

On the Right Side of the King.

A Microhistorical Study of Vizierial Titles in the Early
Ramesside Period through Prosopography and Biography.

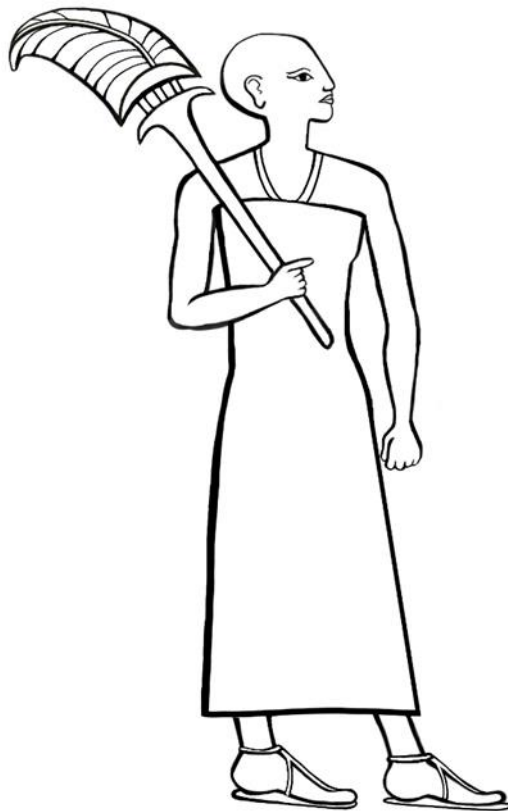


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FOR MY PARENTS



Questa tesi esplora le attività e le funzioni di un gruppo limitato di alti funzionari, i visir dell'Alto e del Basso Egitto, attraverso il loro uso di titoli durante la prima parte del periodo ramesside nella XIX dinastia (c. 1290-1215 a.C.) con il visir di nome Paser come caso. La quantità di materiale di origine correlato a questo particolare individuo supera di gran lunga qualsiasi altro funzionario non reale dell'antico Egitto. Ciò crea un'opportunità unica per esaminare le funzioni del visir all'inizio della XIX dinastia. Lo studio utilizza le fonti dei visir e include il contesto architettonico di monumenti e manufatti, nonché i testi e i titoli incisi su di essi. Le fonti sono considerate attraverso uno studio prosopografico e biografico di Paser e uno studio comparativo dei suoi pari contemporanei, combinato con uno studio microstorico dell'uso dei titoli dei visir durante il primo periodo ramesside. Il materiale studiato include anche i sommi sacerdoti di Amon e Ptah, poiché diversi visir in carica durante il regno di Ramesse II a un certo punto arrivarono a detenere i titoli di sommi sacerdoti di quelle divinità. Lo scopo di questo studio è esplorare le funzioni del visir all'inizio di una nuova dinastia, che seguì all'indomani del periodo di Amarna. Ciò viene fatto esaminando casi specifici in cui prove architettoniche, topografiche e testuali indicano compiti quotidiani o straordinari svolti da Paser e dai suoi pari.

Il secondo aspetto del progetto è un'analisi microstorica dei titoli utilizzati dagli stessi alti funzionari, condotta attraverso un approccio tematico che si occupa di occasioni o funzioni specifiche che coinvolgono i visir. Il gran numero di monumenti, manufatti e iscrizioni con una provenienza nota collegati al visir Paser in particolare consente un'indagine su come e quando titoli specifici furono utilizzati da lui. Come contesto, si esamina come i titoli dei visir contemporanei corrispondano ai reperti dello studio del caso di Paser e come ciò contribuisca alla nostra comprensione del complesso sistema amministrativo e della funzione effettiva dei visir nel primo periodo ramesside. Gli unici testi noti che parlano direttamente delle funzioni del visir sono *The Duties of the Vizier* e *The Installation of the Vizier*, trovati principalmente in un gruppo limitato di tombe appartenenti ai visir della metà della XVIII dinastia nella necropoli tebana. L'unica eccezione è una copia mal conservata in TT 106 datata all'inizio della XIX dinastia, la tomba appartenuta a Paser. La data di composizione è stata a lungo dibattuta, alcuni sostengono una data del tardo Medio Regno, altri addirittura dell'inizio della XVIII dinastia. In ogni caso, il testo non può essere considerato contemporaneo per il periodo ramesside e altre fonti dovrebbero quindi essere consultate per accertare aspetti del ruolo del visir per questo periodo di tempo. Pertanto, per guardare al ruolo del visir sotto una nuova luce, questo studio impiega i titoli da loro utilizzati, i monumenti su cui sono incisi, insieme al loro contesto topografico e architettonico. Ciò viene fatto in confronto alle fonti testuali risalenti al Nuovo Regno, come i documenti del villaggio dei costruttori di tombe di Deir el-Medina, testi biografici, lettere modello e testi amministrativi.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Aegyptiaca</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca</i> . Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt
<i>AME</i>	Anthropology of the Middle East. New York/Oxford
<i>AMR</i>	Academy of Management Review
<i>Ankh</i>	<i>Ankh</i> : Egyptologie et Civilisations Africains
<i>BES</i>	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
<i>BrookMusA</i>	The Brooklyn Museum Annual
<i>BSFE</i>	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
<i>CAJ</i>	Cambridge Archaeological Journal. Cambridge
<i>ClassAnt</i>	Classical Antiquity
<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d'Égypte
<i>DE</i>	Discussions in Egyptology
<i>DWJ</i>	Distant Worlds Journal
<i>Expedition</i>	Expedition Magazine. Penn Museum, Philadelphia
<i>GM</i>	Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion
<i>Hist. theory</i>	History and Theory. Wesleyan University
<i>IJPA</i>	International Journal of Public Administration, Routledge London
<i>ILS</i>	Interdisciplinary Literary Studies
<i>JAC</i>	Journal of Ancient Civilizations
<i>JAIE</i>	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections.
<i>JANEH</i>	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
<i>JEgH</i>	Journal of Egyptian History
<i>JHI</i>	Journal of the History of Ideas
<i>JLS</i>	Journal of Law and Society. Law College, University of Peshawar
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
<i>JSSEA</i>	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. Toronto.
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i> . Journal of Egyptian Language Studies
<i>MIO</i>	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
<i>OHTA</i>	The Oxford Handbook of Topics in Archaeology. Oxford Academic.
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications. University of Chicago
<i>OMRO</i>	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
<i>SAK</i>	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
<i>Sitzungsber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
<i>ÄIB</i>	Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
<i>EAH</i>	The Encyclopedia of Ancient History
<i>Fs</i>	Festschrift
<i>KRI</i>	Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions
<i>LÄ</i>	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
<i>OEAÉ</i>	Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt
<i>OHE</i>	Oxford Handbook of Egyptology

<i>OHEBD</i>	Oxford Handbook of the Egyptian Book of the Dead
<i>PM</i>	Porter & Moss, Topographical Bibliography
<i>RITA</i>	Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated
<i>RITANC</i>	Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments
<i>UEE</i>	UCLA Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt
<i>URK</i>	Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums
<i>WB</i>	Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache

1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis explores the activities and functions of a limited group of high officials, the viziers of Upper and Lower Egypt, through their use of titles during the earliest part of the Ramesside Period in the 19th dynasty (c. 1290-1215 BC) with the vizier named Paser as a case study. As will be shown below, the amount of source material related to this particular individual far exceeds that pertaining to any other non-royal official of ancient Egypt. This creates a unique opportunity to examine the functions of the vizier at the onset of the 19th dynasty. The study utilizes the sources of the viziers, i.e., the monuments and artifacts related to them, and includes their architectural context, as well as the texts and titles inscribed on them. The sources are considered through a prosopographical and biographical study of Paser and a comparative study of his contemporary peers, combined with a microhistorical study of the use of titles of viziers during the early Ramesside Period. The studied material also includes the high priests of Amun and Ptah since several viziers in office during the reign of Ramesses II at some point came to hold the titles of high priests of those deities. The purpose of this study is to explore the functions of the vizier at the beginning of a new dynasty, which followed in the aftermath of the Amarna Period. This is done by examining specific instances where architectural, topographical and textual evidence points to daily or extraordinary tasks performed by Paser and his peers.

The second aspect of the project is a microhistorical analysis of titles used by the same high officials, conducted by means of a thematic approach that deals with specific occasions or functions involving the viziers. The large number of monuments, artifacts and inscriptions with a known provenance connected to the vizier Paser, in particular, allow an investigation into how and when specific titles were used by him. As context, it is examined how the titles of contemporary viziers correspond to the finds of the Paser case study and how this contributes to our understanding of the complex administrative system and the actual function of viziers in the early Ramesside Period. The only known texts that speak directly about the vizier's functions are *The Duties of the Vizier* and the *Installation of the Vizier* (henceforth *The Duties* and the *Installation-text*) found primarily in a limited group of tombs belonging to mid-18th dynasty viziers in the Theban necropolis. The only exception to this is a badly preserved copy dated to the early 19th dynasty in TT 106, the tomb belonging to Paser. The composition date has long been debated, some argue for a late Middle Kingdom date, others for as late as the early 18th dynasty.¹ In any case, the text cannot be considered contemporary for the Ramesside Period, and other sources should thus be consulted to ascertain aspects of the functions of the vizier for this time period. Therefore, in order to look at the role of the vizier in a new light, this study employs the titles used by the viziers, the monuments on which these titles are inscribed, along with their topographical and architectural context. This is done in comparison to the textual

¹ Composition dates have been suggested to be in the range between the 13th dynasty to the early 18th dynasty. For arguments on an early composition date, see Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 29. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 23. For an early New Kingdom composition date, see Pardey, "Die Datierung," *Fs Altenmüller* (2003). Van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 344. For discussion on the function of the text, see Auenmüller, *Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 477-481, Eyre, *The Use of Documents* (2013), 56-57.

sources dating to the New Kingdom, such as documents from the tomb builders' village of Deir el-Medina, biographical texts, model letters and administrative texts.

2. RESEARCH HISTORY, METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

2.1. Theory, methodology and cultural aspects

The material and textual records of ancient Egypt give the possibility to understand individual people through the evidence of their lives in the form of writing and monuments. Microhistorical studies have become an increasingly popular way of conducting research within Egyptology, perhaps because it has the potential of reaching beyond this rather narrow field and involving a wider audience. The same potential is present in prosopographical studies. Many publications on the New Kingdom kings have been published in these categories over the years, such as *Thutmose III*,² *Amenhotep III*³ and *Monuments of Seti I*.⁴ Less attention has been paid to the study of individual high officials of this time. The extensive material record of the vizier Paser allows for such a study, and the following sections describe the theory and methodology followed throughout the study.

2.1.1. The Western Bias

For anyone to be completely free of cultural bias is extremely difficult. From the time of birth, human beings are conditioned by their surroundings to understand the world in a certain way, and although one's perceptions can change through the experiences in one's life, the general culture of the country or area someone grew up in is part of human essence and contributes to the feeling of belonging. Bednarski argues that the reception of Egypt cannot be seen in the light of Europe as one unit, but rather, individual countries with different perceptions.⁵ In the same manner, interpretation of a piece of literature or an archaeological feature is influenced by the cultural background of the interpreter.

As Stevenson states:

“Examining an object from antiquity is never an unmediated connection to the past. Perceptions are informed by historical and social conditions, that in turn shape those conditions.”⁶

² Cline & O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III* (2006).

³ Cline & O'Connor, *Amenhotep III* (2001).

⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000).

⁵ Bednarski, “Reception of Egypt,” *A Companion* (2010), 1086.

⁶ Stevenson, *Egyptian Archaeology* (2022), 6.

The fact that Egypt was colonized for a long period of time has, along with the Egyptomania of the 1800s,⁷ meant that the field of Egyptology was from its onset greatly flavored by orientalism and eurocentrism.⁸ This fact is a matter of great discussion today, which has sparked multiple publications on the subject, with Egyptian scholars becoming increasingly involved,⁹ which aids the diversification of the subject.

Taking on a comparative approach that moves away from using the example of the Middle East versus the West, Baines and Yoffee discuss the Mesopotamian and Egyptian states while assessing the evidence theoretically.¹⁰ While the authors argue for major differences in these two regions,¹¹ they show that trade relations between them were considerable, which is documented in the written record but almost invisible in the archaeological.¹² This relationship is valuable in assessing trade in ancient Egypt, and hence, the economy of state, temple and individual. As it is shown in the following study, intercultural contact was of great importance at state level, visible in the diplomatic exchange involving the vizier Paser and the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep (see 8.1. below). According to Moreno García, the view of the ancient Egyptian state as holding absolute power over trade is still prevalent in Egyptological study, while Mesopotamian sources reveal that private individuals were highly involved in international trade.¹³ Therefore, studies that deal with a western bias and development in methodology aid in moving away from former conceptions of ancient Egypt as exceptional and instead sets this civilization within the context of world history and not just in juxtaposition to the west.

2.1.2. Microhistory

According to Moreno García, microhistory used in Egyptological studies lacks an exact definition, and therefore, any subject has the potential of being a productive area for this type of research.¹⁴ Microhistory is defined within this project as a study, in which smaller events, such as a specific person's actions or the writing of a group of documents, aid to reconstruct the larger macro-history of the ancient Egyptian society, whereas, conversely, a biography focuses primarily on individual events independent of any historical timeline. Within the "Italian

⁷ Ratnagar, "Appropriation and Its Consequences," *JEA* 13 (2020), 208.

⁸ Addressing the museum culture of today, Stevenson comments that the majority of both museum visitors and Egyptology as a discipline are white Eurocentric. Stevenson, *Egyptian Archaeology* (2022), 4.

⁹ For discussion on the Euro-American one-sided view on ancient Egyptian literature and the relationship between ancient Egyptian and pre-modern Arabic literature, see Rashwan, "Literary Genre," *ILS* 23/1 (2021), 24-68. See also Bloxam and Shaw, "Introduction," *OHE* (2020), 4.

¹⁰ Baines and Yoffee, "Order, Legitimacy and Wealth," *Archaic States* (1998), 199-260.

¹¹ Ancient Egypt was for the most part of its history politically unified, while the same cannot be said for Mesopotamia. Baines and Yoffee, "Order, Legitimacy and Wealth," *Archaic States* (1998), 204.

¹² Baines and Yoffee, "Order, Legitimacy and Wealth," *Archaic States* (1998), 211.

¹³ As shown by Assyrian cuneiform archives discovered in Kültepe/Kanesh dated to the Middle Bronze Age. Moreno García, "Ancient States," *JEH* 7 (2014), 220.

¹⁴ Moreno García, "Microhistory," *UEE* (2018), 12.

school” of microhistory, which arose in northern Italy during the 1970’s and 1980’s,¹⁵ Ginzburg used textual evidence to reconstruct the life of an individual and placed it in the macro-historic frame in *The Cheese and the Worms*.¹⁶ Thus, the scale of observation determines whether a study belongs to micro- or macrohistory. This project follows the framework of Ginzburg by making a prosopographical study of Paser, using texts and architectural context and placing that study within the macro-historic events of his time. However, as Baines states, even the written record of such a well-documented site as the tomb builders’ village of Deir el-Medina is far more fragmented than reports of the 16th century Inquisition.¹⁷ Therefore, it is at times difficult to provide definitive conclusions, as will be become evident in the following chapters.

The present study contains foremost an analysis of some functions of a specific, limited group of viziers and high priests of the early Ramesside state conducted through a prosopographical study of the vizier Paser. It is a microhistorical view on the complex system of the administration in this specific period of time. The microhistorical approach is a way to understand factors that have otherwise been unnoticed in the macroscopical view.¹⁸ This approach is adopted in the sections dealing with the use of titles by viziers which shows their functions. A part of the study deals with unusual titles, their placement and function, to which the *method of clues*, also called the *evidentiary paradigm*, is applied. This method considers the actions of a person which would appear insignificant or an oddity that needs explanation as clues to previously undetected details of the microhistorical case study in question.¹⁹

Several studies with a similar focus have been conducted in recent years within the field of Egyptology. For example, with a focus on three different individuals and family units, Donker van Heel has produced works through textual evidence,²⁰ though with a popular non-fiction angle, which is aimed more on a wider audience of readers rather than strictly for Egyptological research. The present study utilizes a similar methodology as applied by Donker van Heel, though its target audience differs.

¹⁵ Muir, “Introduction: Observing Trifles,” *Microhistory* (1991), vii.

¹⁶ A 16th century miller named Menocchio, who was burnt at the stake by the inquisition, misread a mismatched collection of books, which he interpreted through his contemporary material culture. This created a sort of private cosmology, which bewildered the inquisitors, and Ginzburg used the trial documents to map the relationship between popular and elite culture. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* (1982). Muir, “Introduction: Observing Trifles,” *Microhistory* (1991), x.

¹⁷ Baines, “Reflections on How Ancient Egyptian Comparative History is Done,” *JEH* 13 (2020), 425.

¹⁸ Peltonen, “What is Micro in Microhistory?” *Theoretical Discussions* (2014), 105.

¹⁹ Peltonen, “What is Micro in Microhistory?” *Theoretical Discussions* (2014), 105, 107.

²⁰ Donker van Heel, *Dealing with the Dead* (2021), *Mrs. Tsenhor* (2014) and *Djeky and Son* (2013). The author has several other publications in this category.

2.1.3. Prosopography

The present study contains a prosopographical study with the vizier Paser as a case in order to gain understanding of some of the actual functions of viziers as the highest of officials within the complex system of ancient Egyptian administration. Like microhistorical studies, prosopography has the potential to reach beyond the study of Egyptology itself and be part of a larger discussion on ancient societies. Ankoud states, that prosopography studies an individual's links to society to gain knowledge of various relationships and does not focus on the individual in particular.²¹ Or, as it is put elsewhere, prosopography is the study of the average, not the unique.²² The vizier Paser is unusual in that he has a higher number of sources and titles than any other vizier of his time, and it is therefore of importance to investigate his personal achievements to better understand the role of the vizier in the early Ramesside Period, i.e., the macro-historical events of his time. Thus, in order to get a more fulfilling image of this individual a biographical study, understood as the study of a particular individual, is also included.

The term prosopography as used in the field of ancient history is a modern designation for the study of individuals.²³ As Jiménez-Higueras has stated, prosopographical studies within the field of Egyptology are valuable, since this method is a good starting point of data collecting on individuals, which can be used for group analysis of social structure.²⁴ Whereas prosopography within the social sciences is defined as the study of a group rather than the individual.²⁵ Here, it is dependent on a collection of data, namely the corpus of titles used by the vizier Paser (129, including variations and epithets – see Index 1), as well as the artifacts and monuments containing his name and titles (totaling 147 – see Catalogue) and their archaeological context. Furthermore, the data includes the comparative material of the Upper and Lower Egyptian viziers and the high priests of Ptah and Amun, who were in office during the early Ramesside Period. The methodology of this part of the study describes the characteristics of this particular group of individuals by collecting all available information about them,²⁶ i.e., their material and written records. The goal is to understand the patterns of the data through analysis with a set of standardized criteria, which here is the titles used by the specific group of high officials, viziers, and high priests of Amun and Ptah, and the places in which they used them. Thus, the prosopographical study is defined here as the analysis of all the data provided by this limited group of people.

An example of this way of conducting prosopographical analysis is González León, who assembled data based on Old Kingdom high officials with the title *imꜣ-c*, in order to gain understanding of this otherwise obscure title.²⁷ This approach resembles the methodology of the

²¹ Ankoud, "Prosopography: An Approach," *AlMuntaqa* 3 (2020), 71.

²² Verboeven, Carlier & Dumolyn, "Short Manual," *Prosopography* (2007), 37.

²³ Definition by <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-5382> in: The Oxford Classical Dictionary (accessed: 22/1 2022).

²⁴ Jiménez-Higueras, *Prosopographic Study of the New Kingdom Tomb Owners* (2022), xi.

²⁵ Verboeven, Carlier & Dumolyn, "Short Manual," *Prosopography* (2007), 37.

²⁶ Verboeven, Carlier & Dumolyn, "Short Manual," *Prosopography* (2007), 39.

²⁷ González León, "A Prosopographical Study of the *imꜣ-c* Title Holders," *ZÄS* 148/2 (2021).

present dissertation, though the starting point here is a single person rather than a single title. Similarly, Staring compiled data on New Kingdom tomb owners in the Saqqara necropolis in a catalogue, which also included individual titles.²⁸ His way of approaching the study of titles by being cautious in the subdivision into categories²⁹ is followed here, since it is a vital part of the study to articulate the biases and difficulties in modern translations of ancient Egyptian terms. Another major prosopographical study within the field of Egyptology is Davies' study of the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina, in which he approached the unusually large set of data that exists on various individuals from the tomb builders' village by dividing the material into groups based on occupation, defined as social network analysis.³⁰ No social network analysis in the strict sense of the term will be done in the framework of this project. This is due to the limited information on kinship for the vizier Paser, whose family is only known from his own monuments. As for his other contacts, these are primarily members of the Deir el-Medina workforce. Therefore, no new valuable information would present itself through such an analysis. Instead, the remaining viziers of the early Ramesside Period are presented in prosopographical studies used comparatively to that of Paser.

To sum up, this study approaches prosopography through the biographical case study of the vizier Paser, which incorporates the group of viziers and high priests of Amun and Ptah as comparative material. The prosopography thereby serves as the starting point for a microhistorical study on the use of titles by viziers in the early Ramesside Period.

2.1.4. Architecture in Context

The premise for understanding the use of titles by the viziers in the early Ramesside Period relies mostly on their placement and the objects and monuments they were inscribed on. Therefore, the architectural elements as part of the archaeological record are particularly important to this study. As for Paser, several lists have been compiled over the years of his artifacts, inscriptions, and monuments, which provide a general overview of their type and geographical placement. These lists were made by Weil, Donohue and lastly Raedler.³¹ The latter also included all known attestations of the viziers Nebamun, (Pa-)Rahotep, Khay and Neferrenpet.³² Further objects have come to light since the latest publication; thus, an updated list is provided in the catalogue below. The list of Paser's artifacts, inscriptions and monuments now holds 147 individual numbers, 108 of which have a known provenance. In addition, Raue has also

²⁸ Staring, "Towards a Prosopography," *Abusir and Saqqara* (2017).

²⁹ Staring, "Towards a Prosopography," *Abusir and Saqqara* (2017), 596.

³⁰ Davies, *Who's Who* (1999).

³¹ Weil, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches* (1908); Donohue, "The Vizier Paser," *JEA* 74 (1988); Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004).

³² Nebamun: Q_3.1-3.7; (Pa-)Rahotep: Q_5.1-5.49; Khay: Q_6.1-6.28; Neferrenpet: Q_7.1-7.30. The author also mentions a northern vizier named Iry-..., who lived during the latter part of the reign of Ramesses II, but since very little survives of this person, he is excluded from this study. See Raedler, "Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 293, 303-305, 355-394.

compiled a list containing the sources of (Pa-)Rahotep, which consists of 41 individual numbers,³³ 8 less than the later publication by Raedler. So, Paser is the vizier with the absolute most sources in the early Ramesside Period, which has made him the obvious choice as the case study of this dissertation. None of the lists provide any specific information about the archaeological context of the finds, thus previous research on these sites is utilized for context of the viziers' sources. In order to gain understanding of the use of titles by these high officials, it is crucial to understand the archaeological context in which they are found, meaning both the specific monument or object and the landscape in which it is situated.

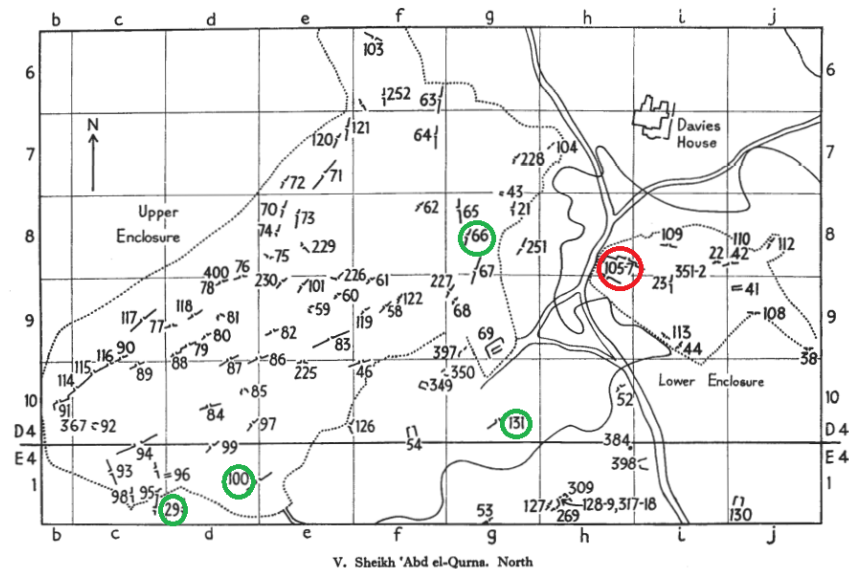


Figure 1. TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF SHEIKH ABD EL-QURNA, THEBAN NECROPOLIS. 18TH DYNASTY VIZIERS' TOMBS CIRCLED GREEN, PASER'S TOMB CIRCLED RED. SOURCE: *PM I-I*, PL. V.

In general, the archaeological record of tombs, chapels and temples is of the highest importance, since the largest part of the textual material used in this project derives from such sites. Hence, the archaeological context aids the interpretation of the site, which in turn helps to understand the textual material, in this case names and titles in particular. A term for such archaeological theory is *landscape archaeology*, and as Jiménez-Higueras argues, this approach is a way to view the spatial reality of the ancient population.³⁴ Paser's tomb, TT 106 at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna on the Theban west bank, still awaits a full publication,³⁵ but partial renderings have been put forth. Seyfried published a preliminary report on work done on the tomb by the archaeological mission from the University of Heidelberg begun in 1985, focusing largely on the layout of the tomb.³⁶ Other tombs of viziers have received full publication and are useful in comparison to Paser's tomb, since they have some relation, namely the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire³⁷ and the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep of the early 19th dynasty (Tomb 201 in Sedment).³⁸ For the former, the specific interest for this study is not that Rekhmire held

³³ Raue, "Ein Wesir," *Stationen* (1998), 341-344.

³⁴ Landscape archaeology approaches the space, in this case the necropolis, as symbolic, in which the activities of the population create meaning: the ritual landscape, Jiménez-Higueras, *Sacred Landscape* (2020), 17.

³⁵ Its publication is to form part of the *Theben* series as no. X by Assmann and Seyfried.

³⁶ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 341-353, plates 57-60.

³⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943).

³⁸ Franzmeier, *Gräberfelder von Sedment* (2017), 776-778.

the same office as Paser, but rather that Paser must have drawn inspiration for his own tomb from this earlier colleague as well as from User(-Amun) (TT 131), which is shown by the choice of tomb inscriptions and style of decoration. From the topographical map shown above (fig. 1), it is clear that Paser had his tomb placed in close proximity to those of the 18th dynasty viziers, which could indicate that he had both historical knowledge of their time in office and a desire to mimic their tomb decorations as a way to associate himself with them.

