4.

105. Vizier ini-itif iqr, reign of Senwosret I, Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, 20 D, 22 G, 23 (comments).

106. Thirteenth dynasty vizier 'nhw, Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum, 71, 72 (text), 82 and 85 (comments).

107. Deveria, Cat. Mss. Egn. du Louvre, no. X.6.

108. Vizier nfr-rnpt, Gardiner, RAD, 75.9.

subject is the so-called 'Duties of the Vizier' group of texts.¹⁰⁹ 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),¹¹⁰ 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, although some such titles are found in fourth dynasty titularies, possibly dating to the period before their promotion to vizier. 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 the necropolises and revenues little is known, but the presence of the titles *imy-r w'bty*, *imy-r šnwty* and *imy-r prwy-hd* in vizierial titularies strongly suggest that this was also an Old Kingdom responsibility.

109. 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 Middle 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).

110. 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, JEA 34 (1948), 31-4).

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 *t3yty 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.¹¹¹ The vizier of the Old Kingdom could have controlled the organisation of work on the land in his capacity as *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*.

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 *h3 n t3ty*, 'the office of the vizier'. The Old Kingdom exhibits no title that is compounded with the expression *t3yty 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 523); the other is cccc, *t3yty*, found alone on several monuments of *ztw*.¹¹² This title must be

 111. 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 *d3d3t* of the pyramid of Khufu.

112. Tomb, PM 3², 490-1; this title is on offering stands Cairo, CG 1298 and 1301 and block Cairo, CG 1494.

associated with the 'curtain' or 'door' element included in the term translated here as 'vizier'; it cannot be an abbreviation for $t3yty\ z3b\ \underline{t}3ty$ as the all-important $\underline{t}3ty$ element is missing (above page 496), and in addition $z\bar{t}w$'s simple titular ($rh\ nzwt, \underline{h}ry-s\bar{s}t3, z3b\ imy-r\ z\bar{s}$) 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 $\underline{h}3\ n\ \underline{t}3ty$ in the Old Kingdom was probably the conglomeration of important departments supervised by the vizier. Two stand out as being his particular concern: the courts ($\underline{h}wt\ wrt\ 6$) and the document offices ($iz\ n\ 'nzwt$ and associated departments). Doubtless the vizier would have needed his own personal bureaucracy, as shown by the existence of the title $z\bar{s}\ n\ \underline{t}3ty$ 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;¹¹³ titles of these types form the largest sub-groups in the titular 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. It is probable that the principal administrative centre of both viziers was in Memphis, with only a small bureaucracy in Upper

113. Such a collection of titles is given by Helck, Beamtentitel, 68-77.

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 *imy-r sm'w*.¹¹⁴ It will be noted that the *imy-r sm'w*, like the provincial vizier, often held the title of *imy-r snwty*, which is to be expected given their concern with the grain supply.¹¹⁵


Conclusions on t3yty z3b t3ty.

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

114. Martin-Pardey, Provinzialverwaltung, 158.

115. Some examples: 'nh-wnis of Thebes (Saleh, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, fig. 4), ny-'nh-ppy of Meir (Blackman, Meir V, pl. XII), ibi, d'w; sm3i and d'w of Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I and II, passim), and k3i-hp; tti of Hawawish (Newberry, AAA 4 (1912), 114).

the final authority on all matters, with the exception of 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 t3yty z3b t3ty is unknown. The officials discussed above cover the period from the beginning of the fourth dynasty onwards, although there is an isolated instance of this title from the end of the second or beginning of the third dynasty (mn-k3, above page 495). Sethe¹¹⁶ and Gardiner¹¹⁷ suggest that the term t3yty z3b t3ty be derived from the title  found on the Narmer Palette, although Helck views this differently.¹¹⁸ There are other titles from the early period which may have represented the later office of vizier.¹¹⁹ The office of vizier may thus have existed in the Archaic Period, but a continuous line of holders are 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.

116. Pyr. Übers. I, 11 (137d).

117. AEO I, 19 *.

118. Beamtentitel, 16-7.

119. Kaplony, Inschriften, 401, 405, 488-9.

CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis of titles shows that in the fourth dynasty there seem to have been two principal state offices, *t3yty z3b t3ty* and *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt*. Between them they probably controlled most of the areas of the administration, although the existence of some holders of *imy-r pr-hd* indicates that the 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 *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt*, others by the officials who were *imy-r k3t nbt*. The offices of *imy-r zš 'nzwt*, *imy-r hwt wrt* and *imy-r hwt wrt 6*, and *imy-r šnwt(y)* and *imy-r šnwt* were created; in addition, the offices of *imy-r prwy-hd* and *imy-r pr-hd*, the appearances of which had formerly been somewhat irregular, were organised in a more systematic manner.

