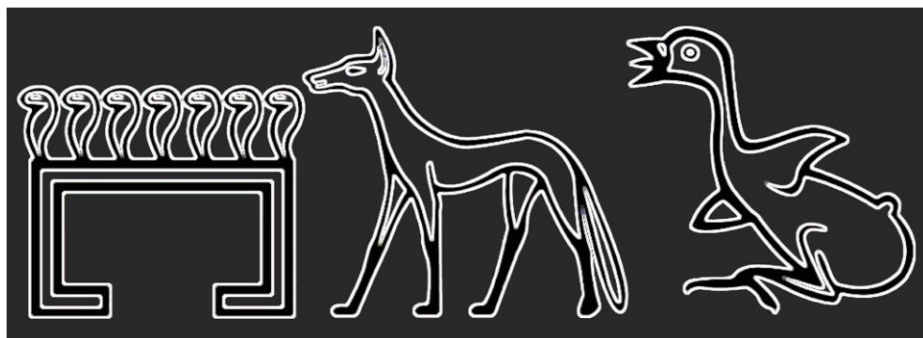


A Study of the Memphite Vizierate of Old Kingdom Egypt

The Beginnings | The Age of Ma'at | The Age of Magic

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Research

Macquarie University – Sydney

21/10/2019

For John

DECLARATION

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed) S. Lee Joe Date: 18/10/2019

ABSTRACT

Previous research revealed that the Fifth Dynasty's use of legal titles declined in the Sixth Dynasty, and the reason for that decline was researched in this study. When selected titles of Old Kingdom Viziers were grouped, they identified how the reforms of the kings affected the structure of the Vizierate of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties. The interactions between ranks and titles across these dynasties revealed the reforms of the kings in the Vizierate structure.

A simple Vizierate structure of the Fourth Dynasty showed three functional groups of royal Viziers, equally ranked and distinguished by *z3 nswt* titles and the phallus symbol. The gradual transition of the Vizierate from royal holders of the office to non-royals, with the non-royals initially identified as the foster child of the king, was discerned in the early Fifth Dynasty. The introduction of legal titles and a standardised ranking system defined the hierarchical structure of the Fifth Dynasty, with the ranking of the overseers of Upper Egypt differing from the other Viziers of that Dynasty. The Sixth Dynasty Vizierate structure and its focus varied vastly from that of the Fifth Dynasty as a result of the introduction of the pyramid texts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACE Reports	Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports
ACE Studies	Australian Center for Egyptology Studies
<i>Ä&L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
ArOr	<i>Archív Orientální. Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies</i>
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
CASAE	Cahiers. Supplément aux ASAE
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i>
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
LD	K. R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> , (Berlin, 1849-58)
PM	Porter and Moss: <i>Topographical Bibliography</i>
UCEA	University of California Publications: Egyptian Archaeology

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction, Evidence and Hypothesis

This study builds on previous research on the title *ḥm-ntr-M3ʿt*,¹ the findings of which revealed that this title accompanied other *legal* titles. While introduced and prominent in the Fifth Dynasty, when the ideology and the concept of Maʿat² that governed law and order, these *legal* titles had declined by the mid-Sixth Dynasty. What was the cause of the decline of these legal titles? Why did legal activities dominate the Fifth Dynasty but not the Fourth or the Sixth Dynasties? Given that the kings could have different models of kingship,³ was it possible that the aim of the state administration for each Dynasty was different? Therefore, based on the theory that the kings' policies were reflected in the titles of their Viziers, this research was aimed to study the Memphite Vizierate of the Old Kingdom to find the focus of each Dynasty, that is, the Fourth, Fifth, and the Sixth.

As the king's right-hand man,⁴ the Vizier was an intermediary between the king and his people, with his office at the apex of a hierarchical administrative structure. His composite title was identified by the most impressive rendition of symbols,⁵ , the meaning of which

¹ A study of the "Titles of *ḥm-ntr M3ʿt* and the Palaeographic Rendition of Goddess *M3ʿt* in the Old Kingdom, Egypt" was undertaken in a Minor Research Project in 2012, which remains unpublished.

² "Maʿat is right order in nature and society, as established by the act of creation, and hence means, according to the context, what is right, what is correct, law, order, justice and truth. This state of righteousness needs to be preserved or established, in great matters as in small. Maʿat is therefore not only right order but also the object of human activity. Maʿat is both the task which man sets himself and also, as righteousness, the promise and reward which await him on fulfilling it;" S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1992), 113; J. Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton (New York, 2001), 3–6.

³ B. Ockinga, 'Amarna Kingship', in G. Callender (ed.) *Aegyptiaca, Essays on Egyptian Themes* (Sydney, 1996), 77–78. Ockinga describes the different models of the relationship between the god and the king. The king being the god's earthly equivalent before the Fourth Dynasty, then the Son of Re in the Fourth Dynasty with the king as the son of the divine king, Re. The son can be as either equal of his father or a junior partner; M. Bárta, 'Egyptian Kingship during the Old Kingdom', in J.A. Hill, P. Jones, A.J. Morales (eds), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority* (Philadelphia, 2013), 257–83.

⁴ A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 104; B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient History: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 84, the Vizier... 'next to the king, his was the ultimate responsibility for fiscal, administrative and judicial affairs'; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Part I (New York, 1953), 62.

⁵ A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford, 1999), 494, O16/17 (gateway?); 460, E17 jackal; 473, G47, duckling, respectively; The chronological evidence of the title

remains vague.⁶ The archaeological and textual evidence from the Memphite and provincial necropolises⁷ have provided sufficient background to assemble the history of the state administration of the Old Kingdom (2543-2150 BCE)⁸ within its chronological boundaries.⁹ However, the lack of research into the Office of the Vizier, on which the kings' governance depended, still exists and requires further study.¹⁰

The key to understanding the history of ancient Egypt, its achievements and failures, is to comprehend the functions and focus of the centrally planned administration based on the kings'

Vizier from *ḥty* to the tripartite title *ḥty zḥ ḥty* is discussed by M.W.B. George, "Going Governmental for Administration": An investigation of the evolution of the structure and function of Egyptian administration in the Pre and Early Dynastic periods (PhD thesis, Macquarie University; Sydney, 2019); V. Dulíková, 'Some notes on the title of 'Vizier' during the Old Kingdom, especially on the hieroglyphic phallus-sign in the vizier's title', in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/1* (Prague, 2011), 328–30; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and Their Holders* (London, 1985), 300, 304–5.

⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, 304–5; Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of 'Vizier'*, 328–30.

⁷ The Old Kingdom Viziers researched for this study are interred in the Memphite necropolises of Abusir, Dashur, Giza, Meidum, and Saqqara.

⁸ M. Bárta, Radjedef to the Eighth Dynasty, in W. Grajetzki and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopaedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2017), 3. UCLA Encyclopaedia of Egyptology (UEE),

<<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002kcsx4>> accessed 31.07.2018; The period which stretches from the height of pyramid building. B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilization* (Oxon, 2006), 184–92; to the construction of a new pyramid complex with sun temples, M. Verner, *Abusir, The Necropolis of the Sons of the Sun* (Cairo, 2017), 51–90; to introducing the pyramid texts, N. Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1998), 125–28; I. Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 2003), 102–3; and to the decline of the Old Kingdom, M. Bárta, 'Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium B.C.', in J.C.M. García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 174–5; Shaw, *Ancient Egypt*, 106–07; N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster, 1977); R. David, *Religion and Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2002).

⁹ W.G. Waddell, *Manetho: With an English translation by W.G. Waddell* (Cambridge, 1940); A.H. Gardiner, *The Royal canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959); T.A.H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and its associated fragments* (London, 2000); K. Ryholt, 'The Turin King-List', *Ä&L* 14, (2004), 135–55.

Academia<https://www.academia.edu/5564190/The_Turin_King-List> accessed 30/6/2018; D.D. Baker, *The Encyclopedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs, Vol.1, Predynastic through Twentieth Dynasty, 3300–1069BC* (Oakville, 2008), 26; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and scene content* (London, 1987); E. Brovarski, 'A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom', in S.E. Thompson, P. Der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond, Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005* (Charlestown, 2008) 49–89; D.J. Brewer, E. Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians* (Cambridge, 2008); M.K. Hartwig, *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (West Sussex, 2015); M. Verner, *The Pyramids: Their Archaeology and History* (London, 2002); B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 184–92; J.C.M. García, 'The Study of Ancient Egyptian Administration' in J.C.M. García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013); M. Verner, *Sons of the Sun: Rise and Decline of the Fifth Dynasty* (Prague, 2014); A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: State and Society* (Oxford, 2014).

¹⁰ The Vizierate was studied by Strudwick more than thirty years ago, and more recently in 2008 by Dulíková; Strudwick, *Administration*, 1985; V. Dulíková, *Institution of Vizierate in the Old Kingdom*, (Diploma thesis, Charles University in Prague; Prague, 2008).

policies,¹¹ from its inception in the Fourth-Dynasty and to follow its fluctuating changes according to the dogma of the divine kingship.¹² The policies to reform the country originated from the king and are reflected in the titularies of his officials. These provide a significant source of information about Egyptian administration. Through the recording of ranks and a select few titles found in the titularies of the seventy-six Viziers, a comparative analytical study of these Viziers over the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties was undertaken. This method revealed a range of findings, some new to the study of the Vizierate of the Old Kingdom.¹³

¹¹ The evidence of the breakdown of each Dynasty and the ‘handover’ during its transitional period remains vague. See a summarised and collective version of the reforms in M. Bárta, ‘Egyptian Kingship during the Old Kingdom’, in J.A. Hill, P. Jones, A.J. Morales (eds), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority* (Philadelphia, 2013), 272–74.

¹² Shaw, *Ancient Egypt*, 98. According to the Papyrus Westcar and Manetho’s division the Fifth Dynasty could link to a major change in Egyptian religion and the ancient Egyptian tradition; Ockinga, *Amarna Kingship*, 77–78; Bárta, *Egyptian Kingship*, 257–62.

¹³ Due to the word limit of this study, only significant findings were included.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Literature Review

This literary study of the Vizierate is presented in chronological order by publication. The Literature Review identifies some essential concepts and theories proposed by scholars in their research of the state administration and the Vizierate.

2.1.1 Hans Wolfgang Helck (1954)¹⁴

Helck¹⁵ concluded that the members of the royal family oversaw the Vizierate at the start of the Fourth Dynasty. By the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties, the royals were excluded from the state administration and the non-royals appointed. However, the royals still held their rank titles *iry-p^ct*, *ḥ3ty-^c*, and *smr-w^cty*,¹⁶ while the non-royals Viziers were assigned the lesser rank *ḥ3ty-^c*. It was not until the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty that some of the Fourth-Dynasty titles were revived when the Viziers again held the rank *iry-p^ct* and the titles which scholars refer to as “archaic” titles.¹⁷ Helck argued that the revival of the archaic titles was due to the Egyptians belief that the titles held by the princes were magical with the “power to command.”¹⁸

Helck’s arguments are valid as the ranks distinguish the separation of the royal from the non-royal Viziers at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. The reason for the resurgence of the archaic titles in the latter Fifth Dynasty is not clear. However, ancient Egyptian beliefs were imbued in

¹⁴ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, (Gluckstadt, 1954).

¹⁵ Courtesy of Baer. This monograph written in German was difficult to translate, even with the help of Google Translate, hence for this time-restricted research, Baer’s summary of Helck’s results deemed sufficient. See K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), 2–3.

¹⁶ D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (BAR IS 866 I:II); (Oxford, 2000), 315[1157], ‘hereditary prince/nobleman, “keeper of the patricians”’, Jones *Index* I, 496–497[1858], count; Jones *Index* II, 892[3268], sole companion.

¹⁷ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 2.

¹⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 2.

magic¹⁹ so it is probable, as Helck suggests, the titles held by the royals were believed to hold magical properties.

2.1.2 Klaus Baer (1960)²⁰

Baer tested his statistical method of research, which contained a series of ‘two or more titles in a single line’²¹ and concluded that king Neferirkare introduced a standardised system of ranking the titles. This system was modified by subsequent kings giving Baer nine periods of chronological modification from the reign of Neferirkare to the end of Pepy II, on which he based his dating criteria. Strings of titles not conforming to this range were relegated to the Fourth Dynasty or the end of the Old Kingdom. Baer also provided a list of reforms under several kings and attested the founder of the Sixth Dynasty to Unis instead of Teti.²²

While Baer’s rank charts are complex and complicated to follow, his summary of the reforms under kings and his extensive corpus of tombs provide an invaluable resource.²³ According to Baer, the standardised ranking system from the reign of Neferirkare replaced a rather informal system of the Fourth Dynasty. Would a further investigation of the titles provide an insight into the administrative structure of the Fourth Dynasty?

2.1.3 T.G.H. James (1963)²⁴

James’ book review of Baer’s *Rank and Title* brings more clarity to Baer’s research as James also acknowledges the method used by Baer is rather unusual and refers to it as “a cranky approach to a serious subject...”

¹⁹ especially in the afterlife.

²⁰ Baer, *Rank and Title*.

²¹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 19–26, three Viziers from the Sixth: Mereruka, Ibi, Pepyankh the Middle; 28–31, three Viziers from the Fifth: Washptah; Izi, Ptahhotep, Akhethotep; 31–34, two Viziers from the Fourth: Kainefer and Seshathetep-Heti, 31–34.

²² Baer, *Rank and Title*, 296–98.

²³ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 51–159.

²⁴ T.G.H. James, review of K Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), *JAOS* 83 (1963), 119–20.

While James concedes Baer's bibliography is a good source for further research, he argues that the method taken by Baer is fraught with difficulties. However, James' principal argument is that the Egyptians were "not systematic people", and therefore, an official system of arranging the titles in a sequence did not exist, and any changes in the ranking system were due to "custom and the natural development of offices".

As suggested by James, while Baer's method is complicated and difficult to follow, it provides a certain orderly system in the listing of the titles which may or may not have been officially standardised but could have depended on the official's preference of the order it was inscribed in his tomb. One wonders if the official enjoyed a certain role more than another, leading to the variability in the order of listing of titles.

2.1.4 Naguib Kanawati (1977)²⁵

Kanawati, in his statistical study of tombs in the Memphite region and the Provinces, addresses the question of the kings' authority and the influence of the officials who appear to become very wealthy as was indicated by the size and rich decoration of tombs, and by the vast number of titles they held. Among other officials, he investigated forty-one Viziers.

Kanawati grouped the officials according to their titles into four categories: 'Viziers' 'Higher', 'Middle' and 'Lower' officials.²⁶ The results of his research revealed that a career progression to a higher level was possible. The promotion of an official depended on him receiving any of the titles from a group above him, which then affected his financial position. Kanawati also concluded that a downward trend in the size of the tombs was seen in all the dynasties. This was observed after a sudden peak at the beginning of the reigns of certain kings, especially Menkaure, Djedkare, Unis, Teti, and in the middle of Pepy II's reign. In this study, Kanawati also provided a relative chronology of the tombs.

²⁵ Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*.

²⁶ Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 9–34.

However, there seems to be a distinct gap in the titles of the ‘Higher’ and ‘Middle’ officials, and the question arises, does Kanawati’s ‘Higher’ group comprise titles mostly for royal Viziers and the ‘Middle’ group, the non-royal Viziers? The fluctuations in ranks stated in Helck and Baer’s studies have already identified prerogatives of the royals. The differing size of the tombs in Kanawati’s study might allude to Viziers with different backgrounds and responsibilities within the administration. Perhaps even to a different alignment in the structure of the Vizierate, which deserves further investigation.

Kanawati’s approach to studying the size of the tombs according to the officials’ hierarchical status is innovative. However, this study was undertaken in 1977, and since then, several other tombs have been discovered and recorded. For instance, Kanawati studied forty-one Viziers, but the recent count of the Viziers is eighty-nine.

2.1.5 Naguib Kanawati (1980)²⁷

In *Governmental Reforms*, Kanawati analysed the ‘Higher’ group of officials from the central administration, including the Provinces, and established the main administrative reforms from the reigns of kings Djedkare to Pepy II.²⁸

Kanawati concluded it was probably in the reign of Djedkare that two Viziers resided at Memphis, and one Vizier took residence at Akhmim, Nome 9.²⁹ However, after the recent re-excavation and re-recording of tombs at Meir³⁰ and Deir el-Gabrawi,³¹ Lashien studied the Office of the Vizier in the Provinces, and the results of her study are discussed below.

²⁷ N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1980).

²⁸ Kanawati, *Government Reforms*, 128–31.

²⁹ Kanawati, *Government Reforms*, 11.

³⁰ N. Kanawati, *The Cemetery of Meir: The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle*, Vol. 1 (*ACE Reports* 31, Oxford, 2012); N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *The Cemetery of Meir: The Tomb of Pepyankh the Black*, Vol. 1I. (*ACE Reports* 34, Oxford, 2014); N. Kanawati, et. al, *The Cemetery of Meir: The Tomb of Niankhpepy the Black*, Vol. III. (*ACE Reports* 38, Oxford, 2015).

³¹ N. Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi: The Northern Cliff*, Vol. 1 (*ACE Reports* 23, Oxford, 2005); N. Kanawati, *The Southern Cliff: The Tomb of Ibi and Others*, Vol. II (*ACE Reports* 25, Oxford, 2007); N. Kanawati, *The Southern Cliff, The Tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau*, Vol. III (*ACE Reports* 32, Oxford, 2013).

2.1.6 Nigel Strudwick (1985)³²

Strudwick provided a deeper understanding of the functions of the Vizierate by building on the research of other scholars and incorporating the results of the five highest administrative titles into his study of the Vizierate. Several observations emerged from Strudwick's research relevant to this study of state administration, and particularly the Vizierate. His findings showed various changes over the three Dynasties: fluctuations of rank and function, and vagueness of some titles which are discussed as follows;

1. Like Helck and Baer, Strudwick also conceded that granting the lower rank *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* to the Viziers fluctuated. He suggested two phases of variations, from Neferirkare to Djedkare, and from later Pepy 1 to early Pepy II reign.³³ This observation is interesting as it has already been suggested the fluctuations in ranks from Neferirkare to Djedkare was caused by the transition of the Vizierate from royals to the non-royals. When Strudwick compared the Memphite holders of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* with the provincial Viziers, he observed that the provincial viziers held the higher rank *iry pꜥt* as opposed to their Memphite counterparts holding *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* during the later reign of Pepy 1 to early Pepy II. This research does not include the provinces, but one wonders if any particular titles were favoured by the royals that were exempt from the non-royals in the Sixth Dynasty and if the fluctuations in ranks were caused by nepotism.³⁴
2. Strudwick observed the rank *ḥry-tp-nswt*, and the titles *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt* and *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*,³⁵ related to scribal and legal activities, were not found in the common Vizieral honorifics of the Fourth Dynasty and later in the Sixth Dynasty. He postulated *ḥry-tp-nswt* might have been a pre-requisite of a Vizier's career. Strudwick also identified the

³² N. Strudwick, *Administration*.

³³ With two exceptions, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 301.

³⁴ See the review of Kanawati's article on nepotism below. N. Kanawati, 'Nepotism in the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty,' *BACE* 14, (2003), 39–59.

³⁵ The overseers of the Great Mansions, Strudwick, *Administration*, 176–98.

disappearance of *legal* titles from the reign of Pepy I. This writer also observed the disappearance of legal titles in a previous study of the title *Priest of Ma'at*.³⁶ Strudwick commented that only the Viziers held the title *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, an important legal title, which was in use until the end of the Old Kingdom.³⁷ Since *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* was a prerogative of the Viziers, this title will be considered in this study.

3. Strudwick found that the meaning of many “infrequent and honorific titles” held by fifteen Viziers from the end of the Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Sixth Dynasty was difficult to establish.³⁸ One wonders what common factor linked these Viziers, and would a re-analysis of the titles reveal their commonality?
4. Strudwick found the co-existence of several Viziers challenging to explain. He proposed the duality in the Vizierate from the late Fifth Dynasty, but the division in their responsibilities has been difficult to establish. Strudwick suggested the possibility of the existence of a principal Vizier with the grooming of a junior Vizier,³⁹ an interesting suggestion which will be considered in this study.
5. While Strudwick identified that the most common religious titles held by the Viziers were *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and *hrp-ḳt-nbt-ntrt*, the scope of his thesis was a select few civil administrative titles; therefore, he gave the religious titles only a cursory study.

In an ancient society with profound religious beliefs, perhaps the inclusion of the religious titles in this current study could provide a better understanding of the administrative structure.

³⁶ The disappearance of legal titles correlates with this writer's research of the title *Priest of Ma'at* with similar results indicating that legal titles either disappeared or diminished by mid-Sixth Dynasty, and the portrayal of the image of Goddess Ma'at was perhaps represented in a diminished form during this period.

³⁷ Strudwick *Administration*, 188.

³⁸ Strudwick *Administration*, 311.

³⁹ The Vizierate of the Memphite region was held by two contemporary Viziers from the reign of Djedkare to the end of the Old Kingdom, Strudwick, *Administration*, 326–27, 334.

6. The three elements of the title *Vizier*, along with the appendage of the phallus symbol and the word “*m3ꜥ*”, have been briefly discussed by Strudwick. However, its meaning remains unresolved, and until the structure of the Vizierate and the fluctuations and meanings of the titles are established, the significance of the symbols will remain unclear.

Strudwick’s meticulous prosopographical data of the Viziers will be updated, and selected titles used in this current study, and the list of selected titles can be found in the prosopography of this paper.

2.1.7 Naguib Kanawati (1992)⁴⁰

Kanawati, in his review of Strudwick’s monograph, acknowledged Strudwick’s research was “sound and based on maximum evidence” and commended his contribution to the understanding of the administrative system of the Old Kingdom. However, he raised concerns about Strudwick’s chronological placing of Vizier *Ttw* to the First Intermediate Period.

Strudwick considered three criteria for a relative dating of Vizier *Ttw*; the tomb location, the shape of the panel on the false door, and his titulary. Nevertheless, Kanawati, in each instance, disagreed with the dates of the proposed criteria.

Strudwick, based on the location of *Ttw*’s tomb in the south of Teti cemetery, concluded that if *Ttw* served Pepy I then his tomb should be among those of other officials of Pepy I in the north of the Teti cemetery instead of its location in the south; the location of the tombs of the First Intermediate Period. However, Kanawati argued that the evidence based on recent excavations suggested that the northern cemetery was part of the unified plan dated to Teti and Pepy I. It is most probable that *Ttw*, like Vizier *Rꜥwr*, belonged to the latter part of Pepy I’s reign as both were buried in the south when the northern cemetery was probably full.

⁴⁰ N. Kanawati, review of N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), *JEA* 78 (1992), 326–28.

According to Strudwick, the T-shaped panel of the false door came into common use in the reign of Pepy II, which led him to consider a later date for *Ttw*, while Kanawati argued that examples of this type of panel had also been found in the reign of Pepy I.

Furthermore, Strudwick observed *Ttw*'s titulary was like Mereruka's which led him to propose that *Ttw* had borrowed these titles to reflect the past "looking back to former greatness", while Kanawati argued that there was no evidence of "borrowing" of titles during the First Intermediate Period.

Considering these three dating criteria, Strudwick proposed the First Intermediate Period for Vizier *Ttw* while Kanawati believes that Vizier *Ttw* should be dated to the later reign of Pepy I.

Kanawati, however, conceded there were a lot of anomalies in the dating of the officials and that inscripational and art representations should also be considered when dating a tomb and suggested more research was needed to refine the relative chronology of the Old Kingdom.

For this research, while Strudwick's chronology will be used, other dates proposed by scholars will also be taken into consideration.

2.1.8 Naguib Kanawati (2003)⁴¹

In this article, Kanawati compiled evidence from the Sixth Dynasty tombs to test the extent of nepotism in the Sixth Dynasty by tracing the holders of the name "Seshseshet", originally the name of King Teti's mother, a name which became the prerogative of the royals. He identified the seven daughters of Teti who formed marriage alliances with high officials, including the Viziers. Pepy I continued Teti's policy of marriage alliance to strengthen his reign. In revealing the existence of nepotism Kanawati is convinced that more cases of this nature can be found in the Sixth Dynasty.

⁴¹ N. Kanawati, *BACE* 14, 39–59.

Kanawati conceded that the members of the royal family occupied top administrative positions in the Fourth Dynasty. However, in the case when appointments were skill-based in the latter part of the Fourth Dynasty, Kanawati argued that “the situation in the Sixth Dynasty does not support this assumption”, meaning there were no similarities between the Fourth and the Sixth Dynasties. However, one wonders if an examination of the titles of the Fourth Dynasty royal family who occupied the Vizierate, and those Viziers who were married to Teti’s daughters, would yield more insight into the reasons for Teti’s policy of marriage alliance, other than those observed by Kanawati.

2.1.9 Gunter Dreyer (2007)⁴²

The German Archaeology expedition excavated the tomb of Vizier Iri-en-akty at the southwest of Khafre’s pyramid complex in the ‘Quarry’ cemetery in the season 2002/2003. This hastily constructed, damaged, and badly robbed tomb revealed the skeletal remains of a man 170 cm tall who had died at the age of 40. The tomb is dated to the early Sixth Dynasty from a seal inscribed with the remnant of either Teti or Pepy’s name. Only three titles of Vizier Iri-en-akty’s have survived, with his title *Vizier* appended with the word ‘*m3ʿ*’, meaning true or right.

This discovery is important to this study of the Sixth Dynasty Vizierate and especially with the word ‘*m3ʿ*’ appended to the title of *Vizier*. At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the word ‘*m3ʿ*’ is also appended to Kagemni’s title of *Vizier*. The reason for this addendum has been pondered upon by scholars, but its meaning remains inconclusive.

While this article translated the three titles found of the Vizier, no image of the titles or its transliteration was provided, and the translation does not conform to that in *Jones Index*. Therefore, this makes it difficult to determine if the other two titles refer to the “Overseer”

⁴² G. Dreyer ‘2007a Im Schatten der Pyramiden: Beamtengräber im Chephren ‘Quarry-Cemetery’ (Giza)’, in Dreyer, G., Polz, D., (eds), *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit – 100 Jahre in Ägypten* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo 1907–2007 (Mainz, 2007), 114–19.

functions. Perhaps a standardised version of transliteration and translation could benefit the study of the titles in Egyptology.

2.1.10 Audran Labrousse, (2010)⁴³

In this brief article, Labrousse discussed eight wives of Pepy I; four of whose tombs have been uncovered through excavations at Saqqara by the French Archaeological Mission, and four wives known from the mortuary texts. The importance of this article is that it revealed two previously lesser-known female Viziers.

Labrousse suggested the title *Vizier* was attributed for the first time to a woman, *Innk/Inti*, entering the state administration who not only was a Vizier, but also Pepy I's wife. Two other women of the Sixth Dynasty are known to occupy the Vizierate: Nebet, the mother of Ankhnespepy II at Abydos and Mérétitês II, the spouse of a king Neferkare. These three women held the Vizierate in the Sixth Dynasty, but their role as Vizier has so far been elusive. This discovery is vital to the study of the Vizierate as the titles of these female Viziers could reflect the changing social aspects of society in the Sixth Dynasty.

2.1.11 Maarten J. Raven (2010)⁴⁴

In 2008, the Leiden Expedition working in the deeper strata of the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara, south of the Unis causeway, made an unexpected discovery of a red granite fragment of a seated statue which once belonged to a Vizier identified by the etching of the title *Vizier* appended with a phallus symbol. Also inscribed under the *Vizier* title is the symbol of an owl for letter 'm' (Gardiner sign-list D17). Through the process of elimination of those Viziers' names starting with the letter 'm', Raven concluded that the statue belonged to Vizier Minnofer, who once served Kings Niuserra and Djedkare, Isesi.

⁴³ A. Labrousse, 'Huit Épouses du roi Pépy 1^{er}', in A. Woods, A. Farlane, S. Binder (eds), *Egyptian Culture and Society; Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, Vol II, (CASAE 38, 2010), 297–14.

⁴⁴ M.J. Raven, A new Statue of an Old Kingdom Vizier from Saqqara, in A. Woods, A. Farlane, S. Binder (eds), *Egyptian Culture and Society; Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, Vol I, (CASAE 38, 2010), 119–27.

However, while Raven's logical method of deduction seems plausible to surmise the statue once belonged to Minnofer, the conclusion could have been inconclusive, if not for the fact that Vizier Minnofer's Mastaba was 'recently rediscovered by the Cairo University Expedition just to the north-east of the concession of the Leiden mission'. Furthermore, since 1828, the sarcophagus belonging to Vizier Minnofer formed part of the collection of the Leiden Museum. From this article, it appears that the phallus symbol was not appended to the title *Vizier* on the sarcophagus.

The phallus symbol on Vizier Minnofer's Vizier's title is additional information that could be useful as this symbol was used to distinguish the 'true' royals from the 'non-royal' Viziers and was seen frequently in the titularies of the Viziers towards the end of the Fourth and the early Fifth Dynasties. Some Viziers with the phallus symbol are found occasionally in the later Fifth Dynasty and the Sixth Dynasties, but its meaning is yet to be clarified.

The occasional use of the phallus symbol in the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties might show that these officials were the descendants of the royal family of the Fourth Dynasty, and one wonders if the commonalities of their titles, when scrutinised, would distinguish the royal from the non-royal Viziers.

2.1.12 John Burn (2011)⁴⁵

Burn, in this article, compiled evidence to test the theory that the introduction of the pyramid texts decorating the walls of the burial chamber of king Unis of the Fifth-Dynasty,⁴⁶ also influenced the decorative themes in the tombs of the officials of the Sixth-Dynasty.⁴⁷ Of the

⁴⁵ J. Burn, 'The Pyramid Texts and Tomb Decoration in Dynasty Six: The Tomb of Mehu at Saqqara', *BACE* 22 (2011), 17–46.


⁴⁶ The spells initiated the transfiguration of different stages of the Ka for it to travel safely on a distinct path through the tomb to the outside.

⁴⁷ Following on from J.P. Allen's proposal that the pyramid text spells were written in a particular order for the kings' ka to travel on a definite path through the tomb to the outside, D. Vischak applied this theory to a non-royal tomb, in particular, the decoration program in the tomb of Ankhmahor, a Vizier, of the Sixth-Dynasty. She concluded there were similarities in the layout between the arrangement of the pyramid texts to the decoration theme of Akhmahor's tomb.

eighteen monuments Burn analysed, eleven belonged to Viziers, of which eight exhibited this decorative sequence.⁴⁸

This current research aims to find the principal differences in administration between the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties. Consequently, one wonders if the introduction of the pyramid texts also affected the titles of the Viziers.

2.1.13 Veronika Dulíková (2011)⁴⁹

In her article Dulíková discussed the *Vizier* title appended with the phallus symbol  which she suggested ranged from Menkaure to Sahure's reign. She argued that those Viziers with the phallus symbols were the true sons of the kings, and those without were the non-royal Viziers. The phallus symbol appeared to be in connection with the social transformation during the period when the members of the royal family were excluded from the state administration. Dulíková's identification of the symbol that segregated the royal and the non-royal Viziers has merit, and her study is a useful resource to integrate into this research.

2.1.14 Miroslav Verner (2014)⁵⁰

Verner compiled a comprehensive and updated study of the archaeological and textual evidence of the Fifth-Dynasty, and among other historical events, he discussed various Viziers who served the kings of the Fifth-Dynasty. This was a useful resource for understanding various vital events under the reign of each king of the Fifth-Dynasty and the Viziers who served them. Verner provided archaeological and textual evidence collected from many sources on the Viziers and integrated them into the historical context, occasionally revising the relative

⁴⁸ Burn, building on Vischak's results, theorised that the tombs constructed after Unis' reign should exhibit similar characteristics in architecture and art decoration as those observed by Vischak in Ankhmahor's tomb, and he initially conducted a case study of Mehu's tomb with encouraging results. He then examined features of the architectural layout and art decoration of other tombs post-Unis' reign. In total, Burn examined eighteen tombs, fifteen of which are located in Saqqara and three at Giza and some of his results correlated with Allen's theory and with Vischak's conclusions.