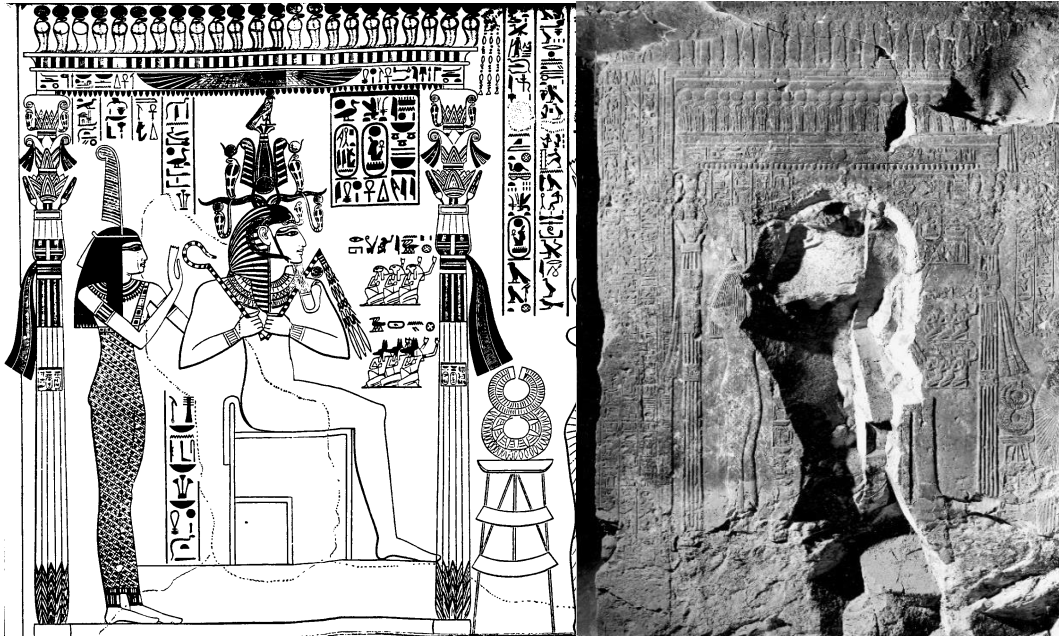


Figure 2. LEFT: SETI I, PART OF REWARD SCENE. SOURCE: PL. 64, WILKINSON, *MANNERS AND CUSTOMS III* (1878), 371. RIGHT: SAME SCENE. SOURCE: HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY, RAMESSIDE TOMB-PROJECT. PHOTO: EVA HOFMANN. COURTESY OF KARL-J. SEYFRIED.

Photographs from TT 106 dating to c. the 1980s (see above, Fig. 2) show the deteriorated state of the tomb in comparison to the drawing published by Wilkinson.³⁹ Forty years have since passed and without access to the site it is not possible to determine the current state of the reliefs. It therefore remains unknown how much more information can be deduced from the textual material than has already been published in *Ramesseide Inscriptions*, should the anticipated publication of the tomb be released in the near future.⁴⁰

2.2. Primary Sources: The Vizier and the Ancient Egyptian Administration

As stated, TT 106 has not yet been published, but the textual material of the courtyard and broad hall has received some attention. The latter is inscribed with biographical texts describing Paser's promotion to vizier under both Seti I and Ramesses II. A translation of both texts has been published by Froom, and they are included in transcription by Kitchen in his *Ramesseide Inscriptions*.⁴¹ Since these texts are the only source which details the career path of Paser, they

³⁹ Plate 64, Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs III* (1878), 371.

⁴⁰ I thank Dr. Karl-J. Seyfried for informing me that the publication is still underway.

⁴¹ Froom, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 149-156; *KRI III* (1980), 1-9.

are of great value to the prosopographical study of the vizier. The extensive list of sources related to Paser is discussed throughout the thesis, and thus, a catalogue is attached for reference. Many inscriptions from these monuments and artifacts, as well as other primary textual sources are quoted. It should therefore be noted that translations are the author's own unless otherwise specified.

Another source of information about the New Kingdom administration after the Amarna Period is *The Decree of Horemheb*, a text recorded on a stela placed at the 10th pylon at the temple of Karnak, describing a legislative reform introduced by Horemheb after his ascent to the throne in the late 18th dynasty.⁴² Kruchten states, that this text along with *The Duties*, the Wilbour papyrus and the trial report inscribed in the tomb of Mose are the four fundamental documents which comprises what is known about the administration in the New Kingdom.⁴³ The decree confronts corruption within the system of taxation, the impenitent behavior of the courtiers and describes certain elements of the hierarchical system of the administration: the king as the all-knowing entity, who has travelled and seen the entire country. Therefore, he had the capacity to appoint and teach the *knb.t* correct conduct and divide legal power between the northern and southern offices.⁴⁴ Although the extent of the crisis of leadership and lack of administrative control following the Amarna Period may well be exaggerated in the text,⁴⁵ it is possible to deduct some administrative functions from the text. It does not specify any tasks of the vizier but establishes the order of legislation with the king as the supreme leader, who delegated responsibility to his subordinates. Another type of document which partially describes the role of the vizier is the *Onomasticon of Amunemipet* dated to the late 20th dynasty or Third Intermediate Period.⁴⁶ This document, listing words in categories ranging from nature to placenames, is perhaps best categorized as an ancient version of an encyclopedia, though without any description of the entries. It contains a section on administrative and occupational titles,⁴⁷ which gives clues on the hierarchical structure of the ancient Egyptian administration. Part of this section is discussed by Grandet, who named Gardiner's no. 67-125 the *Chapter on hierarchy*.⁴⁸

The main source of knowledge about the function of the highest official office, that of the vizier, is the text *The Duties* written on the tomb chapel walls of three 18th dynasty viziers, Rekhmire, User(-Amun) and Amunemopet, and additionally, in the 19th dynasty tomb chapel of the vizier Paser. The text describes the daily tasks of the vizier, including legal matters.⁴⁹ This text along with the related Installation-text are the only two textual sources that directly describe the function of the office of the vizier. For that reason, they have been used by numerous researchers to support theories on the functions of high officials throughout the New

⁴² Gnirs, "Haremhab- Ein Staatsreformer?" SAK 16 (1989), 83.

⁴³ Kruchten, *Décret d'Horemheb* (1981), ix.

⁴⁴ Helck, *Urk. 18. Dyn. Übersetzung heft 17-22* (1961), 421.

⁴⁵ Earlier scholars saw the decree as a sign of anarchy existing following the death of Akhenaten, Kruchten, *Décret d'Horemheb* (1981), 204.

⁴⁶ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (1968), 24.

⁴⁷ Gardiner's no. 72-229, Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (1968), 310-324.

⁴⁸ Grandet, "The "Chapter on Hierarchy"," *Ramesside Period* (2018).

⁴⁹ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 77, 88, 120, 250.

Kingdom. A number of issues present themselves when approaching such a source. First of all, the medium on which it was written: Our knowledge of these two texts come from the walls of tombs belonging to a limited group of viziers of the mid-18th dynasty, most of whom were related to each other.⁵⁰ Only one example of *The Duties* has been discovered outside this group, namely in the tomb of Paser (TT 106). Eyre argues that the act of inscribing *The Duties* and the Installation-text on tomb walls cannot represent their primary use, and that they are best understood as literary teachings showing an ideological political statement.⁵¹ In addition, Grandet argues that although monumental texts such as *The Duties* may have originated in daily practice, they give an idealized, subjective and sometimes clearly symbolic representation of reality.⁵² Secondly, the style of the texts should be considered. If they did have a formal function at some point, i.e., as an instructional text to a new vizier, that was likely no longer the case when they were inscribed on the tomb walls. As Quirke argues, *The Duties* seems to have roots in the Middle Kingdom administration, because it contains titles and institutions which are not attested in any administrative documents of other periods.⁵³ This brings into question the validity of the texts when analyzing any aspect of the office of the vizier in the early Ramesside Period. Lastly, the date of composition of the texts is unclear. As stated in the introduction, discussion on the age of *The Duties* is still ongoing, with some arguing for a late Middle Kingdom date, while others argue for a date during the early 18th dynasty. In any case, using these texts or any other monumental inscription as the basis for analysis of the functions of the vizier in the early Ramesside Period is problematic, because they are ideological and (semi-)literary in nature. Therefore, the approach taken in this study is to not use such sources as the starting point of analysis, but instead analyzing the role of the vizier through their use of titles, their material record, and the archaeological context in which they are found with the monumental texts as reference points.

In summary, this project aims to analyze the viziers' functions through their use of titles, along with the placement of these in archaeological contexts. This is supplemented by sources which do not directly speak about the role of the vizier but reveal details on administrative matters. These are administrative documents such as daybooks and accounts, but also model letters from the tomb builders' village of Deir el-Medina indirectly reveal details about the daily tasks of the high officials. The monumental texts, *The Decree of Horemheb*, *The Duties* and the Installation-text are not without value to the analysis of the functions of the vizier but are not seen as one-to-one descriptions of the office and administration, but rather, as ideology of behavior from which we may deduct some daily tasks and routines when read together with other evidence.

⁵⁰ The vizier Aametu was the father of User(-Amun) and the grandfather of Rekhmire, constituting a "family dynasty" of viziers in the mid-18th dynasty, Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 75.

⁵¹ He argues further that the style of the text follows that of oral-rhetorical style of instruction, Eyre, *Use of Documents* (2013), 56, 59.

⁵² Grandet, "Ramesside State," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 831.

⁵³ Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 23.

2.3. Defining the Ancient Egyptian State

This study focuses on individuals who operated at the very top of ancient Egyptian administration, which controlled the state. Therefore, it is useful to define what constitutes the ancient Egyptian state and how it developed, along with the evidence that exists of its operations.⁵⁴ The term *state* did not exist in the ancient Egypt as a defined concept,⁵⁵ but is a modern designation used here to ease understanding of the topic of top-level administration in the ancient world.

A state is an institution which holds authority over a defined country and its inhabitants through laws and orders. By definition, a state is a political entity, where governing power lies with a small group, which has the monopoly of enforcement to uphold order internally and to deal with any conflict that may arise with other countries.⁵⁶ In ancient Egypt, in general terms, the king formed the top of the hierarchy, while a mass of people, who in modern terms are defined as officials of varying rank formed the next tier just below the king, with the working class, i.e., farmers and laborers, at the bottom.⁵⁷ The king formally had the power of issuing *hp* – laws, *wḏ* – decrees, and *tp-rd* – regulations,⁵⁸ while daily matters of administration and law would presumably have been carried out by the vizier commanding the class of officials.⁵⁹ Even though the power holder was an absolute monarch, the institution was upheld in the event of the monarch's death. Power passed to the next in line and the institution of authority continued uninterrupted.

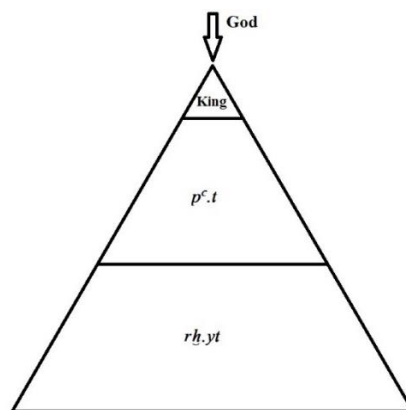


Figure 3. ANCIENT EGYPT'S SOCIAL PYRAMID AS DESCRIBED IN THE KING AS SUN PRIEST

The very idealistic text *The King as Sun Priest*, the most well-preserved version of which is that of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple, describes in its B section the Egyptian society as a three-leveled pyramid of functional orders with the king at its top as the holder of absolute

⁵⁴ According to Bárta, the creation of the ancient Egyptian administration was a consequence of growing state expenses, i.e., the royal family and court, Bárta, "Kings, Viziers and Courtiers," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 153.

⁵⁵ Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 11.

⁵⁶ Trigger, "Ancient Egypt in Cross-Cultural Perspective," *Egyptology and Anthropology* (1997), 139.

⁵⁷ Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009), 6.

⁵⁸ Grandet, "The Ramesside State," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 833, 858

⁵⁹ Haring, "Administration and Law." *A Companion* (2010), 221.

power, followed by the *p^c.t* – translated as “leaders”, and at the bottom the *rh.yt* – “subjects”⁶⁰ (see fig. 3 above). This does not, of course, reflect the actual nature of ancient Egyptian society, but an idealized broad generalization, which shows the light in which the king wished to be seen, i.e., the ideology of kingship. Thus, such a text highlights the bias of royal ideology as framed towards the structure and functions of the royal administration, rather than the wider administration of the country.

Within this ideology, the administration with the two viziers at its top would, then, have represented the middle tier of the pyramid as the *de facto* governing body, though here metaphorically viewed as the mass executing the laws, decrees and regulations issued by the authoritarian king.⁶¹ The ideological ancient Egyptian state is described in these ideological terms, though in reality the king could not have been all-knowing and in control of every aspect of the country. As discussed by Eyre, the ancient Egyptian state did not employ a regulated judicial system,⁶² which could ensure unidirectional management of the country’s economy. At the core of any modern country lies some form of a constitution,⁶³ from which every aspect of law, order and rights of the individual citizen is secured. Naturally, this term is of modern origin and did not exist as such in ancient Egypt, but the country relied on the concept of *maat*, which was used to describe cosmic and social order with its opposition being *isfet*.⁶⁴ Grandet interprets *The King as Sun Priest* as used in the New Kingdom as a constitution with political and religious discourse.⁶⁵ Regulations could be made by the king in the form of royal decrees, known from the Old Kingdom onwards.⁶⁶ Several such decrees survive to this day, among others the *Coptos Decrees* dating to the late Old Kingdom, partially about exempting the temple from taxes,⁶⁷ and from the New Kingdom the *Decree of Horemheb* as mentioned in section 2.2 above.⁶⁸

2.4. Ancient Egyptian Administration: Research History

For the topic of administration, this study can draw on many sources. On the administration of the Old Kingdom to the late 20th dynasty, scholars have produced publications covering many aspects of administrative functions. These studies, such as *Der altägyptische Staat*,⁶⁹ *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*,⁷⁰ and *Zur Verwaltung in der 20. Dynastie*⁷¹ are

⁶⁰ Grandet, “Ramesside State,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 858.

⁶¹ Inscriptions in temples and tombs of officials place the king as the head of both judicial and priestly matters, Haring, “Administration and Law,” *A Companion* (2010), 219.

⁶² Eyre, “Patronage, Power and Corruption,” *IJPA* (2011), 705.

⁶³ Data from <https://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/chronology/> in: The Comparative Constitutions Project (accessed: 22/3 2023).

⁶⁴ Eyre, “Patronage, Power and Corruption,” *IJPA* (2011), 703.

⁶⁵ The best-preserved version being that of Amenhotep III, but renditions from the Ramesside Period do exist, Grandet, “Ramesside State,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 835.

⁶⁶ Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy* (2016), 23, 55, 92.

⁶⁷ Hayes, “Royal Decrees,” *JEA* (1946), 4-6.

⁶⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt III* (1906), 23, with commentary and translation pp. 22-33.

⁶⁹ Kootz, *Der altägyptische Staat* (2006).

⁷⁰ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958).

⁷¹ Dresbach, *Das Wesirat* (2012).

valuable here as studies of the consistencies and changes of the administration over a more than 1500 years. *Ancient Egyptian Administration*⁷² offer insights into many different aspects of the administration covering the entire pharaonic period, as well as theoretical approaches, which provide a comparative framework to the approaches taken in the present study. To these above-mentioned publications there can be added numerous chapters and articles dealing with various aspects of administration, state and economy, such as the important works by Eyre,⁷³ Haring,⁷⁴ and Quirke,⁷⁵ which provide comparative studies to the thematic chapters below. When it comes to the ancient Egyptian state and administration, no one has been more productive than Moreno Garcia.⁷⁶ Not only has he conducted in depth research on the functions of the state which are useful to the present study, but he has also spearheaded the movement towards implementing methodologies and theories of subjects such as anthropology, archaeology, modern history and philosophy into the field of Egyptology, and has encouraged a comparative approach to other cultures and time periods. He is of course not the only one to do so, but his work is extensive, and it has helped the development of theoretical thinking in Egyptology, which also influences this dissertation.

When analyzing any part of ancient Egyptian administration, one cannot leave out the aspect of the economy. As Eyre writes, economy is part of all social activity and process, therefore it is in its definition the relationship between production and consumption.⁷⁷ Many of the surviving administrative texts and royal decrees deal with some aspect of the economy, be it taxation (or the exemption from it), cost, debt or property and land ownership.⁷⁸ The economy was part of the foundation of the ancient Egyptian state and administration. It involved everything from individual and temple land ownership to local markets, and it was a crucial part of international relationships. It is difficult to pinpoint the vizier's actual function regarding the state economy, however there are sources which reveal his role in tax collection. This is discussed in section 9.2. below.

Another part of the administrative system must have been politics and bureaucracy. Although these are again modern terms used to determine aspects of an ancient society, there is no definition of such terms in the ancient Egyptian language. It is, however, clear that politics and

⁷² Moreno García et al., *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013).

⁷³ Eyre, "Economy and Society in Pharaonic Egypt," *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress* (2015). Idem., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (2013).

⁷⁴ Haring, "Political Structure and Administration," *A Companion* (2010); Idem., "Ramesside Temples and the Economic Interests of the State," *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007); Idem., *Divine Households* (1997).

⁷⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt* (1990).

⁷⁶ Moreno García, "Egyptology and Global History." *JEA* 13/1-2 (2021), 5–10; Idem., *The State in Ancient Egypt* (2020); Idem., "Ancient States and Pharaonic Egypt." *JEA*, 7/2 (2014), 203–240; Idem. "Limits of Pharaonic Administration," *Fs Pardey* (2013). Furthermore, two chapters and editorship of *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013).

⁷⁷ Eyre, "Economy and Society," *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress* (2015), 707.

⁷⁸ For example, P. Boulaq 18 dated to the 13th dynasty, records transactions of goods at a king's estate. Ilin-Tomich, "Royal Court on a Visit to Thebes," *Pratique Administratives* (2021), 159-166. The Amiens and Gurob papyri from the Ramesside Period describe, respectively, the collection of taxes in the form of grain and delivery and distribution of goods, while P. Turin 1895+2006 dated to the late 20th dynasty comprises the Turin Taxation Papyrus, Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (1968), 1-44.

bureaucracy played a part in the administrative system, which can be read from the texts granting favors from the king⁷⁹ and the ranking titles used by officials (see chapter 3).

2.5. Defining the Term “Title”

The second aspect of this project is a study of the various types of titles used by early Ramesside viziers and the manner in which they were applied to an individual. For example, Paser used the title *imy-r niwt ʿḥty* – *Overseer of the City and Vizier* concurrently with the titles of the high priest of Amun in Karnak.⁸⁰ It seems his counterpart in the north, (Pa-)Rahotep, did the same, since both his vizier title and *wr ḥrp ḥmw.w* – *Great One who Controls Crafts*, a title frequently used by the high priests of Ptah,⁸¹ are found together on two monuments of his.⁸² Therefore, in order to ascertain the career patterns of the viziers included in this study, and to classify the titles they used, their use of titles is analyzed to better understand the role they held in the administrative system during their time in office.

Throughout this project titles used by viziers are discussed in context with their archaeological and architectural context, in order to determine their functions, as well as the biographical and prosopographical information they can provide. Chapter 3 below discusses examples of the titles and epithets used by the early Ramesside viziers that do not form part of the analysis in the main part of the dissertation, along with the various elements these titles consist of. When it comes to the actual daily functions of the vizier in the early Ramesside Period, there are hardly any primary written sources which describe the role. Naturally, this has caused scholars to rely on earlier texts, primarily *The Duties* and the Installation-text, as well as the tombs of the viziers along with the relief scenes in them. Since the only example of these texts written after the mid-18th dynasty is from Paser’s tomb chapel TT 106, some caution must be had as to their factual nature at that point in time. Therefore, the titles of viziers and the way in which they were used in the first part of the 19th dynasty is explored in the following chapter.

In modern language, the term *title* used in connection to a person, is defined in three groups:

- A. A descriptive name or epithet, used to designate someone or something.

⁷⁹ Eyre used the text *The Duties of the Vizier*, which he termed *semi-literary*, to describe the role of the vizier as bureaucratic, Eyre, *Use of Documents* (2013), 55-77.

⁸⁰ Paser is mentioned with both the title *imy-r niwt ʿḥty* and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n ntr.w nb.w* – *Overseer of all Prophets of all the Gods*, which was a title used by the high priests of Amun, on his chapel inscriptions in the Great Speos of Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsilah and the letter written by the scribe Nebre from Deir el-Medina, O. Toronto A11, *KRI III* (1980) 32, 31.

⁸¹ Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 266; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 103. It was used from the Old Kingdom onwards and is believed to reflect the role of Ptah as the sculptor of the world and deity for craftsmen, Maystre, *Grands Prêtres* (1992), 4.

⁸² Stela from (Pa-)Rahotep’s ka-chapel in Saqqara, Cairo JE 48845, *KRI III* (1980), 53; Cuboid statue of unknown provenance, now in the Villa Melzi collection, *KRI III* (1980), 65.

- B. A designation given to a person as a mark of distinction or privilege on account of high social class or rank.
- C. A name that denotes someone's status or profession, or role within an organization.⁸³

Ancient Egyptian titles are in modern research often classified based on their use by individuals alone, while research funded in social science focuses on the titles provided by tomb owners. Hence, titles are not being discussed in context with architecture, archaeological sites or other written sources. This is problematic since the research done on title usage has become one-sided. Therefore, title usage is throughout the present study analyzed in context of both user (here viziers and high priests) and find context, both monumental, architectural and topographical. The same approach is taken in this chapter with an in-depth analysis of frequently used titles by viziers during the early Ramesside Period.

It is noted by Grajetzki, that the translation of many titles remains problematic because while the direct translation may be safe to establish, the meaning and function is still difficult to prove.⁸⁴ For example, *ḥm-nṯr tpy n wr.t-ḥkꜣw* - *high priest* (lit. *first servant of the god*) of *Great-of-Magic* and *ḥr.y-sšṯ n wꜣd.twy* - *Chief* (lit. *the one on top of*) of *secrets of the Two Cobra-goddesses* are two titles interpreted by Kitchen to mean *Keeper of the royal crowns, the great double crown of both lands and the individual crowns of the Two Lands of which it was composed*, but he does not provide any arguments for this interpretation.⁸⁵ Grouping titles is not something the ancient Egyptians explicitly did, though the sequence in which titles were placed does point to a form of system. In order to handle the dataset created by collecting all the titles of viziers, high priests of Amun and high priests of Ptah from their monuments and artifacts, it is necessary to make a subdivision, which will allow a greater understanding of their functions.

Generally, researchers have divided ancient Egyptian titles into three groups:⁸⁶

1. Function titles. Those placed closest to the name of a person are the most important and come closest to describing the function of an individual official.
2. Ranking titles. Give information on an individual's social status within the royal court.
3. Other titles and biographical phrases, also called epithets. Signify life events of an official. Could be honorific or express certain responsibilities.

As Haring states in his study of New Kingdom tomb owners in Saqqara, a further subdivision of groups is possible, though not all titles may fit perfectly or exclusively into one specific group.⁸⁷ With the large number of titles used by Paser, which at present has come to 129, it

⁸³ <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/202602?rskey=Vs9q7qY&result=1#eid>, in: Oxford English Dictionary (accessed: 6/6 2024).

⁸⁴ Grajetzki, "National Administration," *OHE* (2020), 766.

⁸⁵ Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant* (1982), 28.

⁸⁶ As determined by Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009), 5-8.

⁸⁷ Staring proposes six title groups: Honorific titles, titles of rank and office, general administration, scribal titles, titles of public works and crafts, sacerdotal titles and military, Staring, "Towards a Prosopography," *Abusir and*

seems insufficient to only have three title groups and to place the majority in the third group (about 87 titles would fall into this category). Therefore, for the specific purposes of analysis of the limited group of high officials included in this study, the titles are divided into five groups:

1. Function titles. Reflecting the main function of the official.
2. Ranking titles. Give information on an individual's social status.
3. Daily tasks/other titles. Titles that reflect part of the official's daily or regular routine, specifying important tasks often related to the king.
4. Epithets. Also including biographical phrases, purely honorific in meaning.
5. *Ad hoc* titles. Referring to extraordinary tasks, which did not form part of any daily or regular business and were only performed once or on extremely rare occasions.

The fifth group is the most uncertain categorization, but it can be defined as a task that is only taken on temporarily in the absence of the prime individual responsible. This is discussed further in chapter 3 (Titles and Functions). In addition to the title groups, there are some distinctive patterns in title pairs. For example, *r-p^ct ḥ3ty-^c*, *t3yty s3b* and *imy-r niwt t3ty* are pairs which almost always appear together and in this particular order. The history of development of title groups are explored, since it provides clarification of whether such groups retained an actual function over time or had become honorific in meaning reflecting a tradition rather than function by the beginning of the 19th dynasty.

2.6. High Official Titles: Research History

This study analyzes the use of titles by a specific group of high officials, namely the viziers, working within the top levels of the administration in the early Ramesside Period. It is therefore useful to examine the previous studies made on the topic of titles in order to clarify the development in their use. From van den Boorn's *The Duties of the Vizier* (1988) to Quirke's *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* (2004), the administrative structures of the Egyptian state have been analyzed based on titles. Several studies of the ancient Egyptian administration through the functions of titles have been made for the Old and Middle Kingdoms. These

Saqqara (2017), 596. This specific division reflects a broader collection of officials and does not work with the high officials included in this study, but the principle of dividing titles, and the discussion on how to do so, does.

publications by Baer,⁸⁸ Helck⁸⁹ and Grajetzky⁹⁰ provide a historical overview, which shed light on the origin and historical development in the use of titles.

As the research for this dissertation is based on the use of titles by a limited group of high officials, the title indexes of Al-Ayedi,⁹¹ Dilwyn,⁹² Taylor,⁹³ and Ward⁹⁴ offer an overview, though not always complete, over the titles used by different groups of officials through the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. For the early Ramesside viziers in particular, Raedler⁹⁵ has collected all the monuments and artifacts known at the time of publication and listed all of the titles of not only the viziers, but also of family members and subordinates mentioned, and thereby provided an important supplement to the aforementioned indexes. These contributions are valuable efforts to collect and index ancient Egyptian titles, but they lack any analysis of the functions and tasks of any official of the New Kingdom. Therefore, the present work will add to the knowledge of the functions of high official through the analysis of titles below.