Whether these changes took places simultaneously is not so immediately apparent. The earliest holders of *imy-r k3t nt nzwt* are recorded slightly before the reign of Neferirkare (*k3i-'pr* (139), *'nh-irs* (25)); the first holder of *imy-r zš 'nzwt* was *w3š-ptḥ* (37), a contemporary of Neferirkare; *imy-r hwt wrt* and *imy-r hwt wrt 6* appear in the pre- and post-vizierial titularies of *k3i* (136), perhaps early in the reign of Neweserre; titles relating to the offices of *imy-r šnwt(y)*

appear in the early fifth dynasty (3_{hi} (1) and iffi (10)) but the first recorded *imy-r šnwty* was *ph-n-wi-k3i* (45) or *ssmw* (127) in the time of Neweserre. *ph-n-wi-k3i* was also the first fifth dynasty holder of *imy-r prwy-hd*, which had previously appeared twice only in the fourth dynasty (*nfr* (84) and 3_{hi} (1)).

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 that were taking place at about the same time. In his study of the title sequences of the Old Kingdom, Baer has suggested that the introduction of 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 function of each more specific. As an example, the functions of the title *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 *imy-r zš '-nzwt* and *imy-r šnwty*, the responsibilities of the *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. Rank and Title, 296, 299-300.

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.² Most holders of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* in the fourth dynasty were also directly related 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 the kings, to open the higher state offices to men without affiliation to the royal family. This is most clearly illustrated by the non-royal viziers *dw3-n-r'*, *s33t-htp*; *hti* (126) and *b3-b3f* (42): if the vizierate was opened to men of such origins, other high offices could similarly be exercised by men not connected with the royal family. The transition was probably

2. It seems that none of these men 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 (Glanville, *ZAS* 66 (1931), 106) and the position held by the eldest sons of Ramesses II in the nineteenth dynasty.

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 *t3yty z3b t3ty* but no other important state offices; alongside them were appointed a sequence of men of non-royal birth who held *t3yty z3b t3ty* and other important offices, the principal of which was *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. 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 officials holding *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* 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 the administration as a result of the first.

The reasons for the first change must have been 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. 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 presence of the two short and very obscure reigns given in the Turin Canon. Menkaure, or whoever was responsible for authorising the change, may

have seen 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 king's sons.³

This change may be explained as an attempt to preserve some distinction between royal and non-royal individuals, now that the former were not included in the administration. In the later fifth dynasty, men with the title of *z3 nzwt* are again found holding administrative titles (for example *k3i-m-tnnt* (146) and *'nh-izzi* (26)), at which time the title *iry p't* again becomes part of the titulary of the vizier.

The next apparent change in the organisation of the administration, as witnessed by the number of holders of these high titles, 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.⁴ With regard to the high administrative titles, the most important change was a return to the practice of appointing more than one contemporary vizier, usually in the form of one 'Southern' or provincial holder and

 3. Some examples, Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 28-30, and the recently discovered *nsr-k3w-hr* (Verner, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 159; *id.*, *ZAS* 107 (1980), 164-5).

4. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 297, 300 - apart from minor changes in the ranking of many titles, royal priesthoods became far more elevated than before.

two men with the same title in the memphite region. It seems that such a practice had already been employed in the early fifth dynasty, but there is no evidence that it had continued beyond that time. However, from the reign of Djedkare onwards, it seems to have become a regular occurrence. Also in the later fifth dynasty occurred a change in status of the less-elevated titles considered in this work. Those of *imy-r šnwt*, *imy-r pr-ḥd*, and *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt* began to disappear, a process complete by the beginning of the sixth dynasty, leaving only the titles *imy-r šnwtj*, *imy-r prwy-ḥd* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*. The holders of these latter titles below the rank of vizier most frequently bore only one such office, another difference from the preceding period. Changes, this time connected with the status of the offices, also occurred in the two remaining administrative areas discussed in the previous chapters, those of the scribal and legal administrations. *imy-r ḥwt wrt* was the lesser of the two titles at the head of the legal administration: 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 under discussion. The change in respect of *imy-r zš'-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. Also, the range of high administrative titles in existence was reduced. This suggests a modification in the administration which was a reaction against the 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 (loc.

cit.). Such concern on the part of the king may also be reflected in these changes in the organisation of the highest administrative titles in the land. It is not possible to produce exact figures, but the number of tombs known in the memphite area 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 concentrate power in such a manner, but it must have seemed perhaps the only logical alternative at that time.