⁴⁹ Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of 'Vizier'*.

⁵⁰ Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 29–98.

chronology of the Viziers. His research inadvertently highlighted many issues that one might face in studying the Vizierate. For example, it was difficult to determine the tenure of the Viziers, their succession, and the relative chronology of the kings they served. Although parallel Viziers were discernible in the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties, and again from the reign of Djedkare, the existence of parallel Viziers in between those periods was not noticeable. Another issue was that the names of many Viziers are known from different sources although their tombs are awaiting discovery; Verner believes they could lie in the unexcavated cemeteries of Abusir.

Discoveries of Viziers add to the study and chronology of the Vizierate, for instance, a recent discovery of a block from the causeway constructed in the final reign of Sahure mentioned a new Vizier, Seshemnefer, which has revised the previous relative chronology of the Viziers.

2.1.15 Veronika Dulíková (2016)⁵¹

Dulíková's dissertation on the innovations in the reign of Niuserre, using a cross-platform regional database of the high officials, including the Viziers of the Fifth Dynasty, yielded information on the background of the Vizierate when non-royals occupied the highest position of Vizier from the late Fourth Dynasty. Her computer program⁵² traced the lineage of the most powerful families from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasty.⁵³

Nepotism existed in the Sixth Dynasty through the marriage alliances of the kings' daughters to high ranking officials.⁵⁴ Dulíková, in this study, traced the source of this policy and concluded the marriage alliance between the princesses and non-royal Viziers was instigated

⁵¹ V. Dulíková, *The Reign of King Nyuserre and Its Impact on the Development of the Egyptian State. A Multiplier Effect Period during the Old Kingdom* (Ph.D thesis, Charles University in Prague; Prague, 2016). (Link to Charles University provided in Bibliography).

⁵² Maat-base database created in FileMakerPro 13, Dulíková, *Nyuserre*, 13.

⁵³ Dulíková, *Nyuserre*, 128, 129–130.

⁵⁴ N. Kanawati, *Nepotism*, 39–59.

under Niuserre.⁵⁵ The re-emergence of the phallus symbol and the title *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f* previously reserved for the royals is seen in the mid-Fifth Dynasty with the Seshemnefer family.⁵⁶

Dulíková's review of all known Viziers of the Fifth Dynasty has provided additional insight, particularly in distinguishing the royals from the non-royal Viziers which is relevant to this study.

2.1.16 Miral Lashien, (2017)⁵⁷

Lashien identified fifteen Viziers in Upper Egypt from the Provinces of Abydos, Akhmim, Edfu, Deir el-Gebrawi, El Qusiya, Meir and Coptos.⁵⁸ The administration of Upper Egypt, principally divided into two sections: Nomes 1-8, (less fertile southernmost provinces), and 9-20,⁵⁹ (highly productive middle provinces), appointed two concurrent Viziers in two different provinces from the reign of Teti until the end of the Old Kingdom.⁶⁰

The evidence suggests that the provincial Viziers had royal affiliations, and the family members inherited the Vizierate. However, in this writer's opinion, the choice of posting the female Vizier, Nebet, to Abydos is not clear as Abydos was not one of the most fertile nomes of Upper Egypt so that it would not have been for economic gain. Considering Nebet's titles⁶¹

⁵⁵ Dulíková, *Nyuserre*, 22–24. Probably the first instance of nepotism started with the two officials Ptahshepses, one a high official and the other a Vizier, both married to princesses.

⁵⁶ N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza: Seshathetep/Heti* (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080), Vol. II, (*ACE Reports* 18, Warminster, 2002).

⁵⁷ M. Lashien, *Nobles of El-Qusiya in the Sixth Dynasty: A Historical Study* (Wallasey, 2017).

⁵⁸ Lashien, *Nobles of El-Qusiya*, 104–117. Abydos Nome 8, Akhmim Nome 9, Coptus Nome 5, Edfu Nome 2, Deir el Gebrawi Nome 12, El Qusiya Nome 14, Meir Nome 14. Less fertile southernmost provinces were 1-8 and highly productive middle provinces were 9-20.

⁵⁹ With Nomes 21 and 22 close to the capital.

⁶⁰ Lashien, *Nobles of El-Qusiya*, 104–117. The first two contemporary Viziers resided at Akhmim and Edfu⁶⁰ but later, the Vizierate under Pepy I, moved from Edfu to Abydos with the first female Vizier, Pepy I's mother-in-law, Nebet at its helm. However, during the period under Pepy I, it appears the Vizierate from Akhmim moved to Deir el-Gebrawi. While the Vizierate at Abydos remained stable until the latter reign of Pepy II, the Vizierate from Deir el-Gebrawi moved to Meir and El Qusiya, and ultimately relocated to the start point of Akhmim. It was not until the Eighth Dynasty that the Vizierate at Abydos moved to Coptus.

⁶¹ Lashien, *Nobles of El-Qusiya*, 107.

‘daughter of Horus’ ‘daughter of Geb’ and ‘daughter of Thoth’;⁶² one could ask if Pepy I’s decision was influenced by the introduction of the pyramid texts to focus on religious aspects at Abydos? How do Nebet’s titles compare to those female Viziers discovered at Saqqara by Labrousse, discussed above? This will be considered in this study.

Summary

The above scholars’ study of the administration in the Old Kingdom highlighted the kings’ reforms in the state administration. These reforms were necessitated by the state’s expansion, which duly affected the status and responsibilities of the Viziers. However, the shortcoming of the study of the Vizierate is that the focus has been on civil administrative titles. A review of the religious titles intertwined with the civil administrative titles is lacking, and the contribution of the female Viziers is not considered. Perhaps a comparative analysis of the titles of the Viziers of all three dynasties in the Memphite region, considering religious titles, and the titles of the female Viziers, might add to the study of the Vizierate. This comparative study could in turn, perhaps reveal the reason for the decline of the *legal titles* in the Fifth-Dynasty and the focus of each Dynasty which forms the core of this research.

⁶² See Jones, *Index* II, daughter of Horus 824[3007]; daughter of Geb 824[3009]; daughter of Thoth 824[3010]; respectively.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Methodology

The criteria for selecting the titles held by Viziers were initially determined by studying the titularies of the Fourth-Dynasty Viziers. The emerging patterns were identified and categorized into six Groups:

1. Rank;⁶³
2. Royal links;⁶⁴
3. Priesthood;⁶⁵
4. Lector & related;⁶⁶
5. Administrative;⁶⁷ and
6. Legal.

The *legal titles*⁶⁸ appeared to be introduced in the Fifth-Dynasty,⁶⁹ and the first emergence of these titles gleaned in the Viziers' titularies was added to the list and henceforth traced to the end of the Old Kingdom. Two relevant titles, *Imy-r-ḥwt-wrt*-6⁷⁰ and *imy-r-šmꜥw*,⁷¹ possibly introduced in the mid-Fifth-Dynasty, showing patterns in the structuring of the Fifth-Dynasty

⁶³ Jones, *Index*, *iry pꜥt*, 315[1157]; *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *rh nswt*, 327[1206].

⁶⁴ *z3 nswt* and its variants, Jones, *Index*, 799[2911–2914]; *sḏty nswt*, 986[3645].

⁶⁵ Various *ḥm-ntr* titles.

⁶⁶ Jones, *Index*, *wꜥ m wrw ḥb*, 366–7[1353]; *wr m3w iwnw*, 386–7[1429]; *hry-ḥb* 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb n iti.f*, 781–2[2852]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp n iti.f*, 784–5[2861]; *zš md3t ntr*, 857–8[3132]; *sm*, 885[3241].

⁶⁷ Jones, *Index*, *imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6*, 165[630]; *imy-r šmꜥw*, 246–7[896]; *wr md šmꜥw*, 388–9[1437]; *htm(ty) bity*, 763–4[2775].

⁶⁸ Jones, *Index*, *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874] (as a rank title); *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *mdw rhyt*, 453–4[1698]; *hrp wsht*, 712[2594]; *z3b ꜥd-mr*, 806[2947].

⁶⁹ An earlier study on the title *Priest of Ma'at* indicated that the legal titles were introduced in the Fifth Dynasty. However, it is possible the legal titles existed in the Fourth Dynasty but remain elusive as the meaning of some of titles is not fully understood.

⁷⁰ Also see Strudwick's study of this title, *Administration*, 176–98.

⁷¹ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 128.

administration were also taken into consideration. These criteria formed the basis of a comparative study encompassing the Fourth, Fifth, and the Sixth Dynasties.

Due to the word limit, the scope of this study was restricted to the Memphite cemeteries: Abusir, Giza, Saqqara, and Dashur. The problem with this study was that some Viziers' titularies remain incomplete,⁷² causing gaps in the analysis; therefore, not all the Viziers are listed on the Charts.⁷³ However, some recent discoveries of Viziers and the re-recording of some tombs have provided additional data that was not previously available.⁷⁴

As the titles are the primary source of information, Dilwyn Jones' *Index* Volumes I-II were used as a reference guide to understanding the meanings of the titles. Again, due to the word limit, the titles and names were condensed to form one word by using '-' between titles and names to create a one-word count. This research is different from that of the six civil titles undertaken by Strudwick, whose study is an invaluable source of background information for this research. While Strudwick's prosopography of the Viziers⁷⁵ was updated and used extensively, this current study listed only the relevant titles used in this research. A list of selected titles of the Viziers' can be found in the Appendices. The Viziers were arranged

⁷² Incomplete due to deterioration of the tombs, or unpublished excavation reports, or undiscovered tombs of those whose names appear on the royal temples.

⁷³ For a selected list of titles used in this study of the Viziers of the Old Kingdom see "Prosopography" in Appendices.

⁷⁴ N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. 11, The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (ACE Reports 9; Warminster, 1997); N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara. Vol. III. The Tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiphtah* (ACE Reports 11; Warminster, 1998); N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Vol V, The Tomb of Hesi* (ACE Reports 13; Warminster, 1999); N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. VI, The Tomb of Nikauisesi*, (ACE Reports 14; Warminster, 2000); N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza, Vol. I, Kaiemankh (G4561), Seshemnefer I (G4940)*, (ACE Reports 16; Warminster, 2001); Kanawati, ACE Reports 18; N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. II, The Tombs of Inyefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (ACE Reports 19; Oxford, 2003); N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and his Family, Part 1, The Tomb of Merytet* (ACE Reports 21; Oxford, 2004); K. Myśliwiec, K. Kuraszkiewicz, D. Czerwik, T. Rzeuska, M. Kaczmarek, A. Kowalska, M. Radomska, Z. Godziejewski, *Saqqara I; The Tomb of Merefnebef*, (Warszawa, 2004); N. Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara. Vol. VIII. The Tomb of Inumin* (ACE Reports 24; Oxford, 2006); M. Bárta, *Tomb Complex of the Vizier Qar, his Sons Qar Junior and Senedjemib, and Iykai, Abusir, XIII* (Prague, 2009); N. Kanawati, A. Woods, S. Shafik, E. Alexakis, *Mereruka and his Family, Part III:1, The Tomb of Mereruka* (ACE Reports 29; Oxford, 2010); N. Kanawati, A. Woods, S. Shafik, E. Alexakis, *Mereruka and his Family, Part III:2, The Tomb of Mereruka* (ACE Reports 30; Oxford, 2011); A-L. Mourad, *The Tomb of Ptahhotep I* (ACE Reports 37; Oxford, 2015).

⁷⁵ Strudwick, *Administration*, 55–170.

predominantly according to Strudwick's ⁷⁶ chronology, but other scholars' datings were also considered.⁷⁷

The primary tool for collection and comparison of the data was an Excel spreadsheet. An individual Microsoft Word page was also created for each Vizier for their prosopographical information comprising a unique identifier[], name, location, references, chronology, and selected titles. The JEA style guide and references were used for this thesis, and Jsesh word processor was used for the Egyptian hieroglyphs.⁷⁸

This thesis comprises five chapters with Chapter 4, the analysis phase, divided into sub-groups for comparison and discussion.

1. Chapter 1: Introduction, Evidence, and Hypothesis
2. Chapter 2: Literature Review
3. Chapter 3: Methodology
4. Chapter 4: Analysis
5. Chapter 5: Conclusions
6. Appendices:
 - A. Prosopography
 - B. Bibliography

⁷⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, 301–3.

⁷⁷ Baer, Rank and Title, 224–29, 240–42.; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 81–130; J. Swinton, *Dating the Tombs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2014); Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 303–52; E. Brovarski, 'False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty' in M. Barta, (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, Proceedings of the Conference* (Prague, 2004).71–118. Also see Prosopography in the Appendices of this paper which lists dating by other scholars found in the *Digital Giza* <<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/>> and the Leiden Mastaba Project:online database of Old Kingdom elite tomb scenes. <<http://mastabase.org/>>.

⁷⁸ Jsesh, An Open Source Hieroglyphic Editor, Link: < <https://jsesh.qenherkhopeshef.org/>> accessed 14/2/2018.

CHAPTER 4

4. Analysis⁷⁹

The material needed for this thesis has been divided into smaller groups for analysis and discussion. The Fourth Dynasty was structured predominantly according to the Eastern and Central Field cemeteries of Giza.⁸⁰ The Fifth Dynasty was categorized into four time periods:

1. the early to the mid-Fifth Dynasty;
2. the mid-Fifth Dynasty before Djedkare's reign;
3. Djedkare's reign;
4. Unis' reign until the early Sixth Dynasty.

The Sixth Dynasty was grouped into the following time periods:

1. the early-Teti to early-Pepy I's reign;
2. mid-Pepy-I to c. Year 20 of Pepy-II's reign;
3. mid-Pepy-II's reign to the end of the Old Kingdom.

4.1. Fourth-Dynasty (2543–2436 BCE)⁸¹

Vizier Nefermaat,⁸² buried at Meidum, was one of the Viziers of Sneferu, the first king of the Fourth-Dynasty whose Horus-name was *nb M3ʕt*.⁸³ Until the end of the Fourth-Dynasty, the Vizierate was administered by the royal family, with an unbroken line of male Viziers,⁸⁴ related

⁷⁹ The titles selected for this research were determined by the concepts unveiled in the initial analysis of the Fourth Dynasty and early Fifth Dynasty, then these titles were monitored through to the Sixth Dynasty.

⁸⁰ However, one Vizier was buried at Meidum, and at Giza Cemeteries, 4000 and En-Echelon, respectively.

⁸¹ Bárta, *Radjedef to the Eighth Dynasty*, 3.

⁸² Strudwick, *Administration*, 110–11[86]; Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum: Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction* (Cheltenham, 2001), 55–76.

⁸³ Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 390; A. Dobson and D. Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2004), 50; Baker, *Encyclopaedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs*, 386; Trigg et.al., *Ancient History*, 95; Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 29, *Nb-m3ʕt* 'Lord of Order'; Translation courtesy by Boyo Ockinga, '*nb m3ʕt*, one who possessed Ma'at' or Lord of Ma'at'.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 2, 2.1.1 for discussion of Helck's study; Strudwick, *Administration*, 338; Lloyd, *Ancient History*, 143–44.

to the kings and distinguished by their titles, *z3-nzwt* and its variants,⁸⁵ with some *Vizier* titles



appended with the phallus symbol.⁸⁶

The use of the *z3-nzwt* titles was more dominant in the Fourth-Dynasty than in any other Dynasty⁸⁷ and continued to the reign of Sahure.⁸⁸ The phallus symbol, appended to the title *Vizier*,⁸⁹ was observed initially probably in the latter reign of Khufu,⁹⁰ and during the social transformation period from the end of the Fourth-Dynasty into the early Fifth Dynasty.⁹¹ Helck connects the phallus symbol to the word *ḥy*, meaning, son,⁹² Strudwick connects it to ‘male’,⁹³ and Verner, to *mty*, ‘true, right’. Furthermore, Dulíková and Verner⁹⁴ link this symbol to distinguish the royals from the non-royals⁹⁵ or executive Vizier from the “honorary” one.⁹⁶

4.1.1 Viziers from the Fourth to the early-Fifth Dynasty

Chart 1 below, provides a systematic overview of the patterns emerging from the selected titles of the Viziers from the Fourth to the early-Fifth Dynasty. When analysed, these patterns, indicated an underlying administrative structure of the Vizierate founded by the kings, which could demonstrate the kings’ focus of the state administration. Chart 1 was subsequently organised into smaller Charts 1.1-1.4 for discussion of separate periods of the Fourth-Dynasty.

⁸⁵ *z3-nzwt*, *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f*, *z3-nzwt-smsw*; *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f-smsw*; Jones, *Index II*, 799[2911],[2912],[2913], [2914]. King’s son; king’s son of his body; king’s eldest son, king’s eldest son of his body.

⁸⁶ Dulíková, ‘Some notes on the title of ‘Vizier’, 336, stated that the five Viziers buried in the Memphite cemetery, their composite title appended with a phallus symbol were probably the biological sons of Khafre.

⁸⁷ Trigger, et.al., *Ancient History*, 143; Strudwick, *Administration*, 338.

⁸⁸ The second king of the Fifth Dynasty; Strudwick, *Administration*, 312; Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 390.

⁸⁹ Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of ‘Vizier*, 336.

⁹⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, 147.

⁹¹ Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of ‘Vizier*, 335, from Menkaure’s reign to the reign of Sahure.

⁹² Dulíková, *Vizier*, 336.


⁹³ Strudwick, *Administration*, 305.

⁹⁴ Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 34.

⁹⁵ Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of ‘Vizier*, 327–36.

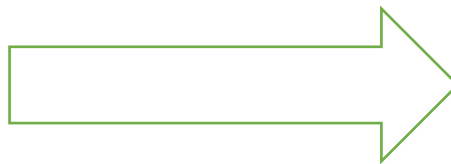
⁹⁶ Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 34.

Chart 1 – Overview of the titles of the Viziers from the Fourth to the early-Fifth Dynasty

			Meidum	Giza Cem. 4000	Giza - Eastern Field						Central Field - 					Giza - En Echelon
Name			Nefermaat	Hemunu	Ankhkaf	Kawab	Baefre?	Khafmin	Nefermaat	Khafkhufu I	Nikaure	Iuenmin	Nebemakhet	Ankhmare	Sekhemkare	Duaenre
Approx. Date			Sneferu	Mid-Khufu to Khafre						End Menkaure to Early Fifth					End Fourth	
Vizier ID			42	47	14	69	19	52	41	53	38	4	39	11	61	76
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	86	96	34	140	170	103	85	104	78	7	81	29	125	161
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rank	1157	<i>iry p't</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1858	<i>h3ty-ε</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x
	1206	<i>rḥ nswt</i>														
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>														
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nswt</i>		x		x		x	x	x		x				
	2912	<i>z3 nswt n ḥt.f</i>		x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x		x	x
	2913	<i>z3 nswt smsw</i>	x					x	x	x	x					
	2914	<i>z3 nswt n ḥt.f smsw</i>			x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	?
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>														
Priesthood of Gods			3	3	1	1	4			2*						1
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w' m wrw ḥb</i>														
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>														
	2848	<i>hry-ḥb</i>		x	x			x								
	2852	<i>hry-ḥb n iti.f</i>									x	x				
	2860	<i>hry-ḥb-hry-tp</i>			x	x		x			x	x	x		x	x
	2861	<i>hry-ḥb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>									x			x	x	
	3241	<i>sm</i>														
Admin. Titles	630	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>														
	896	<i>imy-r Šm'w</i>														
	1437	<i>wr md Šm'w</i>			x	x										
	2775	<i>ḥtm(ty)-bity</i>	x	x	x					x	x	x	x	x*	x	
Legal	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>														
	1698	<i>mdw rḥyt</i>														
	1930	<i>ḥm-ntr M3't</i>														
	2594	<i>ḥrp wsḥt</i>														
	2947	<i>z3b εd-mr</i>														
* All the Viziers held <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of the gods except for Khafkhufu I who also held the <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of a king (King Khufu) x* <i>ḥtm(ty)-bity n iti.f</i>																

4.1.2 Viziers dated from mid-Sneferu to early-mid Khafre

Chart 1.1 below consists of Viziers Nefermaat (Meidum), Hemiunu, Ankhkaf, Kawab, Bauefre,⁹⁷ Khafmin, Nefermaat, and Khafkhufu-I, buried in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, except for Hemiunu who was buried at Giza in Cemetery 4000, and Nefermaat interred at Meidum. Strudwick dated this group from the reigns of Sneferu to Khafre.⁹⁸



⁹⁷ Strudwick's "Name Lost", 168-69[170]; This Vizier may have been identified as "Bauefre". See Giza Archives, <http://www.gizapyramids.org/> G 7310.

⁹⁸ For full titularies of these Viziers, refer to Strudwick, *Administration*, 111[86]; 117[96]; 78[34]; 147[140]; 169[170]; 122[103]; 110[85]; 123[104].

Chart-1.1 – Viziers dated from mid-Sneferu to early-mid Khafre⁹⁹

buried at Meidum and Cemeteries at Giza: Cemetery 400 and Eastern Field

			Meidum	Giza Cem. 4000	Giza - Eastern Field					
			Nefermaat	Hemunu	Ankhkaf	Kawab	Baufre?	Khafmin	Nefermaat	Khafkhufu I
Name										
Approx. Date			Sneferu	Mid-Khufu to Khafre						
Vizier ID			42	47	14	69	19	52	41	53
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	86	96	34	140	170	103	85	104
	3706	t3yty-z3b-t3ty	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rank	1157	iry pꜣt	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1858	ḥ3ty-ꜣ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	1206	rḥ nswt								
	2874	hry-tp-nswt								
	2911	z3 nzwꜣt		x		x		x	x	x
Royal Links	2912	z3 nzwꜣt n ḥt.f		x	x	x		x	x	x
	2913	z3 nzwꜣt smsw	x							
	2914	z3 nzwꜣt n ḥt.f smsw			x	x		x		
	3645	sdty nswt								
	Priesthood of Gods			3	3	1	1	4		2*
Lector & Related	1353	wꜣ m wrw ḥb								
	1429	wr m3w iwnw								
	2848	hry-ḥb		x	x			x		
	2852	hry-ḥb n iti.f								
	2860	hry-ḥb-hry-tp			x	x		x		
	2861	hry-ḥb-hry-tp n iti.f								
	3241	sm								
Admin. Titles	630	imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6								
	896	imy-r Šmꜣw								
	1437	wr md šmꜣw			x	x				
	2775	ḥtm(ty)-bity	x	x	x				x	x
Legal	22	iwn knmwt								
	1698	mdw rḥyt								
	1930	ḥm-ntr M3ꜣt								
	2594	hrp wsḥt								
	2947	z3b ꜣd-mr								
* All the Viziers held ḥm-ntr of the gods except for Khafkhufu I who also held the ḥm-ntr of a king (King Khufu)										

⁹⁹ The table has been principally organized according to Strudwick's chronological sequence of dating of the Viziers.

The Viziers in Chart 1.1 held the highest rank titles *iry-p^ct* and *h3ty-^c*, except for Khafkhufu-I.¹⁰⁰ The titles, *z3-nswt* and its variants, which form the royal links, were held by all the Viziers except for Bauefre,¹⁰¹ and Nefermaat buried at Meidum held *z3-nswt-smsw* without the extension *n-h^t.f*. However, the holders of the titles, *z3-nswt-n-h^t.f* and *z3-nswt-n-h^t.f smsw*, divide the discussion of the royal links into two distinct groups.

1. The first group of Viziers Hemiunu, Nefermaat (Giza), and Khafkhufu-I held only *z3-nswt-n-h^t.f*.
2. The second group, Ankhkaf, Kawab, and Khafminu were attested *z3-nswt-n-h^t.f smsw*, in addition to *z3-nswt-n-h^t.f*. Kawab was the only Vizier in this group, who used the phallus symbol.¹⁰²

Furthermore, the above two groups can be sub-divided into the priesthood (*hm-n^{tr}*) and the lectorship (*hry-hb-hry-tp*)¹⁰³ functions. Nearly all these Viziers held the *hm-n^{tr}* titles, but they can be divided into two groups.

1. Those who held two or more *hm-n^{tr}* titles were Nefermaat (Meidum), Hemiunu, Bauefre, and Khafkhufu-I, with Khafkhufu-I also holding the priesthood of King Khufu, *hm-n^{tr}-Hwfw*. Whereas, Ankhkaf, Kawab, and Khafmin held either one or none of the *hm-n^{tr}* titles.

¹⁰⁰ His rank *h3ty-^c* could be missing through the deterioration of his tomb.

¹⁰¹ The missing ranks could be the result of the deterioration of tomb inscriptions as there is not enough evidence to suggest a pattern of fluctuating ranks in the Fourth Dynasty.

¹⁰² Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of 'Vizier*, 336. The first occurrence of the Vizier's title found appended with a phallus symbol is that of Kawab dated to either late reign of Khufu or even later.

¹⁰³ Lector priest, he who carries the ritual book and Chief-Lector Priest, lector priest in charge, see Jones, *Index*, 781[2848] and 784[2860]; The marvels of the lectors are well documented in the Westcar Papyrus. See W.K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (Yale University Press, 2003), 13–24.

2. Those Viziers who held two or more *hm-ntr* titles were attested *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*. Those who held either one or no *hm-ntr* title in addition to *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, also held *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw*, and these Viziers were assigned the title *hry-hb-hry-tp*.¹⁰⁴

The governance of Upper and Lower Egypt was important to the administration of ancient Egypt and the two titles, *wr-md-Šmꜥw* and *htm(ty)-bity*,¹⁰⁵ with associations to Upper and Lower Egypt, were included in the analysis.

- Only Ankhaf and Kawab held *wr-md-Šmꜥw* with Ankhaf attested *htm(ty)-bity*,
- Both Nefermaats, Hemiuu, and Khafkhufu-I were attested only *htm(ty)-bity*.

At the beginning of the Fourth-Dynasty the title *htm(ty)-bity* appears to be more widely used than *wr-md-Šmꜥw*, and it is possible that Upper Egypt was not a priority at the Vizierate level in the Fourth-Dynasty.

The meanings of all titles are not fully understood and, therefore, the *legal titles*,¹⁰⁶ which could have reflected King Sneferu's Horus name, *nb M3ꜥt*, were difficult to discern.

The Viziers holding similar titles indicating shared responsibilities can be confusing, but two groups of Viziers with a distinct boundary, indicated by the *z3-nzwt* titles, and their respective function titles, were discerned. The patterns of titles showed:

1. the holders of *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* held more *hm-ntr* titles but did not hold *hry-hb-hry-tp*;
2. the holders of *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw* held *hry-hb-hry-tp* duties with one or no *hm-ntr* titles.

¹⁰⁴ Jones, *Index*, 576[2120] Jones, *Index*, 511–12[1915]; *hm-ntr B3-(n)-npt* was held by Ankhhaf and *hm-ntr Srꜥt* by Kawab, respectively. However, further research could determine if these titles were related to certain aspects of funerary gods.

¹⁰⁵ *wr-md-Šmꜥw* and *htm(ty)-bity* are referred to Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, however, the exact nature of the duties of these two titles are unknown.

¹⁰⁶ It is possible that *wr-5-pr Dḥwtj*, held by most Viziers in the Fourth Dynasty, could be associated with legal as well as funerary aspects, but due to the vagueness of its meaning, this title was not included in the study; Jones, *Index*, 399[1471], *wr-5-pr Dḥwtj*.

The *hm-ntr* titles assigned to these two separate groups could be indicative of different functions of the gods, which require further investigation. However, it appears the core policies of the kings, upon which the administrative structure of the Fourth-Dynasty was founded, could be divided between those Viziers predominately holding the *hm-ntr* and *hry-hb-hry-tp* functions defined by *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw*, respectively. When this pattern was applied to Bauefre, who was missing a *z3-nswt* title, it became evident that he would have been a holder of *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* as he was attested four *hm-ntr* titles, and most likely was not the holder of *hry-hb-hry-tp*.

Furthermore, it appears that the *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* was entrusted to some officials before their appointment to the Vizierate, as seen in the case of Rahotep.¹⁰⁷ The reason for the criteria of selection of the two streams of Viziers is not clear, but in the early-Fourth-Dynasty, the *hry-hb-hry-tp* held the *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw*, which defined their particular role, perhaps according to the ancient Egyptian ideology of the eldest son's responsibility for their father's mortuary cult activities, and it is possible these Viziers performed that task. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether these royal Viziers were indeed the "eldest" sons of the kings. The appended "smsw" in the title is important, as it distinguishes the duties between those holders of the priesthood and those in charge of the mortuary functions. For example, Kawab, a *hry-hb-hry-tp* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, was the only Vizier in this group with the phallus symbol who was buried adjacent to Khafkhufu-I, a priest of Khufu and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* which could be significant.¹⁰⁸

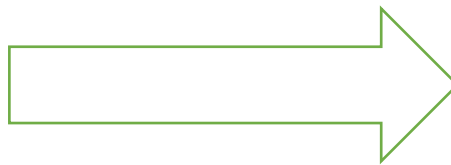
¹⁰⁷ Rahotep was attested *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* but he was not a Vizier and did not hold any *hm-ntr* titles. See Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*, 97.

¹⁰⁸ These two Viziers occupied the pre-eminent spot in the first row behind the Queens' pyramids, in the Eastern cemetery and its significance needs further research; W.K.Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II* (Boston, 1978), Pl.1.

4.1.3 Viziers dated from mid-Menkaure to early Fifth Dynasty

The next group of five Viziers in Chart 1.2 below, Nikaure, Iunmin, Nebemakhet, Ankmare, and Sekhemkare, were buried in the Central Field of Giza and date from mid-Menkaure to early Fifth Dynasty. These Viziers were distinguished by the phallus symbol appended to their title

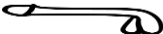
of *Vizier*.¹⁰⁹ 



¹⁰⁹ Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of Vizier*, 336.

Chart 1.2 – Viziers dated from mid-Menkaure to early Fifth Dynasty¹¹⁰

buried at Central Field - Giza

				<div></div> <div>Central Field</div>				
		Name		Nikaure	Iuenmin	Nebemakhet	Ankhmare	Sekhemkare
		Approx. Date		End Menkaure to Early Fifth				
		Vizier ID		38	4	39	11	61
	Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	78	7	81	29	125
Rank	3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x
	1157	<i>iry p^εt</i>		x	x	x	x	x
	1858	<i>h3ty-^ε</i>		x			x	x
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>						
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>						
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nzw t</i>			x			
	2912	<i>z3 nzw t n ht.f</i>		x		x		x
	2913	<i>z3 nzw t smsw</i>		x				
	2914	<i>z3 nzw t n ht.f smsw</i>		x	x	x	x	x
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>						
Priesthood of Gods	No known Priesthood titles							
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w^ε m wrw hb</i>						
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>						
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>						
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>		x	x			
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>		x	x	x		x
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>		x			x	x
	3241	<i>sm</i>						
Admin. Titles	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>						
	896	<i>imy-r Šm^εw</i>						
	1437	<i>wr md šm^εw</i>						
	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>		x	x		x*	x
Legal	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>						
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>						
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3^εt</i>						
	2594	<i>hrp wsh t</i>						
	2947	<i>z3b ^εd-mr</i>						
		x* <i>htm(ty)-bity n iti.f</i>						

¹¹⁰ The table has been principally organized according to Strudwick's chronological sequence of dating of the Viziers, see Strudwick. *Administration*, 301.