Lastly, without Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions* (henceforth *KRI*)⁹⁶ the present project would have been close to impossible to complete, since a large portion of the artifacts and monuments needed are spread across the world in various museum and private collections. To visit them all would be a task outside the provided timeframe of a dissertation. All of the studies named here are of great value to this project, since they hold not only analysis of the functions of the state in various time periods, but also present qualified efforts to translate titles, which do not necessarily have a parallel in modern language. This research provides material for discussion on topics within both philology and the ongoing discussion about eurocentrism within ancient studies.

2.7. The History of the Vizier

The term *vizier* has been used by Egyptologists since the 1800s to translate the title $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}} - \text{ḥ}^{\text{r}}\text{ty}$,⁹⁷ understood as the highest official rank, one step below the king, throughout the history of the ancient Egyptian state. However, it remains unclear whether it can be said that holders of the title translated as *vizier* all fit into the same description as the administrative system evolved over time, or even what the exact daily assignments of a person in such a position were. The term has in recent years received some critique for being orientalist,⁹⁸ but as of yet no other suggestion of a fitting translation of $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}}\text{ty}$ has been made, so for the sake of basic understanding

⁸⁸ *Rank and Title* (1960)

⁸⁹ *Beamtentiteln* (1954)

⁹⁰ *Court Officials* (2009)

⁹¹ *Index New Kingdom* (2006)

⁹² *Index Old Kingdom* (2006)

⁹³ *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001)

⁹⁴ *Index Middle Kingdom* (1982)

⁹⁵ "Die Wesire Ramses' II.," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004)

⁹⁶ *KRI I-III* (1980, 1979, 1975)

⁹⁷ Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009), 15.

⁹⁸ As a term inspired by the viziers in the stories of *One Thousand and One Nights*, Ilin-Tomich, "The Vizier Ankhu," *JEH* 14 (2021), 145

the translation *vizier* is used here. As Grajetzky notes, the term is a translation of a word from another culture with a specific meaning, which does not necessarily fit perfectly with the function of a *ḥḥy* in ancient Egypt, but to provide an exact translation is difficult.⁹⁹

The title *ḥḥy* as used in the Middle and New Kingdoms,¹⁰⁰ has long been translated with *vizier*, a term which is derived from the Arabic word الوزير (*alwazir*), meaning *helper*, *assistant* or *aid*, or the Persian وزیر (*vazīr*), meaning *viceroys*.¹⁰¹ It was an official position of administration used in the Ottoman Empire (1299 to 1922 AD), in which Egypt was an *Eyalet* – or administrative division from 1517 to 1867. Egypt had until then been occupied by the Mamluks who subsequently lost the country in the Ottoman-Mamluk war of 1516-1517.¹⁰² The term “vizier” has since been understood as the official title of a person with similar high official status as in ancient Egypt, namely the *ḥḥy*. Unlike the *ḥḥy* of ancient Egypt, who was considered the highest-ranking official with status one step below the king, the Ottoman term vizier was used for a larger group of officials, whose historical origin came from the posts of secretary and royal counsellor and who could be considered ministers of the Ottoman state. The head of government, comparable to the modern European *prime minister*, was instead *sadr-i a'zam* – the *grand vizier* (صدر اعظم in Ottoman Turkish). Similar to the viziers of ancient Egypt, the Ottoman grand vizier was appointed by the king – or *sultan* – and was in charge of the matters of state in his absence.¹⁰³ Thus, it would be more correct to use *grand vizier* as a translation for the title *ḥḥy*, if we are to keep to terms originating from Middle Eastern traditions. In the Egyptological tradition, the term *vizier* came to be used for a person holding the title *ḥḥy*, but the translation may as well be prime minister,¹⁰⁴ although this would be applying a modern term to a position in the ancient Egyptian society that is still not fully understood. Due to the extensive scholarly literature related to ancient Egyptian persons of this rank, the term *vizier* is retained here, in order to keep the determination of the title *ḥḥy* clearly distinct.

In the ancient Egyptian language, *ḥḥy* has been suggested to derive from the word *ḥḥy*  (*man*, *male*), specifically because of existing examples of the title “vizier” written with the phallus-symbol  (D53) dating to the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁵ As Helck comments, it is also possible that the title *ḥḥy* derived from the word *ḥḥ*  as a designation used for the royal herald on the Narmer palette.¹⁰⁶ From the late Old Kingdom onwards, the title *ḥḥy* was rarely used independently, but formed part of a compound title *imy-r niwt ḥḥy* – *Overseer of the City and Vizier*.¹⁰⁷ Further discussion on the function of titles and analysis of their use will follow in chapter 3 below. The first attestation of the title of vizier comes from Saqqara at the end of the 1st

⁹⁹ Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009), 15.

¹⁰⁰ Dresbach, *Das Wesirat* (2012), 9.

¹⁰¹ One etymology states that the root of the Arabic word for vizier may be *burden bearer*. The proto-Shia leader al-Mukhtar held the title *wazir al Muhammad (helper of Muhammad)*, Goitein, “On the Origin of the Term Vizier,” *JAOS* 81 (1961), 425.

¹⁰² Faruqi, *Ottoman Empire* (2008), 60.

¹⁰³ Bashir & Imran, “Legal System of the Ottoman Empire,” *JLS* 42/59-60 (2012), 102.

¹⁰⁴ Harring, “Administration and Law,” *A Companion* (2010), 221.

¹⁰⁵ Dulíková, “Some Notes on the Title of Vizier,” *Abusir and Saqqara* (2011), 331.

¹⁰⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel* (1954), 56; Labib, “Stellung des Wesirs,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 69.

¹⁰⁷ In the Old Kingdom *Overseer of the City* may have reflected the vizier’s responsibility of administration in the king’s pyramid town, Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009), 19.

dynasty,¹⁰⁸ and although the evidence for the functions of the office is limited for the Old Kingdom, some of the office holders did leave behind a record of their titles, primarily in their tombs. From the beginning of the 4th dynasty, the vizierial title was a combination of three signs  - *tꜣty sꜣb tꜣty*.¹⁰⁹ It is reasonable to conclude, that the office was occupied by one individual at a time and solely by princes, as the chronology of the period is well-attested and king's son (*sꜣ nswt*) was an often used designation for the viziers throughout the Old Kingdom, until the end of the 4th dynasty.¹¹⁰ At this point, it is likely that the size of the administration had become so large that it became necessary to recruit non-royal personnel in order to continue controlling the country at state level.¹¹¹ In the late Old Kingdom, the office of the vizier became shared by two individuals,¹¹² but this was no longer the case in the Middle Kingdom, where once again only one vizier occupied the office at a time, although it seems several officials held the title vizier during this period without the individuals actually functioning as such.¹¹³

To date, the only monograph dealing specifically with the viziers of ancient Egypt is *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches* by Weil published in 1908. Though outdated, it still has merit as a reference work for the men in office during the pharaonic period. Several other articles and chapters deal with specific viziers, such as the article by Ilin-Tomich, who discusses the possibility of a dual vizierate beginning in the 13th dynasty through a prosopographical study of the vizier Ankhu.¹¹⁴ For the New Kingdom, Raue has collected the monuments and titles of the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, in order to address the discussion on the possibility of the existence of two Northern viziers, Parahotep and Rahotep.¹¹⁵ Based on this research, it is now commonly acknowledged that there was only one vizier and that he used both variants of this name,¹¹⁶ but similar to Paser, no in-depth analysis on the life of (Pa-)Rahotep has been made. In an article about a third vizier, Orsenigo hinted at an upcoming monograph on Khay,¹¹⁷ but it is yet to be published. Thus, a pattern emerges showing many partial publications on individual Ramesside viziers, but no full-scale studies have been conducted until now, despite the large amount of data available.

In terms of archaeology, the tomb of the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire (TT 100) was first published in 1900 by Newberry,¹¹⁸ and four decades later by Davies, who also added a publication on the tomb of Ramose (TT 55)¹¹⁹ while Dziobek published the texts of TT 131

¹⁰⁸ Tomb S 3504, Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit* (1987), 218.

¹⁰⁹ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 17. The first attestation of the title combination is from the tunnels underneath the pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, Dresbach, *Das Wesirat* (2012), 10.

¹¹⁰ Sneferu may have employed his sons, Kanefer and Nefermaat, as viziers, and more royal sons followed in their footsteps. During the 4th dynasty, 15 viziers bore the title *sꜣ-nswt* – king's son, Helck, *Beamtentiteln* (1954), 134; Martin-Padey, "Wesir, Wesirat," *LÄ VI* (1986), col. 1227.

¹¹¹ Bárta, "Kings, Viziers and Courtiers," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 165.

¹¹² Martin-Padey notes this change as no later than the reign of Pepy II, Martin-Padey, "Wesir, Wesirat," *LÄ VI* (1986), col. 1227.

¹¹³ Helck uses the term *Rangtitel* for this phenomenon, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 19.

¹¹⁴ Ilin-Tomich, "The Vizier Ankhu and the Dual Vizierate," *JEA 14* (2021).

¹¹⁵ Raue, "Ein Wesir," *Stationen* (1998).

¹¹⁶ Franzmeier, "News from Parahotep," *JEA 100* (2014), 170; Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II.," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 354.

¹¹⁷ Footnote 10, Orsenigo, "Khay, Vizier of Ramesses II.," *Egyptology at the Dawn of the 21st Cent.* (2002), 432.

¹¹⁸ *The Tomb of Rekhmara* (1900).

¹¹⁹ *The Tomb of Rekhmire* (1943), *The Tomb of Ramose* (1941).

belonging to the vizier Useramun.¹²⁰ In contrast to the early Ramesside viziers, there is little other information known about these high officials outside their tombs. Most importantly, two of them (TT 100 and TT 131) had the text *The Duties of the Vizier* inscribed, the only other example of this outside the 18th dynasty being that from TT 106, the tomb of Paser.¹²¹

2.8. High Priests of Amun and Ptah

Since both Paser, (Pa-)Rahotep and Neferrenpet became high priests of the main deities of Thebes and Memphis, Amun and Ptah, in the later part of their careers, a closer look at the research conducted on the holders of these offices is warranted. The positions of vizier and high priest of the main deities of ancient Egypt belonged to the top of the elite group of society and were in some ways closely connected. This is evident in the way sons of priestly families became viziers, which is the case with Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep, whose fathers were high priests of Amun and Ptah, respectively.

Because the exact role of the vizier has remained rather unclear until now, it can be difficult to differentiate between their function and that of the high priests. The main source of information about the vizierial office is *The Duties of the Vizier*, which describes this high official as being the judge in legal cases, overseer of the royal household and second-in-command to the king.¹²² In addition, a letter from the *ḥ3ty-ḥ n imnt.t niwt* – mayor of Western Thebes (lit. the *One before-the-arm of the Western City*) Ramose to the chief workmen of Deir el-Medina shows that the vizier was responsible for rations being delivered to the workforce of the royal tomb.¹²³ As high priest, the office holder not only had the responsibility to uphold the cult of the temple he was in charge of, but his role was also very much an economic one, since temples, including royal memorial temples, owned much of the agricultural land of the state.¹²⁴ So, while state and temple were very closely connected, the vizier's duties were oriented towards judicial and public matters of state, as well as being in charge of the royal building program, while the high priest's main focus was on the religious matters of the temple and the economic interests of both temple and state.

The standard work on the high priests of Amun, though severely outdated, is that of Lefebvre published in 1929.¹²⁵ This has recently been updated by Dalino with a two volume publication, which includes not only the high priests of Amun, but all the high priests of the ancient Egyptian temples who were in office during the Ramesside Period.¹²⁶ A further study of the role of

¹²⁰ *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun* (1998).

¹²¹ The third and final edition of the text dated to the 18th dynasty was found in tomb of the vizier Amunemopet (TT 29), Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 1.

¹²² Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 310-329.

¹²³ O. Berlin P. 11238, *KRI III* (1980), 161.

¹²⁴ For the mortuary temples, royal donations of land were made to ensure the continued existence of the king's cult and for the connection to the cult of Amun, Haring, "Ramesside Temples," *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007), 166.

¹²⁵ *Histoire des Grands Prêtres* (1929)

¹²⁶ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021)

the high priests of Amun has been published by Kubisch, who also commented on their chronology during the early Ramesside Period.¹²⁷ On the topic of their counterparts, the high priests of Ptah in Memphis, the most recent work was done by Raedler, discussing both chronology, titles and family ties of these men.¹²⁸ Perhaps the most famous High Priest of Ptah is Khaemwaset, fourth son of Ramesses II. He is sometimes called the “first Egyptologist” due to his restoration work of older monuments and the inscriptions he left on them. He is the high priest of Ptah with the most textual sources, hence also the one who has received the most attention by scholars.¹²⁹ All of these publications present collected data for the high priests, which is part of the prosopographical study presented below.

2.9. Sources and Attestations

The term “source” refers to all of the known monuments, artifacts, texts and inscriptions that mention the name and titles of an individual. Several lists of sources for the early Ramesside viziers have been compiled. Most recently and comprehensively, Raedler collected all the source material for the viziers in office during the reign of Ramesses II,¹³⁰ while Donohue and Raue focused on one vizier in particular, Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep, respectively.¹³¹ These lists provide information on both the sources and the attestations. The term “attestation” is therefore used throughout this paper. It covers every geographical and architectural location in which the name of an individual relevant to this study is mentioned on a monument or artifact. The number of monuments and artifacts placed in a geographical location and the number of times an individual’s name is mentioned on one monument or artifact is irrelevant, it will only count as one attestation. Hence, in a tomb or on a statue it is to be expected that the same individual’s name is mentioned more than once, but the tomb or statue will still count as a single attestation if these were not found in the same geographical or architectural location. If a statue of an individual was placed within the tomb belonging to the same person, then these monuments count as a single attestation. In the same manner, when deposits of several artifacts are found, for example, Paser’s deposit of ushabtis, pectorals and amulets within the burial of an Apis bull,¹³² counts as a single attestation.

Furthermore, the individuals for this project had statues placed in various temples, and often more than one statue in a single temple. While it is possible that they were not donated to one temple on a single occasion, they are here still collected under one single attestation, since the location is in this case the single architectural building designated as a temple. As will be shown, Paser had three statues placed at Karnak, one of which in particular was dedicated to his role as high priest of Amun (Cairo CG 42156),¹³³ while the two others bore his vizierial

¹²⁷ Kubisch, “Religious and Political Role,” *Ramesside Period* (2018).

¹²⁸ Raedler, “Prestige, Role and Performance,” *Palace and Temple* (2011).

¹²⁹ Kawai, “Khaemwaset,” *EAH* (2013); Snape, “Khaemwese and the Present Past,” *Fs Kitchen* (2011).

¹³⁰ Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004).

¹³¹ Donohue, “Vizier Paser,” *JEA* 74 (1988); Raue, “Ein Wesir,” *Fs Stadelmann* (1998).

¹³² Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 330-331, 333-334.

¹³³ *KRI III* (1980), 292.

titles (Cairo JE 38062 and CG 42164),¹³⁴ which could point to separate occasions of donation to one single temple.

3. TITLES AND FUNCTIONS

The subject of title usage is complex and has been addressed in multiple ways within the field of Egyptology. This paper uses a thematic approach to the early Ramesside viziers' titles and functions, which are discussed in the following chapters. To properly introduce this approach, this chapter explores the title groups used by Paser and his contemporary colleagues.

As Chollier argues, dividing titles into groups does not necessarily reflect the ancient Egyptian society as a whole, but rather, it allows for a visual representation of a preliminary approach to a quantitative study in modern scholarship.¹³⁵ In addition, patterns of title sequencing by the ancient Egyptians can be detected. For example, when examining the titles held by viziers during the early Ramesside Period, some patterns emerge. The most commonly used title sequence for such an individual is the dual title *imy-r niwt t3ty* – *overseer of the City and vizier*, representing the primary function title of the vizier. This sequence most often occurs as a pair, though in cases where textual space is limited *t3ty* does appear by itself.¹³⁶ Other patterns of title sequences used by the individuals included in this paper are also present: In combination with the *overseer of the City and vizier*, the sequences *r-p^ct h3ty-^c* – *hereditary noble and count* and *t3yty s3b* – *chief justice* (lit. *shrouded one/he of the curtain*) and *dignitary* often precede the titles of vizier. However, because so many sources attributed to Paser exist, it is possible to distinguish further patterns in the use of title sequences beyond these typical pairs.

When examining the extensive list of sources belonging to Paser, other frequent sequences emerge, such as the title *r-Nhn* always being followed by *hm-ntr m3ct* (15 attestations) or on only two occasions by *hm-ntr tp.y n Wr.t-hk3w*.¹³⁷ (Pa-)Rahotep also used the title sequence *r-Nhn hm-ntr m3ct*, though far less frequently (6 attestations) and concentrated around his ka-

¹³⁴ *KRI III* (1980), 15, 16.

¹³⁵ Chollier, *Réseaux de Pouvoir en Haute-Égypte* (2023), 44.

¹³⁶ For Paser's monuments this is the case in Memphis, *KRI III* (1980), 13:3, 4, 9; Saqqara, *KRI II* (1979), 366:10, 14, 16; Serabit el-Khadim, *KRI II* (1979), 341:14; Deir el-Bahri, *KRI III* (1980), 20:15; Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 26:10; Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106), *KRI I* (1975), 294:3; and monuments of unknown provenance, *KRI III* (1980), 36:7; *KRI VII* (1989), 408:3.

¹³⁷ *Mouth of Nekhen* followed by *high priest of Great-of-magic*: "Pen case," Liverpool MCM 24.9.00.92, *KRI III* (1980), 14; Kneeling statue, Cairo CG 42164, *KRI III* (1980), 16; *Mouth of Nekhen* followed by *prophet of maat*: TT 106, *KRI I* (1975), 286, 292, 295, 297, 299, 300; *KRI III* (1980), 8; Cuboid statue, Cairo JE 38062, *KRI III* (1980), 15; Standing statue, BM EA 687, *KRI III* (1980), 18; Group statue of Paser and his mother, Cairo JE 36935, *KRI III* (1980), 19; Standing statue, Copenhagen AEIN 50, *KRI III* (1980), 21; Chapel in the *Great Speos of Horemheb*, *KRI III* (1980), 32; Two steatite seals, MMA 10.130.322 and Louvre 5193, *KRI III* (1980), 34; Kneeling statue, Durham OM N.511, *KRI VII* (1989), 407; Stela-shaped amulet, Louvre N.2269, Donohue, *Vizier Paser* (1988), 100.

chapel in Saqqara and his Tomb 201 at Sedment.¹³⁸ According to Franke, in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period the title *r-Nḥn*, which he translates *Speaker of Hierakonpolis*, belonged to individuals of high rank within the royal court and semi-militaristic organization.¹³⁹ While population of the site diminished during the Old Kingdom, it nonetheless remained an important administrative center throughout that period.¹⁴⁰ The title *r-Nḥn* was combined with *sḏb* – *dignitary* during the Middle Kingdom and was associated with a person of high rank within the royal court, but not the vizier.¹⁴¹ As Quirke remarks, this title sequence became particularly frequent on southern Upper Egyptian monuments during the late Middle Kingdom and beginning of the Second Intermediate Period, and where it had earlier been associated with the overseer of the treasury, it became increasingly related to the office of the vizier.¹⁴² This is different from its use during the New Kingdom where it was almost exclusively used by viziers¹⁴³ and never in combination with *sḏb*. Hence, the meaning of the title changed and became a vizierial title during the early 18th dynasty, as well as becoming associated with *ḥm-nṯr mḏt*. The *prophet of Maat* title is known from the 5th dynasty onwards in association with viziers and had a connection to these officials' legal responsibilities through the goddess Maat, who represented this aspect.¹⁴⁴ During the New Kingdom the title remained a vizierial one.¹⁴⁵ Thus, both titles in this sequence were used as far back as the Old Kingdom but did not become connected in this sequence until the beginning of the New Kingdom.

¹³⁸ Ka-chapel stela, *KRI III* (1980), 54; Ka-chapel naophorus, *KRI III* (1980), 56; Three architectural elements from courtyard of Tomb 201 Sedment, *KRI III* (1980), 56, 60; Statue fragment from Tomb 201, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 369. It is not known whether the sequence is present within (Pa-)Rahotep's tomb complex Saqqara ST 0, since this remains unpublished, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 392. The southern vizier Khay also used this sequence, and in a more widespread manner like Paser, Three stelae of Ramesses II in the *Great Speos of Horemheb*, *KRI II* (1979), 391, 393, 394; Two cuboid statues from Karnak, Cairo CG 42165 and Cairo CG 42166, *KRI III* (1980), 37, 38; Statue niche in the *Great Speos of Horemheb*, *KRI III* (1980), 46. Neferrenpet is attested with the sequence only three times and with sources of unknown provenance; Naos-like monument, Berlin 2290, *KRI III* (1980), 50; Scarab, UCL 12800, *KRI III* (1980), 51; Ushabti, Firenze 1812, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 392. The earliest of the early Ramesside viziers, Nebamun, also used the two titles together, though only known from a single source, as only a few sources are attributed to him and the location of his tomb is unknown, Standing statue, Cairo CG 1140, *KRI I* (1975), 283. Furthermore, the two titles were used in the same sequence by the 18th dynasty viziers, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 816-836.

¹³⁹ Franke, "Ursprung und Bedeutung," *ZAK 11* (1984), 215. This ancient site is located approximately 80 km south of Thebes and was already in the Predynastic Period an important cultic site for the god Horus, Friedman, "Hierakonpolis," *EAH* (2013), 3202.

¹⁴⁰ Friedman, "Hierakonpolis," *EAH* (2013), 3204.

¹⁴¹ Franke, "Ursprung und Bedeutung," *ZAK 11* (1984), 215.

¹⁴² Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 89.

¹⁴³ Taylor notes one attestation of *r-Nḥn* in TT 39, Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 65; the tomb belonging to the second prophet of Amun, Puyemre, dated to the reign of Thutmose III, *PM I-I* (1960), 71.

¹⁴⁴ Helck, *Beamtentiteln* (1954), 74.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 353; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 150.

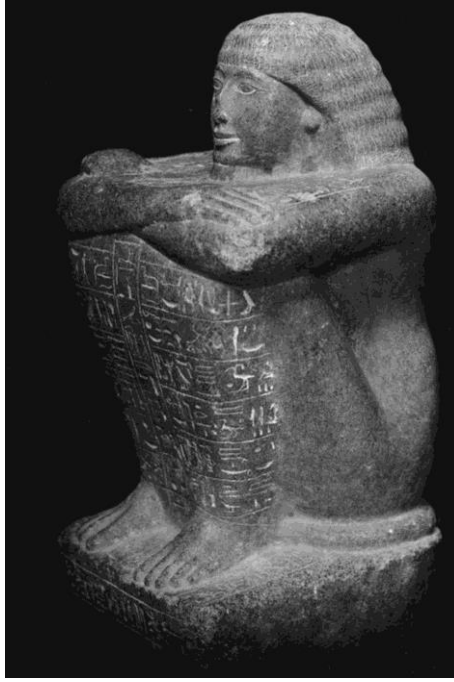


Figure 4. CUBOID STATUE OF (PA-)RAHOTEP FROM ABYDOS, BOSTON MFA 03.1891. SOURCE: <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/130306/block-statue-of-prahotep?ctx=39aeb567-7fa6-4546-9b3a-1d4e530f2868&idx=0> IN: BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS (ACCESSED: 2/7 2024).

As for the common New Kingdom vizier title sequence *it-ntr mr.y-ntr*, these two titles have been known since the Old Kingdom. The *god's father* was an honorary title used by the high priests of Heliopolis by the end of the 6th dynasty, while *beloved of the god* is known from the beginning of the 6th dynasty, and the two titles became grouped together from the First Intermediate Period onwards.¹⁴⁶ Helck remarks that during that period the officials using this title sequence were related to the royal household,¹⁴⁷ but also held a position that functioned as the representative of the king concerning religious matters.¹⁴⁸ None of the early Ramesside viziers were related to the royal family, thus if the title sequence continued to have a function at that point, it was as the king's religious representative.¹⁴⁹ These patterns suggest that there was a certain set of fixed titles that were bestowed upon the vizier, regardless of whether they represented actual functions or not. Furthermore, a development over time in which titles the vizier used can be detected in the literary text the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*. As Grajetzky established in his analysis of title usage in literary texts, the sequence of titles used for the vizier Ptahhotep was subject to editing by the New Kingdom scribes who copied it from the Middle Kingdom versions.¹⁵⁰ This suggests further, that a pattern of distribution of titles did exist.

¹⁴⁶ Helck, *Beamtentiteln* (1954), 94.

¹⁴⁷ Helck, *Beamtentiteln* (1954), 95.

¹⁴⁸ Grajetzky, "Zu einigen Titeln," *CdE* (2005), 41.

¹⁴⁹ During the 18th dynasty *it-ntr* remained an independent title within the religious sphere, often combined with a specific deity, Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 75. The title sequence *it-ntr mr.y-ntr* was used by high officials who did not have a religious title as their main occupation. These were often, but not exclusively viziers. Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 198; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 75.

¹⁵⁰ Grajetzky, "Zu einigen Titeln," *CdE* (2005), 41. Also discussed by Hagen, who argues that the titles were updated according to preference of the time to retain textual relevance, Hagen, *Ptahhotep* (2012), 226.

Furthermore, from Paser's sources it is possible to establish not only a pattern of which titles viziers used during the early Ramesside Period, but also when specific titles were used. While Paser, Khay and Neferrenpet used only the two titles *it-ntr mr.y-ntr* in sequence (see title indexes), (Pa-)Rahotep also used *it-ntr* as an independent title. The cuboid statue Boston MFA 03.1891 (see fig. 4 above) from the causeway leading to the 18th dynasty Osiris temple at Abydos¹⁵¹ is inscribed with this title closest to his name on both arms.¹⁵² Grajetzky argues, the title placed closest to the holder's name is normally to be understood as his function title, i.e., the profession of the individual.¹⁵³ This would suggest that (Pa-)Rahotep held such a position as his main function, though elsewhere in the inscription the title of vizier is also placed in front of (Pa-)Rahotep's name.¹⁵⁴ In addition, the statue contains on its base a biographical inscription which states that he was "brought up" in the temple of Ptah and was appointed vizier by the king.¹⁵⁵ With the focus on other titles than those of vizier on this statue, it is possible that this statue commemorates the occasion of (Pa-)Rahotep's appointment to vizierial office. However, with the statue's placement on the causeway to the 18th dynasty temple of Osiris in Abydos, the focus on religious titles in the inscription could reflect the context in which the statue was placed. The same could be argued for Paser's three Karnak cachette statues,¹⁵⁶ while it is not the case for his two Deir el-Bahri statues.¹⁵⁷ All five monuments have in common that they contain wishes for receiving offerings, but the two Deir el-Bahri statues are different in that they provide texts which are written in the first person, making them "speak" on behalf of Paser.¹⁵⁸ The mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri had become a place of pilgrimage by the time of the early 19th dynasty,¹⁵⁹ and the audience for the statues placed here was therefore different from the one for those placed in the more closed temples of various gods. Hence, the context and target audience of a statue determined the style of text inscribed on it and therefore also the titles chosen to be featured.¹⁶⁰

It has here been established that the ancient Egyptians were aware of title groupings and did employ some patterns when writing sequences of an official's titles on monuments. When

¹⁵¹ RITANC III (2023), 49.