However, the factor of 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 consciously increased 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 can be made for nomarchs conducting on a provincial level tasks which may previously have been the preserve of a memphite overseer of works or *imy-r šnwtj* (for example, izi of Edfu). In addition, some further functions originally held by such officials may have been subsumed into the new office of *imy-r šm'w*, even though holders of this title were not buried in the provinces until the reign of Pepy I.⁵

To what extent was the decrease in holders of high-ranking administrative titles in the memphite region balanced by an increase 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

5. Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 53-4.

in the number of officials (apart from viziers) holding all titles except *imy-r hwt wrt*. The reign of Merenre is notable for its increase in the number of provincial administrators, from which time onwards are found most of the provincial and non-vizierial holders of the titles *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r prwy-ḥd*. There is such a close correspondence between the drop in memphite and the increase in provincial officials that there can be little doubt that the two were to a large extent complementary.

In the period before the reign of Pepy I, the evidence is less clear-cut. The reductions in the memphite administration were hardly balanced by the appointment of a vizier in the provinces. Some memphite officials must still have been very much concerned with provincial administration. On balance it is preferable to regard the changes in Memphis at the end of the fifth dynasty from a political rather than a 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 that contained a large number of officials holding more power than they considered desirable. It is nearly impossible to say 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 their employment and ability to organise manpower but also by their holdings of land in the form of funerary and other estates. Politicial 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 termed "Royal Decrees" may have been designed

to prevent such happenings.⁶ By the measures outlined above a large share of the power inherent in the administration was placed on the shoulders of the vizier(s), who no doubt would have been particularly highly trusted men; the remainder was split in such a way as to prevent any one lesser 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 by ideas such as those advanced above.⁷

From the above studies of the holders of these six important titles, it is clear that, at many times in the Old Kingdom, each was often held by more than one man simultaneously. This most frequently took the form of one vizier and one non-vizier having the same title, or at least a variant of it. The reason for this suggested above was that it would have been impossible for the vizier to have had a detailed knowledge of the day-to-day activity of the the 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 monuments is not at all certain; some evidence points to individuals acquiring their high offices in stages,⁸ although it is impossible to divide the titles of the majority of officials, while other material suggests the acquisition of many titles simultaneously. In the case of the vizier it is possible that very many of his titles were acquired

6. 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)).

7. The alternative view, that it was a complete failure as the Old Kingdom eventually collapsed, is the less likely (cf. Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 131).

8. Two examples are ny-k3i-'nh (75) and ssmw (127) (above page 379).

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^v '-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 this position.

Different links are visible between the titles. Prior to the restriction of *imy-r zš^v '-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 all the others, but were doubtless linked to all of them in the course of disputes which arose in each department.

The extent to which an official's earlier career affected the selection of high offices he eventually reached becomes less clear the further up the ranking scale one chooses to look. In the case of such relatively low-ranking titles as *imy-r šnwt*, *imy-r pr-hd* and *imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt*, the evidence for the holder having previously functioned in similar but more lowly positions is quite clear. Examining the titularies of non-viziers who held, for example, *imy-r zš^v '-nzwt* or *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, such a common thread may still be found, but it is not always obvious, and there are cases where the official's previous career bore no relationship at all to the higher office he eventually attained. Finally, the viziers' titles give clues only in very few

cases as to the nature of their earlier careers.

Given the often contradictory evidence as to which phases in an official's career were represented by the titles he chose to have inscribed on his monuments, it is evident that one is discussing a system of administration in which a man's experience of the department(s) in question was of less importance the further he advanced up the promotional ladder. The two obvious explanations are that proven experience in administration was of more relevance than a detailed knowledge of the job 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 a great deal. It cannot be doubted that this personal aspect was by far the most important when it came to the selection of individuals for the highest positions.