The common factors among these Viziers were their burials in the Central Field at Giza, adjacent to the causeway of King Khafre, and that all were holders of the phallus symbol.¹¹¹ Furthermore, these Viziers also held the highest rank *iry-p^ct*,¹¹² and while some held *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f*, all these Viziers were holders of *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f-smsw* and *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, except for Ankhmare, who was attested *hry-ḥb-hry-tp-n-iti.f*, which was also seen amongst the titularies of Nikaure and Sekhemkare.¹¹³

One of the significant differences among these Viziers and those discussed in Chart 1.1 is that Chart 1.2 Viziers were not attested any *ḥm-ntr* titles of either gods or kings. These Viziers also showed no responsibilities for Upper Egypt, with the absence of *wr-md-šm^cw*, and all except for Nebemakhet held responsibilities for *htm(ty)-bity* with Ankhmare holding *htm(ty)-bity-n-iti.f*. One wonders if *htm(ty)-bity* was connected to the duties of the *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the site of these burials was the Central cemetery, near the cultic center of the kings on the Giza plateau, and in the absence *ḥm-ntr* titles dedicated to the cult of the gods or kings, it is reasonable to conclude these Viziers, the holders of the phallus symbol, were appointed exclusively to perform the duties of the mortuary cults of the kings.¹¹⁵ Strudwick

¹¹¹ Nikaure[38], Iuenmin[[4], Nebemakhet[39], and Sekhemkare[61] were buried S.E. of the Pyramid of Khafre and Ankhmare[11] buried at the south of the western end of the causeway of Khafre, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 106-7[78], 59[7], 108[81], 136[125] and 74[29], respectively; Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of Vizier*, 335; V. Dulíková, *The Institution of Vizierate in the Old Kingdom*. (Diploma thesis, Charles University in Prague; Prague 2008).

<https://www.academia.edu/7840125/Institute_vezir%C3%A1tu_N%C4%9Bkolik_pozn%C3%A1mek_k_vez%C3%ADr%C5%AFm_Star%C3%A9_%C5%99%C3%AD%C5%A1e> accessed, 13.7.2019, 7. Mapa gízké nekropole, 127.

¹¹² It is highly likely all these Viziers would have held the rank *ḥ3ty-^c* which is now missing from the titularies of Iuenmin[4] and Nebemakhet[39].

¹¹³ In fact, the extension of *iti.f* was dominant amongst these Viziers: *hry-sš3-n-iti.f*, *hry-tp-nḥb-n-iti.f*, *hrp-zš-n-iti.f*, *htm(ty)-bity-n-iti.f*, *zš-md3t-ntr-n-iti.f*, *smr-w^cty-n-iti.f* and *smsw-snw-t-n-iti.f*.

¹¹⁴ The connection between *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and *htm(ty)-bity* becomes evident in the Sixth Dynasty analysis of this paper.

¹¹⁵ *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt*, overseer of all works of the king, Jones, *Index*, 262-3[950]; This title was held by many Viziers in the Fourth Dynasty, however, none of the Viziers identified with phallus symbol buried in the Central Field, or Kawab, buried in the Eastern cemetery, were the holders of *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt* which could confirm that these Viziers were selected for a special function, that is, for the duties of the mortuary cults for the kings; For a study of the title *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt*, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 217–50.

and Dulíková date these Viziers from the end of Menkaure's reign to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, but it is difficult to determine if they served concurrently or sequentially.

Scholars have observed from the end of the Fourth-Dynasty to the start of the Fifth Dynasty that the royal members who held high offices, including the Vizierate, were excluded from the state administration but kept their high-ranking titles *iry-p^ct*, *ḥ3ty-^c*. Helck argued these princes were excluded from active duties of the state administration, but Baer believed the princes continued to perform their ceremonial duties. Strudwick suggested that the princes acted out their respective careers and indicated this process would have taken approximately twenty years to complete.¹¹⁶ While discussing the Viziers with the phallus symbol, Dulíková, dated them approximately from the reign of Menkaure to the reign of Sahure,¹¹⁷ and argued that the appending of the phallus symbol to the *Vizier* title distinguished the royals from the non-royals during the social transformation period, from the end of the Fourth-Dynasty to the early Fifth Dynasty.

The practice of entrusting a Vizier with mortuary cult duties and identifying him with the phallus symbol was initially seen with Kawab,^{118a} *ḥry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, buried in the Eastern cemetery and dated to the latter reign of king Khufu, and this practice continued with the Central Field Viziers, also identified by the phallus symbol, entrusted the duties of *ḥry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, and perhaps segregated from the mainstream state administration to predominately manage the mortuary cult activities.¹¹⁹ Therefore, the phallus symbol could signify the role of these Viziers with the titles *ḥry-ḥb-ḥry-tp* and *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f smsw*. Furthermore, it appears that the

¹¹⁶ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 2,6; Strudwick, *Administration*, 312, respectively.

¹¹⁷ Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of Vizier*, 335; Strudwick, *Administration*, 301. Strudwick dates Nikaure, Iuenmin, Nebemakhet, Ankhmare from Middle Khafre to Menkaure, and Sekhemkare from Menkaure to early Fifth Dynasty.

¹¹⁸ Kawab was buried in the Eastern cemetery, dated probably to the latter reign of Khufu. For dating see Strudwick, *Administration*, 147.

¹¹⁹ A recently discovered scene relief on blocks from Sahure's pyramid causeway which depicts Sahure's sons holding the titles *iry-p^ct*, *z3 nswt (smsw)*, *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*, *sm3 Mnw* and *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp n it.f* has been taken as evidence the princes were excluded from administrative duties. Dulíková, *Some notes on the title of 'Vizier*, 335.

phallus symbol was not a distinction between the royals and the non-royals, but as Helck suggested, the phallus symbol signified *ḥy*, ‘son’, and these Viziers, perhaps royal, were selected to perform the fundamental duties of sons in maintaining the mortuary cults, in this instance, for the kings.

4.1.4 Vizier dated to the end of the Fourth Dynasty

Vizier Duanre,¹²⁰ in Chart 1.3, occupied one of the largest tombs in the cemetery en-Echelon at Giza and was probably the last Vizier of the Fourth-Dynasty.



¹²⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, 162[161].

Chart 1.3 –Vizier dated to the end of the Fourth Dynasty¹²¹

buried at en-Echelon – Giza

				Giza - En Echelon
Name				Duaenre
Approx. Date				End Fourth
Vizier ID				76
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	161	
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	
Rank	1157	<i>iry p^ct</i>	x	
	1858	<i>h3ty-^c</i>	x	
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>		
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>		
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nswt</i>		
	2912	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i>	x	
	2913	<i>z3 nswt smsw</i>		
	2914	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f smsw</i>	?	
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>		
Priesthood of Gods				1
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w^c m wrw hb</i>		
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>		
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>		
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>		
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>	x	
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>		
	3241	<i>sm</i>		
Admin. Titles	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>		
	896	<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>		
	1437	<i>wr md šm^cw</i>		
	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>		
Legal	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>		
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>		
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3^ct</i>		
	2594	<i>hrp wsht</i>		
	2947	<i>z3b ^cd-mr</i>		

According to Strudwick, most Viziers from the early Fourth-Dynasty were from the royal family,¹²²until the appointment of Duanre, who Strudwick believed was of non-royal descent. However, considering previous patterns in the titles, it appears that Duanre might indeed be

¹²¹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 301.

¹²² Strudwick, *Administration*, 162–63, 338.

royal as he fits into the pattern of functional responsibilities before the Vizierate was restructured, and since his tomb was severely damaged, it is possible that some of his titles, like *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f-smsw*, have been lost.¹²³ The ranks *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c* held by most Viziers also appear in Duanre's titulary, but only his *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f* title has survived. Following the pattern observed in the Eastern cemetery with the royal Viziers Ankhaf and Kawab (Chart 1.1) who were the holders of *hry-hb-hry-tp* and one priestly title,¹²⁴ without the phallus symbol, the same pattern is discerned in Duanre's titulary except for the missing *smsw* in *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f-smsw*, therefore, it is possible to align Duanre as a royal Vizier.

Duanre was perhaps the last Vizier of the Fourth-Dynasty before the restructure of the Vizierate. It seems the Vizierate functioned continuously while isolating a group of Viziers, buried in the Central Field (Chart 1.2), identified by the phallus symbol, who held responsibilities for lector duties, and perhaps these are the Viziers referred to as 'honorary' Viziers by the scholars.¹²⁵

Two titles, *wr-md-Šm^cw*¹²⁶ and *htm(ty)-bity*¹²⁷ mentioned earlier, deserve a discussion as they are essential to the structure of the Vizierate. First, *wr-md-Šm^cw*, and while its specific function remains unclear, this title indicates responsibilities for Upper Egypt. In the Fifth Dynasty, with the introduction of the title *imy-r-Šm^cw*, most Viziers held this title simultaneously with *wr-md-Šm^cw*. Second, *htm(ty)-bity* appeared predominantly amongst the Viziers of the Fourth-Dynasty and was seen consistently amongst those Viziers holding the phallus symbol. Chart 1.4 below shows the Viziers responsible for these two functions.

¹²³ A. McFarlane, *The God Min to the End of the Old Kingdom*, (ACE Studies 3: Sydney, 1995), 96.

¹²⁴ *hm-ntr-B3(n)-^cnpt* and *hm-ntr Srkt*, respectively.


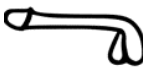
¹²⁵ Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 34.

¹²⁶ Jones, *Index*, 388 [1437], greatest/great one of the ten of Upper Egypt.

¹²⁷ Jones, *Index*, 763-764[2775], sealer of the King of Lower Egypt. However, see, M. Bárta, 'The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom' in *Archív Orientální* 67 (1999), 13, quoting Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 92; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, 215, 227, "treasurer", officials responsible for running and controlling the magazines of the king's residence.

4.1.5 Holders of *wr-md-šmꜥw* and *htm(ty)-bity*

Chart 1.4 – Viziers holding titles *wr-md-šmꜥw* and *htm(ty)-bity*

														
Viziers	Nefermaat Meidum	Hemunu	Ankhkaf	Kawab	Baefre	Khafmin	Nefermaat Giza	Khafkhufu-I	Duanre	Nikaure	Iumin	Nebemakhet	Ankhmare	Sekhemkare
<i>wr mḏ šmꜥw</i>			X	X										
<i>htm(ty) bity</i>	X	X	X				X	X		X	X		X	X

The distribution of the Viziers with Upper and Lower Egypt functions showed only Ankhaf held responsibilities for both, and Kawab was accountable for Upper Egypt. Eight Viziers held responsibilities for Lower Egypt, and those *hry-hb-hry-tp* with phallus symbol were attested only *htm(ty)-bity*. It appears the governance of Upper Egypt, at this stage, was not predominately under the umbrella of the Vizierate as the Viziers seem to have more interaction with Lower Egypt.

4.1.6 Summary of the Fourth Dynasty

In summary, the selected titles analysed for the Fourth-Dynasty identified the structure of the Vizierate with three groups of Viziers defined by different functions and identification, but on equal rank.

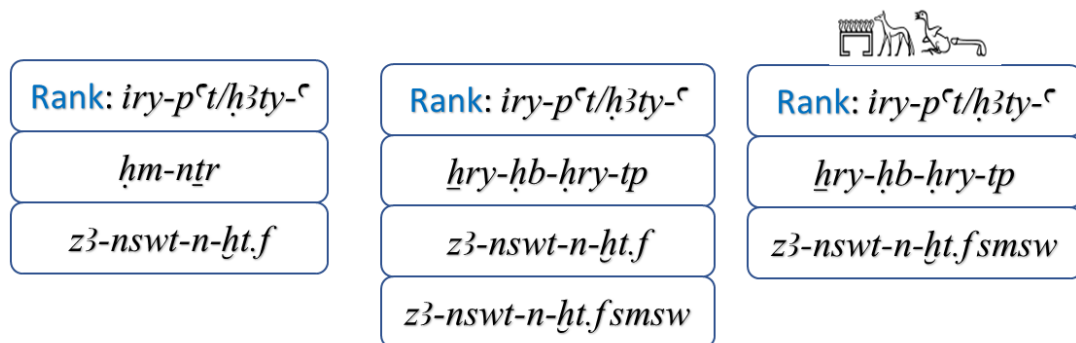
- First, the group of Viziers¹²⁸ holding *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f* and two or more *hm-ntr* titles carried responsibilities for the cultic services of gods or king and were dated from the reign of Sneferu to Khafre, with one buried at Meidum, but predominantly in the Eastern Field at Giza.

¹²⁸ Nefermaat (Meidum)[42], Hemunu[47], Baefre[19], probably Nefermaat(Giza)[41], and Khafkhufu I[53].

- Second, the group of Viziers¹²⁹ defined by the titles *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw* and *hry-hb-hry-tp*, and dated from mid-Khufu to the end of the Fourth-Dynasty, were buried in the Eastern Field at Giza, except for Duanre, who was buried in cemetery En-Echelon holding responsibilities for lector duties.
- Third, the group of Viziers¹³⁰ holding *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw* and *hry-hb-hry-tp*, and identified by phallus symbol, were dated approximately from the reign of Menkaure to early Fifth Dynasty and buried in the Central Field, except for Kawab, who was buried in the Eastern cemetery and perhaps approximately dated to Khufu's reign. This group, following the mortuary ideology, appears to have been segregated from the mainstream administrative functions with exclusive responsibilities for the mortuary cults, most probably for the kings at Giza.

The following illustration shows the structure of the Vizierate of the Fourth Dynasty with three groups of Viziers equally ranked, but distinct by their titles *z3-nswt*, *hry-hb*, and the phallus symbol

Summary of the Vizierate Structure of the Fourth Dynasty



This group held two or more *hm-ntr* titles.

This group held one or none of the *hm-ntr* titles.

This group held no *hm-ntr* titles.

h₃tm(ty)-bity was held by some *hm-ntr* of the gods as well as the *hry-hb-hry-tp* Viziers, but dominant amongst the Viziers with phallus symbol

¹²⁹ Ankhkaf[14], Kawab[69], Khafmin[52] and Duanre[76].

¹³⁰ Nikaure[38], Iuenmin[4], Nebemakhet[39], Ankhmare[11], and Sekhemkare[61].

In the Fourth-Dynasty, the Vizierate appears to have had more interaction with Lower Egypt than with Upper Egypt, and perhaps the Lower Egypt functions were somehow connected with mortuary cults, as seen among the holders of the phallus symbol. However, more research on the duties of the *hry-hb-hry-tp*¹³¹ needs to be undertaken to distinguish the responsibilities from the mortuary cults of the kings and their involvement with the burials of the officials. Nevertheless, the Viziers of the Fourth-Dynasty were of equal ranks, defined by the functions they performed, and the Vizierate structure was precise and systematically organised with the underlying focus on priesthood, and to a higher degree on the lector functions.

¹³¹ R. Forshaw, *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian Society* (Oxford, 2014), provides invaluable information and a good start for the study of the lectors, but more research needs to be undertaken for the lectors in the Old Kingdom administration.

4.2 The Fifth Dynasty (2435–2306 BCE)¹³²

Userkaf with the Horus-name *ir-M3ʿt* or “one who did Ma’at”¹³³ was attested to the first king of the Fifth Dynasty. The result of this writer’s previous research on the title *ḥm-ntr-M3ʿt* and other judiciary titles indicated that while the *legal titles* were dominant in the Fifth Dynasty, they declined in the Sixth Dynasty. Therefore, it seems Userkaf’s Horus-name of “doing Ma’at” encompassed this dominant driven legal policy in the Fifth Dynasty, but how was this reflected at the Vizierate level?

The introduction of several new titles held by the Viziers indicated an expansion of the state administration¹³⁴ in the early-Fifth Dynasty. A “smooth” transition of the government from the late-Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty was evidenced in the tombs of three officials,¹³⁵ but this analysis proposes the gradual process of the transitioning of the Vizierate from the early-Fifth Dynasty until the introduction of the standardised ranking system by Neferirkare, and in addition, reforms of the Vizierate instigated by later kings.

¹³² The Fifth Dynasty spanned approximately 129 years, Bárta, *Radjedef to the Eighth Dynasty*, 3; Several achievements of the Fifth Dynasty are known, amongst them, the construction of a new type of pyramid complex with sun temples, Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 85; Userkaf undertook a campaign into Nubia and additional expeditions were sent out, including Byblos. Verner, *The Pyramids*, 265–6, 272; Egypt opened to the outside world both northward and southward, Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 76; Userkaf renewed and developed commercial contacts with foreign lands as far as the Greek Islands. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 168; The Palermo Stone records some of the events of the Fifth Dynasty, namely religion and gods, temple enlargements, food and land offerings made to the cults of gods. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals*, 155–80; This period saw the rise of the cult of Osiris. Verner, *The Pyramids*, 272; During Djedkare’s reign, the cult of Osiris moved into the foreground. In administration, a new trend was observed in the reorganisation of royal mortuary cult at the pyramid complexes and the introduction of a standardised ranking system. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 296–97.

¹³³ As opposed to Sneferu, whose Horus name was *Lord of Ma’at*; Boyo Ockinga provided the most literal translation of *ir-M3ʿt*; I am also indebted to Grant Hayes for the alternative translation *One who has made Order*; Verner translated Userkaf’s name as *He Who Has Established (lit. made) Order*, Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 29; For other translations of this title, see Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 75; Baker, *Encyclopaedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs*, 484; Bárta, *Radjedef to the Eighth Dynasty*, 5.

¹³⁴ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 296–97.

¹³⁵ Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 33; Verner provides evidence to support this argument and indicated no textual evidence suggested a break between the reigns of Shepseskaf, the last king of the Fourth Dynasty, and Userkaf, the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, and that the continuity of government was confirmed in the tombs of three officials with no later records indicating any disruptions.

4.2.1 Viziers from early-Fifth Dynasty to the early-Sixth Dynasty

Chart 2 lists the Viziers of the Fifth Dynasty, a group divided into four sections for discussion.¹³⁶

Chart 2 – Overview of the titles of the Viziers from the early Fifth Dynasty to the early-Sixth Dynasty

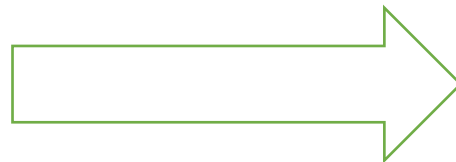
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

* m3r
 ** h3p wr md 3m3w
 ? Probable that the Viziers held the title which is now missing.
 The holders of Priest of Ma'at title is incorporated in the Legal titles.

¹³⁶ The early to the mid-Fifth Dynasty; the mid-Fifth Dynasty until before Djedkare's reign; Djedkare's reign; and Unis' reign until the early Sixth Dynasty.

4.2.2 The Early-Fifth to the mid-Fifth Dynasty

Chart 2.1 lists Viziers Seshathotep-Heti, Seshemnefer-I? Babaf, Kainefer, and Washptah are dated from the early to the mid-Fifth Dynasty. It became evident from the analysis of these titles that the Vizierate was restructured during the early-Fifth Dynasty. Moreover, when the titles of Seshemnefer I-III were analysed, Seshemnefer-I was considered the best contender for the Vizier depicted on King Sahure's relief,¹³⁷ as the patterns in his titles were similar to those Viziers of the Fourth and early-Fifth Dynasties.



¹³⁷ T.E. Awady, 'The royal family of Sahura: New evidence', in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005, Proceedings of the conference held in Prague (June 27-July 5, 2005)* (Prague, 2006), 191-218, 193; Seshemnefer-I was dated to the Fifth Dynasty, probably from Sahure to Niuserre's reign. See Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 16, 55.

Chart 2.1 – Viziers dated from early to the mid-Fifth Dynasty

buried at en-Echelon, Giza, Dashur and Saqqara ¹³⁸

		Name	Seshathotep-Heti	Seshemnefer I	Babaf	Kainefer	Werbauba	Washptah
		Approx. Date	early-Fifth Dynasty to mid-Fifth Dynasty					
		Vizier ID	63	64	18	70	16	15
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	126	129	42	148	39	37
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	?	x	x	x	x
Rank	1157	<i>iry p^ct</i>	x		x	x		
	1858	<i>h3ty^c</i>	x	?	x	x		x
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>	x	x				
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>				x		x
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nswt</i>						
	2912	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i>	x	?	x	x		
	2913	<i>z3 nswt smsw</i>						
	2914	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f smsw</i>	x			x		
	3645	<i>sdy nswt</i>			x			x
Priesthood of Gods			5	3	3	7		4
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w^c m wrw hb</i>	x			x		
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>	x			x		
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>	x	?	x	x		x
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>						
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>				x		x
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>						
	3241	<i>sm</i>						x
Admin. Titles	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>						
	694	<i>Imy-r h3swt</i>						
	896	<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>						
	1437	<i>wr md šm^cw</i>	x	x				
	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>						
Legal	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>				x		x
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>				x		x
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3^ct</i>						x
	2594	<i>hrp wsht</i>						x
	2947	<i>z3b^cd-mr</i>		x		x		
? Probable that the Viziers held the title which is now missing. The holders of Priest of Ma'at title is incorporated in the Legal titles.								

¹³⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, 82, 137.

The career of Vizier Seshathotep-Heti, interred in the en-Echelon cemetery, was divided into two phases:¹³⁹ the first phase, with rank *rh-nswt* and titles *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*,¹⁴⁰ *hry-hb*, and *wr-md-Šmꜥw*, the second phase, when Vizier, *iry-pꜥt*, *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, *hm-ntr* of several gods,¹⁴¹ *wꜥ-m-wrw-hb* and *wr-m3w-iwnw*.¹⁴² The rank *rh-nswt*, which Seshathotep-Heti held before his promotion to the Vizierate, was not detected amongst the Viziers of the Fourth-Dynasty. An important point to note is that Seshathotep-Heti held *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, previously a prerogative of *hry-hb-hry-tp*; however, the absence of *hry-hb-hry-tp* in his titularies is evident. Nevertheless, Seshathotep-Heti was also a holder of *wꜥ-m-wrw-hb*,¹⁴³ and it is possible he had overall authority, which would have exceeded those in charge of the festivals of the mortuary cults,¹⁴⁴ and hence this could be interpreted as the reason for him assigned *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*. Seshathotep-Heti also held one of the most prestigious titles of the Fifth Dynasty, *wr-m3w-iwnw*;¹⁴⁵ it seems, he was an exceedingly important official in the early-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁴⁶

An analysis of the titles of Seshemnefer I–III was undertaken to identify Vizier Seshemnefer depicted on the relief of King Sahure.¹⁴⁷ It is possible that Seshemnefer-I could have been the holder of the Vizierate identified by his rank and titles, which parallel the Viziers of the Fourth

¹³⁹ Seshathotep-Heti had other titles, but only those titles analysed are mentioned, for his full titulary see, Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 18, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Rahotep of Meidum was also attested *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* but he was not a Vizier. Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*, 97.

¹⁴¹ *hm-ntr B3 ꜥnpt*, *hm-ntr B3stt*, *hm-ntr Hr-Stḥ*, *hm-ntr Hnti-Hm ꜥnd hm-ntr Szmtt*. See Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 18, 12.

¹⁴² Seshathotep-Heti's career was divided before and after his appointment to the Vizierate, but his tomb, it appears, was decorated before his appointment as his title *Vizier* only appears inscribed on the statue found in his tomb. Scholars are divided in their opinion if the statue belonged to the owner of this tomb. Junker believed the statue belonged to the tomb owner's parents while Strudwick and Kanawati are of the opinion it could belong to the tomb owner. It must be pointed out that while the titles were inscribed on the statue, the owner's name on the statue was missing. See Strudwick, *Administration*, 136-37; Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 18, 12.

¹⁴³ Unique one amongst the greatest of the festival, Jones, *Index*, 366[1353].

¹⁴⁴ Kanawati discussed Junker's observation that an official by the name of Heti appeared in the "most prominent position" on the funerary temple of Sahure, but he was not described as a king's son which led Kanawati to conclude he was not Sahure's son. Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 18, 16-18.

¹⁴⁵ *wr m3w iwnw* was previously held by Rahotep of the Third Dynasty, but he was not a Vizier, Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*, 97.

¹⁴⁶ However, it is difficult to deduce, when appointed to the Vizierate, if the officials continued performing their previous tasks or only the new duties assigned to them at their promotion.

¹⁴⁷ Awady, Royal family of Sahura, 191-218, 193; Seshemnefer-I was dated to the Fifth Dynasty, probably from Sahure to Niuserre's reign. See Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 16, 55.

and the early-Fifth Dynasties. There are similarities in the titles of Seshemnefer-I and Vizier Seshathotep-Heti; both are dated to Sahure's reign and attested the rank *rh-nswt* and title *wr-mdw-Šmꜥw*. The rank *rh-nswt* was uncommon amongst the Viziers, and only Seshathotep-Heti held this title before his Vizierate appointment, and that both Seshathotep-Heti and Seshemnefer-I received their promotion to the Vizierate under the same king after their tombs were decorated, is possible. Seshemnefer-I also held three priesthood titles common among the Viziers of the Fourth Dynasty holding *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, but *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* is missing from Seshemnefer-I's titulary.¹⁴⁸ However, it is possible to align Seshemnefer-I to the Viziers of the Fourth Dynasty. The gradual appearing of *legal* titles in the Viziers' titularies is discerned, and in this instance, *z3b-ꜥd-mr*,¹⁴⁹ and *hry-tp-nswt*,¹⁵⁰ in Seshemnefer-I's titulary.

Babaf, who was ranked *iry-pꜥt* and *h3ty-ꜥ* was also buried in the en-Echelon cemetery. He held the title *sdty-nswt*, a new title previously not held by the Viziers, which identified Babaf as a foster child of the king.¹⁵¹ Therefore, Babaf could have been the first non-royal Vizier, and this could indicate the transitioning of the Vizierate from royals to non-royals. Babaf also held priesthood titles¹⁵² and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, but as a holder of *hry-hb-hry-tp*, he lacked *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw* previously seen amongst the holders of *hry-hb-hry-tp*. The lack of this title could also indicate he was a non-royal and that *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw* was a prerogative of the royals. Babaf's appointment was one of the pivotal turning points in the Vizierate during the transition

¹⁴⁸ For Seshemnefer's full titulary see, Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 16, 51–52.

¹⁴⁹ The possible meaning of *ꜥd-mr* appearing in the legal titles of the officials; *ꜥd*, meaning to *hack up, destroy* and *mr*, meaning *canal*. The official holding this title could be responsible for the digging of canals. A particularly important title as this was one of the principal duties of the king as seen on the scorpion macehead. I am indebted to Grant Hayes for bringing the literal meaning of *ꜥd-mr* to my attention. R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1999), 51, 111, respectively. The scorpion macehead is now the acquisition of the Ashmolean Museum.

¹⁵⁰ Seshemnefer-I held two *hry-tp-nswt* titles; *hry-tp-nswt hwt-Hr-hpr* and *hry-tp-nswt*. While *hry-tp-nswt* with an extension signify particular function and continued to be used throughout the Old Kingdom, *hry-tp-nswt* as a legal rank, became the norm in the Fifth Dynasty. It is difficult to establish the first holder of this legal rank, but it is possible that Seshemnefer-I, if a Vizier, was the first to hold this rank at the Vizierate level.

¹⁵¹ M. Garcia, *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 115–17; Jones, *Index*, 986[3645]; N. Kanawati and J. Swinton, *Egypt in the Sixth Dynasty, Challenges and Responses* (Abercromby Press, Wallasey, 2018), 174–76.

¹⁵² *hm-ntr hr Km3-ꜥ*, *hm-ntr Dhwtj*.

period from royal to non-royal Viziers, and the priesthood and lector functions, previously predominantly separate, were consolidated under one Vizier.

Following on from Seshathotep-Heti and Babaf, similar patterns in titles were detected in the titularies of Kainefer and Washptah, but the emergence of more *legal titles* was also discerned. Kainefer was interred at Dashur, but some scholars have disputed his chronology.¹⁵³ Washptah, on the other hand, through his biography is dated to Neferirkare's reign,¹⁵⁴ and he was the pivotal point of departure from the transition period when the standardised ranking system, which Baer discussed, was first introduced.¹⁵⁵

Kainefer also held the new rank, *hry-tp-nswt*, in addition to *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, and his other titles were *z3-nzwt-n-iti.f*, *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, and several other priesthood titles,¹⁵⁶ amongst which were *hm-ntr-Snfrw* and *hm-ntr-Hr-nb-M3^ct*, reflecting Sneferu's Horus name, *nb-M3^ct*. Kainefer, also like Seshathotep-Heti, lacked *hry-hb-hry-tp* but held *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, *w^c-m-rrw-hb* and *wr-m3w-iwnw*. However, noteworthy were the *legal titles* in Kainefer's titulary, *hry-tp-nswt*, *iwn-knmwt*, *mdw-rhyt*,¹⁵⁷ and *z3b-^cd-mr* (Seshemnefer-I previously held *hry-tp-nswt* and *z3b-^cd-mr*).

¹⁵³ Baer argued for a date of mid-Fourth Dynasty according to Kainefer's ranked titles, Baer, *Rank and Titles*, 294; Kanawati dated him to the end of the Fourth Dynasty according to the size and construction of the tombs of that period, Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 123; Strudwick conceded the tomb plan and false door of Kainefer were like those of the early Fifth Dynasty but took into consideration Schmitz's view who believed that Kainefer's tenure of the Vizierate was honorific and dated him toward the end of the Old Kingdom, however, Strudwick concluded Kainefer's dating was "unclear" and wavered between either "the late Old Kingdom or early to middle Fifth Dynasty". Strudwick, *Administration*, 153; However, Strudwick's recent publication tentatively placed Kainefer to the early Fifth Dynasty; N.C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta, 2005), 243–44.

¹⁵⁴ Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 318–20; The location of Washptah's tomb is uncertain. While Mariette identified tomb D.38 at Saqqara as the location of Washptah's tomb, Verner proposed his tomb had not yet been found, as according to details in his biography, it could lie closer to Abusir, A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de L'ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 267–71; Strudwick, *Administration*, 79–80[37]; Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 54, respectively.

¹⁵⁵ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 27–28.

¹⁵⁶ *hm-ntr wnw nzw*, *hm-ntr B3st m swt nbt*, *hm-ntr hr mhyt*, *hm-ntr hr nb-M3^ct*, *hm-ntr hr nb msn*, *hm-ntr sbk mhyt*, *hm-ntr snfrw*, See Strudwick, *Administration*, 152.

¹⁵⁷ The legal titles were easily recognisable as most of these titles were held by *Priests of Ma'at* in this writer's previous research of this title. The titles *mdw-rhyt* and *iwn-knmwt* usually appear together. Also see Strudwick on legal titles, Strudwick, *Administration*, 178.

Both Kainefer and Seshathotep-Heti's titles indicated the former probably succeeded the latter into the Vizierate with both holding similar titles, including *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smw*. But noticeably absent from their titularies was *hry-hb-hry-tp*, which was linked previously to *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smw*. There is no doubt that these two Viziers holding *w^c-m-wrw-hb* and *wr-m3w-iwnw* were assigned a special role in the Vizierate. The main difference was that Kainefer was possibly the first Vizier to hold the *legal titles*, *iwn-knmwt* and *mdw-rhyt*, characteristic of *legal* activities. While the meaning of *iwn-knmwt* is unknown, *mdw-rhyt* could be an important title, as the Rekhyets, throughout the history of Egypt, were regularly depicted near the kings' feet,¹⁵⁸ and significantly, in the early-Fifth Dynasty, they had representation at the highest level of administration, the Vizierate.

Washptah¹⁵⁹ lacked the highest rank *iry-p^t* but was a holder of *h3ty-^c* and *hry-tp-nswt*, and from this point onwards, until perhaps the beginning of the reign of Djedkare or thereabouts, all Viziers held either the lower rank *h3ty-^c*,¹⁶⁰ or *hry-tp-nswt* or both, and this appeared to be a turning point of a hierarchical structure of the Vizierate of the Fifth Dynasty, unlike the Viziers of the Fourth Dynasty who were equally ranked but defined by the functions they performed. Like Babaf, Washptah was also a *sdty-nswt*, and a holder of *hry-hb-hry-tp* but lacked the *z3-nzwt* titles. However, he was also entrusted the responsibilities of *sm* priest, previously unseen amongst the Viziers. Washptah's titulary, like Kainefer's, showed *legal titles*, *hry-tp-nswt*, *iwn-knmwt*, *mdw-rhyt*, and a new *legal title*, *hrp-wsht*.¹⁶¹ Noticeable also was the rare occurrence of the *z3-nswt* titles from Washptah's appointment until the end of the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁶² While Kainefer held *hm-ntr-Hr-nb-M3^ct*, referring to Sneferu's cultic

¹⁵⁸ R.A. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 87; For the study of the Rekhyets, see A. Nibbi, *Lapwings and Libyans in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1986).

¹⁵⁹ Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 318–20.

¹⁶⁰ See Strudwick, *Administration*, 307.