¹⁵² KRI III (1980), 63.

¹⁵³ Grajetzky, *Court Officials* (2009), 5.

¹⁵⁴ Line 2, KRI III (1980), 64.

¹⁵⁵ *di.n-wi nb=i ir t3ty m shpr n hwt-Pth*, line 5, KRI III (1980), 64.

¹⁵⁶ CG 42156 has a focus on Paser's role as high priest of Amun, CG 42164 shows a focus on the titles of lector-priest, sem-priest in the main inscription and religious titles of unknown nature on the shoulders, and JE 38062 is inscribed with religious titles (*hm-ntr*) on the shoulders, KRI III (1980), 15-17, 292-293.

¹⁵⁷ From the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II, London BM EA 687 and Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534, KRI III (1980), 17-19.

¹⁵⁸ The larger Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534 states after an initial *htp-di-nswt* formula on the back: *I am a son of a [ma]n of an estate and I was born on your soil*, while the inscription on the statue's left side is a direct speech to the god Amun-Re and the right side inscription is an appeal to the living, KRI III (1980), 17-18. The smaller BM EA 687 has on its right side a direct appeal to Amun-Re, similar to the larger statue, while the inscription on the back in addition to the *htp-di-nswt* formula, contains a wish for all [who are loyal?] to receive a burial under the god's authority, and continues with wishing that Paser's statue receive offerings from the temple, KRI III (1980), 19; RITA III (2000), 15.

¹⁵⁹ RITANC III (2013), 11.

¹⁶⁰ Kjølbj refers to this as *experienced material agency* which can be applied to a situation where a person interacting with a statue would conclude that the agency and intention of it was genuine, Kjølbj, "Material Agency, Attribution and Experience of Agency," *Being in Ancient Egypt* (2009), 34.

looking at the changes made in the title sequence in *Teaching of Ptahhotep* from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom copies, it also becomes clear that the way in which a vizier was addressed changed over time. It is perhaps not possible to fully understand the complexities of their title usage, but the existence of patterns shows that it is possible to classify titles by using title grouping, though keeping in mind that a modern grouping system cannot fully reflect the ancient line of thought. The following sections of this chapter therefore discuss some of the titles held by viziers in the early 19th dynasty that do not reflect specific events¹⁶¹ but through their use make it possible to discern further information on the position of vizier.

3.1. Vizierial Titles: Rank or Daily Task?

Many of the titles the early Ramesside viziers held can easily be classified as ranking titles, while others could reflect a daily task, though not the primary function of the vizier, whose most important function titles were *imy-r niwt t3ty* – *overseer of the City and vizier*. It is perhaps not always important whether a title reflected rank or function, but understanding why such titles were used and when they were chosen to describe the owner may assist in furthering the understanding of the vizier's functions.

Regarding the functions of the vizier, Labib remarks that according to *The Duties* they were divided between five main areas of responsibility: Judicial, financial, military, administrative and religious. Although, as he comments further, the vizier in the Old Kingdom held titles related directly to military leadership, such titles did no longer exist in the Ramesside Period, the reason for this being the king's own interest in such a role.¹⁶² Ancient Egypt did not have a standing army until the 18th dynasty,¹⁶³ meaning the need for military commanders, who held this position as their main occupation did not exist in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The development and division of state and military administration probably developed as the need arose. Neither Paser nor his contemporary colleagues held any titles related to the military, suggesting that this role was no longer part of the vizier's responsibility in the early 19th dynasty. When it comes to the remaining four areas of responsibility according to *The Duties*, the viziers did bear titles that refer to such functions.

Only one of the early Ramesside viziers is known to have carried the title sequence *sš-nswt m3ct mr.y=f* – *true royal scribe, his beloved* on the monuments he had produced for himself.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina used *sš-nswt* – *royal scribe* to describe their

¹⁶¹ Titles that do reflect events or social hubs are discussed thematically in the following chapters.

¹⁶² Labib, "Stellung des Wesirs," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 74.

¹⁶³ By the end of the 18th dynasty at the latest, the number of personnel with a military affiliation as their primary occupation at that point was not that high, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 17.

¹⁶⁴ Paser used this sequence in TT 106, *KRI I* (1975), 299, line 12; in the *khenu* of Ramesses II in Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 27, line 9; and on the lintel from Buhen, No. 1643, Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* (1976), 133. It is used once in the tomb of Penbuy (TT 10), in a relief of the king and vizier together, *KRI III* (1980), 739, line 11.

superior.¹⁶⁵ This title could be interpreted as a function, although as vizier Paser had access to staff of his own, including scribes. Raedler argues that this title was used to separate members of the royal court from other groups of officials.¹⁶⁶ According to the study made by Onasch, the title first came to be used during the 18th dynasty and was used most frequently during the Ramesside Period.¹⁶⁷ She states further that in its initial state, the title *royal scribe* was employed as a secondary title by officials within the fields of agriculture, livestock control and production of raw material.¹⁶⁸ Hence, it was not used by members of the royal court as in the early Ramesside Period, which would mean that the status of the title changed from its inception in the 18th dynasty to the early Ramesside Period. She also asserts that already by the reign of Thutmose III the title's use became restricted in use to high officials, though not ones connected to the royal court.¹⁶⁹ Raedler argues that by the early 19th dynasty its use reflected the level of education expected of the king's courtiers.¹⁷⁰ In this, she agrees with Helck who states that during the New Kingdom the individuals allowed to carry the title of royal scribe were those high officials who had finished training in the scribal school.¹⁷¹ Raedler suggests that at this point in time, the title *sš-nswt* represented a rank, though with the addition that it required education to acquire it. It then no longer reflected a direct function of the high official.

A title sequence with unclear meaning is *sm hrp šnd.wt nb.wt* – *sem-priest and controller of every kilt*. This was not a title used exclusively by viziers and only during the early Ramesside Period, but rather, it was used by the high priests of Ptah, Khaemwaset and Hori, as well as by (Pa-)Rahotep, Neferrenpet,¹⁷² who were also viziers. In addition, the title is known to have been used by Paser on three occasions in Lower Egypt.¹⁷³ Thus, its use was rather limited during the early Ramesside Period. The title is known from the Old Kingdom onwards, mainly from tombs dating to the 6th dynasty belonging to individuals with religious titles, and always

¹⁶⁵ In the tomb of Amenemipet, *KRI I* (1975), 403, line 14; Two stelae from Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 24, line 15, 25, line 10; and tomb of Qen (TT 4), *KRI III* (1980), 678, line 6. The vizier Khay used the title *royal scribe* on a fragment that may have come from his tomb chapel, as well as on a statue base found in western Thebes, *KRI III* (1980), 39, line 5+10.

¹⁶⁶ The title sequence was not reserved for viziers but was also employed by the viceroy of Kush and overseers of the treasury, i.e., important high officials, as well as sons of the king, Raedler, "Zur Struktur," *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft* (2006), 51.

¹⁶⁷ The title remained in use until the Roman Period, though not as one used exclusively by court officials, Onasch, "Der Titel "Schreiber des Königs"," *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (1998), 331.

¹⁶⁸ Onasch, "Der Titel "Schreiber des Königs"," *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (1998), 334.

¹⁶⁹ From the reign of Thutmose IV, the title became associated with the viceroy of Kush, Onasch, "Der Titel "Schreiber des Königs"," *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology* (1998), 334.

¹⁷⁰ Raedler, "Rank and Favour," *4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology* (2009), 147.

¹⁷¹ Helck, "Beamtentum," *LÄ I* (1975), 672.

¹⁷² Use of the title *hrp-šndw.t nbw.t* for (Pa-)Rahotep: Great granite stela from Saqqara, *KRI III* (1980), 54, line 12; for Neferrenpet: Naos monument, Berlin 2290, *KRI III* (1980), 50, line 3; for Hori: the lid of his sarcophagus, Berlin 165, *ÄIB II* (1924), 362; and for Khaemwaset: Granite false door, tomb chapel at Serapeum, *KRI II* (1979), 876, line 3; A column drum, Cairo JE 41252, *KRI II* (1979), 877, line 3; and a naophorus statue from Serapeum, *KRI II* (1979), 881, line 12.

¹⁷³ Inscribed on a door lintel from Pi-Ramesses, *KRI III* (1980), 10, line 4; and on the two miniature cuboid statues Cairo TN 1/12/81/1 from Saqqara north and Pushkin Museum 1295 from Saqqara, *KRI VII* (1989), 408, line 2; Q_4.43. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 323.

in the sequence *sm hrp šnd.wt nb.t* – *sem-priest and controller of every kilt*.¹⁷⁴ The religious connection continued after the Old Kingdom, though none of the title holders of the Middle Kingdom had a position within a temple as their main function, nor were they viziers. In the 18th dynasty, on the other hand, it was the viziers Rekhmire, User(-Amun), Amunemopet and Ramose, who had the title sequence inscribed in their Theban tombs.¹⁷⁵ In addition, the title sequence is found in the two Ramesside copies of the Middle Egyptian teaching of Kairsu found in Deir el-Medina, where the main character also used the religious title sem-priest in the same sequence with *controller of every kilt*.¹⁷⁶ This agrees with Gardiner's observation of the title sequence *sm hrp šnd.wt nb.t*, where he compares the *controller of every kilt* title with the leopard skin worn by the sem-priest.¹⁷⁷ This observation was made in connection with the chapter of persons, the court, offices and occupations in the *Onomasticon of Amunemipet*, which lists everything the ancient Egyptians thought existed in the world in a reference book divided into topics. The title *controller of every kilt* is not included in the *Onomasticon*, but sem-priest is part of the section of the chapter describing the top temple personnel.¹⁷⁸ Gardiner remarks further that the sem-priest in particular was in charge of the clothing and adornments of the gods' statues,¹⁷⁹ which would imply that in the following epithet *controller of every kilt*, the kilts in question were the attire of the gods. In addition, the title sequence of Kairsu was, like in the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*, subject to editing in the New Kingdom copies.¹⁸⁰ The continued use of *sm hrp šndwt nb* in the New Kingdom copies therefore reflects the continued relevance of this sequence.

An interesting detail about the sequence is, however, that during the early Ramesside Period it seems to have been favored for use in Lower Egypt, as it is attested among individuals who carried the title of high priest of Ptah. Paser as southern vizier also used the title, though it has

¹⁷⁴ The tombs are located mainly in Saqqara, Achmim and Deir el-Gebrawi, <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/550352> in: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (accessed: 9/8 2024). During the Middle Kingdom the title is recorded among various officials as part of their strings of titles inscribed in their tombs, and in the same sequence as in the Old Kingdom; Tomb chapel of Ukh-hotep, son of Senbi at Meir, Blackmann, *Rock Tombs of Meir part II* (1915), pl. X; tomb chapel of Ukh-hotep, son of Ukh-hotep, Blackmann, *Rock Tombs of Meir part III* (1915), pl. XVIII; tomb of Tehuti-hotep, Newberry, *El Bersheh 1* (1895), pl. XVI; stela of Nakhtkhenet, Müller, *Aegyptische Inschriften* (1913), 184; tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan, Newberry, *Beni Hasan* (1983), pl. VII; tomb of Daga at Thebes, Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (1913), pl. VII, XXXV; stela of Mentuhotep, Lange & Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine II* (1908), 153; mastaba of Khnumhotep at Dashur, de Morgan, *Fouilles a Dahchour* (1895), 18; tomb of Imhotep at el-Lisht, Moursi, *Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes* (1972), §21; as collected by Ward, *Index Middle Kingdom* (1982), 137.

¹⁷⁵ In TT 55, the tomb of Ramose, Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (1941), pl. XL; TT 100, the tomb of Rekhmire, Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re* (1943), pl. XXIV, LXXIV; TT 29, the tomb of Amunemopet, *URK IV* (1956), 1439, line 11; TT 131, tomb of User(-Amun), Dziobek, *Gräber des Wesirs User-Amun* (1994), 71; attestations in Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 185; Al-Ayedi, *Titles New Kingdom* (2004), 466.

¹⁷⁶ O. DM 1228 and O. DM 1235, [https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/search/sentence?to-kens\[0\].lemma.id=550352&page=4](https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/search/sentence?to-kens[0].lemma.id=550352&page=4) in: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (accessed: 9/8 2024). The text is commonly known as the *Loyalistische Lehre*, one edition comes from the Middle Kingdom stela Cairo CG 20538, while the remaining nine copies are dated to the New Kingdom, Grajetzky, "Zu Einigen Titeln," *CdE* (2005), 43.

¹⁷⁷ As seen in temple and funerary scenes, Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 40*.

¹⁷⁸ Beginning with no. 114, *royal scribe and lector-priest* and ending with the sem-priest as no. 120, Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 35*-40*.

¹⁷⁹ Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 41*.

¹⁸⁰ The titles *master of secrets of the royal palace* and *foremost of the entire land* were added, Hagen, *Ptahhotep* (2012), 226.

only been found in connection with him in the north, while it was not included in his Theban tomb. Though the data for the use of this title is limited during the New Kingdom, the sequence *sm hrp šnd.wt nb.t* continued to be used in the early Ramesside Period.¹⁸¹ However, combining the two titles may have become less strict, since both (Pa-)Rahotep, Khaemwaset and Hori used *controller of every kilt* with other religious titles in a few cases.¹⁸² While this sequence by the New Kingdom does not necessarily represent a function, there are many examples of sem-priest used as a function title,¹⁸³ most notably the title sem-priest of Ptah as a title used by the high priest of Ptah in Memphis.¹⁸⁴ Hence, from the New Kingdom onwards the title sequence *sm hrp šnd.wt nb.t* did not represent a function, but was used by a limited number of high officials, most likely to signify rank. The only known use of the title sequence during the 18th dynasty was by viziers, which would suggest that it represented a ranking title at that point. The lack of evidence for continued use of the sequence following the reign of Ramesses II suggests that it fell out of use.¹⁸⁵ It therefore cannot have represented a function of the early Ramesside high officials who used it, but can be viewed as an archaism harking back to its earlier use as a religious epithet representing a high priest's function as the one who adorned the temple statues of deities with fresh clothing. This matches with the sequence's use by high priests of Ptah, though it leaves the question as to why it was used by Paser, who is not known to have used any religious titles for northern deities, and further, why it was not used by other high priests in the north, such as the high priest of Re in Heliopolis. The two cuboid statuette amulets of Paser inscribed with the sequence were found in Saqqara close to the Serapeum,¹⁸⁶ and their findspot along with their small size could suggest that they were part of a religious offering. As is discussed below, Paser took part in an Apis bull burial in regnal year 16 under Ramesses II,¹⁸⁷ so it is known that he frequented this area. On the other hand, the third attestation of Paser's use of the title sequence comes from an architectural element found in Pi-Ramesses, which, as established by Budka, came from a private house.¹⁸⁸ This is then the only example of the use of this title sequence outside of any religious setting from the early Ramesside Period. In all, the history of the title sequence originates from the religious title sem-priest combined with an epithet describing an aspect of the high priests' responsibility as those who dressed the gods' statues in the temples. The early Ramesside use of the sequence

¹⁸¹ See the monuments referred to in footnote 173 and 174.

¹⁸² On (Pa-)Rahotep's great granite stela from Saqqara it is preceded by *imy-r hm.w-ntr* – *overseer of prophets*, KRI III (1980), 54, line 12; Khaemwaset's naophorus statue from Serapeum uses the sequence *s3-nswt hrp šndwt nb sm* – *King's son, controller of every kilt and sem-priest*, KRI II (1979), 881, line 12; and on the lid of Hori's sarcophagus, Berlin 165, the sequence is altered to *sm wr hrp hmw.w n Pth hrp šndwt nb* – *sem-priest, great controller of works of Ptah and controller of every kilt*, ÄIB II (1924), 362.

¹⁸³ See Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 507-508.

¹⁸⁴ Along with *wr hrp hmw.w*, Maystre, *Grands Prêtres des Ptah* (1992), 4, 13.

¹⁸⁵ There is a lack of attestations for the use of either title after Ramesses II's reign. *hrp šnd.wt nb.t* did, however, get a renaissance during the 26th/27th dynasty in connection with individuals with positions in the religious sphere, see [https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/search/sentence?tokens\[0\].lemma.id=550352&page=4](https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/search/sentence?tokens[0].lemma.id=550352&page=4) in: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (accessed: 14/8 2024).

¹⁸⁶ The 3,6 cm high amulet Cairo TN 1/12/81/1 was found inside a Late Period bronze situla in the surface debris near the Old Kingdom mastaba of Hetepka, Martin, *Tomb of Hetepka* (1979), 45. The second amulet, Pushkin Museum 1295, is thought to have come from the same area due to the similarity in type, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 323, footnote 250.

¹⁸⁷ See section 11.2. below.

¹⁸⁸ Catalogue no. PN 117,12, Budka, *König an der Haustür* (2001), 133.

shows a preference for it in Lower Egypt and a continued religious connection. However, it no longer seems to directly reflect a daily function of high priests by that time, and it remains unclear why Paser chose to use it.

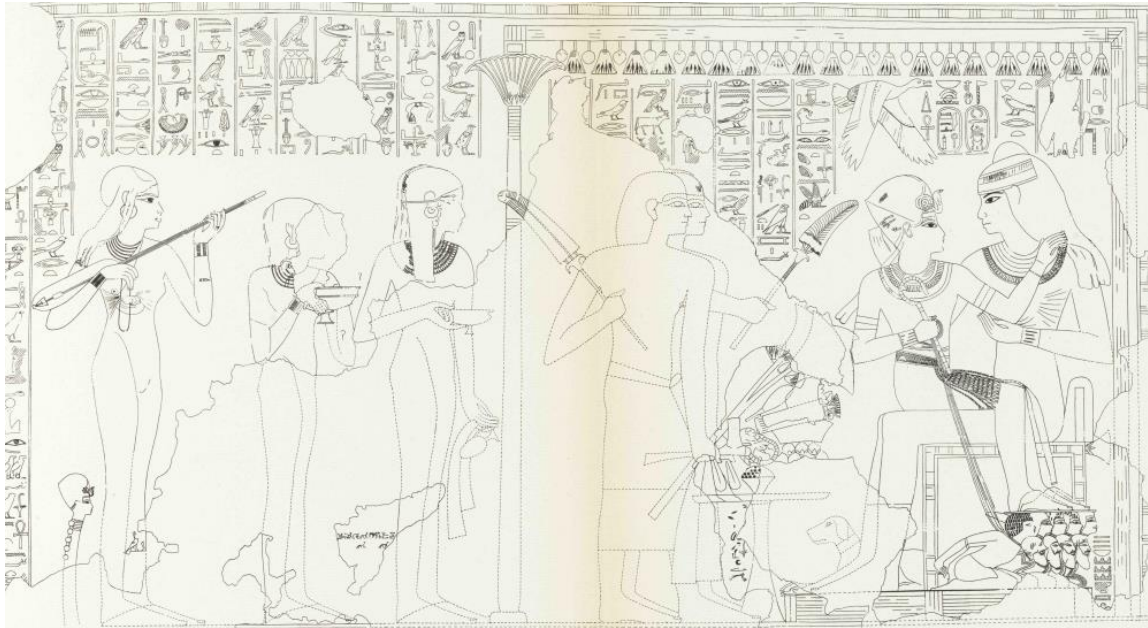


Figure 5. RELIEF SCENE FROM TT 93 SHOWING PASER'S GRAFFITO BETWEEN THE FRONT TWO FEMALE FIGURES, TOP OF HARP BEHIND LEGS OF THIRD FEMALE FIGURE. TO THE RIGHT AMENHOTEP II ON LAP OF NURSE. SOURCE: DAVIES, *TOMB OF KENAMUN* (1930), PL. IX.

There are titles that clearly show some daily tasks of the vizier, for example *imy-r k3.wt nb.t n nswt* – *overseer of all works of the king*.¹⁸⁹ Similarly, Paser also used the titles *imy-r k3.wt m mn.w wr.w* – *overseer of works in great monuments* in his tomb chapel TT 106 and *imy-r k3.wt m st-m3t* – *overseer of works in the Place of Truth* on one of his Deir el-Bahri statues.¹⁹⁰ The former title has been found as far south as Sehel Island, where Paser left a graffito. In addition to the regular vizier titles, this inscription also provides the title *imy-r k3.(w)t m [...]* – *overseer of works in [...]*. The end is lost, but can with some certainty be reconstructed to *imy-r k3.wt m mnw wr.w* – *overseer of works in the great monuments*, also present in Paser's biographical text on pillar B in TT 106.¹⁹¹ Alternatively, two other titles used by the vizier could fit here, *imy-r k3.wt m s.t-M3t* – *overseer of works in the Place of Truth* or *imy-r k3.wt m s.t-nḥ* – *overseer of works in the place of Eternity*, as suggested by Raedler.¹⁹² The latter two options seem more unlikely, since they are primarily associated with Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings, while the first could point to a task performed by Paser on the occasion of inscribing the graffito on Sehel (see Index 1). The *overseer of works* title is in this instance placed directly before Paser's vizier titles, which indicates that it was in the capacity of overseeing building work for the king that he had travelled to the south of Egypt. The area of Aswan contains significant quarries, from which silicified limestone used for ornamental purposes was

¹⁸⁹ Inscribed on his Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062, his stelophorus statue from Lower Egypt Louvre E. 25980 and partially preserved in his Sehel Island graffito, *KRI III* (1980), 16, line 11, 10, line 10, 32, line 9.

¹⁹⁰ *KRI I* (1975), 299, line 12; Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534, *KRI III* (1980), 18, line 10.

¹⁹¹ Line 12, *KRI I* (1975), 299.

¹⁹² Footnote 260, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 327.

extracted during the New Kingdom.¹⁹³ The purpose of Paser's presence in the area was therefore likely to procure stone for the king's *mn.w wr.w* – *great monuments*. A passage in *The Duties* mentions that it was part of the vizier's responsibility to inspect the resources coming from mining expeditions.¹⁹⁴ It is not specifically stated whether such an inspection would take place when these resources had arrived at their destination in Egypt or at the quarry, but Paser's presence in Aswan, as well as in Buhen and Gebel el-Silsila¹⁹⁵ suggest that he did travel south.

The title *imy-r k3.wt m st-m3t* – *overseer of works in the Place of Truth* on Paser's Deir el-Bahri statue refers to his position as leader of the tomb builders' village and their work in the Valley of the Kings producing the royal tomb.¹⁹⁶ As such, part of his regular routine would be to visit the Theban west bank, which is also witnessed by several graffiti inscriptions he left in older tombs in the Theban necropolis, of which especially one inscription in TT 93 points directly to a work task performed by the vizier. The tomb belonged to the *imy-r pr wr n nswt* – *great steward of the king* Kenamun,¹⁹⁷ and it is located on the southwest upper slope of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna,¹⁹⁸ the same area where Paser placed his TT 106. The graffito here consists merely of Paser's regular ranking titles, vizier titles and name, but as pointed out by Den Doncker, the graffito in this tomb is directly connected to grid lines added to two female figures and to Amenhotep II as a prince, seated on the lap of his female nurse (see fig. 5 above).¹⁹⁹ The grid lines were drawn over the figures of the relief, which means that they were made at a later point than the initial construction of the tomb.²⁰⁰ This strongly suggests that they were copied in order to add this style of artwork elsewhere, perhaps to the temple of Seti I in Abydos as it contains a very similar version of the nursing scene in TT 93, with the king wearing the blue crown (see fig. 6 below).²⁰¹ Furthermore, a storeroom in the same temple contains a relief showing the same type of harp with the head of the king wearing the blue crown²⁰² as can be seen in the relief scene above (fig. 5) close to the graffito of Paser. He may even have used TT 93 as inspiration for his own tomb, since the elaborate crown worn by Seti I in Paser's reward scene (see fig. 2 above) closely resembles the crown worn by Amenhotep II in Kenamun's tomb.²⁰³

¹⁹³ Used for instance for statues and obelisks, Storemyr, Bloxam, Heldal & Kelany, "Aswan West Bank," *First Cataract* (2013), 223, 231.

¹⁹⁴ Line 20-21, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 193.

¹⁹⁵ Fragment of a door jamb found at the Amun temple at Buhen, Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* (1976), 133; Chapel in the *Great Speos of Horemheb* at Gebel el-Silsila, *KRI III* (1980), 32, line 4-6.

¹⁹⁶ Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 116.

¹⁹⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Kenamun* (1930), pl. III.

¹⁹⁸ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 187.

¹⁹⁹ Davies did not include the grid lines in his full-scale drawing of this scene, but he did include them in a close-up drawing of the harp and graffito, and they are visible in a photo of the same, Davies, *Tomb of Kenamun* (1930), pl. X, LXVIIIa.

²⁰⁰ Den Doncker, "In Hathor's Womb," *Perspectives on Lived Religion* (2019), 184.

²⁰¹ In footnote 57 Den Doncker names this as a clear example of this copying, Den Doncker, "In Hathor's Womb," *Perspectives on Lived Religion* (2019), 184.

²⁰² Manniche, "Noble Harp of Amun," *Fs Tefnin* (2010), 139-140, fig. 3.

²⁰³ See Davies, *Tomb of Kenamun* (1930), pl. XI. This type of crown is first attested in the tomb of User(-Amun), TT 131, Den Doncker, "In Hathor's Womb," *Perspectives on Lived Religion* (2019), 184, footnote 57. For Paser's interest in this vizier, see section 5.1. below.

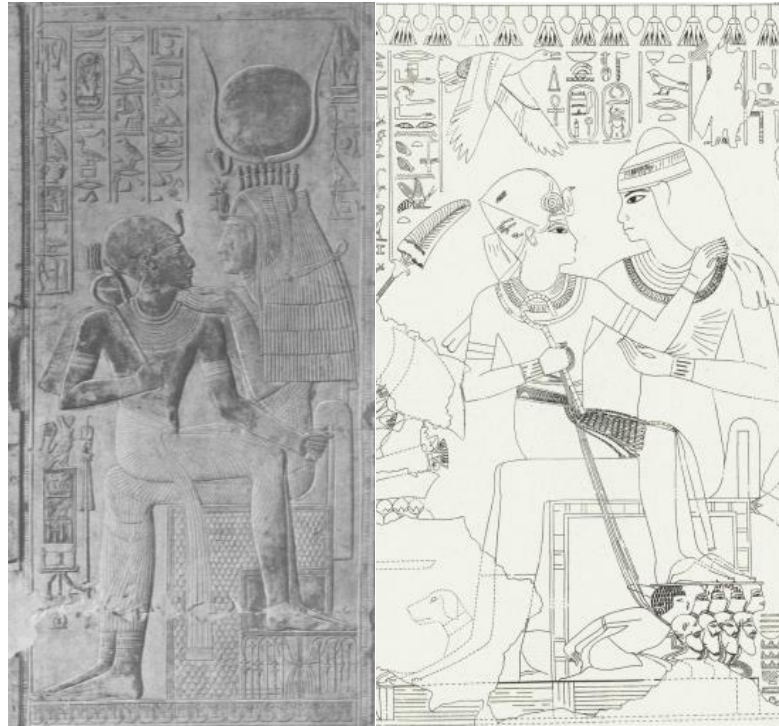


Figure 6. LEFT: SCENE FROM SETI I'S TEMPLE AT ABYDOS. RIGHT: SCENE WITH AMENHOTEP II AND HIS NURSE IN TT 93. SOURCE: CALVERLEY & BROOME, *SETHOS IV* (1958), PL. 20; DAVIES, *TOMB OF KENAMUN* (1930), PL. IX.