The extent to which royal favour extended in the promotion of some officials may be exemplified by the career of ty (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 was basically that of iri šn, usually translated "hairstresser". Any individual carrying out such personal service to 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 highly honoured, such as ny-'nh-hnmw and hnmw-htp, who were manicurists. However, the magnificence of the tomb of ty surpasses that of other men of broadly 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 zš '-nzwt. His high standing with the king can be the only explanation for these promotions.

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 is found in the study of the vizierate. There can be no question that the individuals chosen for this position must have come from a very highly trusted group of officials. This was presumably the reason why the position was originally granted only to members of the royal family, a decision that in time seems to have given rise to unexpected problems. The titularies of the viziers of the fourth dynasty do not show that all these men necessarily held the other high office (*imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*) in existence at that time. This raises the intriguing matter of the extent to which the vizier actually held the other high titles mentioned in the same sequences as *t3yty z3b t3ty*.

The material used in arguing these points is often contradictory. *k3i* (136) continued to hold the offices of *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt* and *imy-r zš^v '-nzwt* after his promotion to vizier, but *imy-r hwt wrt* was replaced by *imy-r hwt wrt 6*; the title of *imy-r zš^v '-nzwt* evident in the earlier career of *sšm-nfr III* (131) does not reappear in his vizierial titulary, while the reverse is true of his title of *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt* - it is only found after his promotion. As argued above, it is probable that the viziers exercised the powers of the other titles they held to different extents in different reigns. The reign of Teti is a good example: it seems that all five or six viziers who can 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.

The vizierate also provides some evidence regarding the timing and likelihood of an official's promotion to this supreme office. Several men, such as *k3i* and *sšm-nfr III* above, commenced the building of their tombs at a time when they were below the rank of vizier, but for the

majority of holders of $t_3yty\ z_3b\ t_3ty$ there is no evidence that they constructed their tombs before their tenure of the vizierate. The possibility is thus suggested that an official might know by a certain point in his career whether or not he was likely to be promoted to the vizierate, 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 $t_3ty\ sktt$ in a tomb (that of $hnmw$; $hnm-nti$ (111)), which perhaps indicated a vizier designate who died before attaining the full office of $t_3yty\ z_3b\ t_3ty$. The promotion of officials such as k_3i and $ssm-nfr$ III is perhaps to be explained by the death of such designated viziers. One in fact wonders whether many officials, particularly those of the later fifth and sixth dynasties, ever held some of their high titles for any length of time or even exercised these offices at all before their promotion to the vizierate; this is an example of royal patronage working to its fullest extent. A man might be considered as a potential vizier at a relatively early age and would be prepared for that position. This would have happened well before he had been granted the privilege of burial in the royal necropolis, which, as is suggested by the death of $sndm-ib$; $inti$ (120) before his tomb was complete, would not have been particularly early in his career. An official would apparently put off the construction of his tomb until he felt he had reached a stage in life where further promotion, permitting further titles to be inscribed in his tomb and perhaps more wealth to be used in its construction, was unlikely.

Extending this idea to the rest of the administration in the Old Kingdom, each official may have fitted into a particular group, the potential for promotion from which would depend on his background, abilities and standing with the ruler of the time. Thus there may have been one group, the culmination of whose careers could be the vizierate,

and others who could reach the high echelons of the administration, and so on. One further such group, barely noted in these pages, comprised those men who held a large number of 'courtly' and high-ranking honorific titles, but whose titularies are conspicuously lacking in offices of a more practical and administrative nature.⁹ These men must have formed a 'court', perhaps in personal attendance on the king, almost certainly exercising what ritual significance remained in their titles, but with no proper civil functions.

No clear promotional path is discernable among the highest officials of the Egyptian Administration of the Old Kingdom. It must be repeated that, beyond a certain level, 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 in a new group of men to the administrative system of the day. The high officials buried around the pyramids of Wenis and Teti would seem to be examples of men who rose to particular prominence with their king; others, such as sndm-ib; mhi (121), seem to have remained in important positions for two reigns.

The remaining comments cover several smaller points which have not warranted a place in the preceding chapters.