¹⁶¹ This title was not seen in Kainefer's titulary. However, the grouping of legal titles, *iwn-knmwt*, *mdw-rhyt*, *hrp-wsht* and *z3b ^cd-mr* will be referred to as *legal titles* in this paper.

¹⁶² However, a scene in Seshemnefer III's tomb lists titles among which is *Vizier* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, but the holder of these titles has recently been disputed by Pieke and Altenmuller; G. Pieke, 'Der Grabherr und die

activities, Washptah could be the first holder of the title *ḥm-ntr-M3ʿt* at the Vizierate level, and this title became prominent in the titularies of the officials of the Fifth Dynasty, along with the titles *hry-tp-nswt*, *mdw-rhyt* and *iwn-knmwt*.¹⁶³

In summary, the Vizierate was restructured in the early Fifth Dynasty with Seshathotep-Heti, and Kainefer, probably royals, assigned a special role in the Vizierate. Assigning Viziers' special duties was noted among the Viziers distinguished by the phallus symbol, buried mostly in the Central Field at Giza, their tenure overlapping with the Viziers of the early Fifth Dynasty,¹⁶⁴ while Babaf and Washptah as *sdty-nswt*, and possibly non-royals, continued performing the duties of state administration. The gradual introduction of *legal titles*,¹⁶⁵ discerned in the titularies of Kainefer and Washptah, however, laid the foundation of the Fifth Dynasty.

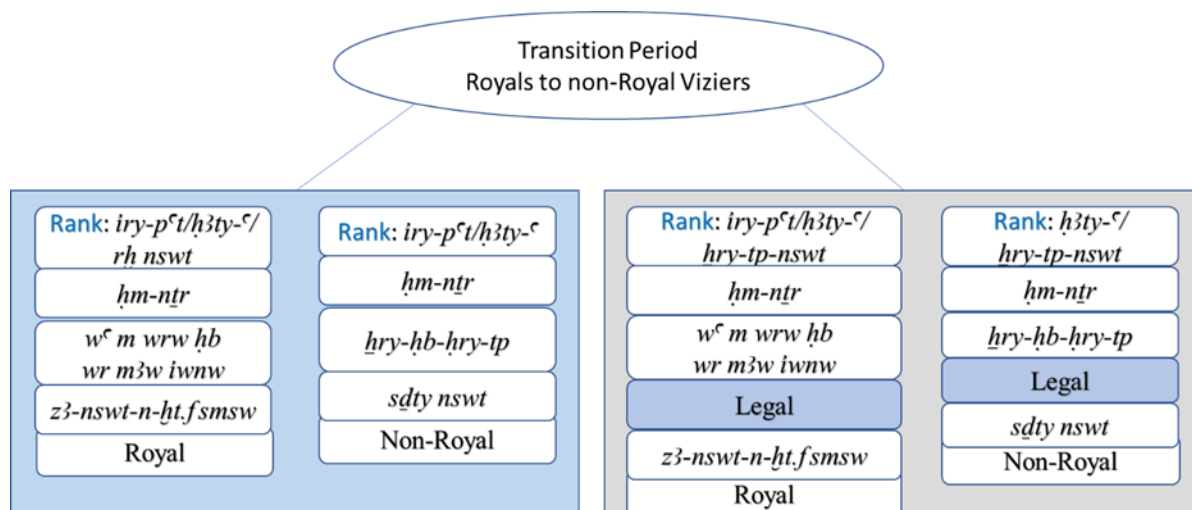
The following illustration shows two phases of transition between the royals and the non-royals, the latter showing the emergence of *legal titles*.

Lotosblume Zu lokalen und geschlechtsspezifischen Traditionen eines Motivkreises', in: M. Bárta, *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, Proceedings of the Conference*, (May 31-June 4, 2004), (Prague 2004), 259–80; H. Altenmüller, 'Family, ancestor cult and some observations on the chronology of the late Fifth Dynasty,' Originalveröffentlichung in: H. Vymazalová, M. Bárta (Hg.), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C.). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague* (June 11-14, 2007), (Prague 2008), 144–61.

¹⁶³ However, Washptah's legal titles *hry-tp-nswt*, *mdw-rhyt*, *iwn knmwt*, *hrp wsht*, and *ḥm-ntr M3ʿt* appear only once at the most-bottom row of the lintel and nowhere else on his false door. For Washptah's false door, see Mariette, *Mastabas*, 268–71.

¹⁶⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, 313.

¹⁶⁵ *Legal Titles*; *iwn-knmwt*, *mdw-rhyt*, *hrp wsht* and *z3b ʿd-mr*.



In the Fourth-Dynasty, the priesthood and lector functions were held predominately by different Viziers distinguished by *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* for priesthood and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw* for *hry-hb-hry-tp*. The beginning of the consolidation of priesthood and lector activities was seen in Babaf's titulary, and later further consolidation of these functions, including *legal* under one Vizier was detected from Kainefer onwards.¹⁶⁶ The disappearance of *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, and the withdrawal of issuing the highest rank, *iry-p^ct*, was discerned from Washptah's appointment.

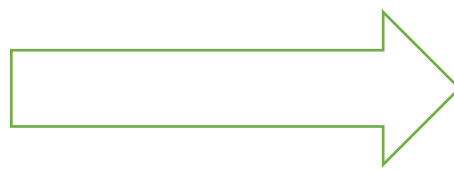
4.2.3 The mid-Fifth Dynasty up to but not including Djedkare's reign

The restructure of the Vizierate continued in the mid-Fifth Dynasty with the disappearance of *z3-nswt* titles and variants.¹⁶⁷ The decline of the Priesthood and Lector functions continued, but a rise in legal activities appears, a marked difference from the Fourth-Dynasty.

¹⁶⁶ In Kainefer's case, while he was attested *hry-hb*, he was assigned a grander title *w^c m wrw hb*, which probably encompassed all the festivals including those pertaining to mortuary festivals.

¹⁶⁷ Strudwick lists Vizier Ptahshepses of Abusir holding *z3 nswt* title, but Verner made no mention of this title in his recent publication of Ptahshepses' inscriptions. See Strudwick, *Administration*, 89–90[52]; M. Verner, *Abusir-I, The Mastaba of Ptahshepses Reliefs I/1*, (Prague, 1977), 124–29, respectively.

Chart-2.2¹⁶⁸ lists Viziers from Washptah to Qar, dated from the mid-Fifth Dynasty until before Djedkare's reign, aligned mostly to Strudwick's relative chronology.¹⁶⁹ Due to the restructuring of the Vizierate with the standardised ranking system,¹⁷⁰ Washptah was probably the first holder of the lower rank *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, in addition to holding the legal rank *ḥry-tp-nswt*,¹⁷¹ which could be linked to the titles of *Legal* activities. Some of the Viziers' titularies were incomplete, and until further evidence is found, all the Viziers on this chart would probably be holders of the lower rank *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*. Nevertheless, Werbauba¹⁷² and Minnofer are known from their depiction of the mortuary temples of Sahure and Niuserre, respectively.¹⁷³ Although Werbauba's tomb is yet to be discovered,¹⁷⁴ a recent discovery could have uncovered additional information concerning Minnofer, who may have been a holder of the phallus symbol.¹⁷⁵ If this is the case, then it is possible the Viziers with phallus symbol with mortuary duties, continued to be appointed in the mid-Fifth Dynasty, but whether their rank was also reduced to *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* or they retained the *z3-nzwt-n-ht.f-smsw*, is unknown.



¹⁶⁸ It is acknowledged that this thesis may not project a complete picture of the Vizierate due to incomplete titularies of the Viziers and with only a few selected titles for study.

¹⁶⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 301.

¹⁷⁰ Perhaps in the reign of Neferirkare.

¹⁷¹ See Strudwick's discussion on fluctuating ranks among the Viziers. Strudwick, *Administration*, 307.

¹⁷² Verner believes Werbauba was Sahure's Vizier in his early reign, Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 43.

¹⁷³ Strudwick, *Administration*, 80, 92.

¹⁷⁴ According to Verner, Werbauba's tomb has not yet been found, Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 43.

¹⁷⁵ See 2.1.11, an article on the recent discovery by M.J. Raven.

Chart 2.2 –Viziers dated from the mid-Fifth Dynasty up to but not including the reign of Djedkare

		Name	Washptah	Minnofer	Sekhemankhptah	Kai	Phenewikai	Ptahshepses	Qar
		Approx. Date	mid-Fifth Dynasty						
		Vizier ID	15	27	60	67	20	26	66
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	37	55	123	136	45	52	-
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rank	1157	<i>lry pꜣt</i>							
	1858	<i>h3ty ꜣ</i>	x		x		x	x	
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>							
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>	x		x	x	x		x
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nzwt</i>							
	2912	<i>z3 nzwt n ht.f</i>							
	2913	<i>z3 nzwt smsw</i>							
	2914	<i>z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw</i>							
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>	x						
Priesthood of Gods			4	1		3	2	1	
Lector & Related	1353	<i>wꜣ m wrw hb</i>							
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>							
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>	x	x					
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>							
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>	x					x	
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>							
	3241	<i>sm</i>	x						
Admin. Titles	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>							
	694	<i>Imy-r h3swt</i>							
	896	<i>imy-r Šmꜣw</i>							
	1437	<i>wr md šmꜣw</i>							
	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>							
Legal	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>	x			x	?		x
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>	x		x	x	x		x
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3ꜣt</i>	x			x			
	2594	<i>hrp wsht</i>	x			x	x		
	2947	<i>z3b ꜣd-mr</i>				x	x		x
? Probable that the Viziers held the title which is now missing. The holders of Priest of Ma'at title is incorporated in the Legal titles.									

The overall structure of the Vizierate on Chart 2.2 could be divided into three groups of Viziers holding principal titles:

- (1) *hry-hb-hry-tp*,
- (2) *htm(ty)-bity*, and
- (3) *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6/imy-r-Šmꜣw*.

These Viziers were ranked either *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *ḥry-tp-nswt*, or both. The two new titles, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-šmꜥw* were included in the analysis as these titles formed patterns relevant to the discussion of the Fifth Dynasty administrative structure. Strudwick proposed “that the overall charge of the legal system was the Vizier with the title *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*,¹⁷⁶ probably the ultimate legal office introduced in the reign of Neweserre,¹⁷⁷ and this title was considered to find the correlation between *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and other *legal titles*. Kanawati observed that not all Viziers held *imy-r-šmꜥw*,¹⁷⁸ but it became evident that those Viziers holding this title also held *wr md šmꜥw*, a title already observed among the Viziers of the Fourth-Dynasty. The holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw* also held several *legal titles*, therefore, *imy-r-šmꜥw* was also considered for analysis. The *legal titles* forming the *legal* group were composed of the titles first attested in the titularies of Kainefer and Washptah¹⁷⁹ during the transition period of the Vizierate, from royal to non-royal, and their progress monitored over the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties.

Washptah and Kai held the most *ḥm-ntr* titles, but subsequently, these titles diminished from the Viziers’ titularies. However, Washptah and Ptahshepses¹⁸⁰ were holders of *ḥry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, their highest rank *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, with Washptah also holding *ḥry-tp-nswt*. It is possible Ptahshepses succeeded Washptah in some of the responsibilities of the Vizierate as similar titles were discerned in both their titularies, but unlike Washptah, Ptahshepses did not hold *legal titles*¹⁸¹ or the rank of *ḥry-tp-nswt*.

¹⁷⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, 198; Also see 2.1.6(2).

¹⁷⁷ Strudwick, *Administration*, 337.

¹⁷⁸ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 14.

¹⁷⁹ *Legal titles*; *iwn-knmwt*, *mdw-rḥyt*, *ḥrp wsḥt* and *z3b ꜥd-mr*.

¹⁸⁰ According to Verner, Ptahshepses was one of Niuserre’s Viziers who probably succeeded Minnofer. Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 71; However, if Minnofer held the phallus symbol, then it is possible he was one of the special Viziers to hold responsibilities for the mortuary cult unlike Ptahshepses who held no phallus symbol.

¹⁸¹ Compare titles of Washptah[15] and Ptahshepses[26] *imy-iz Nḥn*, *iry-nfr ḥ3t*, *ꜥ3 dw3w*, *minw Nḥn*, *ḥm-ntr Nḥbt* (*nbt ꜥḥ ntr šmꜥw*), *ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3t*, *ḥry sšt3 n mdw ntr*, *ḥt* (bow?), *ḥry-tp Nḥb*, *ḥry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, *smr wꜥty*. Ptahshepses’ heritage is unknown, but he is known to have married princess Khamernernebt. However, an observation by this writer was made on the false door of Washptah. Two of Washptah’s sons are depicted, Izi and Ptahshepses, identified by *smsw*, indicating both were eldest sons, and both were also referred to as *ḥry-ḥb*. In the table of offering scene, both are designated *ḥry-tp nswt*, but Izi also held *iwn knmwt* while Ptahshepses remained *ḥry-ḥb*. With Ptahshepses also holding several of Washptah’s titles, is it possible that this Ptahshepses could be Washptah’s son who succeeded him later into the Vizierate; On princess

The title *htm(ty)-bity* was dominant amongst the titularies of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* Viziers of the Fourth-Dynasty, especially those Viziers assigned the phallus symbol,¹⁸² but the restructuring of the Vizierate by the mid-Fifth Dynasty appeared to have created a separate office for the holders of *htm(ty)-bity*. Dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty by Strudwick, this office was perhaps first held by Sekhemankhptah, who was succeeded by Phenwikai, with ranks *ḥ3ty-ḥ*, *hry-tp-nswt*, but only Phenwikai's *legal titles* have survived. There appears to be a disagreement on the dating of Sekhemankhptah by Harpur based on art decoration, whereby she favours Sekhemankhptah's dating from mid-Djedkare to Unis.¹⁸³ However, according to the structure of the Vizierate, Strudwick aligns Sekhemankhptah and Phenwikai under one king, and this is acceptable. However, it could be possible that Sekhemankhptah succeeded Phenwikai into the Vizierate, instead of the other way around. When Djedkare reformed the Vizierate, the title, *htm(ty)-bity*, held by Sekhemankhptah and Phenwikai, was reinstated under *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, is discussed below. This could imply that Sekhemankhptah's career as a Vizier was potentially over in the early years of Djedkare's reign when he restructured the Vizierate. As Harpur dates Sekhemankhptah to mid-Djedkare it could be likely that Sekhemankhptah completed his tomb decoration in Djedkare reign after his tenure of the Viziership. Our knowledge of the Viziers' continued service into the succeeding king's reign, or their retirement, is limited. This could also be the case of Vizier Qar, as discussed in Observation I of this paper.

The first holder of the two newly created titles, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šmḥw*, according to Strudwick's relative chronology, was Kai, and he also held *ḥm-ntr* and *legal titles*. However,

Khamerernebt, see Verner, *Abusir*, 160; V.G. Callender, 'Reflections on Princess Khamerernebt of Abusir,' in V.G. Callender, L. Bareš, M. Barta, J. Jarnák and J. Krejčí(eds), *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Prague, 2011). For Washptah's false door, see Mariette, *Mastabas*, 268–71.

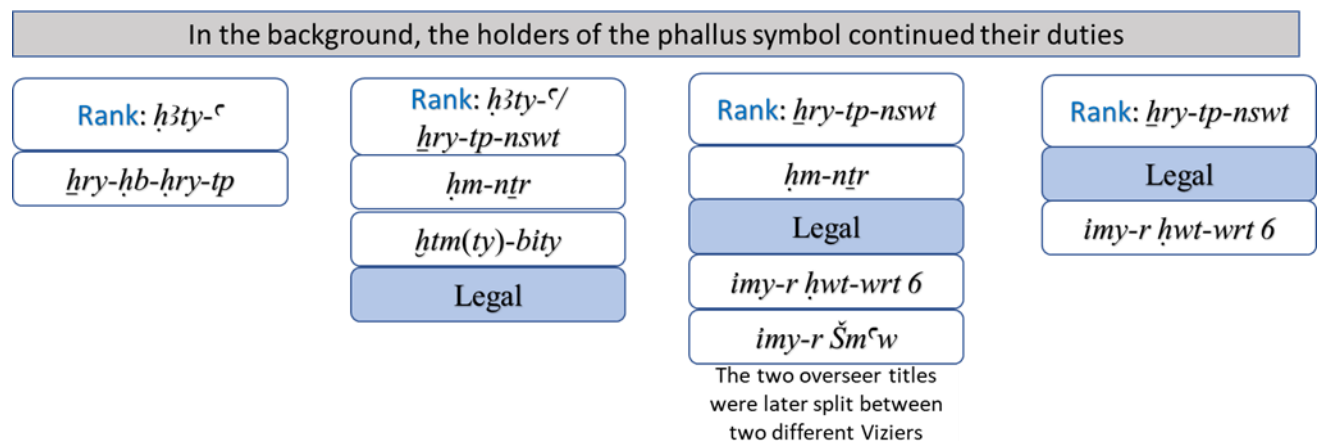
¹⁸² See Chart-1.5.

¹⁸³ A. Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhemankh-Ptah, and Kaemnofert*, (Los Angeles, 1978), 15-23, figs. 18-24, pls. 14-23; Verner, *Sons of the Sun*, 71.

most significant was that his rank was only that of *hry-tp-nswt*, unlike most of the other Viziers in this group holding the higher rank *h3ty-ꜥ*. The identity of the king, who subsequently reformed the Vizierate by separating these two titles, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, from under one Vizier to be held by two different Viziers, is uncertain. However, Qar¹⁸⁴ could have succeeded Kai as the next holder of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and was the first, and probably the only Vizier in the Old Kingdom to head the stand-alone office of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, with similar *legal titles* held by Kai, including the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt*. No other parallel of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, with the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt*, has been found in the Vizierate, and therefore Qar's Viziership was scrutinized and discussed in Observation 1 below.

In summary, from the mid-Fifth Dynasty to before Djedkare's reign, the Vizierate structure can be grouped as follows:

Summary of the Vizierate from the mid-Fifth Dynasty preceding Djedkare's reign



The *hm-ntr* and *hry-hb-hry-tp* titles declined during this period, a vast difference from the Fourth-Dynasty when several Viziers held the Priesthood and lector titles; however, an increase in the holders of *legal titles* was discerned. An observation made was that *htm(ty)-bity* was no

¹⁸⁴ Bárta, *Vizier Qar*, 2009.

longer held by *hry-hb-hry-tp* as seen among the holders of the phallus symbol in the Fourth Dynasty but found in the titularies of other Viziers. One Vizier initially held both the titles *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-šmꜥw* at its introduction, which was later split between two Viziers.¹⁸⁵

The highest rank of this group during this period was *h3ty-ꜥ* attested by the holders of *hry-hb-hry-tp* and *htm(ty)-bity*, and except for Ptahshepses, a *hry-hb-hry-tp*, the other Viziers also held the rank *hry-tp nswt* which indicates they were holders of *legal titles*. However, the holders of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-šmꜥw* were not attested *h3ty-ꜥ* but held the legal rank *hry-tp nswt*.

At the introduction of the *legal titles*, and with many Viziers attested these titles in the early-Fifth Dynasty indicate the focus of the Fifth Dynasty was changing from that of the Fourth-Dynasty when many Viziers from mid-Khufu's reign held lector titles.

4.2.4 Djedkare's reign

Chart 2.3 lists six Viziers during Djedkare's reign, and the analysis of their titles indicated that that the Ptahhotep family was prominent and immensely influential during this period, and an insight into their tenure of the Vizierate is discussed below. Ptahhotep-LS31, who held similar titles to Ptahhotep-Djesher, has been tentatively placed before Senedjemib-Inti.¹⁸⁶ It is either during Djedkare or just before Djedkare's reign that the highest rank *iry-pꜥt* was revived.¹⁸⁷ A restructured Vizierate was seen in this group, and the Priesthood disappeared from the Viziers' titularies, except for the two *hm-ntr* titles, which seemed to be associated with *legal* activities.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ The next holder of the title *imy-r-šmꜥw* is discussed in Djedkare's reign.

¹⁸⁶ See Observation 2 below on the analysis of Ptahhotep-LS31.

¹⁸⁷ Strudwick argued that *iry-pꜥt* was revived during Djedkare's reign but dates Ptahhotep-Djesher, who held the rank *iry-pꜥt*, to "Menkauhor's or thereabouts" reign, Strudwick, *Administration*, 86; Also see Strudwick's discussion on *iry-pꜥt*, Strudwick, *Administration*, 307.

¹⁸⁸ Priest of Ma'at and Priest of Heket; On a study of Priest of Heket, see M. Bárta, 'The title "Priest of Heket" in the Egyptian Old Kingdom' in *JNES*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (1999), 107-16.

Chart 2.3 –Viziers during Djedkare’s reign (approx)

		Name	Seshemnefer III	Ptahhotep-Djeshher	Ptahhotep	Rashepses	Ptahhotep I	Ptahhotep-L31	Senedjemib Inti
		Approx. Date	Djedkare						
		Vizier ID	64a	25	22	46	21	23	58
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	131	47	48	95	49	51	120
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
1157	<i>iry p^ct</i>			x	x		x		x
1858	<i>h3ty^c</i>		x	x	x		x		x*
1206	<i>rh nswt</i>								
2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>			?	?	x	x	?	x
Royal Links	2911 2912 2913 2914 3645	<i>z3 nswt</i> <i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i> <i>z3 nswt smsw</i> <i>z3 nswt n ht.f smsw</i> <i>sdty nswt</i>	x						
Priesthood of Gods									
Lector & Related	1353 1429 2848 2852 2860 2861 3241	<i>w^c m wrw hb</i> <i>wr m3w iwnw</i> <i>hry-hb</i> <i>hry-hb n iti.f</i> <i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i> <i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i> <i>sm</i>	x						x
Admin. Titles	630 694 896 1437 2775	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i> <i>Imy-r h3swt</i> <i>imy-r šm^cw</i> <i>wr md šm^cw</i> <i>htm(ty)-bity</i>	x						x
Legal	22 1698 1930 2594 2947	<i>iwn knmwt</i> <i>mdw rhyt</i> <i>hm-ntr M3^ct</i> <i>hrp wsh^t</i> <i>z3b^cd-mr</i>	x						x

*m³c^c
**hrp wr md šm^cw
? Probable that the Viziers held the title which is now missing, and in Seshemnefer-I's case, probably depicted in Seshemnefer-III's tomb.
The holders of Priest of Ma'at title is incorporated in the Legal titles.

Ptahhotep-I held ranks *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty^c* and *hry-hb-hry-tp* with *legal titles*. Washtah earlier held a similar format of *hry-hb-hry-tp* with *legal titles* but held the lower ranks of *h3ty^c* and *hry-tp nswt*. However, Ptahhotep-I's rank *hry-tp-nswt* is missing,¹⁸⁹ but considering the *legal titles* he

¹⁸⁹ It is possible *hry-tp-nswt* was written on the upper portion of Ptahhotep-I's false door, which is now missing. However, Mourad mentioned Ptahhotep-I holding the title *hry-tp-nswt*, but this was not listed in the list of titles held by Ptahhotep-I in the recent publication of this tomb. See Mourad, *ACE Reports* 16, and for the

held, it is most likely he was also the holder of *hry-tp-nswt*.¹⁹⁰ Sekhemankhptah and Phenwikai previously held *htm(ty)-bity*, but were not assigned *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*.¹⁹¹ In Djedkare's reign, *htm(ty)-bity* was reinstated under Ptahhotep-I, who was a *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*. Henceforth, in the Fifth Dynasty, *htm(ty)-bity* remained with a *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*.

If the chronological aligning of Qar by this writer¹⁹² is correct, then after Qar, the three Ptahhoteps, Ptahhotep-Djesher, Ptahhotep,¹⁹³ and Ptahhotep-LS31, were appointed successively or concurrently as *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*. Strudwick dated Ptahhotep-LS31 to Pepy I's reign,¹⁹⁴ but this writer proposes an earlier date.¹⁹⁵ It is uncertain whether all the Ptahhoteps held all the *legal titles* as only *hrp-wsht*¹⁹⁶ survived in the titularies of Ptahhotep-Djesher and Ptahhotep-LS31. The last holder of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, under Djedkare was probably Senedjemib-Inti¹⁹⁷, who held three ranks, *iry-p^ct*, *ḥ3ty-^c*,¹⁹⁸ and *hry-tp-nswt*. He was also attested *z3b-^cd-mr* but is missing other *legal titles*.

In the mid-Fifth Dynasty, Kai held *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm^c*, but subsequently, these two functions were separated, and perhaps Qar succeeded Kai as *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, and Rashepses as *imy-r-Šm^cw*. Both Kai and Rashepses held similar *legal titles*. The governance of Upper

list of titles, see 29–31, Pls. 38–46, 11–12, respectively; N. de G., Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh*, Vols.2 (London 1900–01).

¹⁹⁰ Compare *iwn knmwt*, *mdw rhyt* and *hrp wsht* with Washptah's titulary.

¹⁹¹ Most of the Viziers appended with the phallus symbol were *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and attested *htm(ty)-bity*, but *htm(ty)-bity* was not held by Washptah who was *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* in the early Fifth Dynasty, but by another stream of Viziers who did not hold *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*.

¹⁹² See Observation 1 below.

¹⁹³ Strudwick discussed the relationship between Ptahhotep-Djesher and Ptahhotep, and he believed they were brothers, Strudwick, *Administration*, 85–86.

¹⁹⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, 89[51].

¹⁹⁵ Strudwick dated Ptahhotep-LS31 to the Sixth Dynasty, however, the title *hrp-wsht* held by Ptahhotep-LS31, reminiscent of Ptahhotep-Djesher's titles, was no longer associated with the holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* by Unis' reign, but continued to be held by the *imy-r-Šm^cw*, and *hrp-wsht* was not found among any of the Viziers buried in the Teti cemetery indicating that *hrp-wsht* was discontinued in the Sixth Dynasty, hence this writer dating Ptahhotep-LS31 to the Fifth Dynasty closer to Ptahhotep-Djesher, see Observation 2.

¹⁹⁶ See chart 2.2.

¹⁹⁷ Strudwick, *Administration*, 132. "One of the letters of Senedjemib-Inti is dated to *rnpt zp* 16, the exact significance of this date is not understood".

¹⁹⁸ *ḥ3ty-^c* was appended with *m3^c*.

Egypt would have been an important portfolio, but interestingly Rashepses' rank was not elevated under Djedkare, and like Kai, he continued to hold the lowest rank of *hry-tp-nswt*.

The identity of Seshemnefer-III dated from Neferirkare to Djedkare¹⁹⁹ has been contested recently,²⁰⁰ and in this analysis, his titles *h3ty-ꜥ* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* have been scrutinised. While Seshemnefer-III's rank *h3ty-ꜥ* is within the standardised ranking system introduced by Neferirkare, the *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, previously held by *hm-ntr* Viziers, does not fit into the pattern of either Neferirkare or Djedkare's Viziers as the issuing of *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* had ceased with Washptah's appointment. Furthermore, Seshemnefer-III did not hold any *hm-ntr* titles associated with *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, as seen among the Viziers in the Fourth-Dynasty for him to hold the Viziership. From the patterns formed in the titles of the Viziers, it appears the granting of rank and title was taken seriously by the kings, and perhaps other officials in the background should be researched before concluding Seshemnefer-III's Viziership, and the reason why Seshemnefer-III held *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*. Furthermore, if Seshemnefer-III was the Vizier with the phallus symbol depicted in Penmeru's tomb is not certain as all the other holders of the phallus symbol were attested *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smw*, which was not one of Seshemnefer-III's titles.

In summary, Djedkare's Vizierate structure is grouped as follows:

Rank: <i>iry-pꜥt/h3ty-ꜥ/ hry-tp-nswt</i>	Rank: <i>iry-pꜥt/h3ty-ꜥ/ hry-tp-nswt</i>	Rank: <i>hry-tp-nswt</i>
<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r Šmꜥw</i>
<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>	Legal	Legal
Legal		

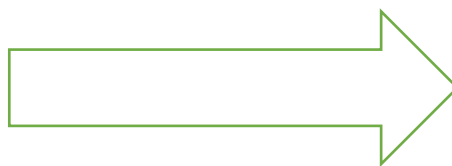
¹⁹⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 301; for other dating see Mastabase, the Leiden Mastaba Project, Code G5170.

²⁰⁰ Pieke and Altenmüller believe that an ancestor cult scene is depicted in Seshemnefer III's tomb which could portray Seshemnefer II, his father. Pieke, *Lotosblume*, 259–80; Altenmüller, *Ancestor cult*, 144–61.

Ptahhotep-I ranked, *iry-p^ᵗt*, *ḥ3ty-^ᵗ* held the title *ḥry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, with some *legal titles*; the three Ptahhoteps, Ptahhotep-Djesher, Ptahhotep, and Ptahhotep-L31 held *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* before Senedjemib-Inti was assigned this role. It is possible all these Viziers were ranked *iry-p^ᵗt*, *ḥ3ty-^ᵗ*, and *ḥry-tp-nswt* with *legal titles*, but the Ptahhoteps' titularies were incomplete. Incidentally, Rashepses, the holder *imy-r-Šm^ᵗw*, was attested the rank *ḥry-tp-nswt* and *legal titles* like his predecessor, Kai; why the higher ranks were not assigned to him in Djedkare's reign perhaps indicates that the structure in place by his predecessors was viable.

4.2.5 Unis' reign until the early Sixth Dynasty

Chart 2.4 lists nine Viziers from Unis' reign until the end of the Fifth Dynasty and perhaps into the early Sixth Dynasty. Most of Nyankhba's titles have been lost except that he was ranked *iry-p^ᵗt* and held the title *ḥry-ḥb*; and Unisankh, a high-official, and a holder of *imy-r-Šm^ᵗw* has been added for comparison with the Viziers as the holder of the same title.²⁰¹



²⁰¹ The *z3 nswt* shown in this chart belongs to a High Official Unisankh, who was added for comparison to the other holders of *imy-r-Šm^ᵗw*.

Chart 2.4 – Viziers during Unis' reign (approx)

			Saqqara	Saqqara	Giza	Saqqara	Saqqara	Saqqara	Saqqara	Saqqara	Giza	Saqqara
			Akhethotep	Akhethotep-Hemi	Senedjemib-Mehi	Ihy	Nyankhba	Iynefert	Ptahhotep-Tjefi	Kairer	Khnumneti	Wenisankh
			Unis									
			1	2	59	9	36	3	24	68	56	HO1
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	2	3	121	15	70	6	50	-	113	-
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
1157	<i>iry p^ct</i>			x	x	x	x				x	
1858	<i>h3ty-^c</i>			x	x*			x			x	
1206	<i>r^h nswt</i>											
2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>		x		x	x		x	x		x	x
2911	<i>z3 nswt</i>											x
2912	<i>z3 nswt n htf</i>											
2913	<i>z3 nswt smsw</i>											
2914	<i>z3 nswt n htf smsw</i>											
3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>											
Priesthood of Gods									1			
Lector & Related	1353 1429 2848 2852 2860 2861 3241	<i>w^c m wrw h3b</i> <i>wr m3w iwnw</i> <i>hry-h3b</i> <i>hry-h3b n lti.f</i> <i>hry-h3b-hry-tp</i> <i>hry-h3b-hry-tp n lti.f</i> <i>sm</i>		x			x	x				
Admin. Titles	630 694 896 1437 2775	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i> <i>Imy-r h3swt</i> <i>imy-r sm^cw</i> <i>wr md sm^cw</i> <i>htm(y)-bity</i>			?			x			x	
			x						x			x
			x						x**	x		
				x								
Legal	22 1698 1930 2594 2947	<i>iwn knmwt</i> <i>mdw rhyt</i> <i>hm-ntr M3^ct</i> <i>hrp wsh^t</i> <i>z3b 3d-mr</i>	x		x	x			x		x	x
			x		?	x			x		x	x
			x						x	x		x
			x						x			
			x					x	x			

* m3^c
** hrp wr md sm^cw
? Probable that the Viziers held the title which is now missing.
The holders of Priest of Ma'at title is incorporated in the Legal titles.