The occurrence of the graffito together with the grid lines for copying therefore indicates an active part of Paser's role as *overseer of all works of the king*, though without using the title while performing the task.²⁰⁴ *The Duties* lists the judicial duties, personnel management and revenue collecting, along with dispatching officials for various tasks,²⁰⁵ and does not mention this part of the functions of the vizier. *The Duties* focuses on tasks of the vizier performed within his bureau, whether that be stationary to a specific location or not. It does therefore not specify tasks performed in the field, such as visiting tombs in search of inspiration for the king's building works.

One more title was used in so many different forms by Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep that its presence cannot go unnoticed, namely *ḥr.y-sšṯ* - *master of secrets*. As Title Index 1 and 2 below shows, this title in combination with specific designations²⁰⁶ appear on many of the two viziers' monuments, but not in their tombs.²⁰⁷ It was used from the Old Kingdom onwards,²⁰⁸ never as a function title, though its use points to functions held by the title holder.²⁰⁹ Helck notes that during the Old Kingdom, it was often used by officials who were in charge of judicial offices,

²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the restoration inscription in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khety, TT 311 shows another aspect of Paser's inspections of Theban tombs and his actual function as overseer of the king's building works. Ragazzoli, "Secondary Epigraphy," *PAM* 30/1 (2021), 217; see discussion on this inscription in section 8.3. below.

²⁰⁵ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 10-282.

²⁰⁶ Paser used *m ḥw.t-N.t* – *in the temple of Neith* frequently, while (Pa-)Rahotep used an array of variants, such as *m ḥw.t-bi.ty/Pth/M³t/N.t* – *in the temple of the ruler/Ptah/Maat/Neith*.

²⁰⁷ Though the tomb complex of (Pa-)Rahotep is not yet fully published, the many fragments from that are do not carry this title. The same goes for Paser's TT 106, from which most of the texts are published.

²⁰⁸ As a low-ranking honorific title, Baer, *Rank and Title* (1960), 35; Rydström, "*ḥry sšṯ*, 'In Charge of Secrets,'" *DE* 28 (1994), 77.

²⁰⁹ Beatty, "Title *ḥry sšṯ*," *Ankh* 8/9 (1999-2000), 62.

as well as officials within the workshop sphere.²¹⁰ This seems not to be the case for the Middle Kingdom where Beatty notes that the *master of secrets* often had the role of adorning the god, i.e., the divine statue in the temples, with precious materials, as well as performing rituals in connection with funerals.²¹¹ Rydström argues that by the New Kingdom, the *hr.y-sšt*³-title signified rank at court and was used by the absolute elite of society, while it continued to be used in connection with temples and funerary rituals.²¹² Thus, the use of the title had completely changed from the time of the Old to the New Kingdom.

Paser used the title *hr.y-sšt*³ *m h̄w.t-N.t* – *master of secrets in the temple of Neith* at least five times, of which four are preceded by the title *shkr(.w) nswt m tit=f d̄sr* – *the one who adorns the king in his holy image*.²¹³ The *holy image* of the king should be understood as the divine statue of the king, Neith was seen as the protector of the deceased's viscera, as shown by her being one of the goddesses protecting the canopic shrine of Tutankhamun.²¹⁴ In the Coffin Texts she is also presented as judge of the deceased, as well as a protector of Osiris.²¹⁵ In addition, she was connected mainly to Sais in the eastern Delta and to Memphis, and she was originally the protector goddess of Lower Egyptian kingship as shown by her wearing the red crown of that region.²¹⁶ Rydström states that the *master of secrets* as a religious title was connected to Anubis, whose epithets included the same title in his role as divine embalmer. In the religious sphere the title was hence connected to funerary rituals.²¹⁷ The combination of these two titles in a set sequence indicates that the vizier was alluding to a function within a cultic context. In contrast, (Pa-)Rahotep is only known to have used *master of secrets in the temple of Neith* on two of his monuments and on both of these a sequence different from Paser's was used. The northern vizier combined the title with the epithet *m̄h-ib n Hr m ʒh.t nh̄h* – *confidant of Horus in the horizon of eternity* and the title *t̄y.ty (t̄)* – *chief justice (of the land)* on one of the monuments, his great granite stela,²¹⁸ while other versions of *hr.y-sšt*³ on the same monument refer to the king and court,²¹⁹ suggesting that these title variations designate court rank rather than function. It is therefore suggested here that the title sequence *shkr(.w) nswt m tit=f d̄sr hr.y-sšt*³ *m h̄w.t-N.t* – *the one who adorns the king in his holy image and master of secrets in the temple of Neith* alludes to Paser's responsibility for the cultic rituals for the deceased king Seti I in his mortuary temple on the Theban west bank. Conversely, when Paser used the titles *shkr.w bik=f* – *one who decorates his Falcon* and *shkr.w Hr=f r^c nb* – *one who decorates*

²¹⁰ Helck, *Beamtentitel* (1954), 44.

²¹¹ Beatty, "Title *hry sšt*³," *Ankh* 8/9 (1999-2000), 68.

²¹² Rydström, "*hry sšt*³," "In Charge of Secrets," *DE* 28 (1994), 77.

²¹³ *KRI III* (1980), 13, line 11, 14, line 6, 16, line 6; *KRI VII* (1989), 408, line 8. The fifth example inscribed on a stelophor of unknown provenance (in private collection), is damaged and leaves space for the sequence, meaning it is possible that the title *one who adorns the king in his holy image* preceded *master of secrets in the temple of Neith*, see *KRI III* (1980), 33, line 10.

²¹⁴ Along with Isis, Nephthys and Selket, Lesko, *Great Goddesses* (1999), 51.

²¹⁵ Spell 630 and some versions of spell 15, Lesko, *Great Goddesses* (1999), 55.

²¹⁶ In Memphis the goddess was associated with Ptah as one of her epithets were *one who is north of her wall*, i.e., the white wall of Memphis, while Ptah was said to be *south of his wall*. Both epithets refer to temples of the deities, Lesko, *Great Goddesses* (1999), 53.

²¹⁷ During the Ptolemaic Period and most probably earlier, the *master of secrets* actually was an embalmer, Rydström, "*hry sšt*³," "In Charge of Secrets," *DE* 28 (1994), 80.

²¹⁸ Cairo JE 48845, *KRI III* (1980), 54, line 14, 55, line 8+11.

²¹⁹ *n pr-nswt, m h̄w.t-bi.ty* and *m h̄w.t-sh̄m.w*, *KRI III* (1980), 55, line 5+6+15+16.

his Horus every day,²²⁰ the falcon god Horus symbolized the living king on earth, in this case Ramesses II. There is thus a differentiation between the living and the deceased king in this use of titles. As the overseer of works on the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings and as the representative of the living king in Upper Egypt, it is not farfetched to suggest that the southern vizier was in charge of maintaining the cult of Seti I on a daily basis.

Other titles cannot easily be identified as either honorific or specific function but can allude to daily tasks performed by the vizier. Some of these titles can in their grammatical form look like epithets, since they consist of participial statements (see section 3.2. on epithets below), or they can to the modern mind come across as metaphorical. However, if *The Duties* is used for reference, line 20 of the text states that it was the vizier who was ultimately in charge of determining ownership of plots of agricultural land.²²¹ Meanwhile, Paser used the titles *smn(.w) is.wt t3š.w* – he who establishes the boundary markers and *wpp hrp r snn.w=f* – he who divides a property from its neighbor,²²² which corresponds to the tasks of managing the agricultural land as stated in *The Duties*. In the same manner, the titles referring to his function and qualities as judge, *man of truth before the Two Lands, precise and true like Thoth, precise and true for he abominates lies, he who judges Maat* and *he who gives the laws*,²²³ fit well with one of the main topics of *The Duties*.²²⁴ The viziers' judicial function is well established and is discussed further in section 9.1. below. The same goes for the title *hsb.w b3k(.t n) h3s.wt nb.(wt)* – He who counts the tax (of) every foreign land.²²⁵ The topic of collecting revenue is touched upon in *The Duties*,²²⁶ although the text mainly deals with functions of national importance. Tax collecting on an international scale is shown in the tomb decoration of TT 100 belonging to the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire,²²⁷ which suggests that the scope of the vizier's functions went beyond national politics. Paser's use of the title *hsb.w b3k(.t n) h3s.wt nb.(wt)* supports this notion.²²⁸ Finally, it is also stated in *The Duties* that the vizier was the one who appointed the *sr.w* – officials.²²⁹ Another title used by Paser is *shn.tiw i3w.t* – he who promotes the offices,²³⁰ which suggests that the vizier was indeed in charge of advancing officials to new positions. *The Duties* as a monumental ideological text has some limitations in the topics it addresses. For the most part, it focuses on the vizier as beneficial to the king and the people internally in Egypt. As Dziobek pointed out, the vizier is, both in *The Duties*, the Installation-text, the Appointment-

²²⁰ Statue Louvre E.25980 from Qantir and Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062, *KRI III* (1980), 10, line 12, 16, line 5.

²²¹ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 185.

²²² Inscribed on the kilt of one of his statues from the Ptah temple in Memphis, Cairo CG 630, *KRI III* (1980), 12, line 13.

²²³ These titles come from Paser's Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42164 and Deir el-Bahri (mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II) statue London BM EA 687, *KRI III* (1980), 16-17, 18-19.

²²⁴ Both lines 8-9 and 27-28 deal with topics of jurisdiction, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 77, 276.

²²⁵ Title inscribed on Karnak cachette statue JE 38062 and Mendes statue Copenhagen AIN 50, *KRI III* (1980), 16, line 5, 21, line 9.

²²⁶ In the final part of the text, which is rather fragmented, it is mentioned that the vizier is in charge of overseeing the counting of cattle, accounting of the gold and silver houses and record keeping of the Nile flood, line 29-33, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 286-288.

²²⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1944), 32.

²²⁸ The topic of tax is discussed further in section 9.2. below.

²²⁹ Line 22, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 208.

²³⁰ Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42164, line 4, *KRI III* (1980), 17.

text and in the *Teaching of Aametu* in TT 131, presented as the representative of the king and the personification of *maat*.²³¹ Thus, even though functions related to foreign affairs are touched upon, the main focus of the texts is the relationship between the king and his vizier.

Summing up, these titles do not directly reflect a particular job as a function title would, but rather some of the functions of the vizier that did not have a separate job description. Doxey places such descriptive titles under the category of epithets,²³² although in the instances discussed above the titles describe parts of the daily functions of the vizier. Therefore, though they may look like epithets in a strictly grammatical sense, they can reflect some of the daily tasks of the vizier.

3.2. Vizierial Epithets

An epithet is a descriptive phrase inscribed on a monument along with strings of titles, commenting on the qualities and attributes of the person who commissioned it, and it can be difficult to distinguish between a title and an epithet.²³³ The titles that have been placed in the epithet category in the indexes below often consist of participial statements, *nfr-hr* constructions, or simply noun phrases with a direct or indirect object. In addition, they most often refer to the relationship between the vizier and the king or the royal court and the gods.²³⁴ The titles understood as epithets do not refer to a function, but rather to the personal qualities of the title holder and to his personal relationship with the king. In the case of Paser, the epithets state that he is someone who has the trust of the king, while also noting that he acted on his behalf and performed his duties in a satisfactory manner. Like the titles mentioned in the previous section, the epithets are inscribed on Paser's temple statuary from Karnak, Memphis and Deir el-Bahri, as well as his tomb chapel of TT 106.²³⁵

Doxey groups the personal characteristics described by epithets from the Middle Kingdom into four general areas: Individual authority, wisdom and skill, humility, and benevolence.²³⁶ These subjects are easily applied to the epithets of Paser. As the eyes and ears of the king he displays his authority.²³⁷ It is shown that he has wisdom and skill with the epithets *rh s.t r=f-*

²³¹ As the goddess Maat was mythologically second the sun god Re, so was the vizier second to the king, Dziobek, "Theban Tombs," *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen* (1995), 136-137.

²³² Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 79.

²³³ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 1.

²³⁴ This was also the most common type of epithet in the Middle Kingdom in general, Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 80.

²³⁵ TT 106, main entrance doorway, *KRI I* (1975), 286, line 10; Memphis Ptah temple statue Cairo CG 630, Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE38063, *KRI III* (1980), 16, line 7; Deir el-Bahri (mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II) statue Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534 and Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 17, line 10.

²³⁶ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 30.

²³⁷ The ideological role of the king was to maintain divine order, which was also shown through the emphasis on this topic in royal epithets, Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 31. Therefore, acting under the authority of the king as his eyes and ears as Paser and other viziers' epithets state, is a show of having authority themselves.

one who knows the place of his speech and *w^c mnḥ* - uniquely effective,²³⁸ while the epithets stating that Paser is *mḥ-ib* – trusted of the king was both a display of his competence, but may also historically have originated from the actual function of an official when it mentions a specific region or assignment.²³⁹ Thus, when Paser mentions that he is *mnḥ n bity* - effective for the southern ruler and *mḥ-ib mnḥ n nswt m t³ r-dr=f* - trusted and effective one for the king in the entire land,²⁴⁰ these epithets refer to his position as vizier through descriptive phrases of his functions. About the third category of epithets, Doxey states that expressions of silence and self-control are linked to humility,²⁴¹ therefore Paser's epithet *ḥ³p ḥ.t ḥr shr.w ^cḥ* - one who keeps silent about palace business²⁴² would fall into this category. Regarding the final of the four epithet categories, *shrr-ib t³.wy n Hr=f* - one who makes content the Two Lands for his Horus²⁴³ and *ndm-hrw ḥr wdn ḥt* - sweet of voice at making offerings²⁴⁴ would refer to benevolence. At the same time, an epithet stating that the vizier was the eyes, ears and mouth of the king are both expressions of the good qualities he possessed, but also describe a function as the king's deputy. The expression of being the eyes and ears of the king is specifically used about Paser in the scene in TT 106 where he inspects the workshops at Karnak.²⁴⁵ He was there on behalf of the king, which is reflected in the use of these epithets.

Epithets are thus descriptive phrases used for the self-presentation of the monument owner. In this manner, they can be distinguished from ranking titles, as epithets do not directly speak of any positions held at the royal court. The epithets used by the early Ramesside viziers have in common that they were inscribed mainly on temple statuary and in tomb chapels.²⁴⁶ These monuments were designed for self-presentation and were seen by a select audience, either the priesthood of the temples in which statues were placed, or the visitors who came to view the tombs.

²³⁸ Deir el-Bahri statue Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534, *KRI III* (1980), 18, line 7+9. Being efficient as an important skill, Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 44.

²³⁹ For example, an official would use such an epithet when on an expedition, Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 145.

²⁴⁰ TT 106, *KRI I* (1975), 286, line 10; Pi-Ramesses statue, Louvre E.25980, *KRI III* (1980), 10, line 16; Karnak statue Cairo JE 38062, *KRI III* (1980), 16, line 6.

²⁴¹ As qualities often used to describe a wise man in Old and Middle Kingdom didactic literature, Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 58.

²⁴² Tanis stela-form amulet, *KRI III* (1980), 11, line 5; Ptah temple statue, *KRI III* (1980), 13, line 10; Karnak statue Cairo JE 38062, *KRI III* (1980), 16, line 5.

²⁴³ Ptah temple statue, *KRI III* (1980), 13, line 8. Horus in this case refers to the king as Paser's master. For the king as Horus, see Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 119.

²⁴⁴ Deir el-Bahri statue Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534, *KRI III* (1980), 18, line 8.

²⁴⁵ A workman says: *As for anything that comes from your mouth, His Person is pleased with it. You are the eyes of the Upper Egyptian ruler and the ears of the Lower Egyptian king*, *KRI I* (1975), 293, line 15-16.

²⁴⁶ Epithets were not used on funerary equipment such as ushabtis or the deposit of pectorals and amulets placed with the Apis bull burial by Paser in Ramesses II's regnal year 16, nor were they used by subordinates about their superior when they mentioned the vizier on their own monuments or addressed him in letters, see Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 324-325, 327-328, 330-334, 361-362, 368, 379-380, 392.

3.3. Vizierial Titles: *Ad Hoc* Usage

The category of *ad hoc* titles suggested here is an addition to the traditionally used categories. It is added in order to distinguish between the ordinary daily functions of the early Ramesside viziers and any extraordinary tasks that could have been asked of them. This section focuses on the titles of Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep, since they are the two early Ramesside viziers with the highest number of known titles. The remainder of the viziers from that period have so few known titles that it is difficult to conduct any analysis based on them. Regarding the *ad hoc* titles, Quirke argues with the example of titles pertaining to specific religious festivals, that these were specific to a time and place and were therefore temporary without link to the holder's long-term social identity.²⁴⁷ He thus suggests that *ad hoc* assignments were reflected in the use of titles by officials. (Pa-)Rahotep's use of the title *royal envoy to the land of Hatti* and in connection with this, Paser's use of the title *vizier of the south and north* are part of the discussion on the function of the early Ramesside viziers in international diplomacy (section 8.1.) and are therefore not included here.

There are not many titles that can easily be placed in the *ad hoc* category, and in fact, most of those titles could arguably also belong to other categories. In the case of (Pa-)Rahotep's title *summoner of Re of the New Year*,²⁴⁸ the celebration of the new year was arguably a once-a-year event.²⁴⁹ Thus, in addition to the lack of evidence for the title being used elsewhere, such a religious duty could not have been part of his daily routine.²⁵⁰ Doxey has not recorded the use of *nis* – *summoner* for epithets of the Middle Kingdom.²⁵¹ Should *nis* therefore be understood as an epithet, it was not used as one until the New Kingdom. In the hemerological text of P. Cairo 86637 dating to the early 20th dynasty, the introduction explains the rituals to be performed on New Year's Day *after the birth of Re*.²⁵² Hence, this text dating to slightly later in the Ramesside Period, provides a reference to the title used by (Pa-)Rahotep and connects it to a ritual performance. According to Bács, the earliest reference to New Year's Day as the day of the birth of Re is a Deir el-Medina daybook from regnal year 13 of Ramesses IX.²⁵³ Both the hemerological text and the title used by the early 19th dynasty vizier therefore provide even

²⁴⁷ He uses as example the title *holder of the bay-vessel for the king*, which is associated with a specific festival, Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 3.

²⁴⁸ The title was inscribed on his cuboid statue Boston MFA 03.1891 placed on the causeway leading to the Osiris temple at Abydos, RITANC III (2013), 49.

²⁴⁹ The feast was a celebration coinciding with the heliacal rising of Sothis which was a national event, while the main festivals of Amun, the Opet and *Beautiful feast of the valley* festivals were related to the inundation and recession of the Nile, respectively, and celebrated mainly at Thebes, Fukaya, *Festivals of Opet, the Valley and the New Year* (2019), 137.

²⁵⁰ There are no recorded attestations of this title among those mentioning *nis* – *summoner* in any of the title indexes of Ward, *Index Middle Kingdom* (1982), 98; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 130-131; Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 301.

²⁵¹ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets* (1998), 321.

²⁵² The introduction of the text states: "Black ink anointed with fine oil, fumigated with incense upon fire, purify, spread, throw onto the water for father Nun (and) mother Nut after the day (of the) birth of Re," the text was found in Deir el-Medina and can probably be dated to the reign of Ramesses III due to paleography and the date line mentioning regnal year 9, Bács, "Two Calendars," SAK 17 (1990), 42, 44. The New Kingdom P. Leiden I 346 contains a text on the epagomenal days ending the Egyptian calendar year. It mentions on day three, the day of Seth, that this deity is in "the bark of Re," but there is no other mention of the sun god in relation to the epagomenal days, Spalinger, "Some Remarks," JNES 54/1 (1995), 35.

²⁵³ Note e, Bács, "Two Calendars," SAK 17 (1990), 45. The text is referenced in Schott, *Altägyptischen Festdaten* (1950), 960, with the first day of the new year being 1st month of Akhet day 1.

earlier references to the connection between this day and the sun god Re. A report document from Deir el-Medina dated to the reign of Ramesses III meant for a vizier, whose name is now lost, states that:

p3y=n nb r swb3 n=n m p3y=f iy r di.t hcy Imn m p3[...]

*Our lord will boast of us in his visit in order to cause the appearance of Amun in the [...].*²⁵⁴

Despite the lacuna prohibiting the identification of the specific occasion, as well as the lack of a date revealing the time of year, this line of text implies that the vizier had an active role in a ritual involving Amun. It is also clear that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina expected the vizier to come to them in order to perform such a ritual. In addition, O. Cairo 25538 states that the vizier Paraemheb came to visit on *the day of the ferrying of Amun to the city*,²⁵⁵ which probably refers to the return of the Amun statue to the east bank of Thebes following the *Beautiful Feast of the Valley*.²⁵⁶ Another ostrakon, O. BM 50744, reveals that the vizier Neferrenpet (Ramesses IV) came to the tomb builders' village to *w3h mw – offer libation*.²⁵⁷ This suggests further that the vizier was directly involved with rituals related to Amun at Thebes and that these rituals also involved the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. Although the title *summoner of Re in the New Year* belonged to the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, it would in the case of the tomb builders' village be the southern vizier who dealt with assignments in this area. Since the northern vizier used such a title, it would suggest that similar rituals took place in Lower Egypt or that he took part in the rituals in Upper Egypt alongside the southern vizier. In the same manner as celebrations of the new year, other festivals occurred on specific times during the year, meaning that when the viziers used the titles *festival leader of his lord* and *leader of the festival for Amun*, these occasions were not part of their daily functions. When it comes to the latter title used by Paser,²⁵⁸ it is consistent with the expectation that as southern vizier he would have been close to the events related to Amun as the principal deity of Thebes. His use of this title also works in accordance with the reports from Deir el-Medina referenced above. The title does not specify the name of the event, but the main festival related to Amun in Thebes was the Opet festival.²⁵⁹ The celebration became known in this form during the 18th dynasty, and it seems to have been the custom that the king attended it at least in his first regnal year, and ideally also in subsequent years.²⁶⁰ In addition to the above examples of ostraca, the introduction of the text in P. Cairo 86637 also shows that there were ritual performances associated with the beginning of the new

²⁵⁴ O. Nash 11, *KRI V* (1983), 584, line 1-2. O. Turin 57168 from Deir el-Medina dated to the 19th or 20th dynasty also mentions the vizier (unnamed) in connection with a festival (*hb*), López, *Ostraca Ieratici* (1980), 31, pl.75a.

²⁵⁵ *rC n d3y n Imn r niwt*, dated regnal year 6 (of Seti II), 2nd month of Shemu day 16, *KRI IV* (1982), 315, line 1 + 4.

²⁵⁶ Fukaya, *Festivals of Opet, the Valley and the New Year* (2019), 10.

²⁵⁷ This vizier is not to be confused with the Neferrenpet who was in office during the reign of Ramesses II and is discussed further below. See *KRI VII* (1989), 336, line 14.

²⁵⁸ Found in his tomb chapel TT 106, column B face A in the broad hall, as part of his biographical text, the accompanying scene depicting Paser before Seti I, *KRI I* (1975), 298, line 11; Statue from el-Bahri (mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II) Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534, *KRI III* (1980), 18, line 10.

²⁵⁹ The festival happened during the inundation and involved the two Amun temples at Thebes, Karnak and Luxor, Fukaya, *Festivals of Opet, the Valley and the New Year* (2019), 18.

²⁶⁰ First recorded in this format in the red chapel of Hatshepsut at Karnak, Fukaya, *Festivals of Opet, the Valley and the New Year* (2019), 7, 15, 20. The *Decree of Horemheb* states that the king should be present at the festival of Opet every year without exception, Kruchten, *Décret d'Horemheb* (1981), 96, line 29.

year, and Paser's title *leader of the festival for Amun* and (Pa-)Rahotep's use of the title *summoner of Re in the new year* may therefore allude to their active roles in such rituals.

The titles related to being (royal) envoy or herald can be considered their function title for some officials. For example, on the 18th dynasty stela of Re, this official uses as his principal title *whm.w-nswt*,²⁶¹ while this would not be the case for the viziers. It is possible that they held the office prior to being promoted to vizierial office. A clue to such an advancement would come from biographical texts. Paser's biographies from TT 106 do not mention such a position, rather, the two texts indicate that he spent his early career at the royal court.²⁶² The titles *royal herald* and *royal envoy of the north wind* are inscribed on one of his statues from Deir el-Bahri,²⁶³ while the title *royal [herald] in the entire land* can be found on his statue from Mendes,²⁶⁴ while (Pa-)Rahotep's use of the titles *speaker of the king* and *herald of the king* stems from his grand stela from his ka-chapel in Saqqara and a fragment of a statue from his tomb complex at Sedment.²⁶⁵ On the stela from Saqqara the two titles are written together twice as a sequence using two different words for "king," *nswt* and *bity*, i.e., *r n nswt whm.w n bity*, signaling the two parts of the country as Upper and Lower Egypt. Gnirs states that the function of the royal herald was held by either civil or palace officials, who spoke on behalf of the king, and that they usually controlled aspects of the financial sector, such as tax collection.²⁶⁶ Neither of the two viziers describe a position of herald or envoy as part of their careers before being promoted to higher office on any of their known monuments. (Pa-)Rahotep does state on his statue Boston MFA 03.1891 that he was *brought up (shpr)* in the temple of Ptah,²⁶⁷ though without any specification about his further training or functions. The Abydos family stela of the vizier Khay, on the other hand, shows that this individual was employed as royal herald before being promoted to vizierial office. The stela does not mention any vizierial titles, but states Khay's principal title as *whm.w nswt tp(.y) n nb t3.wy* – *first royal herald of the lord of the Two Lands*.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, his Karnak statue Cairo CG 42165 confirms this career path and adds the position of *imy-r pr* – *steward* to his resume. In the inscription on the statue, Khay is first presented with the titles of vizier, while afterward it is added: *n imy-r pr/n whm.w nswt* – *(even) for the steward/(even) for the royal herald*.²⁶⁹ Davies notes that he believes these added titles represent Khay's earlier offices before becoming vizier of the south.²⁷⁰ Conversely, Gnirs argues that Khay's prominent use of the title of royal herald suggests that this was part of his duties as vizier.²⁷¹ However, the presence of his Abydos stela without any vizierial titles

²⁶¹ The stela is in a collection in Munich, *URK IV* (1957), 1640.