Concerning the administration at the end of the Old Kingdom, several of the officials dated above to the reign of Pepy II may well have served during the brief period of the seventh and eighth dynasties,

9. Some examples are pr-nb (PM 3², 497), tp-m-'nh (PM 3², 343) and hnmw-htp (PM 3², 578).

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 office found most frequently at that time was *imy-r šnwty*; there are at most one or two holders of all the others. The only certain memphite vizier of First Intermediate Period date is *t̄tw* (160); unlike many of his predecessors, he did not bear the title of *imy-r zš 'nzwt*, which suggests the beginnings of a break with the Old Kingdom tradition. The remaining viziers known from the end of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period were active in Upper Egypt, and were not particularly numerous - *šm3i* and *idi* at Koptos and *hnqw*; *iy...f* and *hm-r'*; *izi* at Deir el Gebrawi. As Kanawati has noted, this suggests only one memphite and one provincial vizier at this time;¹⁰ it would appear that some of the major Old Kingdom administrative titles temporarily disappeared until the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, when some semblance of the older order was restored.

The situation at the beginning of the Old Kingdom is far more obscure. Some of the titles discussed above appear without doubt in the reign of Sneferu. Titles which may relate to those of *t3yty z3b t3ty* and *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* 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 developments in other areas, notably funerary architecture and practices.

 10. Governmental Reforms, 98-9.

An examination of the locations of the burials of these officials shows, not surprisingly, no consistency within each title. However, looking at this group as a whole, one finds more of a pattern. 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, and others for the highest non-royal individuals (the Western Cemetery). The tombs of the fifth dynasty are different in that they do not cluster around the pyramids of the kings whom their owners served. This is often seen as an indication of the growing independence of the private officials.¹¹ In view of what has been suggested above as a reason 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 such an attempt to emphasise the division between the king and his highest officials. The fact that most officials from the early fifth dynasty until the end of the reign of Djedkare were buried in what may be termed the Northern Cemetery at Saqqara suggests the designation of this area as a burial ground by one of the kings of the early fifth dynasty. Certain very favoured individuals were permitted tombs in the area of the pyramids at Abusir; indications from recent excavations suggest the possibility that it may have been the burial place of many other members of the royal family, including those who no longer formed part of the administration of the land but whose right to a distinguished burial-place had not changed.¹²

 11. For example by Baer, Rank and Title, 301.

12. Note the tombs found recently at Abusir, especially that of the z3 nzw t n ht.f nsr-k3w-hr (Verner, ZAS 105 (1978), 159 and ZAS 109 (1980), 164-5).

During both the fifth and sixth dynasties, only occasional burials of important men are found at Giza - the reasons for this must be in connection with family ties or some similar special reason which is no longer apparent.

A change may be seen at the end of the fifth 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 a result of the 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, a period which saw power concentrated on very few men, almost all of whom were buried near the pyramid of the ruler they served.

It is evident from the officials dated to the reign of Pepy I that, as far as the available material is concerned, the above policy was reversed. Perhaps the policy of burying the highest officials around the royal pyramid, as in the reign of Teti, had some as yet unknown undesirable consequences and the above-noted policy ensued. That the same situation is evident for the reign of Merenre is surely to be attributed to the shortness of his reign not allowing time for any new policy to develop.



Pepy II returned to the older practice, and the majority of tombs of important officials of the memphite region are to be found around his pyramid at South Saqqara. These date from the second quarter of his reign and later, that is, from the time of the construction of the pyramid onwards. Some officials buried in that cemetery must have exercised their authority in later reigns; only with the advent of the First Intermediate Period is there evidence of another shift in burial location, this time to the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. It may be speculated


that the importance of the area from this time on was because the administration of the necropolis was centred there.

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 until after the eighth dynasty. 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 evidence for the officials who ran the administration ever finding themselves in a position where their power rivalled that of the king. Many reasons have been advanced 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.

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INDICES

ERRATA

Page 578 The order of nhri and nhbw should be reversed.

Page 580 shtpw (122) should be placed before shm-'nh-pt (123).

Following ss3t-shntyw the order should be: sšmw (127), sšmw (128), sšm-nfr (129), sšm-nfr (130), sšm-nfr (131), sšm-nfr; ifi, sšm-nfr; hb3 and st-k3i.

Page 585 hry-sšt3 n md3t n hwt wrt should be placed before hry-sšt3 n hwt wrt.

Page 587 smn should be placed before sntr.

Egyptian Officials

* indicates page of entry in Prosopography

For entries without a qualifier (a place name or number), the references do not all necessarily refer to the same individual.

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