Previously, Washptah, Ptahhotep-I, and Ptahshepses held *hry-h3b-hry-tp* from mid-Fifth Dynasty, with Washptah and Ptahhotep-I also holding *legal titles*. However, in Unis' reign Akhethotep-Hemi, a *hry-h3b-hry-tp*, like Ptahshepses, did not hold the rank *hry-tp-nswt* nor its accompanying *legal titles*.

Senedjemib-Mehi²⁰² could likely have succeeded Senedjemib-Inti into the office of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, but this title was missing from his titulary, which was probably lost through tomb deterioration, but he was also ranked *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, *hry-tp-nswt* and held some *legal titles*. After

²⁰² Some of Senedjemib-Mehi's titles were missing. He was attested *iwn-knmwt* but *mdw-rhyt* is missing and these titles were usually held in conjunction with each other. Similarly, *imy-r-hwt-wrt 6* was missing from his titulary, but if he inherited the Vizierate from Senedjemib-Inti, which it is assumed he did, then it is most likely he was also the holder of *imy-r-hwt-wrt 6*. Compare Senedjemib-Inti, Senedjemib-Mehi's and Khnumenti in E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex Part, The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti* (G2370), *Khnumenti* (G2374), and *Senedjemib Mehi* (G2378), (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2000), 83, 158, 129, respectively.

Senedjemib-Mehi, Khnumenti seemed to have inherited the title *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* with ranks *iry-p^t*, *ḥ3ty-^ḥ*, *hry-tp-nswt* and some *legal titles*.

Akhethotep and Ptahhotep-Tefi,²⁰³ were the holders of *imy-r-šm^ḥw* in Unis' reign, their highest rank *hry-tp-nswt* with both holding *legal titles*. It is possible that Unisankh, a high official and *z3-nswt*, who held *imy-r-šm^ḥw*, and similar *Legal titles*, was being groomed for the Vizierate.²⁰⁴ All the holders of *imy-r-šm^ḥw*, Viziers, Kai, Rashepses Akhethotep, Ptahhotep-Tefi, including High Official, Unisankh from the mid-Fifth Dynasty, until the reign of Unis, held only the rank *hry-tp-nswt*. It was also observed that *wr-md-šm^ḥw*, a title which was seen in some titularies of the Fourth-Dynasty Viziers, was held by all the holders of *imy-r-šm^ḥw*. The next Viziers, Ihy and Inyeferet, did not fall into the pattern observed from the reign of Djedkare.

Ihy with ranks, *iry-p^t*, *ḥ3ty-^ḥ*, and *hry-tp-nswt*, held only the *legal titles* without the other titles, *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt 6*, *imy-r-šm^ḥw* monitored in this study, however, it is possible that some of his titles may not have survived as his tomb was re-assigned.²⁰⁵ It is also possible that Unis elevated Ihy, a *legal* Vizier, to the higher rank *iry-p^t*, and *ḥ3ty-^ḥ* without other responsibilities.

Inyeferet with ranks *ḥ3ty-^ḥ* and *hry-tp-nswt* held *hry-ḥb*, and a new title at the Vizierate level, *imy-r-ḥ3swt*²⁰⁶ with only one *legal title* having survived in his titulary. Interestingly, Inyeferet, with responsibilities for foreign lands, was ranked higher than those Viziers who held *imy-r-šm^ḥw* with associated rank *hry-tp-nswt*, given since this title's inception.

In summary, Unis' Vizierate structure can be grouped as follows:

²⁰³ Probably father and son, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 50.

²⁰⁴ However, the research of *Priests of Ma'at* indicated that several officials held similar legal titles, and it is probable that these officials were trained as back-ups for the Viziers.

²⁰⁵ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 19, 33–73;

²⁰⁶ Jones, *Index*, [694]184.

Summary of Unis' Vizierate Structure

Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty-^c</i>	Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty-^c/hry-tp-nswt</i>	Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty-^c/hry-tp-nswt</i>	Rank: <i>hry-tp-nswt</i>	Rank: <i>h3ty-^c/hry-tp-nswt</i>
<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>	Legal	<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>	<i>imy-r h3swt</i>
<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>	Legal		Legal	Legal?

It seems that Unis was gradually changing the structure of his Vizierate by creating more hierarchical levels, and his reign requires further study.

Charts 2.5 and 2.6 below show the distribution across-the-board of holders of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm^cw*. To reiterate, in Chart.2.1, these two titles were held initially by Kai in the mid-Fifth Dynasty, with the rank *hry-tp-nswt*. Qar was the only Vizier to hold the stand-alone office of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* with the rank *hry-tp-nswt*. However, this changed and from the reign of Djedkare *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm^cw* were held by different Viziers with the holders of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* assigned higher rank *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c* than the holders of *imy-r-Šm^cw* who continued holding the rank *hry-tp-nswt*.

The Ptahhotep and the Senedjemib families held the ultimate legal office of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and were attested the high ranks of *iry-p^ct* and *h3ty-^c*, but only one *legal title*, *hrp wsht*, survived in the titularies of Ptahhotep-Djeshet and Ptahhotep-L31, and the rank *hry-tp-nswt* was missing. However, the Senedjemib family who succeeded the Ptahhoteps in this office, in addition to *iry-p^ct* and *h3ty-^c* also held *hry-tp-nswt* with some *legal titles*, so it is possible both families held *hry-tp-nswt* and *legal titles*, which are now lost.

4.2.6 The holders of *Imy-r-ḥwt-wrt* 6 and *Imy-r-Šmꜥw*

Chart 2.5 – The holders of *Imy-r-ḥwt-wrt* 6 in the Fifth Dynasty

Kai	Qar	Ptahhotep-Djesher	Ptahhotep	Ptahhotep-L31	Senedjemib-Inti	Senedjemib-Mehi	Khnumneti
67	66	25	22	23	58	59	56
		<i>iry-pꜣt</i>	<i>iry-pꜣt</i>	<i>iry-pꜣt</i>	<i>iry-pꜣt</i>	<i>iry-pꜣt</i>	<i>iry-pꜣt</i>
		<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ, ḥ3ty-ꜥ M3ꜥ</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ, ḥ3ty-ꜥ M3ꜥ</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>
<i>hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>				<i>hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6 ?</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>
<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>					<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>
<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>					<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>
<i>hrp wsḥt</i>	-	<i>hrp wsḥt</i>		<i>hrp wsḥt</i>			
<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>	<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>				<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>		
Niuserre	Mid-5th?	Menkauhor or thereabouts	Perhaps early Djedkare	mid Djedkare?	Later Djedkare	Early Wenis	Later Wenis to early Teti

Chart 2.6 shows the distribution across-the-board of holders of *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, also the holders of *legal titles*, including *iwn-knmwt* and *mdw-rhyt*. A significant point to note is all these Viziers²⁰⁷ held the rank *hry-tp-nswt* which could indicate that these Viziers' reporting line was perhaps to the Viziers with higher ranks.

Chart 2.6 – The holders of *Imy-r-Šmꜥw* from the mid-Fifth Dynasty to the early-Sixth Dynasty

Kai	Rashepses	Akhethotep	Ptahhotep-Tefi	Unisankh - High official
67	46	1	24	HO1
<i>hry-tp-nzwt</i>	<i>hry-tp-nzwt</i>	<i>hry-tp-nzwt</i>	<i>hry-tp-nzwt</i>	<i>hry-tp-nzwt</i>
<i>imy-r Šmꜥw</i>	<i>imy-r Šmꜥw</i>	<i>imy-r Šmꜥw</i>	<i>imy-r Šmꜥw</i>	<i>imy-r Šmꜥw</i>
<i>imy-r ḥwt wrt/6</i>			<i>imy-r ḥwt wrt</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt wrt</i>
<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>
<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>
<i>ḥm-ntr M3ꜣt</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr M3ꜣt</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr M3ꜣt</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr M3ꜣt</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr M3ꜣt</i>
<i>hrp wsḥt</i>	<i>hrp wsḥt</i>	<i>hrp wsḥt</i>	<i>hrp wsḥt</i>	<i>hrp wsḥt</i>
<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>	<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>	<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>	<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>	<i>z3b ꜥd-mr</i>
Niuserre	Early to middle Djedkare	Early Unis	End Fifth Dynasty-early 6th Dynasty	Early Unis?(Onderka)

²⁰⁷ Except for Unisankh, who was not a Vizier.

Chart 2.7 – Summary of the comparison of the functions of the Viziers of the Fifth Dynasty

Date	<i>iry-p^ct</i>	<i>h3ty-^c</i>	<i>rh nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp- nswt</i>	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i>	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f smsw</i>	<i>sdty nswt</i>	Priesthood <i>hm-nfr</i>	Chief Lector/ festivals <i>hry-hb-hry-tp/w^c- m-wrw-hb</i>	High Courts 6 <i>Imy-r-hwt-wrt-6</i>	Upper Egypt <i>wr-mdw- Sm^cw/Imy-r- Sm^cw</i>	Lower Egypt <i>htmy-bity</i>	Legal (various titles)
Early 5th Dynasty	×	×	×		×	×		Seshathotep-Heti	Seshathotep-Heti		Seshathotep-Heti		Seshemnefer-I
	?	?	×		?			Seshemnefer-I			Seshemnefer-I		
	×	×			×		×	Babaf	Babaf				
	×	×		×	×	×		Kainefer	Kainefer			Kainefer	Kainefer*
Approx. -Mid Fifth Dynasty		×		×			×	Washptah	Washptah				Washptah
		×		×				Kai		Kai	Kai**	Sekhemankhtah	Sekhemankhtah*
		×		×				Phenewikai	Ptahshepses			Phenewikai	Kai* Phenewikai*
		×		×						Qar			Qar*
Approx. Djedkare	×	×		?						Ptahhotep-Djesher Ptahhotep			Ptahhotep-Djesher?
	×	×		?							Rashepses**		Ptahhotep?
	×	×		?					Ptahhotep I	Ptahhotep LS31 Senedjemib-Inti		Ptahhotep I	Rashepses* Ptahhotep I* Ptahhotep LS31? Senedjemib-Inti?
	×	×		×									
Approx. Unis	×	×		×					Akhetotep-Hemi		Akhetotep**	Akhetotep-Hemi	Akhetotep*
	×	×		×						Senedjemib-Mehi?			Senedjemib-Mehi*
	×	×		×							Ptahhotep-Tefi** Foreign Lands Iyneferet-Shanef		Ihy* Ptahhotep-Tefi*
	×	×		×						Khnumneti			Khnumneti*
* mdw rhyt ** wr-mdw-Sm ^c w/Imy-r-Sm ^c w													

4.2.7 Summary of the Fifth Dynasty

The simple structure of the Vizierate of the Fourth-Dynasty had become complex by the early Fifth Dynasty. The rapid expansion of the administration was indicated by the introduction of several new titles and the consolidation of functions and the kings' constant reforms of the Vizierate, are reflected in the titularies of the Viziers. The gradual transitioning to the new structure of the Fifth Dynasty, with the handover of the Vizierate from the royals to the non-royals, was reflected in the titularies of Seshathotep-Heti and Kainefer, probably royals, acknowledged by *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw*, and Babaf and Washptah,²⁰⁸ the non-royals identified by *sdty-nswt*, and missing *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw*, which was a prerogative of the royals. It is possible that *legal titles* existed in the Fourth-Dynasty but are challenging to identify. However, Kainefer was perhaps the first Vizier to hold two relevant *legal titles*, namely, *iwn-knmwt* and

²⁰⁸ However, some Viziers with title *z3-nswt-n-ht.f smsw* were dedicated to the mortuary cult.

mdw-rhyt. The transition was complete with Washtah holding the lower rank of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* with a group of responsibilities for the Priesthood, Lector, and *legal* functions, and according to Baer, the start of the standardised ranking system.

Ranks were particularly important to the ancient Egyptians, and all the Viziers held one or more ranks of *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, and *hry-tp-nswt*. The rank *rh nswt* was held only in the early-Fifth Dynasty by Seshathotep-Heti, and Seshemnefer I if he indeed was a Vizier, before their promotion to the Vizierate.²⁰⁹ During the mid-Fifth Dynasty, the highest rank, *iry-pꜥt*, was withdrawn but later reinstated to the Viziers, probably by Djedkare when the Ptahhoteps were appointed. Henceforth all the Viziers held *iry-pꜥt* and *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* except for the holders of *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, who retained *hry-tp-nswt* since the title's inception, while the holder of *imy-ḥ3swt* was ranked *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* in Unis' reign.

The administrative structure of the Vizierate is complex. Essentially the Viziers shared many other responsibilities that are not discussed in this thesis. With the disappearance of the priesthood titles, three principal streams of the Vizierate with *legal titles* were detected in the Fifth Dynasty:

1. the *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*,
2. *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, and
3. *imy-r-Šmꜥw*.

Before the reign of Djedkare, a specific office was created for the holders of *htm(ty)-bity*, but under Djedkare's reform, this title was amalgamated into the portfolio of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and this structure remained until the end of Unis' reign. Throughout the analysis of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, and *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, it appeared the *legal titles* were interlinked with these

²⁰⁹ Seshemnefer-I also held *rh nswt* and three priesthood titles as observed among the Fourth Dynasty Viziers who also held *z3-nswt-n-ht.f*, and this writer is proposing that perhaps he could have been the Vizier depicted on Sahure's mortuary temple.

offices; yet it is possible that a stand-alone *legal* office²¹⁰ was created by Unis, with its holder, Ihy, assigned the highest ranks, while Inyeferet ranked *h3ty-ꜥ* held *imy-r-h3st*. Why the office of *imy-r-h3st* was created, needs further investigation, but it appears Unis was adding more layers to his Vizierate structure.

In conclusion, this research was aimed to determine the focus of each Dynasty. The results of this writer's previous research of *Priests of Ma'at* correlates with the findings of the research of the Vizierate of the Fifth Dynasty that legal activities were at their height in the Fifth Dynasty. The structure of the Vizierate has been defined and explained according to selected titles, comparing *legal titles* introduced in the early Fifth Dynasty. The allusion to the concept of *Ma'at*, which appears in most Viziers' titularies, and especially the creation of the ultimate legal office, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, held by the Ptahhotep and the Senedjemib families, suggests that the Fifth Dynasty was governed predominately with a focus on legal activities. It is also interesting that the title *mdw-rhyt* appeared in most titularies, perhaps indicating a tight control of the Rekhyets at the Vizierate level. Therefore, it is possible that the Fifth Dynasty can be referred to as the *Age of Ma'at*, reflecting Userkaf's Horus-name, *ir M3ꜥt*.

²¹⁰ Predominantly undertaking the duties of *iwn knmwt* and *mdw rhyt*.


4.2.8. Observations of some Fifth Dynasty Viziers and their placing on the charts

Observation 1 - Vizier Qar of Abusir²¹¹

The intent of documenting this observation is to explain that Vizier Qar of Abusir, according to the allocation of titles *t3yty-z3b-t3ty*, *hry-tp-nswt*, and *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, could perhaps be dated earlier, spanning several kings' reigns, rather than the date proposed by Bárta.

The founding of the tomb complex at Abusir was attributed to Vizier Qar and included his family's burials. Bárta conceded that the internal arrangements of the tombs follow the building concept based on the large family tombs of the Memphite nobles that developed during the reign of Niuserre. Considering other features of the tomb, Bárta proposed dates for the tombs from the late Fifth Dynasty to the Sixth Dynasty. However, he acknowledged that it was exceedingly difficult to provide a precise date for the individuals buried there. Therefore, he explicitly based the date on two titles incorporating Unis' and Teti's names, dated Vizier Qar, first to the reign of Unis', and later to Teti's reign.²¹² This dating is acceptable. However, Qar probably lived through several kings' reigns before Unis, and these observations are discussed below.

The pattern observed in the analysis of the holders of the title *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* in this study was applied to Qar to align him in the context of the Vizierate for the charts of the Fifth Dynasty and this discussion addresses:

- Qar's titles *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* in the context of other holders of this title;
- links to the other Viziers as holders of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*;
- the writing of *t3yty*  in the title *Vizier*;
- the anthropological results and its bearing on Vizier Qar.²¹³

²¹¹ Bárta, *Vizier Qar*.

²¹² Bárta, *Vizier Qar*, 314.

²¹³ Bárta, *Vizier Qar*, 313.

Two false doors were attested to Qar. On his first false door in Chapel-1, only two titles *z3b-iri-Nhn-m3^c* and *z3b-iri-Nhn* are inscribed, which appeared to be related to the beginning of his career in the administration, and at this point, he was not assigned a rank. In this writer's research of the title *Priest of Ma'at*, a group of officials did not hold rank titles, which could indicate that these officials were trained and selected for promotion according to their skills. Comparably, Qar's second false door in Chapel-2 attested titles of his promotion to the Vizierate, *t3yty-z3b-t3ty*, with rank, *hry-tp-nswt*,²¹⁴ along with one of the most important Judiciary title, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*.²¹⁵ Other titles, *hry-s3t3*, *z3b-iri-Nhn*, *z3b-iri-Nhn-m3^c*, *imy-r-hwt-wrt*, *z3b-^cd-mr*, *ny-nst-hntt*, *mdw-rhyt*, *iwn-knmwt*, *hry-s3t3-n-hwt-wrt*, *hry-s3t3-n-wd^c-mdw-n-hwt-wrt*, were inscribed on this false door. Most of these titles are associated with legal activities, which were also common amongst the holders of the title *Priest of Ma'at* in the Fifth Dynasty. However, on Qar's sarcophagus only *hry-tp-nswt*, *imy-r hwt-wrt*, *z3b-^cd-mr*, *ny-nst-hntt*, *mdw-rhyt*, *z3b-iri-Nhn*, *z3b-iri-Nhn-m3^c* appeared without *t3yty-z3b-t3ty* and *imy-r hwt wrt 6*. The latter two titles, while shown on Qar's second false door, were absent on the sarcophagus, which could indicate that Qar's sarcophagus was inscribed before his promotion to the Vizierate and before his second false door was commissioned. Moreover, the two new titles, *hm-ntr-Nfr-swt-Wnis* and *imi-ht-hm-ntr-Dd-swt-Tti*, which appear on the walls of Chapel 2 were not found anywhere else.

As a Vizier, Qar did not hold ranks *iry-p^ct* or *h3ty-^c* but instead was attested the legal rank, *hry-tp-nswt*, with one of the most prominent titles, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*,²¹⁶ the prerogative of only a few Viziers²¹⁷ in the Fifth Dynasty. It should be noted that the allocation of *iry-p^ct* had ceased

²¹⁴ *hry-tp-nswt*, Strudwick refers this to as a ranking title, Strudwick, *Administration*, 183.

²¹⁵ All the holders of *imy-r3 hwt-wrt-6* were Viziers, except one, according to Strudwick. Strudwick, *Administration*, 178. More information on the holders of this title can be found in Strudwick, *Administration*, 176–98.

²¹⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, 188.

²¹⁷ Strudwick, *Administration*, 188.

from the reign of Neferirkare or thereabouts²¹⁸ until in or just before the reign of Djedkare when this title was revived.²¹⁹ During this period, only *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* was assigned to the Viziers. For an official who did not hold the rank *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* to be promoted from a rank of *ḥry-tp-nswt* direct into the Vizierate was not unusual as the promotion of a *ḥry-tp-nswt* directly into the Vizierate, without acquiring the ranks *iry-pꜥt* or *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, was seen amongst the holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw*.²²⁰ However, Qar was not a holder of *imy-r-šmꜥw*, but held one of the most prominent legal titles, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* with *legal* titles.

Parallel to Qar's ranking was Vizier Kai, who held the rank, *ḥry-tp-nswt*, and the title *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, with accompanying legal titles, *z3b-ꜥd-mr*, *ny-nst-ḥntt*, *mdw-rḥyt*, and *iwn-knmwt*. Kai was dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty, perhaps to the reign of Niuserre.²²¹ Amongst his several titles, he held *imy-r-šmꜥw* and *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, but after him, these two functions were split between two separate Viziers. After the separation of these two titles in the Fifth Dynasty, most holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* held the ranks *iry-pꜥt* and *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, while the holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw* continued to be assigned the legal rank *ḥry-tp-nswt* until the end of the Fifth Dynasty.²²² According to Strudwick, *iry-pꜥt* was revived approximately in the reign of Djedkare, therefore, with the absence of *iry-pꜥt* and *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, and the separation of the two functions, *imy-r-šmꜥw* and *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* from under one Vizier, it is likely that Qar would have held the *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* after Kai. No other parallel of a *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* with *ḥry-tp-nswt* has been found after Kai and Qar.

A link to other Viziers as holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* was discerned among the families of Ptahhoteps and Senedjemibs in the following chart.

²¹⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, 307.

²¹⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 307.

²²⁰ See Chart 2.6 of this thesis.



²²¹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 144.

²²² Some of these Viziers from mid-Pepy I to Pepy II's reign were only *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, see Chart 3.

The holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* in the Fifth Dynasty

Kai	Qar	Ptahhotep-Djeser	Ptahhotep	Ptahhotep-L31	Senedjemib-Inti	Senedjemib-Mehi	Khnumneti
67	66	25	22	23	58	59	56
		<i>iry-p^t</i>	<i>iry-p^t</i>	<i>iry-p^t</i>	<i>iry-p^t</i>	<i>iry-p^t</i>	<i>iry-p^t</i>
		<i>ḥ3ty-^c</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-^c</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-^c</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-^c, ḥ3ty-^c M3^c</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-^c, ḥ3ty-^c M3^c</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-^c</i>
<i>hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>				<i>hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6 ?</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6</i>
<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>					<i>iwn knmwt</i>	<i>iwn knmwt</i>
<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>					<i>mdw rhyt</i>	<i>mdw rhyt</i>
<i>hrp wsht</i>	-	<i>hrp wsht</i>		<i>hrp wsht</i>			
<i>z3b ʿd-mr</i>	<i>z3b ʿd-mr</i>				<i>z3b ʿd-mr</i>		
Niuserre	Mid-5th?	Menkauhor or thereabouts	Perhaps early Djedkare	mid Djedkare?	Later Djedkare	Early Wenis	Later Wenis to early Teti

The Viziers who held *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* with ranks *iry-p^t*, *ḥ3ty-^c* in the mid-Fifth Dynasty were the Ptahhoteps, (Ptahhotep[22], Ptahhotep-Djeser[25], and Ptahhotep-L31[23]). Strudwick dated Ptahhotep-Djeser to the reign of Menkauhor or thereabouts.²²³ However, the Senedjemib family is on firmer grounds for dating as Senedjemib Inti, through the king's letters can be dated to Djedkare's reign. Senedjemib Inti and Kenmweni were also the holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, and it is possible Senedjemib Mehi also held this title, which is now missing. All these Viziers held the highest ranks *iry-p^t*, *ḥ3ty-^c*, and the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt*. While it is noteworthy that two of Qar's sons were called Senedjemib and Inti, they were not the holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, although a link appears to exist between Vizier Qar at Abusir and the Senedjemib family at Giza through similar names and as holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*.

Bringing the argument back to the date attributed to Vizier Qar by Bárta, first to Unis' reign, and later for the Vizierate to Teti's reign, a small, but important detail lies in the writing of the first symbol of the Vizier title *t3yty*. Strudwick observed the change in the writing of this element, which appeared during the reign of Unis when small protrusions appeared on either side of the frieze of uraei on the *t3yty* sign²²⁴ from  to .

Qar's second false door, inscribed *t3yty-z3b-t3ty*, shows the older symbol with no protrusions. The newer version of the sign was found not in the inscriptions in Senedjemib Inti's tomb but

²²³ However, Strudwick suggested it was during Djedkare's reign that *iry-p^t* was reintroduced to the Vizierate.

²²⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, 304.

only on his sarcophagus,²²⁵ which was commissioned by his son Senedjemib-Mehi²²⁶ whom Strudwick dated to early Unis. Afterward, the Viziers show the newer form of writing *t3yty*. If Qar attained his Viziership during either Unis or Teti's reign, as stated by Bárta, then surely his titulary would have included the ranks *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c* with the newer symbol of *t3yty*. However, this is not the case.

Bárta's anthropological report of the Qar family is impressive, and it appears that some of the Qar family lived an exceedingly long life. Although the remains of Qar have not been identified, the age attested to the male and female bodies in shafts 5 and 6 has been credited "60 years plus",²²⁷ which Bárta attributes to Qar's parents. Is it possible this is Qar and possibly his wife and that Qar lived a long life spanning several kings' reign until he acquired the titles *hm-ntr-Nfr-swt-Wnis* and *imi-ht-hm-ntr-Dd-swt-Tti* which were written only on the walls of Chapel-2, long after his tomb, false doors, and sarcophagus were prepared for his burial?

This discussion was about the placement of Qar on the chart based on his rank *hry-tp-nswt* and title *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, which parallels that of Vizier Kai's dated to Niuserre's reign. It is possible Qar could have succeeded Kai, and perhaps was the first holder of the stand-alone office of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* when two offices were created respectively, that of *imy-r-Šm^cw* whose holder was Rashepses, and *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, was assigned to Qar. Therefore, from this analysis, Qar was placed closer to Kai on Charts 2 and 2.2.

²²⁵ Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, 81, Pl. 53.

²²⁶ Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, 102.

²²⁷ Bárta, *Vizier Qar*, 313.

Observation 2 - Vizier Ptahhotep-LS1²²⁸[23] at Saqqara

The dating of Vizier Ptahhotep-LS1 by Strudwick is reconsidered in light of the pattern revealed in this study of the holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, and to explain the reason for his position on the Fifth Dynasty Chart 2 as opposed to the date of the Sixth Dynasty, early Pepy-1, proposed by Strudwick.²²⁹

Strudwick's dating criteria for Ptahhotep-LS31 was based on the location of the tomb, its architectural elements, including the complex chapel, pillared court, and undecorated rooms. No close parallel of this tomb has yet been found, but Strudwick observed it was reminiscent of the tombs of Viziers Akhethotep-Hemi, Kagemni, and Mehu.²³⁰ Also, considering that none of Pepy I's and Merenre's officials were buried close to the pyramid of the kings they served, Strudwick tentatively dated Ptahhotep-LS31 to the first half of Pepy I's reign. However, this date is reconsidered by this writer as it is possible that Ptahhotep-LS31 could be dated to the Fifth Dynasty when some features are applied to him, namely, as the bearer of the titles *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, and *hrp wsht*, the symbol of *t3ty* in the title *Vizier*, and his name, *Ptahhotep*.

The problem with dating Ptahhotep-LS31 is that his ranks and most of his titles have not survived due to incomplete decoration of his tomb, although the surviving titles, *t3ty-z3b-t3ty*, *imy-r-prwy-ḥd*, *imy-r-zš-ḥ-nzwt*, *imy-r-šnwty*, *imy-r-wḥbty*, *imy-r-prwy-nwb*, *imy-r-ḥkr-nzwt*, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and *hrp wsht*,²³¹ especially the latter two titles, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and *hrp wsht*, form the discussion of this study.

The reason why the dating of Ptahhotep-LS31 as a holder of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* and *hrp-wsht* by Strudwick to early Pepy-1's reign in the Sixth Dynasty is problematic because *hrp-wsht* was

²²⁸ There are a number of Ptahhoteps and to distinguish this Ptahhotep from others he is labelled Ptahhotep-LS31 after the excavator, Lepsius and the tomb number assigned by him. K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Vol 1 & 2 (Leipzig, 1897–1913).

²²⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 89[51].

²³⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, 89; H. Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara* (AV 42; Mainz, 1998).

²³¹ Lepsius, *DM* 31, Abth.II.BI.103.

no longer held by the inheritors of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, as seen in the Senedjemib-family later in the Fifth Dynasty, outlined in the Chart 2.5 above. However, *hrp-wsḥt* continued to be held by the holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw* until the end of the Fifth Dynasty, as shown in Chart 2.6 above. It should also be noted that *hrp-wsḥt* no longer appeared amongst the titularies of the Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty, as seen in Chart 3 below.

Another feature to consider is the writing of *t3ty* in Ptahhotep-LS31's title *t3ty-z3b-t3ty*. The *t3ty* symbol in this title is of the older version, without the protrusions on either side of the cobra frieze.²³² The newer version of this symbol was probably first attested to Senedjemib Inti's sarcophagus²³³ in the Fifth Dynasty. As none of the Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty are attested to the older version of this symbol,²³⁴ Ptahhotep-LS31 could likely be dated to the Fifth Dynasty before Senedjemib Inti.²³⁵

The last element to be considered is the name of *Ptahhotep*. This name was common among the Viziers of the Fifth Dynasty but fell out of favour, and no Vizier is named *Ptahhotep* after the Fifth Dynasty.

After considering all these features, which contribute to dating Ptahhotep-LS31 to the Fifth Dynasty, a question arises of his position on the Chart of the Fifth Dynasty. Ptahhotep-LS31's ranks are missing, but Ptahhotep-Djeshet and Ptahhotep as the holders of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* have been attested ranks *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* which could also be attributed to Ptahhotep-LS31. With Ptahhotep[22] dated tentatively by Strudwick to early Djedkare and Senedjemib-Inti[58] to the later reign of Djedkare, it is possible that Ptahhotep-LS31 could have lived during mid-Djedkare's reign as the last holder of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* of the Ptahhotep family, before this title was passed on to the Senedjemib-family who held this office until the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

²³² Lepsius, *D.* 31, Abth.II.BI.103.

²³³ Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, 81, Pl. 53.

²³⁴ Lepsius, *DM.* See Lepsius LS 31 L. D. Text i, 185–86 with plan, Plan and section L, D. i 42.

²³⁵ See discussion of the symbol of *t3ty* in Observation 1.

It is also doubtful whether *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* in the Sixth Dynasty was reassigned to a Ptahhotep member of the family after the Senedjemibs. Therefore, for this study, Ptahhotep-LS31 was placed before Senedjemib-Inti on Charts 2 and 2.3.

4.3 *The Sixth Dynasty (2305–2150 BCE)*²³⁶

Unis with the Horus-name *w3d-t3wy*, ‘one who made to flourish the two lands,’²³⁷ or Teti²³⁸ with Horus-name *sh̥tp-t3wy*, ‘one who pacified the two lands’²³⁹ have been attested the first kings of the Sixth Dynasty. Interestingly, the word *Ma’at*, previously seen in the Horus-names of the first king of the Fourth and Fifth-Dynasties, disappeared from the titularies of Unis and Teti. Nevertheless, Teti has been considered the first king of the Sixth Dynasty for this analysis because only minor reforms of the Vizierate were seen in the titularies of the Viziers of Unis,²⁴⁰ whereas significant reforms were discerned during Teti’s reign, their effect cascading to the end of the Old Kingdom.²⁴¹

The amalgamation of the Vizierate of Upper Egypt²⁴² with the Memphite Vizierate was not considered due to the limited word-count of this thesis; therefore, the analysis of the Sixth Dynasty Vizierate remains incomplete. However, the organisation of the Memphite Vizierate of the Sixth Dynasty was unlike that of the structure of the Fifth Dynasty Vizierate, as the complexities of the Sixth Dynasty Vizierate stem from many Viziers performing similar

²³⁶ Bárta, *Radjedef to the Eighth Dynasty*, 3.

²³⁷ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 297; Baker, *Encyclopedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs*, 482; Translation courtesy, B. Ockinga, ‘*w3d t3.wy*, one who makes/made to flourish the two lands.’

²³⁸ Baer’s study of reforms of the Sixth Dynasty began with the reign of Unis. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 297; Other scholars start the Sixth Dynasty with Teti’s reign, including Manetho, Waddell, *Manetho*, 53; Grimal, *Ancient Egypt*, 390; Lloyd, *Ancient History*, xviii; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 436.

²³⁹ Baker, *Encyclopedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs*, 461; Translation courtesy, B. Ockinga, ‘*sh̥tp-t3wy*, one who pacifies/pacified the two lands’; Teti’s Horus name “might hint at dealing with some difficulties”; N. Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace: Unis to Pepy I* (London, 2003), 3.

²⁴⁰ See Chart 2. of this paper – selected titles of the Viziers during Unis’ reign.