²⁶² Biographical text on column B in the broad hall of TT 106, addressed to Seti I, *KRI III* (1980), 299, line 10.

²⁶³ Deir el-Bahri (mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II) statue Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia E. 534. *KRI III* (1980), 18, line 9+10.

²⁶⁴ Copenhagen AEIN 50, *KRI III* (1980), 21, line 9. The title is inscribed on the dorsal pillar just where the head has broken off, meaning the word *whm.w* is missing. The title is thus reconstructed by Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 318.

²⁶⁵ Saqqara rose granite stela, *KRI III* (1980), 54, line 14, 55, line 11; fragment of double statue of (Pa-)Rahotep and his wife Heli, tomb 201 at Sedment, Q_5.48 in Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 369.

²⁶⁶ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* 81996), 176.

²⁶⁷ Inscribed line at the feet of the statue, *KRI III* (1980), 64, line 5.

²⁶⁸ *KRI III* (1980), 37, line 3.

²⁶⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 37, line 14+15, 38, line 4; *RITA III* (2000), 26-27.

²⁷⁰ *RITANC III* (2013), 30.

²⁷¹ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 177.

suggests a previous occupation rather than a simultaneous task.²⁷² As initially stated at the beginning of this chapter, Grajetzky argues that the title placed closest to an individual's name is what comes closest to defining that individual's function.²⁷³ To find a career narrative of an ancient Egyptian high official that is not a monumental biographical text is very rare. This highlights the importance of patterns in title usage as a way to understand the career paths and functions of such an individual.

This chapter has established both some patterns in title usage and that the titles used by early Ramesside viziers can be divided into separate categories based on monumental context and written source material, which in certain cases has revealed the nature of the title. The following chapters continue to address the title usage of the viziers of Upper and Lower Egypt in the 18th and 19th dynasties to further analyze the functions of these specific high officials. As is shown below, this evidence reveals aspects of the viziers' functions that have not been available before.

4. THE VIZIER PASER: A CASE

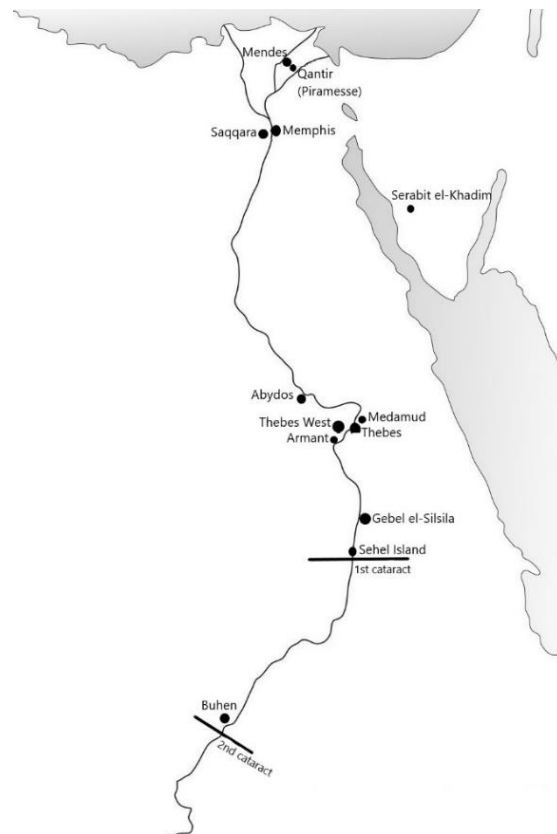


Figure 7. TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE ATTESTATIONS OF PASER WITHIN THE EGYPTIAN TERRITORY. SOURCE: AUTHOR.

²⁷² This was also noted by Davies in *RITANC III* (2013), 29.

²⁷³ Grajetzky, *Court Officials* (2009), 5.

The following chapter presents the biography and social network of the vizier Paser. 147 monuments, inscriptions and artifacts containing his name have been discovered, with a total of 129 titles (including variations) inscribed on them (for details, see the catalogue and title index 1 below). With the continued archaeological work in Egypt and the development of online museum databases, eight more artifacts have come to light in recent years since the latest compilation made by Raedler in 2004, who listed 139 sources.²⁷⁴ This added evidence is presented in the catalogue attached below. Fig. 7 above shows the geographical locations where Paser is attested. The map (fig. 7) shows 13 different locations within Egypt, while an additional location can be added in Boghazköi (modern Turkey).²⁷⁵ Thebes West covers several locations, both the tomb builders' village of Deir el-Medina, the location of Paser's tomb complex at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Deir el-Bahri and the mountain range behind. These sources are counted as four separate attestations, since their prosopographical impact on this study is very different. The case of Paser is contextualized throughout by the evidence available on his contemporary colleagues, specifically northern and southern viziers, as well as the high priests of Amun and Ptah, who were in office during the early Ramesside Period.

As a historical figure, Paser is very much relevant today because of his extensive material and written record, which allows a thorough study of not only his person, but also the functions of the viziers and their role in the political and administrative landscape of the early Ramesside Period. This is first presented in the current chapter with a focus on the vizierial use of titles on monuments and the architectural and historical context of these and then placed in a comparative perspective in the following chapters using a microhistorical approach. The collection of sources and their provenance are utilized to analyze Paser's movements and possible tasks, both daily and extraordinary. His tomb, TT 106, placed on the Theban west bank of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, forms a focal point in the discussion of his family relations as the main source of evidence. His career path, as well as the important events in his life are analyzed through his attestations, along with the impact of his movements on macrohistorical events. Through Paser's use of titles and his monuments with a known provenance placed throughout the ancient Egyptian territory, some actual functions of the early Ramesside vizier are examined comparatively with other primary sources in the form of monumental inscriptions, letters, and administrative texts.

²⁷⁴ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004). Additions to the list of artifacts and monuments are marked as such in the catalogue below.

²⁷⁵ Letter to king Hattusili III, discussed in section 7.1. below.

4.1. The Tomb of Paser: TT 106

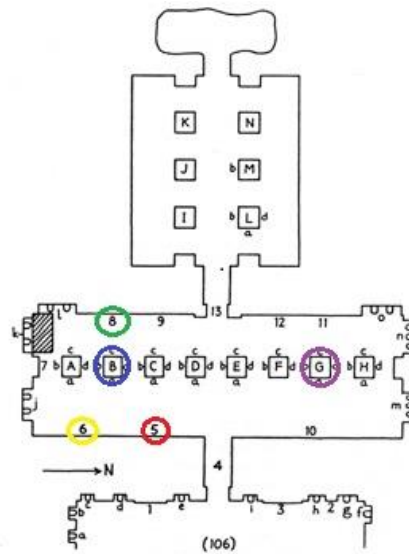


Figure 8. TT 106. RED CIRCLE: REWARD SCENE, PASER IN FRONT OF SETI I. YELLOW CIRCLE: PASER INSPECTS STATUE OF SETI I. BLUE CIRCLE: BIOGRAPHICAL TEXT AND PRAISE OF SETI I. GREEN CIRCLE: THE DUTIES OF THE VIZIER. PURPLE CIRCLE: BIOGRAPHICAL TEXT AND PRAISE OF RAMESSES II. SOURCE: GRIFFITH INSTITUTE, OXFORD. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4paser.html>

As the largest monument belonging to the vizier Paser, his tomb TT 106, placed at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna on the Theban west bank holds a wide range of information about his career, self-presentation, and professional as well as familial relationships. In addition, it contains traces of the only copy of *The Duties* inscribed in a tomb outside of the mid-18th dynasty, as well as two biographical texts describing his career path (see fig. 8 above). The tomb is also the only source of information about his family members other than his parents. According to the notes made by Egyptologist Gordon Jelf during an archaeological mission in the Theban necropolis led by Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur E.P. Weigall in the season 1909-1910, TT 106 was discovered at some point between September and December 1909.²⁷⁶ The notes do not reveal any specifics about the state of preservation of the tomb at that time. In his preliminary excavation report from 1990, Seyfried relates that his mission's excavation work on the tomb began in 1985.²⁷⁷ The complex, oriented east-west, features a sunken courtyard shared with the neighboring tombs TT 105 to the south and TT 107 to the north. These tombs belong to *the prophet of the noble ram-scepter* Khaemopet dated to the 19th dynasty and the *royal scribe and overseer of the house of Amenhotep III*, Nefersekheru from the 18th dynasty.²⁷⁸ Slinger notes that all three individuals with tombs connected to this shared courtyard had titles associated with Amun.²⁷⁹ It is correct that Paser included the title *sšm-ḥb n Imn* – *Festival leader of Amun* in his tomb chapel, but other titles related to Amun are not present in the tomb. He did not become titled as high priest of Amun, making him firmly associated with the principal god of Thebes, until after TT 106 was finished. Thus, for Paser the direct connection to this deity is

²⁷⁶ Notebook published by Kaczanowicz, "Gordon Jelf and his Notes," *JEA* 106 (2020), 48.

²⁷⁷ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 341.

²⁷⁸ *PM I-I* (1960), 218, 224.

²⁷⁹ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 150.

slim compared to the owner of TT 105. Although, as southern vizier, Paser had a connection to the workshops and treasuries of Karnak, as both his titles and relief scenes in the broad hall of TT 106 show (see below, chapter 10). Nefersekheru, on the other hand, who must have been the first of the three to build a tomb there due to its construction date, has a connection to king Amenhotep III. As is shown in section 5.1. below, Paser was interested in associating himself with the time before the Amarna Period, which could have influenced his choice to have his tomb built in this exact location.²⁸⁰

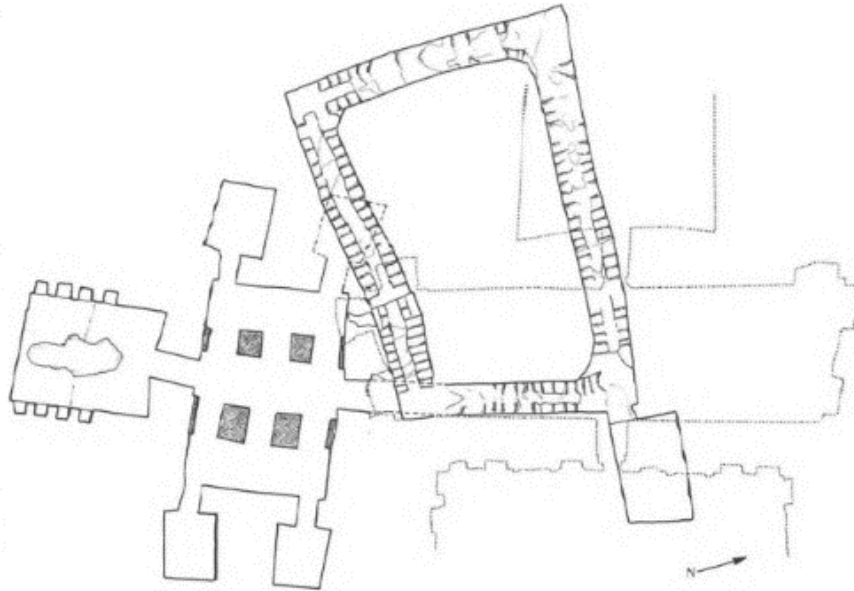


Figure 9. UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS BENEATH BROAD HALL OF TT 106. PASSAGEWAY FROM SOUTH-EAST CORNER. SOURCE: SEYFRIED, “DRITTER VORBERICHT,” *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 346. ILLUSTRATION BY F. KAMPP.

The tomb chapel of TT 106 is T-shaped, typical for the Theban necropolis during the New Kingdom. It consists of a broad hall, oriented north-south, with an entrance way leading towards the west. Directly across from the entrance way is the inner hall which leads to the inner sanctuary holding the remains of three seated figures, probably Horus, Osiris and Hathor or Isis in their roles as deities of the necropolis.²⁸¹ At the south end of the broad hall a “sloping passage” with crudely cut steps leads to the underground chambers, presumably meant to be the burial chamber for Paser (see fig. 9 above). The tomb is an important primary source, but as stated above, monumental sources may not always be credible, and it is therefore vital to investigate comparative sources that can verify the information found in the tomb. The evidence from the tomb is discussed in context in the following sections.

²⁸⁰ As shown by Jiménez-Higueras, the spatial relations between tombs in the Theban necropolis was not coincidental, Jiménez-Higueras, *Sacred Landscape* (2020), 24-27.

²⁸¹ The middle figure shows the mummified feet of Osiris, Seyfried, “Dritter Vorbericht,” *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 348.

5. THE FAMILY OF PASER



Figure 10. FAMILY SCENE FROM TT 106, DRAWING BY J.G. WILKINSON. SOURCE: *ATLAS OF ANCIENT EGYPT* (1980), 106.

In contrast to Paser himself, very little is known about his family. In fact, almost all information comes from his tomb, TT 106. Here, a number of family members are mentioned, including his mother, father, siblings, grandparents, and an aunt. Fig. 8 above shows a drawing of a scene from the north end of the broad hall of the tomb chapel, now mostly destroyed.²⁸² It depicts Paser in front of a pile of offerings performing libation and censing with his closest family behind him. The accompanying text names the individuals as follows from right to left:

w^c ikr w^cb ^c.wy s³b t³y.ty r Nhn hm-ntr tpy (n) M³t imy-r niwt t³ty P³-sr

The excellent One, pure of hands, dignitary, chief justice (literally he of the curtain or shrouded one), mouth of Nekhen, high priest of Maat, overseer of the City and vizier Paser.

Then follows his father (who Paser is *s³ (n)* – son of):

s³b hm-ntr tpy n Imn sm m h^w.t-Pth imy-r hm.w-ntr nw rsy m^hw Nb-ntr.w m³c-hrw dd n=f Try m³c-hrw

The dignitary, the high priest of Amun, sem-priest in the Ptah temple, overseer of the prophets of the south and north, Nebnetjeru, true of voice, who is called Tjeli, true of voice.

And Paser's mother (who Paser is *ms n* – born of):

wr.t hnr.t n Imn im³h.y nfr.t n.t W³s.t Mry.t-R^c

The chief of the hnr.t²⁸³ of Amun, the beautiful revered one of Thebes, Merytre.

²⁸² Described as such by Baines & Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (1980), 107. Through viewing of the squeezes and MMA photographs of this scene from TT 106 (Copyright: The Metropolitan Museum, New York) at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, it was possible to establish that this drawing is a faithful rendition of the original artwork in the tomb.

²⁸³ The term *hnr.t* is usually translated with *harem* by Egyptologists. This term comes from the Arabic word *harām* meaning *forbidden* or *inviolable*, referring to domestic spaces for the female and underage members of the Muslim

After the parents follow two sons (of Nebnetjeru and Merytre):²⁸⁴

hr.y-ihw tp n hm=f Titiy³ hr.y-hb n Imn hr s³ tp w^cb Iny

The first stablemaster of his Person Tatiya. The lecture priest of Amun of the first phyle and wab-priest Iny.

Finally, two women are depicted, his daughter (i.e., of Nebnetjeru), and the aunt of Paser (*sn.t=s* – her sister, i.e., of Merytre):

wr.t hnr.t n Imn Tiy šm^c.yt n Imn N³[y³]

The chief of the hnr.t of Amun, Tiy. The chantress of Amun, Naya.

It is known about Paser's closest family that his mother came from Memphis, as this is stated on the standing statue of Paser, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen (AEIN 50).²⁸⁵ On the same monument his father, Nebnetjeru, is mentioned with the title *sm m hwt-Pth* – *Sem-priest in the Ptah temple*.²⁸⁶ The same title along with the similar *sm n Pth* – *Sem-priest of Ptah* is present with the name of Nebnetjeru in his son's tomb chapel.²⁸⁷ Here, these two titles directly precede the owner's name, which according to Grajetzky is where the most important titles of a person would be placed.²⁸⁸ So, it is possible that both parents of Paser were linked to Memphis, the main place of worship of the god Ptah, which is a good indication that the family lived there. However, Kitchen states that titles related to the god Ptah were commonly used by high priests of Amun as titular heads of the Ptah cult at Karnak.²⁸⁹ It is true that in the time of Ramesses II, the high priest of Amun Bakenkhons used the title *wr hrp hmw n Pth* – *Great One controlling the works of Ptah*, which is a title most frequently used by the high priests of Ptah in Memphis, but the only other person in office as high priest of Amun in Karnak using titles related to Ptah during the early Ramesside Period is Nebnetjeru. One may put forward the notion, that the position of sem-priest is a lesser position than high priest, and this title being used by Paser for his father may indicate Nebnetjeru's career path within the priesthood.

household, Roth, "Harem," *UEE* (2012), 2. It came to be used in Egyptology as an orientalist term, denoting enclosures for women, though without there being any evidence that this was the case outside the royal household. It is thus a problematic translation to use for functions and titles not related specifically to the royal family, and the word *hnr.t* will therefore not be translated in this paper.

²⁸⁴ Tatiya is explicitly called *sn=f hr.y-ih.w T³ty* – his brother (of Paser) the stablemaster Tatiya – here spelled Taty, *KRI I* (1975), 300. From the author's own observation when viewing the MMA photos of TT 106 at the Griffith Institute in Oxford, it is clear that the name of Paser also had various spellings throughout the tomb, therefore this is also possible for the name of his brother. In addition, Kitchen argues that there is only one son who was a stablemaster, Kitchen, "Some Ramesside Friends of Mine," *JSSEA 9/1* (1978), 15, footnote 8.

²⁸⁵ The mother is named *Mr.yt-R^c n Hwt-k³-Pth* – Merytre of Memphis. *KRI III* (1980), 21 l. 14.

²⁸⁶ Line 13, *KRI III* (1980), 21.

²⁸⁷ *KRI I* (1975), 286 l. 12, 287 l. 5.

²⁸⁸ Ranking titles, Grajetzky, *Court Officials* (2009), 5.

²⁸⁹ *RITANC I* (1993), 191.

The name of Paser's grandfather, Tatiya, is believed to have Akkadian roots, while the nickname of Nebnetjeru, Tjeli is thought to be of Semitic origin,²⁹⁰ which suggests that the paternal side of Paser's family originated from somewhere in Southwest Asia before relocating to Egypt. It is plausible that the family moved to Thebes at the time of Nebnetjeru's proclamation as high priest of Amun. For example, it is known from the biographical inscription of the high priest of Amun Nebwenenef in his tomb chapel of TT 157, that he was employed as high priest of Onuris and Hathor, before his promotion.²⁹¹ This could possibly be part of the explanation why no monuments of Paser's family have been found in Thebes or elsewhere. The lack of a tomb belonging to Paser's parents in the Theban necropolis can be explained by the possibility that they were meant to be interred in a shaft in the tomb chapel of their son. For a tomb to include burials of family members other than the owner and his wife was not uncommon in the New Kingdom. For example, the parents of the *great overseer of the House* (*imy-r pr wr*) Senenmut, along with six additional family members, were discovered in an undisturbed shaft burial located below the chapel of his tomb TT 71.²⁹² In TT 106, there is a shaft about 4,5 meters in depth in the north end of the broad hall, directly beneath the carved figures of Paser's parents. Though no trace of an actual burial has been found here,²⁹³ it is possible that this shaft was intended for them.

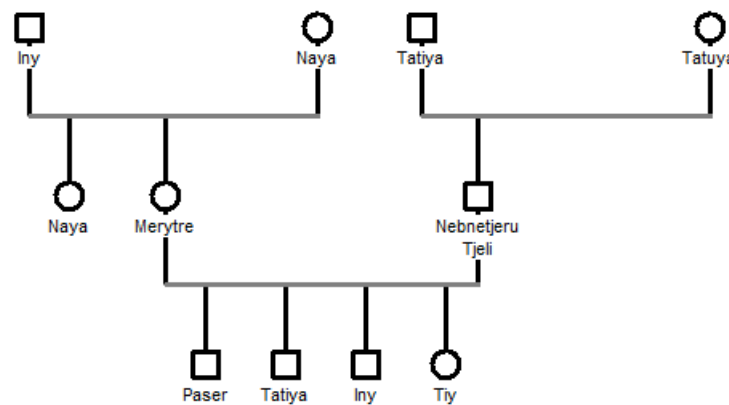


Figure 11. PASER'S GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO TT 106. GENEALOGY GENERATED WITH GENOPRO GENOGRAM SOFTWARE.

As is shown by Paser's genealogy through the evidence from his tomb (fig. 11), he had two brothers and one sister. His siblings all had names resembling those of their grandparents, or they were named after them, specifically Iny after their grandfather on their mother's side of the family and Tatiya after their grandfather on their father's side. The former carried religious titles (lector priest and wab-priest), while the latter held a high-ranking military title, *hr.y-iḥ.w tp.y n ḥm=f* – first stablemaster of his Person. While other stablemasters with titles unrelated to the king are not to be considered part of the military, individuals like Tatiya with clear reference to the king in their title are comparable to the modern rank of colonel.²⁹⁴ Paser is the only one

²⁹⁰ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 503. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 345.

²⁹¹ "Now he was then high priest of Onuris, high priest of Hathor, lady of Dendera and overseer of all priests to his south as far as Heriheramun and to his north as far as Thinis," Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 36.

²⁹² Dorman, "Family Burial and Commemoration," *Theban Necropolis* (2003), 32.

²⁹³ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 347.

²⁹⁴ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 18, 20.

with a different name, *P3-sr* meaning the *Noble One*. It is possible that he was the oldest son and therefore from birth meant to be the one to advance to highest rank. All of Nebnetjeru's sons held high positions both within the military and in civil office, while he himself occupied the highest rank within the Amun cult.



Figure 12. SQUEEZE OF PART OF THE SCENE FROM TT 106 REPRODUCED IN FIG. 4 ABOVE, SHOWING TIY HOLDING A SISTRUM. THE INSCRIPTION READS HIS DAUGHTER (I.E. OF NEBNETJERU), FAVORED OF THE PALACE, GREAT ONE [OF THE *hnr.t* OF AMUN]. SOURCE: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4paser.html> IN: THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE (ACCESSED: 8/4 2023).

Tiy, the sister of Paser is titled *hs.y.t n nswt/pr-nswt* – *Favored of the King/Palace* (see fig. 12 above).²⁹⁵ Besides Paser himself, she is the only one in the family with this honorific title, which suggests that they both had a close relation to the king. Kitchen also noted the presence of this title with Tiy and speculates if she may have been part of the *hnr.t* of Seti I.²⁹⁶ According to Skumsnes the designation *hs.y.t* was most often given in affiliation with a god or temple, and while it was a common title during the 18th dynasty, its use decreased significantly during the Ramesside Period.²⁹⁷ He does not provide any examples of this title, classified by him as an *institutional title*,²⁹⁸ in affiliation with the king or the palace, which is the case with Tiy. If it is to be understood as a title of occupation rather than an epithet, which Skumsnes' data suggests, then it is possible that Tiy somehow belonged to the *hnr.t* of Seti I, as Kitchen proposed. This royal connection may also explain why Paser chose to have her depicted next to him in one scene in his tomb²⁹⁹ instead of his mother, which is otherwise the case. This choice would thus further emphasize the goal of Paser to assert himself as a person with close ties to the king, as he did with his biographical texts and the reward scene before Seti I.

²⁹⁵ *KRI I* (1975), 296 (4-5), 298 (1-2).

²⁹⁶ *RITANC I* (1993), 197. Kitchen uses the term *harem* here. It is perhaps more correct to view Tiy as someone with a relation to the royal household.

²⁹⁷ Skumsnes, *Patterns of Change* (2018), 101.

²⁹⁸ Table 1, Skumsnes, *Patterns of Change* (2018), 78.

²⁹⁹ Broad hall, column C side a, *PM I* (1960), 223.

As stated above, a tomb for Nebnetjeru has not been located, but it was noted by Seyfried that the pillars G and H in the same north-west corner as the statue group of Paser's parents contains images and texts showing him offering to them with his father, Nebnetjeru, in the form of an upright-standing anthropoid coffin,³⁰⁰ which would indicate a burial place for the parents here. Arguably, in the ancient Egyptian society, the eldest son would have been responsible for the burial and subsequent cult maintenance of the parents. This does not imply, of course, that all parents would usually be buried in the tomb of their child, but this seems to have been the initial choice of Paser and his family in TT 106. Despite the effort that went into turning TT 106 into the perfect memorial to the accomplishments of Paser, something (or someone) is missing from the tomb walls. As shown above, he included several members of his family in the decorative scheme, but the one who would be expected to be shown as his closest companion in this life and the next, as well as those who were meant to uphold his legacy are nowhere to be found.

5.1. Paser: The Eternal Bachelor?

There is no mention of a wife or children of Paser in his tomb, which is highly unusual anywhere in the Theban necropolis.³⁰¹ In the description of the above drawing (fig. 10), Baines and Málek have stated that Paser is depicted with his wife,³⁰² perhaps since the assumption made by Porter and Moss was that Tiy was the wife of Paser.³⁰³ None of the three women depicted in this or other scenes in the tomb chapel have such a title.³⁰⁴ Kitchen concluded that no wife or children of Paser are mentioned in TT 106, since his mother takes the expected place of a wife not only in the tomb, but also in other monuments of Paser, such as the Deir el-Bahri statue group (Cairo JE 36935) found in the temple of Hatshepsut featuring Paser seated next to his mother (see catalogue).³⁰⁵ Instead the women present in the family scene are to be understood as mother, aunt and sister.³⁰⁶ The same conclusion was reached by Raedler, who states that since Paser remained unmarried the mother, Merytre, was placed by his side instead of a wife.³⁰⁷ It is true that *sn.t=f* – his sister could mean wife, since the titulary of family members in ancient Egypt is notoriously complicated and *sn.t* could be used for both actual siblings,

³⁰⁰ Pillar G side d showing Paser offering to his deceased father, and pillar H side b showing Paser embracing his mother; the images thus face each other, Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 347.

³⁰¹ Of 408 numbered private tombs there are only 10 that do not mention either wife, children, or both (TTs 106, 20, 71+353 (Senenmut), 86+112 (Menkheperreseneb), 125, 192, 343 and 373), most of which are either badly damaged, usurped, or unfinished. The other viziers of the New Kingdom with known tombs have included their wives in the decorations, *PM I-I* (1960), 1-446.

³⁰² Baines & Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (1980), 107.

³⁰³ *PM I-I* (1960), 219.

³⁰⁴ The text clearly states that Paser is *ms n* – born of Merytre. As for Tiy, the text states that she is *s3.t=f* – his daughter (i.e., of Nebnetjeru).

³⁰⁵ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 339.

³⁰⁶ Kitchen, "Some Ramesside Friends of Mine," *JSSEA* 9/1 (1978), 13-20.