²⁴¹ Scholars have previously discussed some reforms of the Old Kingdom administration. According to Baer, the kings of the Sixth Dynasty introduced several reforms, Baer, *Rank and Title*, 296–98. Also, see Bárta for a list of Old Kingdom reforms. Bárta, *Egyptian Kingship*, 272–74; Teti reformed the Vizierate by appointing two contemporary Viziers in the Provinces. Lashien, *Nobles of El-Qusiya*, 116; The appointment of female Memphite Viziers was observed in Pepy I’s reign, see Labrousse, *Huit Épouses du roi Pépy*, 297–314; Pepy II reforms included the reduction in the rank of the priesthood of Fifth Dynasty kings and titles once reserved for the Viziers in the central administration were disseminated to the Provinces, Baer, *Rank and Title*, 297–98.

²⁴² Lashien identified fifteen Viziers in upper Egypt from the provinces of Edfu, Abydos, Akhmim, Deir el-Gebrawi, El Qusiya, and Coptos and concluded that from the reign of Teti until the end of the Old Kingdom, the administration of Upper Egypt was divided into two sections: Nomes 1-8, 9-20 with Nomes 21-22 close to the capital. From the reign of Teti two contemporary Viziers existed in two different provinces with the first two Viziers residing in Edfu and Akhmim. Lashien, *Nobles of El-Qusiya*, 104–17.

functions, making the patterns in the titles of the Viziers difficult to discern. Yet significant new details about the Sixth Dynasty Vizierate emerged that may not have been discussed previously.²⁴³

4.3.1 Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty

The analysis of the Sixth Dynasty aligned with the previous groups of titles, with Kanawati's dates for the Teti cemetery Viziers²⁴⁴ and Strudwick's chronology,²⁴⁵ were used to segregate three broad groups of Viziers for analysis.²⁴⁶ High-officials Neferseshemtah and Nikauisesi,²⁴⁷ interred in the Teti cemetery, were added to the list for comparison of the timeline of relevant changes to the Vizierate. Neferseshemtah's titularies were divided into two groups,²⁴⁸ the early reigns of both Teti and Pepy-I, to assist in understanding the evolution of titles and the changing focus of the Sixth Dynasty.²⁴⁹

²⁴³ Please accept my apologies for any of the concepts proposed by scholars that were inadvertently overlooked by this writer.

²⁴⁴ See Teti Cemetery reports. Kanawati and Hassan, *ACE Reports* 9; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 11; Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq *ACE Reports* 13; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 14; *Merytetī, ACE Reports* 21; Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 24; *Mereruka, ACE Reports* 29.

²⁴⁵ Strudwick, *Administration*, 301–2.

²⁴⁶ Early-Teti-early Pepy-I; mid-Pepy-I to approximately year 20 of Pepy II; and Pepy II until the end of the Old Kingdom.

²⁴⁷ A.B. Lloyd, A.J. Spencer and A. el-Khouli, *Saqqāra Tombs III, The Mastaba of Neferseshemtah*, (London, 2008), 6; Kanawati, Nikauisesi *ACE Reports* 14.

²⁴⁸ “Dated from early to mid-Teti for the construction of the tomb and early to middle Pepy I for the addition/decoration of the son's room.” Kanawati believed two people, father and son, with similar name occupied this tomb. Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 108; N. Kanawati, ‘Saqqara Tombs, III: The Mastaba of Neferseshemtah’, *JEA* 96(2010), 290–93; Nevertheless, the scrutiny of two false doors in this tomb pointed towards two different sets of titles. The first false door favoured the *legal* titles which were prominently in use in the Fifth Dynasty, and the second false door encompassed the titles that were widely used in Teti's latter reign, and that of Pepy I's.

²⁴⁹ In the Fifth Dynasty, the holders of *wr-md-Šmꜥw* also held *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, and while Neferseshemtah, a *legal* official, held *wr-md-Šmꜥw*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw* was not assigned to him. It is possible that Neferseshemtah was one of the last holders of *wr-md-Šmꜥw* as this title was not seen amongst the Viziers in later Sixth Dynasty. Kanawati, based on the shape of Neferseshemtah's tomb, suggested the construction of the tomb was earlier than that of Ankhmahor, however, the appearance of *wr-md-Šmꜥw* in his tomb could also place him before the *legal* Viziers Neferseshemre and Ankhmahor (discussed below) buried in ‘Rue de tombeaux’ in the same row as these two Viziers who did not hold this title, which was probably a remnant of the Fifth Dynasty.

Chart 3 - Overview of the titles of the Sixth Dynasty Viziers

		Name	Merefnebef		Nebkauhor	Nikausesi (HO)	Neferseshemphah (HO) 1st stage	Neferseshemre	Ankhmahor	Kaigemni	Mereruka	Hesi	Mehu	Khentika	Inumin	Neferseshemphah (HO) 2nd stage	Inenek-Inti	Tepemankh	Tjenti	Meryteti	Meretites-II	Thedhu	Rerwer	Merri	Neferseshemschat	Sesi	Idu-Nefer	Ankhmeryre	Khenu	Ihykhenet	Hetepkai II	Meryraiam	Meryra	Sabutah	Shenay	Khabauknum	Nyhebsed	Werkauba	Teti	Hetepkai III											
Approx. Date		Early Teti- Early Pepy I														Mid Pepy I - c. Year 20 Pepy II													Mid Pepy II to end O.K. or later																						
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.	28	40	HO2	HO3	43	12	71	34	50	35	55	5	HO3	6	72	74	32	29	75	45	33	44	62	10	13	54	8	48	30	31	57	65	51	37	17	73	49												
			-	82	-	-	88	30	151	68	-	69	109	-	-	155	158	63			160	93	67	89	114	22	33	108	16	149	61	62	117	133	102	72	40	156	156												
Rank	3706	<i>tjyty-z3b-tjty</i>	x	x			x	x	x^	x	x	x	x^	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
	1157	<i>iry p't</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						x	x	x			x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x								
	1858	<i>h3ty e</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x^	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x^		x	x	x			x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x								
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>																																																	
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>	x				x	x	x		x	x				x																																			
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nzw</i>	x																x																									x							
	2912	<i>z3 nzw n ht.f</i>																	x																																
	2913	<i>z3 nzw smsw</i>	x																																										x						
	2914	<i>z3 nzw n ht.f smsw</i>	x																																																
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>								x									x																										x						
Priesthood	1969	<i>hm-ntr Nht</i>																	x																																
	2048	<i>hm-ntr Hr imy Snwt</i>									x																																								
	2050	<i>hm-ntr Hr Inpw hnty pr smswt</i>																		x																															
	2064	<i>hm-ntr Hr hry-ib 'h</i>																		x																															
	2084	<i>hm-ntr Hkt</i>							x		x																																								
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w' m wrw hb</i>																																																	
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>								x																																									
	1460	<i>wr hry-hb hry-tp</i>																																																	
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>	x		x		x		x	x		x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x																						x							
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>																		x																															
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x		?		x		x																						
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>																																																	
	3241	<i>sm</i>							x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	?		x	x			?															x							
Admin. Titles	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>	x				x		x	x		x		x					x		x		x	x																											
	896	<i>imy-r sm'w</i>	x	x			x		x		x		x		x																																				
	1437	<i>wr md sm'w</i>																																																	
	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	x				x		x																														
Legal	22	<i>awn knmwt</i>					x	x	x		x	x																																							
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>					x	x	x		x	x																																							
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3't</i>							x																																										
	2594	<i>hrp wsh't</i>																																																	
	2947	<i>z3b 'd-mr</i>					x				x	x					x^																																		
(HO) High Official / ^ - m3'e																																																			

(HO) High Official / ^ - m3'

4.3.2 Viziers and two high-officials between the reigns of Teti and Pepy-1

Chart 3.1 –Viziers dated from early-Teti to early-Pepy I

		Name	Merefnebef	Nebkauhor	Nikauisesi (HO)	Neferseshemtah (HO) 1st stage	Neferseshemre	Ankhhmahor	Kaigemni	Mereruka	Hesi	Mehu	Khentika	Inumin	Neferseshemtah (HO) 2nd stage
		Approx. Date	Early Teti- Early Pepy I												
		Vizier ID	28	40	HO2	HO3	43	12	71	34	50	35	55	5	HO3
	Jones No.	Strudwick No.	-	82	-	-	88	30	151	68	-	69	109	-	-
Rank	3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>	x	x			x	x	x^	x	x	x	x^	x	
	1157	<i>hry p^t</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	1858	<i>h3ty ^</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x^	x	x
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>													
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>		x		x	x	x			x	x			
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nzw</i>		x											
	2912	<i>z3 nzw n ht.f</i>													
	2913	<i>z3 nzw smsw</i>		x											
	2914	<i>z3 nzw n ht.f smsw</i>		x											
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>								x					
Priesthood	1969	<i>hm-ntr Nht</i>													
	2048	<i>hm-ntr Hr imy Snwt</i>								x					
	2050	<i>hm-ntr Hr Inpw hnty pr smswt</i>													
	2064	<i>hm-ntr Hr hry-ib ^h</i>													
	2084	<i>hm-ntr Hkt</i>						x			x				
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w^ m wrw hb</i>								x					
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwmw</i>							x						
	1460	<i>wr hry-hb hry-tp</i>								x					
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>	x		x		x		x	x		x	x	x	
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>													
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>													
Admin. Titles	3241	<i>sm</i>						x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>		x			x		x	x		x		x	
	896	<i>imy-r Sm^w</i>		x	x		x		x			x		x	
	1437	<i>wr md sm^w</i>				x									
Legal	2775	<i>htn(ty)-bity</i>		x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	
	22	<i>iw nmmwt</i>				x	x	x			x	x			
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>				x	x	x				x	x		
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3^t</i>						x			x				
	2594	<i>hrp wsh</i>													
	2947	<i>z3b ^d-mr</i>				x					x	x			

(HO) High Official) / ^ - m3^

The two Viziers Neferseshemre²⁵⁰ and Ankhmahor,²⁵¹ and high-official Neferseshemptah²⁵² were buried in the Teti cemetery on the *Rue de tombeaux*,²⁵³ in a row immediately to the western front of the Queen's pyramids.²⁵⁴ They were holders of *legal titles*, *iwn-knmwt*, and *mdw-rhyt*, and were ranked *hry-tp-nswt*, but only the Viziers held the ranks *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*.²⁵⁵ However, Vizier Neferseshemre, in addition to *legal titles*, also held *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm^cw*. In the Fifth Dynasty *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm^cw* were held by separate Viziers with *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* Viziers ranked higher than the holders of *imy-r-Šm^cw* who retained the lowest rank *hry-tp-nswt* throughout the Fifth Dynasty. However, the consolidation of these two functions was seen only in Kai's titulary when the titles were first introduced in the mid-Fifth Dynasty with the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt*. Teti's reform again consolidated these two functions, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm^cw*, under one Vizier, but with elevated ranks of *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, including *hry-tp-nswt*. In the Sixth Dynasty, the *legal title* *hrp-wsht*, traced from the early-Fifth Dynasty,²⁵⁶ disappeared from the titularies of the Viziers.

Ankhmahor, like Ptahhotep-I in the Fifth Dynasty,²⁵⁷ was attested *hry-hb-hry-tp* with some *legal titles*. Yet a significant reform was observed in Ankhmahor's titulary. As a *hry-hb-hry-tp* Ankhmahor also held the title *sm*,²⁵⁸ a mortuary title, previously held only by Washtpah at the Vizierate level in the early-Fifth Dynasty.²⁵⁹ Henceforth, the title *hry-hb-hry-tp*, combined

²⁵⁰ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 11.

²⁵¹ Kanawati and Hassan, *ACE Reports* 9.

²⁵² Neferseshemptah was married to one of Teti's eldest daughters. Lloyd, *Neferseshemptah*, 6; Also see Kanawati, *Nepotism*, *BACE* 14, 40.

²⁵³ The order of precedence for the construction of the Viziers' tombs in Teti cemetery according to Kanawati is Neferseshemre, Ankhmahor, Kagemni, Mereruka, Inumin, Khentika, and Hesi probably served under the ephemeral king, Weserkare, Kanawati, *Mereruka*, *ACE Reports* 29, 32.

²⁵⁴ Kanawati, *Mereruka*, *ACE Reports* 29, 32.

²⁵⁵ However, in the first phase during Teti's reign Neferseshemptah held only the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt*, but later, perhaps in Pepy-I's reign, Neferseshemptah held the high ranks *iry-p^ct* and *h3ty-^c*. For a Site Plan of Teti Cemetery, see Kanawati, *Merytet*, *ACE Reports* 21, PL.41.

²⁵⁶ First appearing in Washtpah's titulary in the early Fifth Dynasty.

²⁵⁷ See Chart 2 of this paper.

²⁵⁸ Jones, *Index*, 885 [3241], *s(t)m*, *chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth*.

²⁵⁹ Ankhmahor seems to have acquired the titles *hry-hb-hry-tp* and *sm* about the time he was appointed Vizier as these two titles appeared only once in his tomb on the engaged pillar in room VI. A similar phenomenon was observed in Ptahshepses'[26] tomb when his *hry-hb-hry-tp* title was inscribed in the pillared hall, and one

with *sm* (*hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*), dominated the titularies of the Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty. This is another reform of the Vizierate by Teti.

Vizier Hesi, buried in the south-side of the second E-W street in the Teti cemetery, held *legal titles*²⁶⁰ but without *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*, and was the only Vizier in the Teti cemetery who held no higher ranks except for *hry-tp-nswt*. However, on his promotion to the Vizierate, he acquired *htm(ty)-bity*, previously a prerogative of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*.²⁶¹

The high-official Nikauisesi,²⁶² interred in the north side of the second E-W street in Teti cemetery,²⁶³ ranked *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* held *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* but not *sm*. Nikauisesi held the highest ranks, but he was not a Vizier, and the absence of *sm* in his titulary could indicate that this title was introduced later in Teti's reign.²⁶⁴ However, Nikauisesi also held *imy-r-šmꜥw* and *htm(ty)-bity*. The combination of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, *imy-r-šmꜥw*, and *htm(ty)-bity* was not seen in the titularies of a *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* in the Fifth Dynasty Vizierate, and the *Legal* Viziers were always holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw* with the rank *hry-tp-nswt*, but Nikauisesi was not assigned *Legal titles*.²⁶⁵ Henceforth, most of the Sixth Dynasty Viziers²⁶⁶ held the combination of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, *imy-r-šmꜥw*, and *htm(ty)-bity*, and it is apparent that Teti was consolidating functions to streamline his administration.

wonders if this section was the last to be decorated. However, both these Viziers' false doors have not been found. See Kanawati and Hassan, *ACE Reports* 9, 54, pls. 21, 59b, 61; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, 118.

²⁶⁰ *Twn knmwt*, *mdw rhyt* and *z3b ꜥd-mr*. Hesi was assigned *htm(ty)-bity* at his promotion to the Vizierate. It was unusual for a legal Vizier to hold this title as it usually resided with a *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, a title which was not assigned to Hesi. However, the consolidation of functions, *legal* and *htm(ty)-bity*, places Hesi under the reform of the Vizierate initiated by Teti; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 13, Titles of Phase II

²⁶¹ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 13, 16–19.

²⁶² Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 14; Site Plan of Teti Cemetery, see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 21, PL.41.

²⁶³ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 13.

²⁶⁴ The title *sm* was not a prerogative of the Viziers as the High Official Nefersehemptah, not a Vizier, held *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* on his second false door. However, it is most likely these high officials were back-ups for the Viziers in this role.

²⁶⁵ The combination of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and *htm(ty)-bity* was previously observed in the titularies of many Fourth Dynasty Viziers, especially those attested the phallus symbol. See Chart 1.3 of this paper.

²⁶⁶ Perhaps the High Officials were the back-ups for the Viziers therefore also held similar titles as the Viziers, but without the title of *Vizier*, which requires further research.

The next group of Viziers, Kagemni, Mereruka, Khentika, Tjetju except for Inumin²⁶⁷ as *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm* occupied prominent burial positions near the temenos wall of Teti's pyramid complex.²⁶⁸ The location of the burials of these Viziers is significant as the holders of *hry-hb-hry-tp* were in charge of mortuary duties, whereas, all the Viziers holding the *legal titles* were buried closer to the Queen's pyramids,²⁶⁹ perhaps in association with goddess *Ma'at*, the patron goddess of justice.²⁷⁰

Kagemni and Mereruka, married to princesses,²⁷¹ were attested *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, and *htm(ty)-bity*, but only Kagemni held the title *imy-r-Šm^cw*. The consolidation of *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šm^cw*, and *htm(ty)-bity* was another reform of Teti's. Interestingly, these two Viziers' titularies consisted of several titles of the Fourth-Dynasty.²⁷² The titles *w^c-m-wrw-hb* and *wr-m3w-iwnw* attested in the titularies of Seshathotep-Heti and Kainefer in the early-Fifth Dynasty were revived and split between Mereruka and Kagemni with Mereruka holding *w^c-m-wrw-hb*, and Kagemni *wr-m3w-iwnw*. Seshathotep-Heti and Kainefer held *z3-nswt-ht.f-smsw*. However, Mereruka was attested *sdty-nzwt*, a title previously held by Babaf and Washptah in the early-Fifth Dynasty. Moreover, Mereruka also held *wr-hry-hb-hry-tp*²⁷³ in combination with his other titles, *hry-hb-hry-tp*, and *w^c-m-wrw-hb*, perhaps indicative of his overall responsibilities for festivals. It appears that

²⁶⁷ T.G.H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, (London, 1953), 1.

²⁶⁸ See Site Plan of Teti Cemetery, Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 21, PL.41. However, Inumin was buried in 4th E-W street probably a later burial or a later promotion.

²⁶⁹ High official Neferseshemptah, and Viziers Ankhmahor, Neferseshemre, and Hesi in close proximity.

²⁷⁰ A point to note is that Ihy's tomb (one of Unis' Viziers buried in the Unis cemetery), was usurped for Idut who was identified as "king's daughter of his body". Ihy was a *legal* Vizier with connection to legal activities alluding to the concept of *Ma'at*, its patron, goddess *Ma'at*, and there appears to be a link between this goddess and the royal females, hence probably the reason for Idut to be buried in a legal Vizier's tomb. See the discussion below of the female Viziers and their reference to goddess *Ma'at*. Another of Unis' Viziers' tomb was also usurped, and this was for Vizier Nebkauhor, and the reason for this particular tomb chosen for his burial is discussed below. Kanawati dated Idut to early Teti, Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 19.

²⁷¹ Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 87, 101; Kanawati, *Nepotism*, *BACE* 14, 40, 47.

²⁷² Compare titles, Strudwick, *Administration*, Mereruka, 100[68] and Kagemni, 154–5[151].

²⁷³ *Greatest of the Chief Lector Priest*, Jones, *Index*, 396[1460].

Mereruka was assigned a special role, while perhaps Kagemni held responsibilities for the day-to-day running of the Vizierate, his Vizier title appended with *m3ʕ*, *t3ty-z3b-t3ty-m3ʕ*.²⁷⁴

Inumin and Khentika, probably transitioning Viziers from Teti to Pepy I, held the ranks *iry-pʕt*, *h3ty-ʕ*, and both were holders of *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm* and *htm(ty)-bity*, but Inumin also held responsibilities for *imy-r-Šmʕw* and *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*.²⁷⁵ However, Khentika's Vizier title, like Kagemni, and Vizier Iri-en-akty,²⁷⁶ was appended with *m3ʕ*.²⁷⁷

Mehu, married to a princess²⁷⁸ was buried in the Unis cemetery and held *iry-pʕt*, *h3ty-ʕ*, *hry-tp-nswt*, *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmʕw*, and *htm(ty)-bity*, but interestingly he also held *legal titles*, like Nefersheshemre and Ankhmahor, but unlike Kagemni, Mereruka, Khentika, and Inumin²⁷⁹ who held no *legal titles*.²⁸⁰

One of the tombs of Unis' Vizier in the Unis Cemetery, was usurped for prince Nebkauhor's burial.²⁸¹ The dating of Nebkauhor has been a contentious issue amongst some scholars preferring the date of either late Fifth Dynasty or early Sixth Dynasty than Strudwick's date of

²⁷⁴ The use of *m3ʕ* appeared infrequently appended to rank and title in the Fifth Dynasty, see Senedjemib-Inti[58], Senedjemib[59], and Qar[66], a word which was not included in the list of titles for research, but its use became frequent in the Sixth Dynasty. The Sixth Dynasty Vizierate structure is exceptionally complex with Viziers holding similar functions, and therefore, it could be assumed that the use of *m3ʕ* could have been used to distinguish the "leader" of a particular function. See Lloyd, *Nefersheshemtah*, 13, on the use of *m3ʕ* in a decorative scene; Callender suggests the use of *m3ʕ* indicates royal favour, See V.G. Callender, 'À propos the title of *r Nhn n z3b*', in M. Bárta, J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Praha, 2000), 361–380; Also see Allen on the use of *m3ʕ*, "direct or guide", J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian, An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs, Third Edition* (Cambridge, 2016), 147; Bárta, *Vizier Qar*, 51.

²⁷⁵ Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 24, 11; Kanawati, recording Inumin's tomb, was not certain of the title *imy-r-hwt-wrt* as it had only partially survived. However, Viziers Kagemni, Mehu, Rawer, Merri and Khuabaukenmu, were all holders of *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r-Šmʕw*, *htmty-bity*, and *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, the combination of titles also held by Inumin, therefore, it is probable that Inumin was also the holder of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*.

²⁷⁶ Dreyer, *Beamtengräber im Chephren*, 114–19; See discussion 2.1.9 above.

²⁷⁷ Y. Harpur and P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Kagemni Scene Details* (Oxford, 2006), Pl.13.

²⁷⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, 102.

²⁷⁹ It appears that Mehu's false door was decorated after his promotion to the Vizierate which depicts, among his other titles, *t3ty-z3b-t3ty*, *iry-pʕt*, *h3ty-ʕ*, *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmʕw*, and *htmty-bity*, however, while the rank *hry-tp-nswt* is included on the false door, the two main *legal titles*, *iwn knmwt* and *mdw rhyt* are listed elsewhere in his tomb, but are missing from his false door. This could be an indication that the Vizierate was no longer focused on legal activities by the time Mehu was promoted to the Vizierate. Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 34–36; False door, Abb.21, 199 respectively.

²⁸⁰ *Legal titles* - *iwn knmwt*, *mdw rhyt*, *hryt wshyt*, *z3b ʕd-mr*.

²⁸¹ S. Hassan, *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her, Excavations at Saqqara*, Vol 1. (Cairo, 1975).

Pepy II.²⁸² In the early Sixth Dynasty, the consolidation of *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, and *ḥtmty-bity* were seen in Neferseshemre[43]²⁸³ and high official Nikauisesi's[HO2] titularies dated early to mid-Teti. However, since Nebkauhor held *z3-nswt-ḥt.f-smsw*, and the consolidated titles *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw* and *ḥtmty-bity*, it is probable he held the Viziership, but as a Vizier, he would also have held *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, a title held by the owner of the tomb, Akhethotep-Hemi, whose tomb was usurped for Nebkauhor. Teti, later in his reign, with *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* assigned *sm* duties to most of his Viziers. With the absence of the title *sm* in the tomb, it is most likely that Nebkauhor's burial would have taken place before Teti assigning his Viziers the additional *sm* duties which could place Nebkauhor early in Teti's reign. The absence of *sm* duties is also seen in Teti's son Tetiankh-Kem's titulary, who was buried in the Teti cemetery, but if he was a Vizier is unknown. Tetiankh-Kem, held the titles, *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *z3-nswt-n-ḥt.f-smsw*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, and *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, and the consolidation of these titles certainly places him in Teti's reign, but he did not hold *sm*, and it is likely he died before Teti introduced this title to his Viziers. As a holder of *z3-nswt-ḥt.f-smsw*, a title revived from the Fourth-Dynasty that was attested to the royal mortuary cult Viziers, it is likely Nebkauhor was related to Unis, and in Teti's reign probably intentionally buried in Akhethotep-Hemi's, another *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*'s tomb.

Merefnebef, married to a princess and buried near the Step Pyramid,²⁸⁴ held *iry-pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, but he was not a holder of *sm* or any other consolidated titles under discussion in Teti's reform of the Vizierate. Therefore, it is possible Merefnebef could have attained his

²⁸² Kanawati places Nebkauhor to the early Sixth Dynasty while Abdou Mohamed prefers end-Fifth to early-Sixth Dynasty. See Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 151; A.M. Abdou Mohamed, *The Tomb of Akhethotep Hemi reused by Nebkauhor Idu* (PhD thesis, Charles University in Prague; Prague, 2011), 2129–20; respectively. For Tetiankh-Kem, see Z. Hawass, 'Recent discoveries in the pyramid complex of Teti at Saqqara, in M. Bárta, J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, (Praha, 2000), 413–433.

²⁸³ Early-Middle of Teti's reign, *ACE Reports* 11, 16.

²⁸⁴ Kanawati, *Nepotism*, *BACE* 14, 50, married to Seshseshet, perhaps a younger daughter of Teti; Buried in the western part of the Saqqara necropolis and not in the Teti cemetery. See Myśliwiec, et.al., *Merefnebef*, 37.

Viziership in Unis' reign,²⁸⁵ although interestingly, as a *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, he was not a holder of *htm(ty)-bity* previously seen among the holders of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, a title probably lost due to the deterioration of the tomb.

Earlier, it was indicated that the titularies of high-official Neferseshemtah could be divided into two groups:²⁸⁶ first, during Teti's reign, and second, during Pepy I's reign. Neferseshemtah's mutilated second false door listed different functions amongst them *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*, but he held none of the *legal titles*²⁸⁷ when compared to the first false door²⁸⁸ in Teti's reign. Kanawati has previously argued for a father and son relationship with the same name, occupying this tomb, and this relationship is evident according to the titles attested to these two officials²⁸⁹ with the titles on Neferseshemtah's second false door²⁹⁰ similar to those assigned to Kagemni and Mereruka, which lacked *legal titles*, traced in this study. The lack of *legal titles*, and with so many Viziers holding *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*, is an indication that Teti, in his later reign followed by Pepy I, was gradually shifting away from legal functions to focus on mortuary activities at the Vizierate level reflecting a social change which could have been

²⁸⁵ Myśliwiec tentatively placed Merefnebef's Vizierate to the short reign of Weserkare, Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*, 248; However, Teti reformed his Vizierate with the *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* Viziers having the additional duty of *sm*. Would Weserkare not have given this responsibility to Merefnebef when this title was "in-vogue" at that time? It is also possible that Merefnebef could have succeeded Akhetotep-Hemi[64], who probably succeeded Ptahshepses[26], as all these three Viziers were attested only *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* without *imy-r Šmꜥw* or *imy-r hwt-wrt-6*, and some of the titles held by Akhetotep-Hemi were observed in the titulary of Merefnebef. Therefore, Merefnebef being a Vizier before the construction of Teti cemetery should also be considered.

²⁸⁶ See page 86 of this paper.

²⁸⁷ *Legal titles* - *iwn knmwt*, *mdw rhyt*, *hrp wsht*, *z3b ʿd-mr*, or the rank *hry-tp-nswt*.

²⁸⁸ Lloyd et.al., *Neferseshemtah*, PL.20; However, while Neferseshemtah (second false door) was attested *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* and ranks *iry pꜣt*, *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, he was not a Vizier which indicates that there may be other high officials holding these titles, probably as back-up for the Viziers. A similar pattern of back-ups was seen amongst the *legal* Viziers with many officials holding *hry-tp-nswt*, *iwn knmwt*, *mdw rhyt* in the Fifth Dynasty. Nevertheless, Neferseshemtah held none of the titles *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw* and *htmty-bity* under review which could suggest the combination of these titles was a prerogative of the Viziers.

²⁸⁹ Mehu discussed above, held the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt* and *Legal titles*, *iwn-knmwt* and *mdw rhyt*, like most officials of the Fifth Dynasty, but before his promotion to the Vizierate, and on his promotion received titles *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* and the consolidated titles of the Sixth Dynasty *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, and *htm(ty)-bity*, including the higher ranks *iry-pꜣt*, *ḥ3ty-ʿ*. Therefore, if the Neferseshemtahs were one and the same person, on both the false doors, *hry-tp-nswt*, would also be recorded, like Mehu's whose false door attests his legal rank *hry-tp-nswt*. Attaining ranks was a privilege to the ancient Egyptians and would have been displayed on the false door, however, this is not the case with Neferseshemtah (the second false door) with new titles comparable to Kagemni and Mereruka, and it is highly likely that the second false door belonged to the son Neferseshemtah as suggested by Kanawati. Kanawati, 'Neferseshemtah', *JEA* 96(2010), 290–93.

²⁹⁰ Lloyd, *Neferseshemtah*, PL.24.

a consequence of the introduction of the pyramid texts. In the Fourth-Dynasty, several royal Viziers held *hry-hb-hry-tp*, a function which declined drastically at the Vizierate level in the Fifth Dynasty, but in Teti's reign many of his Viziers were attested this title, and with the revival of numerous Fourth-Dynasty titles, and with Viziers Merefnebef, Kagemni, Mereruka, Mehu, and high-official Neferseshemtah married to princesses, it appears that Teti was aligning his Vizierate structure upon that of the Fourth-Dynasty, by reviving the archaic titles, giving prominence to the role of *hry-hb-hry-tp*, and forming marriage alliances with royalty to perhaps make the Vizierate comparable to the royal Vizierate of the Fourth-Dynasty.

The Teti cemetery Viziers could be grouped as follows:

Sixth Dynasty – Teti Cemetery Viziers Early-Sixth Dynasty to Pepy I				
Nefersheshemre	Kagemni	Mereruka	Khentika	Inumin
Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty^c/hry-tp-nswt</i>	Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty^c</i>	Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty^c</i>	Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty^c</i>	Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty^c</i>
<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>
<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>	<i>w^c m wrw hb</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i>	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>
Legal				
Ankhmahor	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>		<i>htmty-bity</i>
Rank: <i>iry-p^ct/h3ty^c/hry-tp-nswt</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i>		<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>
<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>	<i>sdty nswt</i>		
Legal				
Hesi				
Rank: <i>hry-tp-nswt</i>				
<i>htmty-bity</i>				
Legal				

This chart clearly defines the rank of the Legal Viziers as *hry-tp-nswt*.

4.3.3 Viziers dated from mid-Pepy I to c. year 20 of Pepy II

The next group of twelve Viziers includes two female Viziers. Strudwick has dated most of these Viziers from mid-Pepy I to approximately year 20 of Pepy II.

Chart 3.2 –Viziers dated from mid-Pepy I to c. year 20 of Pepy II

		Name	Inenek- Inti	Tepemankh	Tjenti	Meryteti	Meretties- II	Thethu	Rewer	Merri	Neferseshemsehat	Sesi	Idu- Nefer	Ankhmeryre
		Approx. Date	Mid Pepy I - c. Year 20 Pepy II											
		Vizier ID	6	72	74	32	29	75	45	33	44	62	10	13
	Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No.											
Rank	3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	1157	<i>iry p^ct</i>		x		x	x	x	x	x				
	1858	<i>h3ty c</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x^
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>												
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>			x			x			x		x	
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nzw t</i>				x								
	2912	<i>z3 nzw t n ht.f</i>									x			
	2913	<i>z3 nzw t smsw</i>												
	2914	<i>z3 nzw t n ht.f smsw</i>				x								
	3645	<i>sdt y nsw t</i>												
Priesthood	1969	<i>hm-ntr Nhbt</i>				x								
	2048	<i>hm-ntr Hr imy Šnwt</i>												
	2050	<i>hm-ntr Hr Inpw hnty pr šmswt</i>				x								
	2064	<i>hm-ntr Hr hry-ib c^h</i>				x								
	2084	<i>hm-ntr Hkt</i>												
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w^c m wrw hb</i>												
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>												
	1460	<i>wr hry-hb hry-tp</i>												
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>		x		x		x	x			x		x
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>				x								
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>			x	x		x	x	x		?		x
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>												
Admin. Titles	3241	<i>sm</i>		x	x			x	x	?		x		x
	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>				x		x		x	x			
	896	<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>							x	x				
	1437	<i>wr md šm^cw</i>												
	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>				x		x	x		x			x
Legal	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>									x		x	
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>									x		x	
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3^ct</i>						x						
	2594	<i>hrp wsht</i>												
	2947	<i>z3b c^d-mr</i>			x^								x	

(HO) High Official) / ^ - m3^c

The pattern of consolidation of the functions previously seen in Chart-3.1 continued among most of the Viziers in Chart 3.2. The diminishing of *legal titles* was discerned with only two Viziers holding *iwn-knmwt* and *mdw-rhyt*, and perhaps its last holder was Idu-Nefer.