³⁰⁷ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 346.

cousins, aunts or even friends.³⁰⁸ For example, the wife of the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire is titled *sn.t=f ḥn^c=f mr(y).t ib=f* – his sister who is with him, beloved of his heart.³⁰⁹ As Olabarria has demonstrated, from the person of departure (here the tomb owner) terminology of kinship was divided into linear and non-linear groups rather than being generational. Meaning, direct ascendants (grandparents, mother and father) and descendants (sons and daughters), i.e., the linear kin, would always have distinguished terms, while *sn* and *sn.t* could be used for a variety of extended (non-linear) kin.³¹⁰ Should Tiy be considered the wife, her placement in the row of family members would expectedly be right behind her husband,³¹¹ whereas in the scene above she is placed behind her brothers and is called *s3.t=f* – his daughter.

As stated above, a scene in the broad hall of TT 106 on column C side a, shows Tiy holding a sistrum standing behind Paser, while performing a ritual in front of the emblem of Anubis.³¹² She is here given the designation *sn.t=f* – his sister.³¹³ An argument can be made, that she could not both have been Paser's daughter and wife. Likewise, the stablemaster Tatiya is stated to be *s3=f* in the family relief above and *sn=f* in the relief scene on pillar C in the broad hall where he libates before Paser and Merytre.³¹⁴ Like Tiy, he cannot be both son and brother of Paser. Therefore, the relief above is believed to show the children of Paser's parents, Nebnetjeru and Merytre, and not of Paser himself. In further support of the notion that no wife of Paser is present in TT 106, is the structure of the relief scenes. In the broad hall's south end, the east wall shows a reward scene with Paser receiving gold collars in front of Seti I. Such a scene would normally be followed by the "return home by chariot" scene, in which the recipient of the king's rewards shares a celebration with his family and household. However, this scene is absent in TT 106,³¹⁵ which suggests that no such family to return to existed for Paser when the tomb was constructed.

The importance of the nuclear family in ancient Egypt is highly visible in monuments, especially the husband-and-wife relationship in the context of tomb decoration during the New Kingdom. As a symbol of continuity, children would provide for the cult of their parents, which was the standard social norm.³¹⁶ It was the ideal for the members of the elite, who could afford to build tombs and maintain their mortuary cults after they passed away. The daily rituals for

³⁰⁸ There was no distinction between terms for different family members. *sn.t* was a term used for a wife related to the husband as a cousin, which developed in the course of the New Kingdom to simply mean *wife*, Sabbahy, *Daily Life of Women* (2022), 2. It is also difficult to distinguish relationships of other family members, including aunts and nieces, Jiménez-Higueras, *Prosopographic Study* (2022), xvii.

³⁰⁹ Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), pl. LXIII.

³¹⁰ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family* (2020), 64.

³¹¹ As is the case in the tomb of User(-Amun) in TT 91 (see Fig. 11 below) and the family scenes in tomb of Rekhmire, TT 100, Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), pl. IX, X, LXIII. Skumsnes states that the wife is "usually represented standing or seated beside her spouse in a supportive manner" in tomb contexts, Skumsnes, *Patterns of Change* (2018), 115.

³¹² *PM I-I* (1960), 223.

³¹³ MMA photo T 2941 viewed at the Griffith Institute, Oxford. The rights to the photo belong to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and permission to reproduce it here has not been achieved.

³¹⁴ *KRI I* (1975), 300, l. 9.

³¹⁵ Assmann, "Gespräch im Goldhaus," *Fs Brunner-Traut* (1992), 43.

³¹⁶ Meskell, *Private Life* (2002), 65.

the deceased were performed by a priest, while members of the deceased's family would have been responsible for maintaining the upkeep of such a priest.³¹⁷



Figure 13. LEFT: PASER AND MERYTRE, EXTERIOR WALL. RIGHT: PASER AND MERYTRE, LEFT SIDE ENTRYWAY. SOURCE: <https://www.schott.uni-trier.de/> IN: DAS DIGITALE SCHOTT-ARCHIV (ACCESSED: 9/12 2022).

Paser's mother takes the place of a wife in reliefs throughout the tomb (see examples above, fig. 13), standing directly behind him both in the exterior reliefs by the entrance in the courtyard, the entryway to the broad hall and on the pillars in the broad hall. As Baines has noted, parents were not often depicted in the monuments of their offspring while it was normal for parents to depict their children.³¹⁸ This makes the choices made for the decoration of TT 106 unusual. Roth argues that the role of the wife in the afterlife of a deceased male was to conceive and give birth to him as his reincarnation, and the omission of a wife in a tomb dated to the New Kingdom is therefore surprising.³¹⁹ The taboo of being unable to father children is underlined in a letter to the scribe Nekhemmut of Deir el-Medina dated to the second half of the 19th – early 20th dynasty (O. Berlin P 10627).³²⁰ The letter from an anonymous sender states in rather harsh words, that Nekhemmut is not a man since he has failed to impregnate his wives, and as a childless man, he should adopt an orphan.³²¹ The social class of the workmen in Deir el-Medina was arguably different from that of the vizier, and it is therefore not certain that the same stigma would follow a man of Paser's rank. The question remains whether Paser never married, only did so after the completion of TT 106 or if he followed the actions of his mid-18th dynasty colleague User(-Amun). This vizier constructed a tomb which included images of his wife and children (TT 61, see fig. 14 below) and then another one that focused entirely on his promotion to vizier (TT 131), excluding any images of his family other than his parents

³¹⁷ *hm-kʿ* priests served the funerary cult of the deceased. The cult may have been supported by a piece of agricultural land donated for this purpose by the deceased, Ikram, *Death and Burial* (2015), 189.

³¹⁸ Baines, *High Culture and Experience* (2013), 12.

³¹⁹ In the rare cases of an omission of a wife, the parents – and particularly the mother, takes her place in the tomb decoration, Roth, "Absent Spouse," *JARCE* 36 (1999), 42.

³²⁰ Index, <https://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> in: Deir el-Medina Database (accessed: 9/12 2022).

³²¹ Wente, *Letters* (1990), 149.

(see further below). The assumption by researchers that a wife would be depicted in TT 106 underlines the rarity of cases where none is mentioned.



Figure 14. USER(-AMUN) AND HIS WIFE DEPICTED IN TT 61. SOURCE: <https://www.schott.uni-trier.de/schott.php?go=n> IN: DAS DIGITALE SCHOTT-ARCHIV (ACCESSED: 9/12 2022).

In addition, as a member of the highest-ranking elite, for Paser marriage would have been a tool to form political alliances.³²² In the unstable environment of the political landscape at the beginning of the new Ramesside dynasty,³²³ it would not be unreasonable to expect that marriage for Paser would be one way to consolidate his position. As shown above, he put great emphasis on his promotion and role as vizier in TT 106, with references to his colleagues from the mid-18th dynasty. This points to a wish to present himself as related to this specific group, rather than to any vizier in office during the Amarna Period or the end of the 18th dynasty.

At present, there is no satisfactory explanation for the lack of wife and children of Paser in TT 106, but one can speculate that a second tomb was constructed at some point. Examples exist of other high-ranking officials building a second tomb, for example, Senenmut (TT 71 and 353) who was the chief steward under Hatshepsut,³²⁴ and User(-Amun), vizier under Thutmose II and III (TT 61 and 131).³²⁵ In the latter instance, the only mention of a wife of User(-Amun) in TT 131 is on a black granite stela found in the courtyard outside the tomb, the rest of the tomb mentions only his parents.³²⁶ Furthermore, it is in this tomb of User(-Amun) that *The Duties* and the Installation-text are inscribed, and where a scene shows his father, Aametu, as an elderly vizier, while User(-Amun) is being installed as co-vizier.³²⁷ In TT 61, a usurped

³²² Frood, “Social Structure and Daily Life,” *A Companion* (2010), 472.

³²³ Caused by the Amarna Period and the subsequent three kings of non-royal descent. Ramesses I wrote on his Sinai stela that he was *smj mnw* – restorer of monuments, *KRI I* (1975), 1. Brand understands this as a political statement referring to the neglect of the country’s temples during the Amarna Period, Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 378.

³²⁴ *PM I-I* (1960), 139, 417.

³²⁵ *PM I-I* (1960), 123, 245.

³²⁶ Listed under “Finds,” it is stated that the stela is “probably” from this tomb, *PM I-I* (1960), 247.

³²⁷ Helck, “Berufung des Vezirs Wsr,” *Fs Grapow* (1955), 108-109.

Middle Kingdom tomb for which no information on the former occupant survives,³²⁸ his wife (see fig. 11 above) and children are depicted. TT 131 has a layout in the T-shape typical for the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, while TT 61 has a long corridor with a chamber at the end, a typical tomb structure of the Middle Kingdom (see fig. 15 below).³²⁹

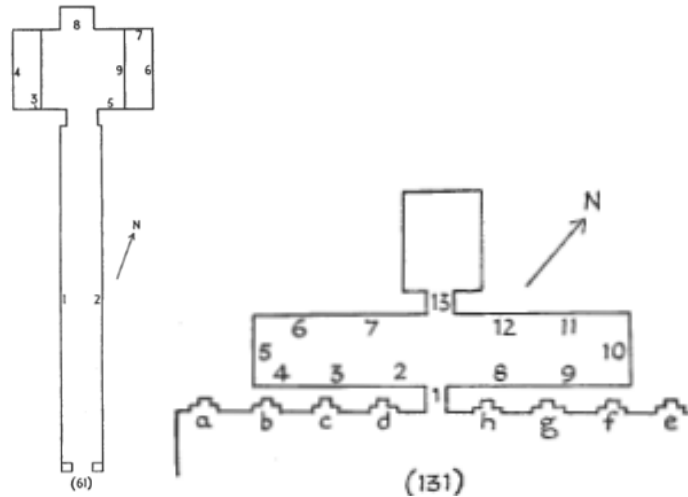


Figure 15. THE TWO TOMBS OF USER(-AMUN), TT 61 (LEFT) AND TT 131 (RIGHT). SOURCE: *PM I-I*

Slinger suggests that the smaller TT 61 was decorated for User(-Amun) first, before he had any expectation of becoming vizier.³³⁰ This does not take into account that the titles *imy-r niwt t3ty* are present in TT 61,³³¹ which means that these would have been added after his promotion if this tomb was decorated before TT 131. It is of course possible that TT 61 was the first of User(-Amun)'s tombs to be decorated and that it was chosen because of the proximity to the Middle Kingdom vizier's tomb TT 62 and to his father's tomb TT 85, as argued by Slinger.³³² Dziobek comments, that User(-Amun) was in his early forties at the time of his promotion to co-vizier,³³³ which would make it likely that he already had a family at the time.

Comparatively, Paser's tomb TT 106 was constructed relatively early in his career, although after his promotion to the office of vizier (for the dating of the tomb, see section 5.2 below). It is possible that either before or after the construction of TT 106, another tomb was constructed, which could have included a wife and children. As a man of his rank, it is not unthinkable that he had the opportunity to do so. An argument in favor of this notion is the lack of any evidence that he was ever actually buried in TT 106. Seyfried states in his preliminary excavation report for the tomb, that although it seems completely finished, no indication of a burial has been

³²⁸ Slinger suggests that since the neighboring tomb, TT 60, was made for the Middle Kingdom vizier Antefoker, it is possible that TT 61 also originally belonged to a vizier. Additionally, the tomb of User(-Amun)'s father, Aametu, is situated directly below TT 61, which suggests that he and User(-Amun) chose this location to be close to the Middle Kingdom vizier, Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 268.

³²⁹ Either with a corridor like in this example or as *saff* tombs, Kampp-Seyfried, "Theban Necropolis," *Theban Necropolis* (2003), 3.

³³⁰ She does state, though, that it is unclear which tomb was constructed first, Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 272.

³³¹ As detailed by Sethe, *URK IV* (1909), 1039.

³³² Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 272.

³³³ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Viziers User-Amun* (1998), 101.

found there.³³⁴ One would expect even in a looted tomb to find evidence of a burial in the form of potsherds or splinters of wood, but this is not the case here. One might go as far as to suggest that since Paser seems so determined on associating himself with the group of earlier mid-18th dynasty viziers, and User(-Amun) in particular, he could have taken inspiration from his dual tombs by having a second tomb constructed. As stated, User(-Amun) was the only one to separate his wife and children from his professional life in his two tombs, while also being the first known vizier to have *The Duties* and the Installation-text inscribed in one of the tombs (TT 131). In comparison, the 18th dynasty overseer of the Treasuries, Djehutynefer, also had two tombs constructed (TT 80 and 104), but he included wife and children in both of them.³³⁵ The exclusion of wife and children in TT 106 and the emphasis placed on his function as vizier shown in the chosen decorative scheme for that tomb, underlines further the great importance placed on the honor of being promoted to and possessing the office of vizier. This is evidenced further in the 18th dynasty viziers' tombs TTs 131, 100, 29, where the copies of *The Duties* were inscribed, and additionally the tomb of Hapu, TT 66, which included a copy of the Installation-text.³³⁶ Thus, the emphasis on the importance of the promotion and role was re-introduced in Paser's tomb at the beginning of the 19th dynasty. The decorative choices made by Paser at the onset of this new dynasty, suggest that politically and historically, he intended to present himself as related to that specific group of mid-18th dynasty viziers, who had a close family connection.³³⁷ If Paser wanted to associate himself with User(-Amun) in particular, another reason for this might be the genealogical origins of this particular vizier, whose father Aametu's name is thought to have Semitic roots.³³⁸ This was also the case with Paser's father Nebnetjeru's nickname Tjeli, and in addition, the same is relevant for his father's father, who was named Tatiya, as stated above (section 4.). Hence, there were several reasons for Paser to mirror himself in the history of this earlier colleague: The emphasis on the event of being promoted to vizier, his goal of self-presentation with a legitimate claim to the office and a direct link to User(-Amun) as someone with a similar family history, though with a strong political claim to the office of vizier.

As has been shown in this section, the lack of evidence that a burial was ever committed to TT 106 and the rarity of excluding a spouse from the decoration of a tomb in the Theban necropolis, along with the existence of the dual tombs of User(-Amun), makes it plausible to suggest that a second tomb of the vizier Paser was constructed. If that is the case, the question remains where he chose to place it.

³³⁴ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 347.

³³⁵ *PM I-I* (1960), 157, 217

³³⁶ Faulkner, "Installation of the Vizier," *JEA* 41 (1955), 18.

³³⁷ The vizier Aametu was the father of User(-Amun), who in turn was the uncle of Rekhmire. The latter's father was the wab-priest of Amun Neferweben, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 488. Neferweben places the family within the circles of the cult of Amun in Thebes. The vizier Hapu was not directly related to the former viziers, but he also had close ties to the cult of Amun through his wife and son, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 492.

³³⁸ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 488.

5.2. The Location of Paser's Tomb Complex(es)

There is a secondary structure attributed to Paser placed on the hillside above TT 106 described by Seyfried as a mudbrick pyramid with a central chapel.³³⁹ It was reappropriated in the Late Antique Period and no pharaonic decorations survive today, other than stamped bricks with the name of Paser. There is a small undecorated tomb underneath the pyramid (TT NN 7), but this seems to be of an earlier date, since the quite large mudbrick pyramid covers the entrance to it and partially to another small tomb (TT NN 8) behind it.³⁴⁰ The unfinished state of these two smaller tombs suggests that it is possible that the stone quality was not good enough for a larger tomb to be constructed here, which may have prompted the option of the mudbrick pyramid in its stead. Slinger notes that User(-Amun)'s tomb TT 131 was the first Theban tomb to be surmounted by a pyramid.³⁴¹ Thus, the fact that Paser had a large pyramid constructed above his tomb may be further evidence for his aim to associate himself with this vizier in particular. The placement higher up on the hillside also means that this monument brought Paser closer to the tombs of several other viziers (see fig. 16 below). The pyramid related to TT 106 is placed partly into the courtyard of the Middle Kingdom vizier in TT 65, and furthermore, it is close to TT 66 belonging to the vizier Hapu, who was in office under Thutmose IV, in which a copy of the Installation-text is inscribed. Lastly, it brings a monument of Paser closer to the tomb of User(-Amun), TT 61, further up the hillside, while Paser's tomb chapel is placed at roughly the same level as User(-Amun)'s other tomb, TT 131 (see fig. 16 below).

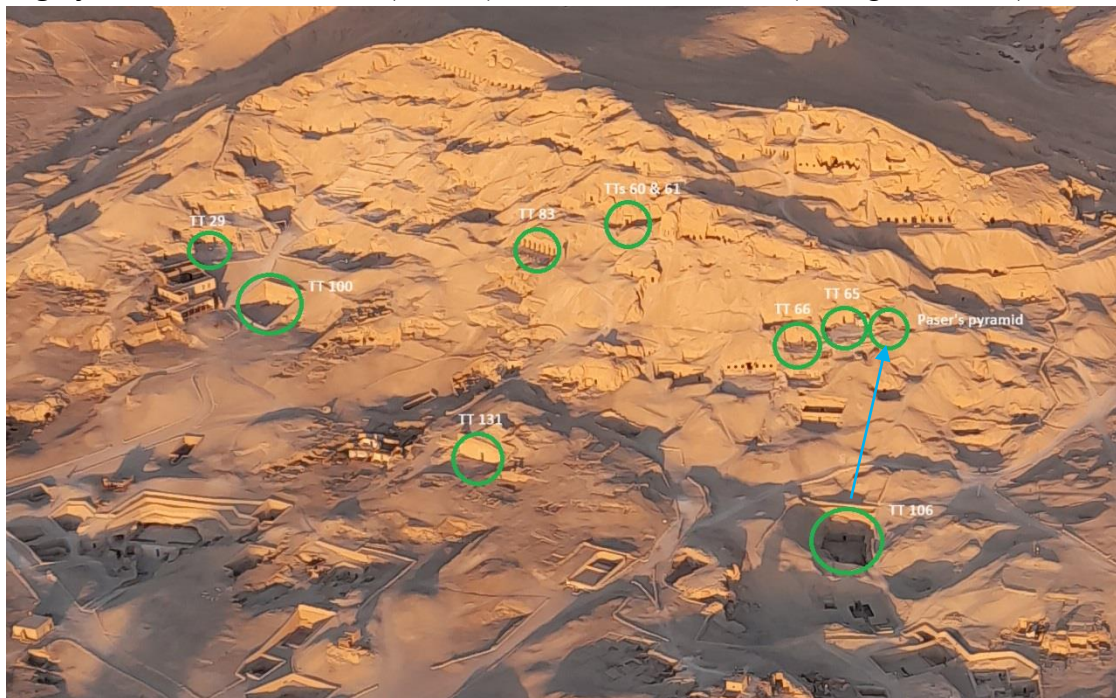


Figure 16. PASER'S TOMB, TT 106 DIRECTLY BELOW HIS PYRAMID. THE OTHER GREEN CIRCLES SHOW SPATIAL RELATIONS WITH TOMBS OF EARLIER VIZIERS. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

³³⁹ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 351.

³⁴⁰ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 353.

³⁴¹ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 272.

A possible location for a second tomb of Paser could be in Abydos. An ivory box described as a “pen case” inscribed with the name and titles of Paser in blue ink was found in tomb D44, while an ushabti with his name, though without vizier titles, was found in tomb D51. The tombs have been heavily looted in antiquity, and so, the original placement of the objects is not certain, but Kitchen speculated that they may have come from a cenotaph of Paser.³⁴² Snape equates the term *cenotaph* with the ancient Egyptian word *m^ch^c.t*, not understood as a tomb or adjacent chapel, but a structure, often containing a stela, placed near a processional route by a person who was known to have a tomb elsewhere.³⁴³ In addition, close to the so-called “portal” of Ramesses II at Abydos, five mudbricks stamped with the name and vizier titles of Paser were found.³⁴⁴ They are similar to the ones found at his pyramid structure in Sheik Abd el-Qurna, a clear indication that a building of his was constructed there. In his preliminary excavation report for the area, O’Connor wrote that these mudbricks could have originated from a tomb.³⁴⁵ Thus, the archaeological evidence shows that some structure was built in Abydos for Paser, and objects inscribed with his titles and name were placed there. This could either have been a cenotaph, as suggested by Kitchen, or a second tomb, usurped from an earlier inhabitant or newly constructed, though so heavily looted in antiquity that identification is no longer possible. Should Paser have had a second tomb constructed outside the Theban necropolis, he may have had specific connections to that other area, due to family relations or perhaps due to royal importance.

The choice of building tombs outside of the main necropolises of Saqqara and western Thebes became increasingly popular during the New Kingdom. In earlier times, it was common to place tombs close to the burial site of the king, but since they moved their choice of final resting place to the Valley of the Kings, other burial places were needed for the elite part of the population living elsewhere than Thebes. The northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep had his tomb constructed not in the Saqqara necropolis close to Memphis where he was titled high priest of Ptah in the later part of his career,³⁴⁶ but rather, at Sedment near Herakleopolis to the south of Fayum.³⁴⁷ The choice to place his tomb here may have been due to family ties to the area. His wife, Heli, was the *wr.t hnr.t n Hr.y-š=f* - chief of the *hnr.t* of Herishef, the ram-headed main deity of the area, and P. Wilbour, dated to the reign of Ramesses V, mentions *bhn*-land belonging to the vizier in the area.³⁴⁸ The tomb was a family burial site which was extended over time to have eight burial shafts,³⁴⁹ meaning more family members may have resided in the area. As mentioned above, Paser’s mother Merytre was from Memphis, so if the motive for choosing another location for his tomb was family related, the Memphite area, and one of the necropolises there may have held a second tomb of the vizier. As for Abydos, the only evidence for Paser’s extended family comes from TT 106 and neither the tomb nor any other monument of his mention any of connections to that area, so he must have had other reasons than family connections if

³⁴² <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/inscribed-pen-case> in: Liverpool National Museums (accessed: 19/2 2022).

³⁴³ Snape, “Memorial Monuments,” *Abydos* (2019), 255.

³⁴⁴ O’Connor & Simpson, *Inscribed Material* (1995), 79, fig. 143.

³⁴⁵ “Less certainly” than if there had been ushabtis and fragments of coffins, O’Connor, “Abydos,” *Expedition* 10/1 (1967), 16.

³⁴⁶ The most important necropolis after the Amarna Period for high officials not connected to Thebes, Grajetzki, *Burial Customs* (2003), 79.

³⁴⁷ Tomb 201, Franzmeier, *Gräberfelder von Sedment* (2017), 776.

³⁴⁸ Raue, “Ein Wesir,” *Stationen* (1998), 351.

³⁴⁹ Raue, “Ein Wesir,” *Stationen* (1998), 351.

he chose to build a tomb there. The area itself had a history as the burial place of the kings of the Early Dynastic Period, but it was also a place of great cultic importance for Osiris, god of the netherworld,³⁵⁰ which caused several kings to build cenotaphs and temples here, including Seti I who erected a *Temple of Millions of Years* at the site.³⁵¹ Later, Ramesses II erected a smaller temple next to that of his father. The importance of the area also caused many hundreds to have their tombs built there throughout the course of ancient Egyptian history.³⁵² Therefore, it is possible that Paser could have chosen this area as a burial site for himself, both because of its cultic importance and the presence of the great temple of Seti I.

Another possible location for a second tomb would be the Saqqara necropolis. As stated in section 4. above, Paser's mother, Merytre, came from Memphis and his father Nebnetjeru's title *sm n Pth* connects him to the Ptah cult in the same city. If the family did not relocate to Thebes until their children were at an age where they had started training for their future careers, they may not have moved with their parents to the southern city when Nebnetjeru was appointed high priest of Amun at Karnak. If this was the case, Paser and his siblings could have built tombs in Saqqara, and one such tomb may have been discovered in this necropolis. Paser's brother, Tatiya, who in TT 106 is mentioned several times as the *stablemaster* (*hr.y-ih.w*) and *first stablemaster of his Majesty* (*hr.y-ih.w tp.y n hm=f*), is possibly the same Tatiya whose tomb was discovered in Saqqara in 2009.³⁵³ This Tatiya carries the titles *hr.y-nb.yw w^cb n h³.t n Pth* – *chief of the gold workers* and *wab-priest of Ptah-who-precedes*, which differ from the titles given for Tatiya in TT 106. However, a stela placed in front of the small tomb chapel in Saqqara mentions two sons, who were both stablemasters, the same position that was held by Paser's brother in TT 106. In addition, Oeters argues that the name Tatiya is very rare and has only been found in connection with this tomb in the Saqqara necropolis, in TT 106 and in the tomb chapel of Mose, also in Saqqara.³⁵⁴ Ranke's only example of the name comes from TT 106,³⁵⁵ which underlines its rarity. The text in Mose's tomb seems to mention the same Tatiya who owned the Saqqara tomb, since they share the same titles and have a wife with the same name, Werery.³⁵⁶ Thus, there must have been a connection, friendly or familiar, between Tatiya and Mose. The tomb chapel of Mose also dates the Tatiya of Saqqara to the reign of Ramesses II, since the well-known legal text inscribed in the chapel mention the beginning of the trial of Mose taking place in regnal year 14 [+ x] under this king.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁰ It is thought that later Egyptians saw the tomb of the 1st dynasty king Djer as the burial place of Osiris, Adams, "Origins of Sacredness," *Abydos* (2019), 25.

³⁵¹ The *Nauri Decree* carved into a rock face near a temple close to a gold mining area in Nubia states that Seti I's temple in Abydos should be supplied with gold and the personnel and livestock of the temple be protected, Haring, "Ramesside Temples," *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007), 167. The decree shows the economic importance of the king's temple in Abydos.

³⁵² Adams, "Origins of Sacredness," *Abydos* (2019), 26.

³⁵³ By the joint mission of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities and the University of Leiden. The tomb is located just south-east of Horemheb's tomb, in between the tombs of Pay and Sethnakht, Oeters, "Tomb of Tatia," *Imaging and Imagining* (2017), 57.

³⁵⁴ Gaballa, *Memphite Tomb Chapel* (1977), 9.

³⁵⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen* (1935), 384.

³⁵⁶ Oeters, "Tomb of Tatia," *Imaging and Imagining* (2017), 69, 10. Gaballa, *Memphite Tomb Chapel* (1977), 9, plate XI.

³⁵⁷ The exact regnal year cannot be determined because of a lacuna, but must be before year 20, *KRI III* (1980), 426.