Two females held the Memphite Vizierate during the reigns of Pepy I and II, Inenek-Inti, Pepy-I's wife, and Meretties-II, spouse of king Néferkare,²⁹¹ with ranks *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*. With no functional titles assigned to them, it is evident they were not executive Viziers, so what was the reason for their appointment? Most of Pepy I's Viziers held *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, a role dominant amongst the male Viziers as no female with this title has yet been found. The female Viziers' held the titles, *z3t-Gb*, *z3t-Mrhw*, *z3t-Dhwty*,²⁹² which indicate their close links to gods. Thus it is possible that these female Viziers held a role in the mortuary cult and possibly in close association with goddess *Ma'at* as *wooden symbols of Ma'at shaped like ostrich feathers* were found in Inenek-Inti's burial chamber.²⁹³ However, a study of the pyramid texts may find correlation with the gods mentioned in the titularies of these female Viziers.

Between mid-Pepy I and mid-Pepy II not much difference could be seen between the number of holders of legal and lector titles in Teti and early-Pepy I's reigns, except for a slight decrease in holders of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*.

1. Tepemankh, Neferseshemsehat, and Idu-Nefer held some *legal titles*, and were ranked lower than those holding *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*. Idu-Nefer like Hesi on Chart 4.3.2 were the only Viziers to hold the legal rank *hry-tp-nswt* in the Sixth Dynasty.

²⁹¹ In this brief article, Labrousse discussed eight wives of Pepy I; four of whose tombs have been uncovered through excavations at Saqqara by the French Archaeological Mission, and the other four wives are known from the mortuary texts. The importance of this article is that it revealed two lesser-known female Viziers previously known. Labrousse, 'Huit Épouses du roi Pépy 1^{er}', 297–314; also see 2.1.9 for further discussion of this article. See Chapter 2, 2.1.10.

²⁹² Queen/Vizier Inenek-Inti's titles: *iry-p^ct*, *h3tyt-^c*, *s3t Gb*, *s3t Dhwty*, *hmst nswt*, *s3t Mrht*, *t3ty s3b t3ty*; Meretties-II, *s3t st Gb*, V.G. Callender, *In Hathor's Image I: The Wives and Mothers of Egyptian Kings from Dynasties I-VI* (Charles University, Prague, 2011), 238–41, 288–93.

²⁹³ Verner, *Pyramids*, 358; The contents of Meretties' tomb at this stage had not been investigated.

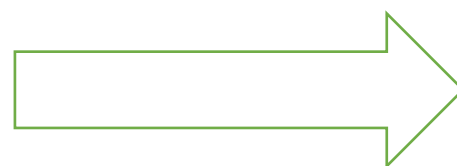
2. Few Viziers held *imy-r Šmꜥw* while *htm(ty)-bity* remained prominent in the titularies of the *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*.

Concerning the title *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*. Neferseshemsehat who held the rank *h3ty-²⁹⁴* was assigned *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, whereas, Meryteti, Merri, and Thethu, all attested *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm* with higher ranks, were also assigned *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*. Except for Thethu, who held the legal title *Priest of Ma'at*, none of the other *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm* were assigned any legal titles.

4.3.4 Viziers dated from mid-Pepy II to the end of the Old Kingdom

Chart 3.3 lists thirteen Viziers, and only eleven Viziers' titularies appear to have survived, but with shorter titularies, it is not clear if full titularies did not survive or the power of the Vizierate was constrained.

The consolidation of titles introduced by Teti's reform continued with titles *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, and *htm(ty)-bity*, but the decline of *imy-r hwt-wrt-6*, the highest judiciary office, and the disappearance of *legal titles* was obvious.



²⁹⁴ A title common in the Fourth Dynasty attested by many holders of Priesthood. See Chart 1 of this paper.

Chart 3.3 –Viziers dated from mid-Pepy-II to the end of the Old Kingdom

		Name	Khenu	Ihykenet	Hetepkai II	Meryraiam	Meryra	Sabuptah	Shenay	Khabaukhnun	Nyhebsed	Werkauba	Teti	Hetepkai III
		Approx. Date	Mid Pepy II to end O.K. or later											
		Vizier ID	54	8	48	30	31	57	65	51	37	17	73	49
Jones No.	Titles	Strudwick No	108	16	149	61	62	117	133	102	72	40	156	156
3706	<i>t3yty-z3b-t3ty</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Rank	1157	<i>iry p^ct</i>		x		x			x	x	x		x	x
	1858	<i>h3ty c</i>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	1206	<i>rh nswt</i>												
	2874	<i>hry-tp-nswt</i>						x						
Royal Links	2911	<i>z3 nzw</i>											x	
	2912	<i>z3 nzw n ht.f</i>												
	2913	<i>z3 nzw smsw</i>											x	
	2914	<i>z3 nzw n ht.f smsw</i>												
	3645	<i>sdty nswt</i>											x	
Priesthood	1969	<i>hm-ntr Nhb</i>												
	2048	<i>hm-ntr Hr imy Šnwt</i>												
	2050	<i>hm-ntr Hr Inpw hnty pr šmswt</i>												
	2064	<i>hm-ntr Hr hry-ib c^h</i>												
	2084	<i>hm-ntr Hkt</i>												
Lector & Related	1353	<i>w^c m wrw hb</i>												
	1429	<i>wr m3w iwnw</i>												
	1460	<i>wr hry-hb hry-tp</i>												
	2848	<i>hry-hb</i>						x		x			x	
	2852	<i>hry-hb n iti.f</i>												
	2860	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>		x			x	?		x	?		x	
	2861	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp n iti.f</i>												
Admin. Titles	3241	<i>sm</i>		?			x	x		x	x		x	
	630	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt 6</i>								x				
	896	<i>imy-r Šm^cw</i>							x	x				
	1437	<i>wr md šm^cw</i>												
Legal	2775	<i>htm(ty)-bity</i>			x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	22	<i>iwn knmwt</i>												
	1698	<i>mdw rhyt</i>												
	1930	<i>hm-ntr M3^ct</i>												
	2594	<i>hrp wsh^t</i>												
	2947	<i>z3b c^d-mr</i>												

The *legal titles*, detected in Kainefer and Washptah's titularies at their introduction to the Vizierate in the early-Fifth Dynasty, disappeared from the Viziers' titularies by the latter reign of Pepy II. The disappearance of the title *mdw-rhyt* could indicate that the governance, which was perhaps in place to control the Rekhyets, was no longer enforced by the Vizierate, the top authority in administration. What were the consequences of the lack of control over them?

While the number of *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm* remained approximately consistent from Teti until mid-Pepy II's reign, the number of holders of *htm(ty)-bity*²⁹⁵ increased with ten of the eleven Viziers now holding this title. The consolidation and further research of the Vizierates of Upper Egypt and the Memphite region need to be undertaken for a better understanding of the entire Vizierate structure of the Sixth Dynasty.

A cursory observation of the relationship of Viziers indicated that Ankhmeryre, Hetepka II, and Hetepka III were related to Vizier Mehu (son and grandsons), and Meryra²⁹⁶ and Sabuptah were the sons of Nekhbu.²⁹⁷ All these Viziers held the lower rank *h3ty-ꜥ* during Pepy II's reign, except Hetepka III, an *iry-pꜥt*, dated to the late Old Kingdom. Similarly, Nefershemshat, [Chart-1.2], attested *z3-nswt-ht.f*, also held the lower rank *h3ty-ꜥ*. Why did Pepy II's Viziers with affiliations to royalty or previous Viziers hold the lower rank?

Chart-3.4 lists the grouping of functions and probably the most powerful Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty, with the highest rank and responsibilities for *hry-hb-hry-tp/sm*, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, *imy-r-Šmꜥw*, and *htm(ty)-bity* were Kagemni, Mehu, Inumin, Rawer, Merri, Thethu, and Khuabawkhenmu. A prestigious role was perhaps assigned to Mereruka.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ In this writer's previous study on *Priests of Ma'at*, the title *htm(ty)-bity* was rare which could perhaps indicate that there were two streams of officials predominately divided between the Legal officials and the Lectors which require further research.

²⁹⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, 96, 130–31.

²⁹⁷ Strudwick, *Administration*, 113, Nekhbu was not a Vizier, but he held exceedingly high titles.

²⁹⁸ See discussion on Mereruka on 91-92 of this paper.

Summary of the Comparison of Functions of the Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty

Chart 3.4 - Viziers of the Sixth Dynasty

Date	ID	<i>try-p^ct</i>	<i>h3ty-^c</i>	<i>hry-tp- nswt</i>	<i>hm- ntr</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>Legal</i> 1/2/3/4/5	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt-6</i>	<i>imy-r-šm^cw</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i>
Early 6th Dyn to Early Pepy- I	28	×	×			Merefnebef (not Sem)				
	40	×	×	×		Nebkauhor (not Sem)		Nebkauhor	Nebkauhor	Nebkauhor
	43	×	×	×			Nefersheshmre 1/2	Nefersheshmre	Nefersheshmre	
	12	×	×	×		Ankhmahor	Ankhmahor 1/2			
	71	×	×			Kagemni		Kagemni	Kagemni	Kagemni
	34	×	×		1	Mereruka		Mereruka		Mereruka
	50			×			Hesi 1/2/4			Hesi
	35	×	×	×		Mehu	Mehu 1/2/4	Mehu	Mehu	Mehu
	55	×	×			Khentika				Khentika
	5	×	×			Inumin		Inumin	Inumin	Inumin
Date	ID	<i>try-p^ct</i>	<i>h3ty-^c</i>	<i>hry-tp- nswt</i>	<i>hm- ntr</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>Legal</i>	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt-6</i>	<i>imy-r-šm^cw</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i>
Mid-Pepy- I to c. Year 20 Pepy-II	72		×	×			Tepemankh 4			
	74	×	×			Tjenti				
	32	×	×		3	Meryteti		Meryteti		Meryteti
	75	×	×	×		Thethu	Thethu	Thethu		Thethu
	45	×	×			Rawer			Rawer	Rawer
	33	×	×			Merri		Merri	Merri	Merri
	44		×	×			Nefershemshat 1/2	Nefershemshat		Nefershemshat
	62		×			Sesi				
	10			×			Idu-Nefer 1/2/4			
	13		×			Ankhmeryre				Ankhmeryre
Date	ID	<i>try-p^ct</i>	<i>h3ty-^c</i>	<i>hry-tp- nswt</i>	<i>hm- ntr</i>	<i>hry-hb-hry-tp/sm</i>	<i>Legal</i>	<i>imy-r hwt-wrt-6</i>	<i>imy-r-šm^cw</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i>
Mid-Pepy II to the end of the Old Kingdom	8	×	×			Ihykhenet**				
	48		×							Hetepka II
	30	×	×							Meryraiam?
	31		×			Meryra				Meryra
	57		×	×		Sabuptah*				Sabuptah
	65	×	×						Shenay	Shenay
	51	×	×			Khabaukhnun		Khabaukhnun	Khabaukhnun	Khabaukhnun
	37	×	×			Nyhebsed				Nyhebsed
	17					Werkawba**				
	73	×	×			Teti				Teti
	49	×	×							Hetepka III
Legal - (1) <i>iwn knmwt</i> (2) <i>mdw rhyt</i> (3) <i>hm-ntr M^ct</i> (4) <i>hrp wsht</i> (5) <i>z3b ^cd-mr</i>										
* <i>sm</i> title has survived which indicates this Vizier would also have held <i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i>										
** <i>hry-hb-hry-tp</i> but most of the other titles are missing										

4.3.5 Summary of the Sixth Dynasty

The reforms of the structure of the Vizierate of the Sixth Dynasty introduced by Teti differed vastly from the layered, hierarchical structure of the Fifth Dynasty Vizierate. These reforms were discerned in the layout of Teti cemetery, the rise of the holders of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*, the consolidation and streamlining of various functions, and the decline of *legal titles*.

Teti's well-planned cemetery gave a clear delineation of Viziers holding *legal*, and *lector* responsibilities with the *legal* Viziers Nefersheshemre, Ankhmahor, and high-official Neferseshemtah buried in a row on the *Rue de tombeaux*²⁹⁹ with Hesi near these Viziers. Viziers Kagemni, Mereruka, Khentika, Tjetju, and high-official Nikauisesi held *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* were buried closer to Teti's pyramid, except for Inumin who held no *legal titles*. Perhaps a later appointee to the Vizierate, Inumin was interred adjacent to the *legal* Viziers. It appeared Ankhmahor, and Mehu who was buried in Unis' cemetery, started their careers in *legal* but later acquired *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* titles.

In the Fourth-Dynasty, many Viziers were holders of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, but only a few holders of this title were found from the mid-Fifth Dynasty. However, in Teti's reign *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* with additional responsibilities of *sm*, were held by many Sixth Dynasty Viziers until the end of the Old Kingdom. The increase in lector duties could be attributed to the introduction of the pyramid texts in Unis' reign, and hence the revival of archaic titles of the Fourth Dynasty, which could have significance with the role of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*.

The titles *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, *imy-r ḥwt-wrt-6*, and *imy-r Šmꜥw*, which formed a tiered structure of the Fifth Dynasty Vizierate, were consolidated in the Sixth Dynasty and several Viziers were assigned all these titles. It should reiterated that the holders of *imy-r Šmꜥw* held the legal rank of *hry-tp-nswt* throughout the Fifth Dynasty, but in the Sixth Dynasty, Teti made all his Viziers

²⁹⁹ J. Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah*, 2 Vols (Brussels, 1907).

equal by assigning them the highest ranks of *iry-p^ḥt ḥnd ḥ3ty-ḥ*, and together with the highest ranks, some Viziers also held *hry-tp-nswt*. During Teti's reign several Viziers in the Capital held *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6*, but this title progressively declined by the latter reign of Pepy II, and similarly all *legal titles*, *iwn-knmwt*, *mdw rhyt*, *hrp wsht*, *z3b-ḥd-mr*, including *ḥm-ntr M3^ḥt*, which were traced from its inception in the early-Fifth Dynasty, disappeared by the end of the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, the title *htm(ty)-bity*, seen amongst the *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, identified by the phallus symbol in the Fourth-Dynasty, was rare in the Fifth Dynasty at the Vizierate level. However, *htm(ty)-bity* again flourished in the Sixth Dynasty, and by the latter reign of Pepy II most Viziers were assigned this title. While some Viziers held *imy-r-Šm^ḥw*, this title was not as prominent as the titles *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* or *htm(ty)-bity* held by the Memphite Viziers, but this imbalance could be contributed to those Viziers residing in the provinces holding *imy-r-Šm^ḥw*. A comparative study of the Viziers of the Provinces and the central administration, according to their rank and title, will be undertaken in a future research.

The highest rank *iry-p^ḥt* was held by most holders of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*, but by the end of Teti's reign, the lower rank was again discerned in legal Vizier Hesi's titulary. In the reigns of Pepy I and Pepy II, the lower ranks of *ḥ3ty-ḥ* and *hry-tp-nswt* were held by mostly the *legal* Viziers, Tepemankh, Nefershemshat, and Idu-Nefer, with Idu-Nefer, like Hesi, holding only *hry-tp-nswt*. In the Fifth Dynasty, the holders of *imy-r-Šm^ḥw* held the rank *hry-tp-nswt*, and probably these Viziers reported to a higher ranked Vizier. Therefore, in the Sixth Dynasty, the legal Viziers as the holders of ranks *ḥ3ty-ḥ* and *hry-tp-nswt* could be another indication that their reporting line in the Vizierate was to another Vizier and most probably to a *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm*.

This research was aimed to find the focus of each Dynasty. The disappearance of all *legal titles*, and the diminished role of the highest judiciary office, *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt-6* by the latter reign of Pepy II, and the rise of the holders of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp/sm* resulting from the introduction of the pyramid texts; the focus of the Sixth Dynasty appeared to be on lector activities. Perhaps the

management of Upper and Lower Egypt by the central administration to provide provisions for the mortuary cults, which needs further investigation. The Fifth Dynasty was dominated by *legal* activities and earlier referred to as the *Age of Ma'at*. In a similar vein, the Sixth Dynasty, dominated by mortuary cult activities, perhaps could be referred to as the *Age of Magic*.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*; See discussion 2.1.1 above.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 Conclusions

The previous study of the title *Priest of Ma'at* showed that *legal titles* had declined in the mid-Sixth Dynasty, and an assumption was made that the focus of each Dynasty of the Old Kingdom was different due to the expansion and social changes in society. The cause of that decline was researched in this current study of the Vizierate of the Fourth, Fifth, and the Sixth Dynasties, and it was established that each Dynasty's focus indeed differed. The priesthood, lector, and *legal titles* formed patterns in this study, which could reflect the duties of the ancient Egyptian king.³⁰¹

The Fourth Dynasty revealed the three groups of Viziers of equal rank with *iry-p^ct* and *h3ty-^c* and were defined by the duties they performed. Two groups of Viziers held responsibilities for *hm-ntr* and *hry-hb-hry-tp*, respectively, with the *hm-ntr* group holding *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* and the *hry-hb-hry-tp* group assigned *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smw*. The third group also held *hry-hb-hry-tp* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smw* but was distinguished by the phallus symbol, and these Viziers appeared to have an entrusted role of maintaining the mortuary cults of the kings' pyramids. That most Viziers held a role in the management of mortuary cults appeared to be one of the focus of the Vizierate in the Fourth-Dynasty.

The Fifth Dynasty differed immensely from the Fourth-Dynasty with its hierarchical structure caused by fluctuations in ranks, unlike the structure of equally ranked Viziers of the Fourth Dynasty defined by the functions they performed. While the focus of the Fourth Dynasty

³⁰¹ *Re has placed the king in the land of the living, ...judging humankind and satisfying the gods, realizing Ma'at and destroying Isfet, He (the king) gives offerings to the gods and mortuary offerings to the deceased.* Assmann, *Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 3.

Vizierate was on the mortuary cults, the introduction of *legal titles*³⁰² and the *legal rank*,³⁰³ *hry-tp-nswt*, intensified the judiciary functions from the early Fifth Dynasty, with its policy reflected in Userkaf's Horus-name, *ir m3't*. The gradual process of transitioning the Vizierate from royals to non-royals was distinguished by the titles *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw* and *sdty-nswt* until the introduction of the standardised ranking system, when *z3-nswt-n-ht.f* and *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smsw*, including the granting of *iry-p't* titles, ceased. Consequently, the Viziers held the lower ranks *h3ty-ε* and *hry-tp-nswt* until before Djedkare's reign. During this period, two new titles, *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6* and *imy-r-Šm'w* were discerned, its initial holder with the rank of *hry-tp-nswt*. However, Djedkare's reign saw the re-emergence of the rank *iry-p't* with the Viziers again holding *iry-p't*, together with *h3ty-ε*, and most Viziers also attested *hry-tp-nswt*. The holders of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, mostly the Ptahhoteps in Djedkare's reign, were assigned *iry-p't*, *h3ty-ε*, and *hry-tp-nswt*, while the Viziers with *imy-r-Šm'w* held only the rank *hry-tp-nswt*. After the Ptahhoteps, the office of *imy-r-hwt-wrt-6*, from late in Djedkare's reign to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, was inherited by the Senedjemib family. Unis' Vizierate was slightly different from Djedkare's, reflecting additional layers in his Vizierate with perhaps a separate legal office created for Ihy, and an office for *imy-r-h3swt* ranked higher than *imy-r-Šm'w*. However, throughout the Fifth Dynasty, all the holders of *imy-r-Šm'w* held *hry-tp-nswt*, without promotion to higher ranks, and one wonders if these Viziers reported directly to the higher-ranked Viziers. Nevertheless, very few *hm-ntr* titles were discerned in the titularies of the Viziers from mid-Fifth to the end of the Sixth Dynasty. During the Fifth Dynasty, a decline of *hry-hb-hry-tp* and *htm(ty)-bity*, that were prominent in the Fourth Dynasty, was observed.

³⁰² The legal titles that were first observed in Kainefer[70] and Washptah's[37] titularies were monitored over the three Dynasties.

³⁰³ From the previous study of the title *Priest of Ma'at*, it was found that *hry-tp-nswt* could be a rank title used on its own for officials designated legal activities and hence this study refers to *hry-tp-nswt* as a rank.

The policy of the Sixth Dynasty, indicated in Teti's Horus name, *shṭp-t3wy*, was probably an attempt by Teti to create equality in the rank and the structure of the Vizierate. Teti streamlined and consolidated the functions of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, *htm(ty)-bity*, *imy-r-šmꜥw*, and *imy-r-ḥwt-wrt*-6 functions which were previously under separate Viziers, and granted the highest ranks *iry-pꜥt* and *h3ty-ꜥ* to all his Viziers. Teti's reform of the Vizierate included the holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw*, who were consistently ranked *hry-tp-nswt*, lower than the other Viziers in the Fifth Dynasty, to be granted equal status comparable to other Viziers. However, Teti gradually shifted away from legal activities to focus on mortuary functions, a social change, perhaps caused by the introduction of the pyramid texts, which saw many holders of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* with added responsibilities of *sm* priest. The titles *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and *htm(ty)-bity*, which had declined in the Fifth Dynasty made a resurgence in the Sixth Dynasty and *htm(ty)-bity* appears to be intertwined with the duties of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*. Teti gave more power and status to all his Viziers, and he also formed marriage alliances by marrying several of his daughters to high officials, including many Viziers. During his reign, many archaic titles were also revived, and perhaps the revival of titles is somewhat linked to the duties of *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* and royalty, similar to the Vizierate structure of the Fourth Dynasty.³⁰⁴

However, between late Teti, or in Pepy-I's reign, some fluctuations in ranks were again detected, especially with the legal Viziers, and a similar pattern was seen later in Pepy II's reign.³⁰⁵ Furthermore, during Pepy I and Pepy II's reigns, female Viziers were appointed


³⁰⁴ Teti formed marriage alliances between his many daughters with Viziers and high officials, revived several archaic titles of the Fourth Dynasty as seen in the titularies of Kagemni, Mereruka and his other Viziers, including *z3-nswt-n-ht.f-smꜥw* held by Nebkauhor, Merytet, and King Teti's son, Prince Tetiankh-Kem. The title *hry-ḥb-hry-tp* was again given prominence; Also in the Sixth Dynasty, according to Awady, *a return to the old tradition of Sneferu is represented in replacing the beautiful palm columns with the square pillars...* Was Teti emulating the Fourth-Dynasty administration and art?; For marriage alliances, see Kanawati, *Nepotism*, BACE 14; and for relief program see T. El Awady, *Pyramid Causeway in the Old Kingdom: Evolution of the Architecture and Definition of the Relief Decoration Program*. (PhD thesis, Charles University in Prague; Prague, 2006), 77.

³⁰⁵ According to Strudwick, the Provincial Viziers held higher ranks than their counterparts in the Central administration during this period. See discussion 2.1.6(1) above.

without executive Vizierate duties but held epithets linked as daughters of various gods. One of their tombs contained funerary goods of *wooden symbols of Ma'at*,³⁰⁶ and with the Sixth Dynasty's focus on mortuary cults, it is probable their duties could have been related to mortuary activities. Later in Pepy II's reign, a decline was observed in the holders of *imy-r-šmꜥw*, with an increase in the holders of *htm(ty)-bity*. However, the *legal titles*, traced from early-Fifth Dynasty, gradually disappeared from the Viziers' titularies during this period, with only one Vizier holding the *legal rank* *hry-tp-nswt*.

The Sixth Dynasty saw a considerable rise in *hry-ḥb-ḥry-tp*, somewhat similar to that of the Fourth-Dynasty, but a decline in the *legal titles*. With the decline in *legal titles*, especially the disappearance of the title, *mdw-rhyt*, the control of the Rekhyets associated with the Vizierate, had diminished by Pepy II's reign. Is it likely the loss of control of the Rekhyets by the Vizierate in the late Old Kingdom led to social disruptions, and perhaps the excessive demand for resources required by mortuary cults, as indicated by many holders of *hry-ḥb-ḥry-tp/sm* during this period, would exhaust the economy of the Old Kingdom?

Several dating criteria emerged from this research, and some were applied to the Seshemnefers, Qar, and Ptahhotep-LS31 to align them on respective Charts. However, a full list of dating criteria will be provided once a further study of the Old Kingdom administration is complete.

Nevertheless, the three symbols signifying the Vizier's composite title  so far has remained vague, although the findings of this research indicated two principal functions: lector and legal activities. Therefore, is it possible the gateway symbol *tꜣty* reflects the funerary

³⁰⁶ See page 97

function,³⁰⁷ the jackal *z3b*, legal functions,³⁰⁸ and with the characteristics of “bird” depicted with a protruding tongue, *t3ty*, perhaps reflected in the attributes of the person for the role?³⁰⁹

Finally, as indicated by the title of the thesis, the Old Kingdom Vizierate was found to reflect its foundation (the Beginnings),³¹⁰ the *Age of Ma’at*,³¹¹ and the *Age of Magic*,³¹² the concepts that defined the three Dynasties.

³⁰⁷ The south tomb at Djoser’s step pyramid is constructed with a frieze representing a series of erect cobras which closely resembles the gateway symbol in the Vizier’s title, and one wonders if this structure defines the mortuary duties of a Vizier; For location of this structure see Verner, *The Pyramids*, 125–28; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 494, O16/ 17, (gateway?).

³⁰⁸ The symbol of the jackal is represented in many legal titles held by the *Priests of Ma’at*, observed by this writer, and it is likely this symbol is closely associated with the legal duties of a Vizier; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 460, E17, jackal.

³⁰⁹ For example, the characteristics of a goose. “The goose also keeps a careful watch...these birds can also be seen to possess an understanding of wisdom...”, “...it is the goose, a creature more loyal, more patriotic, and more perceptive than any of them.” M. Griffin, ‘The Elder Pliny on Philosophers’, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, December 2007, Vol 50 (S100), 85, 101 respectively; Also see N.M. Davies, ‘The Hieroglyph for the Fledgling’, *JEA* 27 (1941), 133–34; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 473, G47, duckling.

³¹⁰ Dedicated to Veronika Dulíková whose study of the phallus symbol defined the structure of the Fourth Dynasty for this research.

³¹¹ Dedicated to Klaus Baer whose research of Rank and Title assisted in understanding the structure of the Fifth Dynasty.

³¹² Dedicated to Hans Wolfgang Helck who argued the reason for the revival of the archaic titles was that the Egyptians believed the titles were “magical”, which indeed they were when dealing with mortuary cult duties.

APPENDICES

PROSOPROGRAPHY

Note: Where possible, Jones, *Index* reference numbers are provided, and links to:

Digital Giza : The Giza Project at Harvard University : <<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/>>

The Leiden Mastaba Project : <<http://mastabase.org/>>

[01] Name: *3ḥt-ḥtp* : Akhethotep

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 598–600; Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, vol. 2.; Mariette, *Mastabas* 359; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.062A.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 55–56, [2]; Early reign of Wenis.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Djedkare-Wenis; Harpur, Djedkara-Wenis early; Cherpion, Djedkare; Kanawati, Wenis, Swinton, V.8L-V.9E

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r šmꜥw*, 246[896]; *wr md šmꜥw*, 388[1437]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *ḥm-ntr M3ꜥt*, 516[1930]; *hrp wsḥt*, 712 [2594]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ꜥd-mr*, 806[2947].

[02] Name: *3ḥt-ḥtp-ḥmi* : Akhethotep-Hemi

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 627–29; S. Hassan *Neb-Kaw-Ḥer*; Mohamed, *Nebkauhor Idu*

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 56–57[3]; Middle of the reign of Wenis; Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 89–94.

Other Proposed Dates: PM end Fifth-early Sixth; Hassan, end Fifth; Mohamed, end Fifth Dynasty-early Sixth.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *iry pꜥt*, 315[1157]; *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[03] Name: *Iy-nfirt-Š3-n.f* : Iyefert-Shanef (Iyefert)

Location: Wenis Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 616; Kanawati, Abder-Raziq *ACE Reports*:19; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 217.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 58-59[6]; Middle to late reign of Wenis.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati, Early to middle Wenis for the construction of the tomb; The Leiden Mastaba Project: Harpur; Wenis.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *imy-r ḥ3swt*, 184[694]; *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ꜥd-mr*, 806[2947].

[04] Name: *Twn-Minw* : Iuenmin

Location: Central Field, Giza

Reference: PM III², 237; Hassan, *Giza 7, Giza 9*.

For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza < <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1834/full/>> accessed: 1705/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration* 59[7]; Middle Khafre-Menkaure.

Other Proposed Dates: PM, End of Dynasty 4.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb n iti.f*, 781[2852]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nzw*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzw n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[05] Name: *Inw-Mnw* : Inumin

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 24.

Strudwick Reference and Date: n/a.

Date: Kanawati, Early Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: Swinton, *Dating*, VI.1L–VI.2E, 16[7].

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6?, 165[630]; *imy-r sm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[06] Name: *Innk-Inti* : Inenek-Inti

Location: Saqqara

Reference: Labrousse, Huit Épouses du roi Pépy 1er, 297-314; Callender, *Hathor*, 238-241.

Proposed Date: Labrousse, Pepy I; Callender, Pepy I.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3tyt-^c*, [?]; *s3t Mrh(w)*, 817[2987]; *s3t Gb*, 824[3009]; *s3t Dhwtj*, 824[3010].

[07] Name: *Iri-n-3hty* : Irinakhety

Location: Giza

Reference: Dreyer, *Beamtengräber im Chephren*, 114–19.

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A.

Dating by Dreyer: Early 6th dynasty, in the time of the kings Teti or Pepi I.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty m3^c*, 1001[3707]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157].

[08] Name: *Thy-hnt* : Ihykhenet

Location: Saqqara

Reference: Jequier, *Pepi II*, 62-67

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 63–65[16]; Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[09] Name: *Thy* : Ihy

Location: Saqqara. Tomb was reused by Idut/Seshseshet

Reference: PM III², 617–19 ; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* :19.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration* 63[15]; Late reign of Wenis.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati-Late Wenis;

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706], *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *iry-p^ct*, 315 [1157]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874].

[10] Name: *Idw Nfr* : Idu Nefer

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza.

Reference: PM III², 165; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza

< <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1352/full/>> accessed: 17/05/2019

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 68–69[22]; Mid-Sixth Dynasty, perhaps the later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: PM, Early Dynasty 6;

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ʕd-mr*, 806[2947].

[11] Name: *ʕnh-m-ʕ-rʕ* : Ankhmare

Location: Central Field, Giza

Reference: PM III², 246; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza

< <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1828/full/> /> accessed: 17/05/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 74[29]; Beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry pʕt*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-ʕ*, 496-497[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity n iti.f*, 764[2776]; *hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f*, 784[2861]; *z3 nzw n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[12] Name: *ʕnh-m-ʕ-Hr- Zzi* : Ankhmahor-Sesi (Ankhmahor)

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 512–15; Badawy, *Ankhmahor*; Kanawati and Hassan, *ACE Reports* 9; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 190.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 75[30]; Middle to late reign of Teti.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati, Middle of Teti's reign to the reign of Pepy I; Swinton, *Dating*, 18,[15] VI.1M–2E; The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 6, early; Harpur, Teti, late-Pepi I, early; Cherpion, Teti.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *iry-pʕt*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-ʕ*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr M3ʕt*, 516[1930]; *hm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[13] Name: *ʕnh-mry-r3-Htp-k3.i* : Ankhmeryre-Hetepkai (Ankhmeryre)

(son of Mehu[35])

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III, 621–22; Altenmüller, *Mehu*.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 77[33]; Perhaps end of the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *h3ty-ʕ*, 496[1858]; *h3ty-ʕ m3ʕ*, 497[1862]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry hb hry-hb*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[14] Name: ʿnh-ḥ3f : Ankhaḥ

Location: Eastern Cemetery, G7510, Giza

Reference: P&M III², 196; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1570/full/>> accessed: 19/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 77–78[34]; Middle reign of Khufu.

Leiden Mastaba Project Dating: PM, Khafre; Harpur, Khufu-Khafre; Kanawati, Khufu, Khafre-early; Baud, Khufu-Khafre.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *wr md šm^cw*, 338[1437]; *h3ty-^c*, 496-497[1858]; *ḥm-ntr B3-(n)-^cnpt*, 511[1915]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[15] Name: W3š-ptḥ-izi : Washptah-Izi (Washptah)

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 456, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 267-21.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 79-80[37]; Middle to late reign of Neferirkare.

Other Proposed Dates: Baer, Rank and Title, 65[105]; Neferirkare; Swinton, V3.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *mdw rḥyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *ḥm-ntr M3^ct*, 516[1930]; *ḥm-ntr Nḥbt*, 527[1969]; *ḥm-ntr Hr Inpw*, 552[2049]; *ḥm-ntr Htm? šmswt*, 569[2069]; *hrp wsḥt*, 712[2594]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-tp nzwt*, 788[2874]; *sḏty nswt*, 986[3645].

[16] Name: Wr-b3w-b3 : Werbauba

Location: Abusir,

Reference: Borchardt, *Ša3-ḥu-re^c*, II

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 80[39]; Late reign of Sahure, and possibly later.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* 1000[3706], no other titles are available.

[17] Name: Wr-k3w-b3-Ḳkw : Werkauba-Iku (Werkauba)

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza

Reference: Brovarski, The Senedjemib Complex, 1, 3, 16, 18, 35.

For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/834/full/>> and <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/2446/full/>> accessed: 18/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 18[40]; Late Old Kingdom or later.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r ḥwt-wrt?*

[18] Name: B3b3f : Babaf

Location: en Echelon, Giza

Reference: PM III², 155–57; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza

< <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/554/full/>> accessed: 18/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 82–83[42]; Early Fifth Dynasty.

Other Proposed Dates: Giza Digital: PM, End of Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5; Baud, Late Dynasty 4 - early Dynasty 5; Baer, Early Dynasty 5; Harpur, Menkaure – Userkaf; Junker, Beginning of Dynasty 5; Kanawati, Menkaure; Reisner and Smith, after Shepseskaf; Rzepka, 2nd half of Dynasty 4 - early Dynasty 5

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *ḥm-ntr Wnw-r ḥnty minw*, 510?[1907?]; *ḥm-ntr Hr k3-^c*, 560[2075]; *ḥm-ntr Dhwt*, 586[2147]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb-hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nswt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nswt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *sḏty nswt*, 986[3645].

[19] Name: *B3wfre* – Bauefre?

Location: Eastern Cemetery, Giza,

Reference: For full Bibliography see Link Digital Giza

< <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1553/full/>> accessed: 16/8/2018.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 168–69 [170]; Perhaps early reign of Khafre.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr Wnw?*, 510[1907]; *hm-ntr B3-(n)-^cnpt*, 511[1915]; *hm-ntr B3stt*, 514[1921]; *hm-ntr Spdw*, 574[2115].

[20] Name: *Ph-n-wi-k3.i* : Phenwikai

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 491–92; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 056.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 84[45]; Mid-Fifth Dynasty.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project : PM Dynasty 5, middle or later; Harpur, Niuserre-Djedkare-Isesi, early; Cherpion, Neferirkare-Kakai; Kanawati, Djedkare-Isesi, early.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr Hr km3-^c*, 560[2075]; *hm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *hrp wsht*, 712[2594]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-tp nzw*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

[21] Name: *Pth-htp* : Ptahhotep I

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 596–98; *ACE Reports* 37; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 351–6; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.060.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 49, Later Djedkare.

Other Proposed Dates: Mourad, *ACE Reports* 37, First half of Djedkare's reign for the construction of the tomb; The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Djedkare; Harpur, Djedkare, middle to late; Cherpion, Djedkare; Kanawati, Djedkare, middle to late, Swinton, V.8.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hrp wsht*, 712 [2594]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[22] Name: *Pth-htp* : Ptahhotep

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 463; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 123–126.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 86–87[48]; Perhaps early reign of Djedkare.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *iry-p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858].

[23] Name: *Pth-htp* : Ptahhotep (L31)

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 653–4; Lepsius (L31) Lepsius, *DM.L. D. Text i*, 185–6 with plan, Plan and section L, D. i 42; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.055.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 89[51]; Perhaps first half of the reign of Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: PM, Dynasty 5, middle or later; Harpur, Pepi I or Dynasty 5, late-Dynasty 6 early; Kanawati, Dynasty 5, late-Dynasty 6.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *hrp wsht*, 712[2594].

[24] Name: *Pth-htp-Tfi* : Ptahhotep-Tefi

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 600-605; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.062B.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 88[50]; Late reign of Wenis (as Vizier).

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Djedkare-Wenis; Harpur, Wenis, middle-late; Cherpion, Djedkare.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r šmꜥw*, 246[896]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hm-ntr M3ꜥt*, 516[1930]; *hm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *hrp wsht*, 712 [2594]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ꜥd-mr*, 806[2947].

[25] Name: *Pth-htp-Dšr* : Ptahhotep-Djeser

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 462–63; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 123-126.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 85–6[47]; Perhaps reign of Menkauhor or thereabouts.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *imy-r hwt wrt 6*, 165[630]; *iry-pꜥt*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *hrp wsht*, 712[2594].

[26] Name: *Pth-špss* : Ptahshepses

Location: Abusir

Reference: PM III² 340–42; Verner, *Abusir-I*; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.036a.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 89[52]; End of the reign of Neweserre to early Djedkare (?).

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 5, middle; Baud, Niuserre; Harpur, Niuserre-Djedkare, early; Kanawati, Wenis, early.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *h3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr Nhbt nbt ꜥh-ntr šmꜥ*, 528[1970]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[27] Name: *Minw-nfr* : Minnofer

Location: A sarcophagus in Leiden, Rijksmuseum Inv. AMT. 106; In 2008 a new discovery of a statue at Saqqara presumably belonging to Minnofer. See Raven, *Old Kingdom Vizier*.

Reference: PM III², 764

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 92[55]; Early to middle reign of Niuserra.

Other Proposed Dates: Raven, Niuserra-Djedkare.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *hry-hb*, 781[1892].

[28] Name: *Mri.f-nb.f* : Merefnebef

Location: Saqqara

Reference: Myśliwiec et.al., *Merefnebef*; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.177b; Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 134–35.

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A

Date: Myśliwiec, second half of Teti's reign-Weserkare-Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati, Pepy I.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000[3706]*; *iry pꜥt*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[29] Name: *Mrt-It.s* : Mérétitès-II

Location: Saqqara

Reference: Labrousse, Huit Épouses du roi Pépy 1er, 297-314.; Callender, *In Hathor's Image* I;

Dating: Labrousse, Pepy I; Callender, late Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3tyt-^c*, [?], *s3t Mrh(w)*, 817[2987]; *s3t nswt nt ht.f*, 819[2993]; *s3t nswt smst*, 820[2996]; *s3t Gb*, 824[3009]; *s3t Dhwtj*, 824[3010].

[30] Name: *Mry-r^c-i3m* : Meryaia

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 683.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 595–96[61]; Later first half of the reign of Pepy I.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858].

[31] Name: *Mry-r^c-mry-^cnh-Pth*; *Pth-špss* : Merptahankh-meryre, Ptahshepses, Impy (Meryra)

Location: Giza.

Reference: PM III², 89–91; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 231; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza < <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/831/full/> > accessed: 18/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: Strudwick, *Administration* 96-97[62]; Just before the middle of the reign of Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Pepi I or Merenre I; Harpur, Pepi I; Cherpion, Pepi I.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[32] Name: *Mry-Tti-Mri* : Metyteti-Meri (Metyteti)

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: III² 536–7; Duell I *Mereruka*, 2-3; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 21; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.182C.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 97[63]; Middle reign of Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: PM, Pepi I; Kanawati, End Teti – middle Pepy I; Swinton, *Dating*, VI.2M, 23[33]; The Leiden Mastaba Project: Cherpion, Pepi I; Harpur, Pepi, middle to late.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6, 165[630]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb n it.f*, 781[2852]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nswt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw* 799[2914]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[33] Name: *Mrrr* : Merri

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 607–08.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 99–100[67]; Perhaps reign of Merenre to early reign of Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6, 165[630]; *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[34] Name: *Mrrw-k3.i-Mri* : Mereruka-Meri (Mereruka)

Location: Teti Cemetery

Reference: PM III², 525–34; ; Duell I and II, *Mereruka*; Kanawati, et.al., *ACE Reports* 29; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.182A.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 100–01[68]; End of the reign of Teti.

Other Proposed Dates: Swinton, *Dating*, VI.1L, 24[38]; Kanawati, Late Teti; The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Teti; Harpur, Teti, middle to late, Cherpion, Teti; Baud, Teti, Swinton, IV.4-6.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6, 165[630]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *w^c m wrw hb*, 366[1353]; *wr hry-hb hry-tp*, 396[1460]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241]; *sdy nswt*, 986[3645].

[35] Name: *Mhw* : Mehu

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 619–22; Altenmüller, *Mehu*; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.188.

Strudwick Reference and Date: Strudwick, *Administration*, 101–02[69]; Perhaps early to middle reign of Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: Altenmüller, Wenis-Teti. The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Pepi I or later; Harpur, Pepi I, middle-Merenre I; Cherpion, Pepi I; Kanawati, Pepi II, middle.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *imy-r sm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry hb hry-hb*, 784[2860]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b d-mr*, 806[2947]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[36] Name: *Ny-^cnh-b3* : Nyankhba

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 629.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 102[70]; Middle reign of Wenis.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848].

[37] Name: *Ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-R^c* : Nyhebsed-neferkare (Nyhebsed)

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 683.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 103[72]; Last third of the reign of Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: N/A

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[38] Name: *Nyk3wre* : Nikaure

Location: Central Field, Giza

Reference: PM III², 232-33; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1829/full/>>accessed: 19/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: 106–07[78]; End of the reign of Menkaure or a little later.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM Khafre to end of Dynasty 4.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb n iti.f*, 781[2852]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f*, 784[2861]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nzwt smsw*, 799[2913]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[39] Name: *Nb-m-3ht* : Nebemakhet

Location: Central Field, Giza

Reference: P&M III² 230–33; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza

<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1825/full/>>accessed: 19/5/2019; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.018.

Strudwick Reference and Date: 108[81]; Mid Khafre-Menkaure.

Other Proposed Dates: Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Khafre to Menkaure; Harpur, Shepseskaf-Userkaf; Kanawati, Khafre, late; Baud, Khafre or later.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157];]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f [smsw]*, 799[2914].

[40] Name: *Nb-k3w-hr-Idw* : Nebkauhor

Location: Saqqara

Reference: P&M III², 627–29; Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 89–94; Mohamed, *Nebkauhor Idu*; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.220.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 109[82]; Reign of Pepy II, if not later.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 6; Harpur, Dynasty 6, late-Dynasty 8; Baud, Dynasty 6, late?; Mohamed, end Fifth Dynasty-early Sixth.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3 nzwt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzwt smsw*, 799[2913]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[41] Name: *Nfr-m3^ct* : Nefermaat

Location: Eastern Cemetery, Giza

Reference: P&M III²-183; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1511/full/>>accessed: 19/5/2019; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.009.

Strudwick Reference and Date: 110[85]; Early to middle reign of Khafre.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project, PM, Khufu-Khafre; Harpur, Khufu-Khafre; Cherpion, Sneferu, Kanawati, Menkaure, late; Swinton, IV.2-4.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *z3 nzwt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912].

[42] Name: *Nfrm3^ct* - Nefermaat

Location: Meidum

Reference: PM IV, 92–93; Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum*;

The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.002A.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 110–11[86]; Perhaps middle of the reign of Sneferu.

Other Proposed Dates: Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 4; Harpur, Sneferu; Cherpion, Sneferu; Kanawati, Sneferu; Baud, Sneferu; Swinton, IV.1.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr B3-(n)-^cnpt*, 511[1915]; *hm-ntr B3stt*, 514[1921]; *hm-ntr Šzmt.t*, 582[2138]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *z3 nzwt smsw*, 799[2913].

[43] Name: *Nfr-sšm-R^c-Ššī* : Neferseshemre

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 511–2; Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux* 17-26, pls. 9-17; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 11; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.189.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 112[88]; Perhaps middle of the reign of Teti.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati, Early-Middle of Teti's reign; Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 6; Harpur, Teti, middle to late; Cherpion, Teti, Swinton, VI.1E-1M.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r ḥwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *ḥ3ty-^c m3^c*, 497[1862]; *hry ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788, [2874].

[44] Name: *Nfr-ssm-ss3t; Ḥnw* : Neferseshemsehat Khenu (Neferseshemsehat)

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 585-86; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 405–11; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.213.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 112–13[89]; Perhaps reign of Merenre to early Pepy II

Other Proposed Dates: Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 6; Harpur, Merenre I-Pepi II; Cherpion, Wenis; Baud, Wenis-Teti.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *ḥ3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3 nzw t n ht.f*, 799[2912].

[45] Name: *R^cwr* : Rewer

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 558; el-Fikey, *Vizier Re-wer*; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.193a.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 115[93]; mid-Pepy I -c. Year 20 Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 6, late; Harpur, Pepi I, late; Swinton, VI.2E-L.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[895]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *ḥ3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *ḥtm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[46] Name: *R^c-špss* : Rashepses

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 494–96; Lepsius, *DM II*, pl.60 t/m 64bis; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.059.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 116–17[95]; Perhaps middle of the reign of Djedkare.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Djedkare; Harpur, Djedkare, middle; Cherpion, Djedkare; Swinton, V8.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *wr md šm^cw*, 388[1437]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hrp wsht*, 712 [2594]; *ḥm-ntr M3^ct*, 516[1930]; *ḥm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

[47] Name: *Hm-twnw* : Hemiunu

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 122–3; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/999/full/>>accessed: 22/5/2019;

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 117[96]; Middle to later reign of Khufu.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Khufu; Baer, Dynasty 4, Khufu; Junker, Dynasty 4.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr B3-(n)-^cnpt*, 511[1915]; *hm-ntr B3stt*, 514[1921]; *hm-ntr Šzmt.t*, 582[2138]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *z3 nzw t*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzw t n ht.f*, 799[2912].

[48] Name: *Htp-k3.i* : Hetepkai II

Note: (son of *nh-mry-r3* – [13])

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 621–22; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 72–72.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 153[149]; Middle of the reign of Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775].

[49] Name: *Htp-k3.i* : Hetepkai III

Location: Saqqara

Reference: III², 621–2; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 76–77.

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A

Dating: H. Altenmüller - Difficult to date as there are no pyramid references.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *smr w^cty*, 892[3268]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775].

[50] Name: *Hzi* : Hesi (tomb usurped by *Sšmnfr*).

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 13.

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati, Late Teti - Early Pepy I; Swinton, *Dating*, VI.IL, 33[69].

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmw t*, 6[22]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hm-ntr M3^ct*, 516[1930]; *hm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *htmty bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-tp nsw t*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

[51] Name: *H^c-b3w-hnmw-Biw* : Khabaukhnum-Biu (Khabaukhnum)

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 684; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.195.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 121–22[102]; Third quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: The Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Pepi II; Kanawati, Pepi II, early-middle.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[52] Name: *Hḫf-minw/Minw-Hḫf* : Khafmin/Minkhaf (Khafmin)

Location: Eastern Cemetery, Giza.

Reference: PM III², 195; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1565/full/>> accessed: 22/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 122[103]; Reign of Djedefre to early reign of Khafre.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Khufu to Khafre; Baer, Dynasty 4.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *ḥ3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nzwt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[53] Name: *Hḫf-ḥwfw* : Khafkhufu I (Khafkhufu)

Location: Eastern Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 188–90; Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza< <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1521/full/>> accessed: 23/5/2019; The Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.008.

Strudwick Dating: *Administration*, 122–23[104]; Middle Khafre-Menkaure.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: Baer, Mid to end of Dynasty 4; Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Khufu to Dynasty 4, end; Harpur, Khafre; Cherpion, Khufu; Kanawati, Khufu, late; Baud, Khufu-Khafre; Swinton, IV.4-6.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *ḥm-ntr ḥr K^m3-^c*, 560[2075]; *ḥm-ntr Hwfw*, 565[2087]; *htm(ty)- bity*, 763[2775]; *z3 nzwt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912].

[54] Name: *Hnw* : Khenu

Location: Mortuary Temple of Pepy II, Saqqara,

Reference: Jéquier, *Pepi II*.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 125[108]; Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: N/A

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty, 1000*[3706] - only surviving title, (see Strudwick 125[108] for further information).

[55] Name: *Hnty-K3i-Thhi* : Khentika-Ikhekhi (Khentika)

Location: Teti, Cemetery, Saqqara,

Reference: PM III², 508–11; James, *Khentika*; Leiden Mastaba Project LMP No. 185.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 125[109]; Late reign of Teti to early/middle reign of Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Pepi I; Harpur, Pepi I, middle; Cherpion, Pepi I; Kanawati, Teti, late-Pepi I, early, Swinton, VI.1L.-2.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]: *t3yty z3b t3ty m3^c*, 1001[3707]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *ḥ3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)- bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-ḥb*, 781[2848]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-tp nzwt*, 788[2874]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[56] Name: *Hnmw-nti* : Khnenumenti

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 87; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/825/full/>> accessed: 23/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.228a; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, vol. 1, 115–30.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 128[113]; Later reign of Wenis to early reign of Teti.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, early Dynasty 6; Baer, Dynasty 6; Leiden Mastaba Project: Harpur, Teti.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874].

[57] Name: *S3bw-Pth-ibbi* : Sabuptah-Ibebi (Sabuptah)

(son of *Nbw* – See Strudwick, *Administration* 130–31[117]).

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², Link: Digital Giza< <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/objects/17385/full/>> and <<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/2514/full/>> accessed: 23/5/2019.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 130–31[117]); Middle of the reign of Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Late Pepy I or Merenre I; Baer, Dynasty 6.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[58] Name: *Sndm-ib-Inti* : Senedjemib Inti

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza,

Reference: PM III², 85–7; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*.

For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/821/full/>> accessed: 23/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 114.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 132–33[120]; Later reign of Djedkare.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Djedkare Isesi; Baer, End of Dynasty 5, second half of Djedkare; Harpur, mid-late Djedkare Isesi; Jacquet-Gordon, Late Djedkare Isesi; Kanawati, Late Djedkare Isesi; Leiden Mastaba Project: (dating as per Digital Giza) + Baud, Djedkare Isesi; Swinton, V.9E.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6, 165[630]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *h3ty-^c m3^c*, 497[1862]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

[59] Name: *Sndm-ib-Mhi* : Senedjemib-Mehi

Location: Western Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 87–89; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*. For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/833/full/>> accessed: 24/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 116; Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, vol. 1, 113–60.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 133–34[121]; Middle reign of Wenis.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Wenis; Baer, Dynasty 5, Wenis; Baud, Djedkare, Wenis; Harpur, Wenis; Jacquet-Gordon, Wenis; Kanawati, Late Wenis; Leiden Mastaba Project: same dating as Digital Giza, and Cherpion, Wenis; Baud, Djedkare-Wenis; Swinton, V.9M.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *iry-p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874].

[60] Name: *Šhm-ḥḥ-ptḥ* : Sekhemankhptah

Location: Eastern Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 191; Badawy, *Sekhemankh-Ptah*; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1538/full/>> accessed: 24/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.152.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 134–35[123]; Perhaps early to middle reign of Neweserre.

Other proposed dates: Digital Giza: PM, Late Dynasty 5 or Dynasty 6; Baer, Dynasty 5 or Dynasty 6; Harpur, Wenis-Teti?; Leiden Mastaba Project: As Digital Giza, and Kanawati, Dynasty 4, late.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *ḥ3ty-ḥ*, 496[1858]; *hrp wsht*, 712[2594]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874].

[61] Name: *Šhm-k3-rḥ* : Sekhemkare

Location: **Central Field**, Giza

Reference: PM III², 233–34; For full Bibliography see Link: Giza Digital<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1831/full/>>accessed: 24/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 021.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 136[125]; Reign of Sahure and a little before.

Other proposed dates: Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Khafre-Dynasty 5, early; Harpur, Sahure; Cherpion, Sahure; Kanawati, Dynasty 5, early. Baud, Sahure.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry pḥt*, 315[1157]; *ḥ3ty-ḥ*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry-ḥb hry-tp n iti.f*, 784[2861]; *z3 nswt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[62] Name: *Sst* : Sesi

Location: Saqqara

Reference: P&M III², 689.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 128–29[114]; Reign of Pepy I to early reign of Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *ḥ3ty-ḥ*, 496[1858]; *hry ḥb*, 781[2848]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[63] Name: *Sš3t-ḥtp-htj* : Seshathotep-Heti

Location: en Echelon, Giza

Reference: PM III², 149-50; Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 18; For full Bibliography see Link: Giza Digital<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/536/full/>> accessed: 24/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 089.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 136–37[126]; Early Fifth Dynasty.

Other proposed dates: Giza Digital: PM, early Dynasty 5; Baer, Early Dynasty 5; Baud, probably Khafre; Harpur, Userkaf-Sahure; Jacquet-Gordon, mid Dynasty 5; Junker, Early Dynasty 5; Kanawati, Late Khufu-late Dynasty 4; Reisner, Late Menkaure-post Neferirkare; Schmitz, Early Dynasty 5; Leiden Mastaba Project: Harpur, Userkaf-Sahure; Cherpion, Khufu; Baud, Khufu-Khafre; Swinton, IV.6-V2.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry pḥt*, 315[1157]; *rh nswt*, 327[1206]; *wr md šmḥw*, 338[1437]; *wḥ m wrw ḥb*, 366[1353]; *wr m3w iwnw*, 386[1429]; *ḥm-ntr B3-n-ḥnpt*, 511[1915]; *ḥm-ntr B3stt*, 514[1921]; *ḥm-ntr Hr Sth*, 560[2072]; *ḥm-ntr Hnty Hm*, 568[2094]; *ḥm-ntr Šzmt.t*, 582[2138]; *hry ḥb*, 781[2848]; *z3 nswt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[64] Name: *Sšm-nfr* : Seshemnefer I

Location: en échelon cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 142–3; Kanawati, *ACE Reports* 16; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1161/full/>>accessed: 24/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.080.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 138–9[129]; Early Fifth Dynasty.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Sahure or Neferirkare; Baer, Dynasty 5, Sahure-Neferirkare; Harpur, Userkaf-Neferirkare; Jacquet-Gordon, early Dynasty 5; Kanawati, late Sahure; Reisner, late Menkaure-post Neferirkare; Leiden Mastaba Project: Cherpion Djedefre, Swinton, V.2-3.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty* ?, 1000[3706]: *rh nswt*, 327[1206]; *wr md šm^cw*, 338[1437]; *hm-ntr Inpw*, 505[1891]; *hm-ntr Hr k3-^c*, 560[2075]; *hm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

[64a] Name: *Sšm-nfr* : Seshemnefer III

Location: en échelon cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III², 153–54; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/538/full/>>accessed: 4/10/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.080.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 139–140[131]; Menkauhor to early/middle Djedkare.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Djedkare, early; Baer, early Djedkare; Baud, Neferirkare or Niuserre; Brunner-Traut, Late Dynasty 5; Harpur, early Djedkare; Jacquet-Gordon, after Neferirkare; Junker, Second half of Dynasty 5; Kanawati, late Djedkare.

Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.115; Swinton, V.8.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *z3 nswt n ht.f*, 799[2912].

[65] Name: *Šn^cy* : Shenay

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 678; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.194.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 141[133]; Middle reign of Pepy II.

Other Proposed Dates: PM, Pepi II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]: *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775].

[66] Name: *K3r* : Qar

Location: Abusir

Reference: Bárta, *Vizier Qar*

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A.

Proposed Date: Bárta, Wenis to Teti.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]: *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *imy-r hwt wrt* 6, 165[630]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis*, 527[1966]; *hry-tp nzwt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

Other titles of Qar: *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *Imy-r hwt-wrt*, 164[628]; *imy-r ht hmw ntr Dd-swt-Tti*, 292[1066]; *n(y)-nst-hntt*, 471[1755]; *hry-sšt3*, 609[2233]; *hry-sšt3 n wd^c-mdw n hwt-wrt*, 614[2254]; *hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt*, 635[2326]; *hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt* 6, 636[2327]; *hry-tp nzwt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947]; *iry nhn z3b*, 808[2953]; *iry nhn z3b m3^c*, 809[2954].

[67] Name: K3i : Kai

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 479; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 226-33.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 142-44[136]; Middle Fifth Dynasty, perhaps early in the reign of Newserre.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *Imy-r hwt-wrt* 6, 165[630]; *imy-r šmꜥw*, 246[896]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hm-ntr M3ꜥt*, 516[1930]; *hm-ntr Hr Mḥty*, 555[2057]; *hm-ntr Hr hry-ib ꜥh*, 558[2064]; *hm-ntr Hkt*, 564[2084]; *hm-ntr Sd*, 581[2133]; *hrp wsht*, 712[2594]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ꜥd-mr*, 806[2947].

[68] Name: K3(i) irr : Kairer

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 631-32; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.133.

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A

Other Dating: PM Unis or Dynasty 6, Harpur, Pepi I.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706].

[69] Name: K3i wꜥb : Kawab

Location: Eastern Cemetery, Giza

Reference: PM III² 187-88; PM III² 864; For full Bibliography see Link: Digital.Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1518/full/>>accessed:24/5/2019; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.007.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 146-47[140]; Perhaps late reign of Khufu or slightly later.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Khufu; Baer, Middle Dynasty 4; Leiden Mastaba Project: Baud, Khufu; Swinton, IV.4.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iry pꜥt*, 315[1157]; *wr [md šmꜥw]*, *h3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr Srkt*, 576[2120]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nzwt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914].

[70] Name: K3i-nfr : Kainefer

Location: Dashur

Reference: PM III², 893.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 152-53[148]; Unclear; perhaps either late Old Kingdom or early to middle fifth dynasty.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 124; end IV; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 294, Djedefre to Khafre.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty 1000*[3706]; *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *iry pꜥt*, 315[1157]; *wꜥ wrw hb*, 366[1353]; *wr m3 iwnw*, 386[1429]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *h3ty-ꜥ*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr wnwt šmꜥ(t)*, 510[1908]; *hm-ntr B3stt m swt nbt*, 514[1922]; *hm-ntr Hr mḥty*, 555[2057]; *hm-ntr Hr nb-m3ꜥt*, 557[2061]; *hm-ntr Hr nb msn*, 557[2062]; *hm-ntr Sbk Šdty*, 574[2114]; *hm-ntr Snfrw*, 575[2118]; *h3tm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-tp nzwt*, 788[2874]; *z3 nzwt*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f*, 799[2912]; *z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw*, 799[2914]; *z3b ꜥd-mr*, 806[2947].

[71] Name: *K3gmni-Mmi-Gmni*: Kagemni-Memi-Gemni (Kagemni)

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 521–25; von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.183. Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 154–55[151]; Early reign of Teti.

Other Proposed Dates: Swinton, *Dating*, 43[111], VI.1; Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Teti; Harpur, Teti, middle; Cherpion, Teti; Kanawati, Teti, early; Baud, Teti; Swinton, VI.IE-M.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *t3yty z3b t3ty m3c*, 1001[3707]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6,165[630]; *imy-r smcw*, 246[896]; *iry pct*, 315[1157]; *wr m3 iwnw*, 386[1429]; *h3ty-c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3b-cd-mr*, 806[2947]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[72] Name: *Tp-m-nc* : Tepemankh

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 483; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 193–95; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.077. Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 156–57[155]; Perhaps middle Sixth dynasty?

Other Proposed Dates: Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Dynasty 5, end or Dynasty 6; Harpur, Pepi II; Cherpion, Wenis; Kanawati, Pepi II, middle to late.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *h3ty-c*, 496[1858]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b cd-mr m3c*, 807[2950].

[73] Name: *Tti* : Teti

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 684.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 157–8[156]; End of the reign of Pepy II.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry pct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nzw*, 799[2911]; *z3 nzw smsw*, 799[2913]; *sm*, 885[3241]; *sdty nswt*, 986[3645].

[74] Name: *Tnti* : Tjenti

Location: Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 482.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 159–60[158].

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry pct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-c*, 496[1858]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[75] Name: *Ttw*: Thethu

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 537; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 160–61[160]; Seven to tenth Dynasties.

Other Proposed Dates: Firth, Pepy I or latter part of the Sixth Dynasty; McFarlane, *God Min*, 93, Dynasty 6, Pepy I; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 14, Pepi I; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 154, 295[576], Pepi I or later, outside the dating period.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *imy-r hwt-wrt* 6, 165[630]; *iry pct*, 315[1157]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *hry tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *h3ty-c*, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr M3ct*, 516[1930]; *sm*, 885[3241].

[76] Name: *Dw3-n-r* - Duaenre

Location: en Echelon, Giza

Reference: PM III², 148; Link: Digital Giza<<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/532/full/>> accessed: 24/5/2019. Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No. 020.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*, 162–63[161]; End of the Fourth Dynasty.

Other Proposed Dates: Digital Giza: PM, Khafre to Menkaure; Leiden Mastaba Project: Harpur, Shepseskaf; Kanawati Menkaure, early; Baud, Khafre or Menkaure.

Relevant titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*, 1000[3706]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; ^c, 496[1858]; *hm-ntr Hr Inpw hnty pr šmswt*, 553[2050]; *hry-hb-hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *z3 nswt n ht.f*, 799[2912]?

High Officials

[HO01] Name: *Wnis-^cnh(.w)*: Wenisankh

Location: Wenis Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: PM III², 616–17; Onderka, *Wenisankh*; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.061.

Strudwick Reference and Date: N/A.

Other Proposed Dates: Onderka, early reign of Wenis; Leiden Mastaba Project: PM, Wenis; Harpur Wenis; Cherpion, Wenis; Kanawati, Wenis, middle to late; Baud, Wenis-Teti.

Relevant titles: *iwn knmwt*;6;[22]; *imy-r šm^cw*;246;[896]; *mdw rhyt*;453;[1698]; *hm-ntr M3^ct*;516;[1930]; *hry-tp nswt*;788;[2874]; *s3 nswt*;799;[2911].

[HO02] Name: *Ny-k3w-Izzi* : Nikauisesi

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

Reference: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 14; Leiden Mastaba Project: LMP No.184b.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*,105[76]; Middle reign of Teti to early reign of Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *ACE Reports* 14, Middle of Teti's reign; Swinton, VI.1M.

Relevant titles: *imy-r šm^cw*, 246[896]; *iry p^ct*, 315[1157]; *h3ty-^c*, 496[1858]; *htm(ty)-bity*, 763[2775]; *hry hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860].

[HO03] Name: *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, *Wd3-h3-tti*, *Šši*: Neferseshemptah, Uzahateti, Sheshi (Neferseshemptah)

Location: Teti Cemetery, Saqqara

References: PM III²; 515-6; Lloyd et.al., *Neferseshemptah*.

Strudwick Reference and Date: *Administration*,111[87]; Reign of Teti to early Pepy I.

Other Proposed Dates: Lloyd et al, 2, Teti to Pepy I; Swinton, V.6-8E.

Relevant titles under Teti: *iwn knmwt*, 6[22]; *wr md šm^cw*, 388[1437]; *mdw rhyt*, 453[1698]; *hry-tp nswt*, 788[2874]; *z3b ^cd-mr*, 806[2947].

Relevant titles under Pepy I: *iry-p^ct*, 315[1157]; *hry-hb*, 781[2848]; *hry-hb hry-tp*, 784[2860]; *sm*, 885[3241].

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