There is one other person recorded with the name Tatiya in TT 106, the grandfather of Paser. He is not ascribed any title other than *ʿsir* – *the Osiris*,³⁵⁸ which Oeters interprets as further evidence that this Tatiya was not Egyptian, did not live in Egypt and therefore had no titles,³⁵⁹ at least not any that had an Egyptian equivalent. Thus, considering both how rare this name is according to the ancient Egyptian sources, its foreign connection, and the date within the reign of Ramesses II, it is possible that the Tatiya, who built his tomb in the Saqqara necropolis is indeed the same Tatiya mentioned in TT 106 as the brother of the vizier Paser. This can, however, not be conclusively determined since no mention of Paser or his father Nebnetjeru is preserved in the severely fragmented tomb chapel in Saqqara. If it is assumed that this is the brother of Paser, it gives the vizier a closer connection to this necropolis, which makes it possible that he built a tomb there himself. As Slinger states, many elite tombs were built in the Saqqara necropolis during the New Kingdom until the early 20th dynasty because of its proximity to the administrative center of Memphis. Many of these tombs are dated to the 19th dynasty, though even more are yet to be found.³⁶⁰ It is clear, then, that this necropolis was a popular location to be buried during the early Ramesside Period during Paser's lifetime, even for high officials who were not attached to that area qua their place of office.

The above sections have shown that Paser came from an influential family, although monuments belonging to them are largely unknown, except for a possible tomb of Tatiya close to the tomb of Horemheb in the Saqqara necropolis. It has also been discussed how Paser associated himself with viziers of the mid-18th dynasty in order to establish himself as the rightful holder of the southern vizier's office. The following section will discuss the family networks of his contemporary colleagues in comparison.

5.3. Family Networks of Contemporaries

In order to establish any similarities or differences in family structures between Paser and the other early Ramesside viziers, this chapter investigates the latter. The family backgrounds of these individuals are then discussed in comparison to Paser to form the basis for analysis of patterns of advancement within the highest levels of administration during this period.

Like Paser, the vizier Khay had a pyramid constructed in connection to his tomb. It was identified as belonging to him by the find of numerous stamped bricks bearing his name, which were discovered in 2013 along with a stone pyramidion in an area of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna otherwise not occupied by New Kingdom tombs but placed on the direct axis of the mortuary temple of Ramesses II, the Ramesseum.³⁶¹ Researchers believe that the entrance to the actual tomb lies beneath the last inhabited house in the area, meaning that excavation is, unfortunately,

³⁵⁸ *KRI I* (1975), 298.

³⁵⁹ Oeters, "Tomb of Tatia," *Imaging and Imagining* (2017), 77.

³⁶⁰ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 57.

³⁶¹ The pyramid once stood approximately 15 meters tall on a 12-meter-long base, Bavay & Laboury, "Dans l'Entourage de Pharaon," *Ceci n'est pas une Pyramide* (2012), 72.

not possible.³⁶² Since the tomb is not yet excavated, the possibility cannot be excluded that he, like his predecessor, chose to have *The Duties* or the Installation-text inscribed in it. As argued in section 5.2. above, Paser sought to be associated with mid-18th dynasty colleagues, and Khay could have done the same. However, he also shows a focus on the link to his sovereign with the placement of his tomb, which Paser did not.

From a stela erected by Khay in Abydos it is known that before he became vizier, he was *first royal herald of the Lord of the Two Lands* (*wḥm.w-nswt tp.y n nb t3.wy*). In addition, the monument reveals details about his family. It is stated that he was married to the *lady of the house* (*nb.t pr*) Yam, his father was the *chief of troops of the good god* (*[ḥr.y-]pd.t n ntr nfr*) Haya and his mother was the *chantress of Amun* and *lady of the house* (*šm^c.yt n Imn nb.t pr*) Nebudjeret.³⁶³ According to Shirley, the position of chief of troops (or troop commander) is perhaps best described as an upper-level soldier who could have some administrative functions,³⁶⁴ while Gnirs calls this position, together with *standard bearer* (*t3.w-sr.yt*), the lowest ranking of the military officers.³⁶⁵ She states further, that such officers were often affiliated with specific institutions reflected in the title.³⁶⁶ Haya's title indicates that he was troop commander *n ntr nfr – of the good god*, which does not point directly to a specific temple or royal institution. The father of Khay was thus not part of the top leaders of the military, who had titles like *overseer/leader of the medjay – imy-r/ḥr.y md3.y*, (*great*) *overseer of the army (of the king) – imy-r (wr) mš^c.w (n nswt)* or *chief stablemaster (of the king) – ḥr.y-iḥw (n nswt)*, and who were also prominent at the royal court.³⁶⁷ Instead, Khay and his family belonged to what can perhaps best be classified as upper middle class. That makes his paternal background quite different from that of his predecessor Paser and the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, who were both sons of high priests. Although, Khay's mother shows a connection to the Amun cult, the titles associated with her are two of the most common female designations of the New Kingdom.³⁶⁸ Khay must therefore have proven himself worthy of the position of vizier by his own merit. This shows that it was possible in the Ramesside Period to rise in rank despite not being born into the absolute elite surrounding the royal court.

Another southern vizier, the successor of Khay named Neferrenpet, provides insight into his familial background through his monuments. From a pyramidion from Neferrenpet's tomb ST 0 in the Saqqara necropolis it is known that he was named after his father and that his mother, Kafiriati (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒 - written without a determinative),³⁶⁹ was most likely of foreign origin as witnessed by her name.³⁷⁰ The father is only mentioned with the title *s3b – dignitary*, which, as

³⁶² The modern house is located close to TT 29 belonging to the 18th dynasty vizier Amunemipet and TT C3 belonging to the 18th dynasty high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, Bavay & Laboury, "Dans l'Entourage de Pharaon," *Ceci n'est pas une Pyramide* (2012), 65, fig. 2.

³⁶³ Glasgow 02.116n, *KRI III* (1980), 37.

³⁶⁴ Shirley, "What's in a Title?" *Egypt, Canaan and Israel* (2011), 295, footnote 14.

³⁶⁵ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 18.

³⁶⁶ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 160.

³⁶⁷ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 18.

³⁶⁸ Skumsnes, *Patterns of Change* (2018), 85.

³⁶⁹ Now Liverpool World Museum M 11015, *KRI III* (1980), 50.

³⁷⁰ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 396. Schneider suggests either a Semitic or early Arabic origin of the name, Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen* (1992), 201–202.

Davies comments, would suggest he was of noble birth,³⁷¹ while the mother is given the common female designation *nb.t-pr* – *lady of the house*.³⁷² It is therefore not known which particular background this vizier came from other than upper class, but Neferrenpet thus has the foreign family element in common with his predecessor Paser. These intercultural marriages point to a diverse society in ancient Egypt. As was shown in section 4.1 above, the vizier User(-Amun) from the mid-18th dynasty also had family of non-Egyptian origin on his father's side. These examples show that at least among the higher classes in the New Kingdom a foreign background was not that uncommon and did not seem to have been a discriminatory factor for the king when placing high officials in the powerful office of vizier. This is also noted by Meskell, who argues that in Deir el-Medina there are many examples of men from the village who married foreign women without this being conceived as an issue.³⁷³

On Neferrenpet's pyramidion, it is also written that he was married to a woman named Tapipu, who is here not given any titles. Together, they had five children, four daughters and a son. Only two of them are mentioned with titles, the son Bakenptah was *it-ntr n Pth* – *god's father of Ptah*, and one of the daughters, Res, was *shm.yt n(.t) nb.t (n)h.t* – *sistrum player for the lady of the Sycamore*.³⁷⁴ Both were titles of religious character, showing that these two children at least had connection to temples, the son obviously to the temple of Ptah. It is furthermore stated on the pyramidion that it was the son Bakenptah who built this monument for his father. The text states:

ir n s3=f s'nh rn=f

*Made by his son, who causes his name to live*³⁷⁵

This fits with the standard conception that the children were generally in charge of the funerary cult of their parents,³⁷⁶ in this case the son for his father. So, this vizier followed the societal norm of the nuclear family, which was not the case for Paser, at least in TT 106. This again underlines the rarity of Paser's situation with no wife or children mentioned in his Theban tomb.

The two individuals discussed in this section have thus been shown to come from two different social backgrounds, also different from their predecessor Paser and his northern contemporary colleague (Pa-)Rahotep, who both came from families with careers within the religious sphere. There was thus not a preference later in Ramesses II's reign to choose viziers of a specific background as seems to have been the case at the beginning.

³⁷¹ RITANC III (2013), 39.

³⁷² KRI III (1980), 50.

³⁷³ Meskell, *Private Life* (2002), 98.

³⁷⁴ Face 3 and 4, KRI III (1980), 50.

³⁷⁵ Face 4, KRI III (1980), 50.

³⁷⁶ Meskell, *Private Life* (2002), 65.

5.4. Summary: Families and Tombs

In summary, the placement of Paser's parents, particularly his mother, Merytre, as substitute for a wife in TT 106 and other monuments, may in light of the extensive monumental record of this high official point to a very rare occasion of such an important member of high society remaining unmarried throughout his life. It has in this chapter been shown that he presented himself in his tomb chapel and by its placement, as associated with the 18th dynasty viziers Aametu, User(-Amun), Rekhmire and Hapu. It is possible that Paser in his quest to associate himself with his 18th dynasty colleague User(-Amun) in particular, reserved the mention of wife and children for an unidentified second tomb, since that vizier had kept his family and career separate in his two tombs, or possibly, Paser was simply married after the completion of TT 106.

Thus, if Paser had more than one tomb prepared for himself, there are several possible reasons for this, as well as multiple possible locations for it. It is even an option that TT 106 was the second tomb to be built, if he had a tomb made before he was promoted to vizier. If the primary motive for a second tomb was to present himself as associated with the mid-18th dynasty vizier User(-Amun) or his affiliation with the Theban area was stronger than with anywhere else, the other tomb could be located somewhere in the Theban necropolis. If he instead chose an area with close family ties, a tomb may have been placed in the Memphite area or anywhere else where his family may have resided. Lastly, if he chose an area of great cultic importance as well as royal connection through the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II, he could have commissioned a tomb in Abydos. This area does in particular show evidence of a structure built by Paser through the presence of stamped bricks with his name. This being said, until a second tomb is identified the existence of one is purely speculative.

Paser and the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep came from similar social backgrounds, since both their fathers were high priests of the two principal deities in Egypt at the time, Amun and Ptah, respectively. And similarly, both of their family backgrounds are known solely from their own monuments. On the other hand, (Pa-)Rahotep's tomb complex in Sedment is of a completely different character to that of Paser, both in layout and self-presentation. Instead of associating himself with other viziers, other members of the elite society were either interred or placed funerary deposits in his tomb, thus associating themselves with his funerary cult. This points to the vizier being an influential person of his time.

The next two viziers who followed Paser in the southern office did not have the same religious background as their predecessor, nor did one of them, Paser's immediate successor Khay, come from a noble family. Neferrenpet did, though nothing else is known about his father. There was thus not a continued preference of Ramesses II to choose his viziers among the sons of the high priests. Rather, it shows that Khay, with a father who was a low-ranking military officer, had the opportunity to advance his position to the highest official office in the country.

This chapter has highlighted some aspects of the prosopography of the early Ramesside viziers. The next chapter examines other aspects, through social networks and specific relationships, which provides insight into further details of Paser's way of handling his role as vizier.

6. SOCIAL NETWORKS OF EARLY RAMESSIDE VIZIERS AND THEIR CONTEXT

The analysis of the social networks of ancient Egyptian individuals can reveal details of their spheres of control, daily interactions and influence. As Jiménez-Higueras argues, prosopographic studies are frequently made within the field of Egyptology as a way to analyze social networks through groups of votive or funerary monuments, where a traditional prosopographical approach to the evaluation of title transmission, networks within professional environments and genealogy reconstruction, is of value.³⁷⁷ Therefore, this chapter analyzes the social network of Paser and his peers in order to understand aspects of their roles in society and in professional relationships.

6.1. Social Network of Paser

The extensive list of sources for Paser informs of relationships with colleagues and subordinates, which reveals in part the daily dealings of a vizier. The following section therefore investigates the social network of Paser and the evidence it provides of his movements.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Function Title</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Paser</i>	TT 106	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	Tomb owner
<i>Seti I</i>	TT 106		King
<i>Ramesses II</i>	TT 106		King
<i>Nebnetjeru</i>	TT 106	<i>ḥm-ntr tp.y n Imn</i>	Father
<i>Merytre</i>	TT 106	<i>wr.t ḥnr.t n Imn</i>	Mother
<i>Tatiya</i>	TT 106	<i>ḥry-iḥw tp n ḥm=f</i>	Brother
<i>Iny (1)</i>	TT 106	<i>ḥry-ḥb n Imn ḥr s3 tp wcb</i>	Brother
<i>Tity</i>	TT 106	<i>imy-r pr m pr-m3ct</i>	Brother
<i>Tiy</i>	TT 106	<i>ḥsy.t n (pr-)nswt wr.t ḥnr.t n Imn</i>	Sister
<i>Tapaya</i>	TT 106		Grandfather (father's side)
<i>Tatiya</i>	TT 106		Grandmother (father's side)
<i>Iny (2)</i>	TT 106		Grandfather (mother's side)
<i>Naya (1)</i>	TT 106	<i>šmcyt n Imn</i>	Grandmother (mother's side)
<i>Naya (2)</i>	TT 106	<i>šmcyt n Imn</i>	Aunt (mother's sister)
<i>Patjuma</i>	TT 106	<i>imy-ḥnt</i>	Subordinate
<i>Ptahmay</i>	TT 106	<i>imy-ḥnt</i>	Subordinate
<i>Meryre</i>	TT 106	<i>imy-ḥnt</i>	Subordinate
<i>Neferher</i>	TT 106	<i>nby</i>	Subordinate

³⁷⁷ Jiménez-Higueras, *Prosopographic Study of the New Kingdom Tomb Owners* (2022), xiii.

Hui (1)	TT 106	<i>hry-ḥb n ʒsir</i>	Subordinate
Hui (2)	TT 106	<i>w^cb n M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Hui (3)	TT 106	<i>s^cnh.w</i>	Subordinate
Qen	TT 106	<i>w^cb</i>	Subordinate
Amunwahsu	TT 106	<i>sš-ḳd</i>	Subordinate
Nefer(hotep)	TT 106	<i>ḥmw</i>	Subordinate
Neferrenpet	TT 106	<i>iry-^c3 n ḥwt-nbw</i>	Subordinate
Amunemopet	Cairo JE 43591	<i>sš-nswt m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Amuneminet	Cairo JE 43591	<i>sḏm-^cš m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Ipwy	Cairo JE 43591		Subordinate
Khawy	Cairo JE 72021	<i>s3w m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Karu	TT 330	<i>sḏm-^cš m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Qaha	TT 360	<i>^c3 n is.t m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Mose	O. Gardiner 71	<i>sš</i>	Subordinate
Nebre	O. Toronto A.11	<i>sš</i>	Subordinate
[Inu]shefnu	O. Gardiner 13	<i>sš-wr</i>	Subordinate
Qen	TT 4	<i>t3w m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Ramose	TT 7 (212, 250)	<i>sš m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Kasa	TT 10	<i>sḏm-^cš m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate
Penbuy	TT 10	<i>sḏm-^cš m s.t-M³ct</i>	Subordinate

Table 1. SOCIAL NETWORK OF PASER THROUGH WRITTEN SOURCES.³⁷⁸

Table 1 above shows the direct social network of Paser, i.e., the people who are mentioned by him or who mention him in their monuments. The inscriptions of TT 106 include the two kings he served under, i.e., Seti I and Ramesses II, as well as close and extended family members. The south end of the broad hall of the tomb chapel is mostly dedicated to Paser's relationship with the king, while the north end covers religious matters and ceremonies including family members. Eleven non-family members are mentioned in TT 106,³⁷⁹ most of whom did not have a direct connection to Deir el-Medina, which is reflected by their titles. Rather, eight are part of a scene in the tomb chapel where Paser inspects the work of the craftsmen in the Karnak temple, while three *imy.w-ḥnt* - *chamberlains* (literally, *those who are in front*) are attendants presenting *menat*-collars to Paser in the reward scene before Seti I.³⁸⁰ In the English language, the title *chamberlain* in its historic sense describes a person in charge of the royal

³⁷⁸ Sources: The tomb chapel of Paser, TT 106, with family and subordinates. *KRI I* (1975), 285-301. *KRI III* (1980), 1-9. Tomb chapels of subordinates, TT 4, TT 7 and TT 10. *KRI III* (1980), 678, 613, 738. Stelae of subordinates, *KRI I* (1975), 407, *KRI III* (1980), 609, 699, 826. Model letters, *KRI III* (1980), 30-31.

³⁷⁹ Including three individuals name Hui; a lector priest of Osiris, a wab-priest of Maat and a sculptor. The other individuals are the three chamberlains Patjuma, Ptahmay and Meryre, the goldsmith Neferhor, the wab-priest Qen, the draughtsman Amunwahsu, the doorkeeper of the House of Gold Neferrenpet and the carpenter Nefer[hotep]. One more person was originally included in the reliefs, but the name is not preserved. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 311.

³⁸⁰ *RITA I* (1993), 238.

household.³⁸¹ This translation is supported by Gardiner, who argued that the text of *The Great Dedictory Inscription of Ramesses II* in Seti I's temple in Abydos shows that the chamberlains were closely connected to the king as leaders of his household.³⁸² In fact, the text states:

[rdi.n=f^cs.tw n imy].yw-*hnt* r smn.t *h^c.w hr wp.t=i*

[He caused to be summoned the chamber]lains to establish the crowns on my brow.³⁸³

This sentence refers to Seti I's action of installing his son, Ramesses II, as co-ruler.³⁸⁴ Hence, the inscription confirms that it was the chamberlains who crowned the new king, and as overseer of the chamberlains Paser would have been at the forefront of such a ceremony.

The two scenes in TT 106 showing Paser's reward and the inspection of workshops offer some insight into the daily dealings of the vizier and the type of people he regularly came into contact with. He was of course not hailed before the king daily, but the functions of the chamberlains, of whom he was the overseer (*imy-r imy.w-hnt*),³⁸⁵ are in this image related to the royal court and closeness to the king. The employees of Karnak are mentioned with name and title, the sculptor (*s^cnh.w – one who causes life*) Hui even as the son of another sculptor (Tja[...]), suggesting that these were the persons with whom Paser had dealings in real life. This inspection scene is the only one in TT 106 which refers to an actual function of Paser in his capacity of vizier. Other functions are discussed below.

Other mentions of Paser are found in tombs and on other monuments of subordinates, and in model letters, all related to the tomb builders' village of Deir el-Medina. Thus far, 12 individuals mention the vizier on monuments, which attests to his influence in the village. Of his 137 monuments, inscriptions and artifacts, 34 are from within the village (see catalogue). As Paser bore titles associated with the building projects of the king, such as *imy-r k³.wt m s.t m³c.t – Overseer of works in the Place of Truth*,³⁸⁶ *imy-r k³.wt m mn.w wr.w – Overseer of works for great monuments* and *imy-r imy.w-r hmw.wt nb(.wt) n nswt – Overseer of the overseers of every workforce of the king*,³⁸⁷ which would have included supervising the building of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, he most likely would have dealt personally with some of the men in charge. As shown in table 1 above, he is depicted in three tombs of Deir el-Medina residents (TTs 4, 7 and 10), and in addition, on three stelae of others: The guardian in the Place of Truth (*s³w m s.t-M³c.t*) Khawy, the servant in the Place of Truth (*sdm-š m s.t-M³c.t*) Karu, and the chief workman in the Place of Truth (*š n is.t m s.t-M³c.t*) Qaha.³⁸⁸ His personal involvement in the business of the village is also visible in the correspondence between the vizier and

³⁸¹ According to the Oxford English Dictionary: <https://www.oed.com/> (Accessed: 5/10 2023).

³⁸² Gardiner, "Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 (1953), 26.

³⁸³ Beginning of line (50), *KRI II* (1979), 328.

³⁸⁴ This is expressed in the previous sentence where it is stated that Seti I announces to crown him as king so that *I may see his goodness while I am still living*, *KRI II* (1979), 328.

³⁸⁵ As he states in his biographical text of TT 106, *KRI I* (1975), 299.

³⁸⁶ Deir el-Bahri statue, *KRI III* (1980), 18.

³⁸⁷ From biographical text on pillar B in broad hall of TT 106. *KRI I* (1975), 299.

³⁸⁸ *KRI III* (1980), 609, 699, 826.

various inhabitants that survive in the form of copies or model letters. For example, O. Gardiner 71, a letter to Paser from the scribe Mose informs:

ir(=i) wp.wt nb rdi.n p3y=i nb m šs r ikr

*(I) am conducting every order my lord has given as a thing of excellence.*³⁸⁹

A letter (O. Toronto A.11) sent to the vizier Khay, Paser's successor, detailing his direct involvement in the building of the king's tomb:

ky swd3-ib n p3y=i nb r-nty tw=nw hr b3k.w m n3 n S.t i.dd p3y=i nb imi ir.y shk(?) m šs ikr

*Another communication to my lord to the effect that we have been working in the Place (the royal tomb) which my lord said: Do the making of decoration as an excellent thing.*³⁹⁰

The letter states further, that the workmen are out of pigment for painting, specifying the exact products needed in a list at the end.

The various mentions of Paser in several different contexts within the village indicate that Paser had a high level of influence there. The images of Paser in three tombs of Deir el-Medina workers, TTs 4, 7 and 10, are all adoration scenes with Ramesses II in front of one or a group of deities, followed by Paser and with the tomb owner at the back.³⁹¹ Thus, they are scenes of personal piety of the tomb owners, with the king and the vizier interceding on behalf of them before the gods. This shows the function of the vizier for the workmen's community not only as their daily leader in the simple sense, but also as their link to the king as an intermediary for the gods.

The following sections contextualize the social network of Paser by examining the context and content of his northern colleague (Pa-)Rahotep's tomb 201 in Sedment. It is also discussed further how Paser's presence in Deir el-Medina is expressed through the sources related to him that have been found there.

6.1. Social Context of the Tomb of (Pa-)Rahotep

(Pa-)Rahotep is the vizier of the early Ramesside Period with the second most sources and number of titles after Paser.³⁹² which should make him the best comparative case for the study of Paser. However, 17 of (Pa-)Rahotep's listed monuments and artifacts come from his tomb complex,³⁹³ which narrows down the base for comparison significantly. Despite this, some details about his life and career can be reconstructed as specified below.

³⁸⁹ KRI III (1980), 30.

³⁹⁰ KRI III (1980), 43.

³⁹¹ PM I-I (1960), 11, 16, 21.

³⁹² This totals 49 artifacts and monuments, while he is attested in 8 different areas, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 370; His source material contains 80 titles, including variations and epithets (see Index 2).

³⁹³ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 355-369.

In the same manner as Paser, (Pa-)Rahotep did himself receive the titles of a high priest, in his case of both Ptah in Memphis and of Ra in Heliopolis.³⁹⁴ He also came from a family of high priests, and due to the similar familial background, it is possible that their life circumstances were similar as well. While there is not much available information on the family of Paser,³⁹⁵ more is known about the family of (Pa-)Rahotep. The genealogy reconstructed by Franzmeier shows that through his marriage to the *wr,t hnr.t n Hr.y-š=f* – *chief of the hnr.t of Herishef*, Heli, he was also connected to other high priests, as she was the daughter of the High Priest of Onuris, Minmose, and the great-granddaughter of the high priest of Amun, Parennefer/Wennefer. Additionally, this also shows a close connection, as *sn*-brothers rather than blood relatives, to the high priest of Osiris, Wennefer and the vizier, Nebamun.³⁹⁶

Regnal year	Titles	Artifact/Monument	Description
<i>Year 19 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t̪ty</i>	P. BM 10568 ³⁹⁷	Letter found in Fayum
<i>Year 42 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t̪ty</i>	Cairo JE 34505 ³⁹⁸	Stela of the high priest of Onuris, Wennenefer, found in Abydos
<i>After year 52 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t̪ty wr hrp hmw.w</i>	Cuboid statue col. Villa Melzi, Cairo JE 48845 ³⁹⁹	Statue and stela, unknown provenance

Table 2. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR (PA-)RAHOTEP⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁴ Both titles, *wr m̪ R̪-Itm* – *great seer of Ra-Atum* and *wr hrp hmw.w* – *great controller of crafts*, are present on his Saqqara Ka-chapel stela Cairo JE 48845, *KRI III* (1980), 54. See also Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 69, 75.

³⁹⁵ Most information comes from Paser's tomb, TT 106. See *KRI I* (1975), 285-301 and *KRI III* (1980), 1-9.

³⁹⁶ Franzmeier, "News from Parahotep," *JEA* 100 (2014), 175. The relationship as "brothers" is known from three monuments of the high priest of Osiris, Wennenefer dating to the reign of Ramesses II: Athens National Museum 106, Louvre A.66 and Cairo JE 35258. *KRI III* (1980), 449, 451, 452.

³⁹⁷ *KRI VII* (1989), 100.

³⁹⁸ *KRI III* (1980), 453.

³⁹⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 53, 66.

⁴⁰⁰ Helck attests (Pa-)Rahotep in regnal years 57 and 60, but without reference to any monuments or texts bearing these dates, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 453. He must here have confused (Pa-)Rahotep with his successor as high priest of Ptah Neferrenpet, who is attested as proclaimer of Ramesses II's *heb-sed* in these exact years, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 391; The latest research done on this subject, does not give any later exact date than year 42, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 354-369; Raue, "Ein Wesir," *Fs Stadelmann* (1998), 341-351; A much later date can, however, be established for (Pa-)Rahotep, as he received the titles of high priest of Ptah in Memphis after prince Khaemwaset. It is not known when exactly the prince died and was interred in the Serapeum at Saqqara, Kitchen, *RITANC II* (1999), 587; but Kawai suggests regnal year 55 of Ramesses II or shortly before, since Merenptah, who would later ascend the throne as king, took over the role as "crown prince" that year, Kawai, "Khaemwaset," *EAH* (2013), 3739; Janssen argues that the *sem-priest of Ptah* mentioned in the ship's log of P. Leiden I 350 vs. is most likely Khaemwaset, which means that he would have been in office at least to regnal year 52 of Ramesses II, Janssen, "Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs," *OMRO* (1961), 5-6; Raedler places prince Khaemwaset in the office of high priest of Ptah from regnal year 16 to 52, with (Pa-)Rahotep as his immediate successor, Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Palace and Temple* (2011), 139; Dalino suggests a time frame for Khaemwaset as high priest from circa regnal year 30/32 to 52/55. This would indicate that (Pa-)Rahotep served as high priest for 10 years or less, since Dalino places his successor in this office, Neferrenpet, sometime between the regnal years 57/62 to 60/65, Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 75, 77.

Unlike Paser, (Pa-)Rahotep does appear alongside his wife in several monuments. It is also clear that they were buried together since both of their sarcophagi were found together in one of the burial chambers of their tomb, numbered 201.⁴⁰¹ This tomb is located in the northern part of the Sedment necropolis just south of Fayum, up on a ridge with a view over both the Nile and the Fayum oasis, and would once have had a superstructure in the style of the New Kingdom temple monuments in the Saqqara necropolis, although this does no longer survive.⁴⁰²

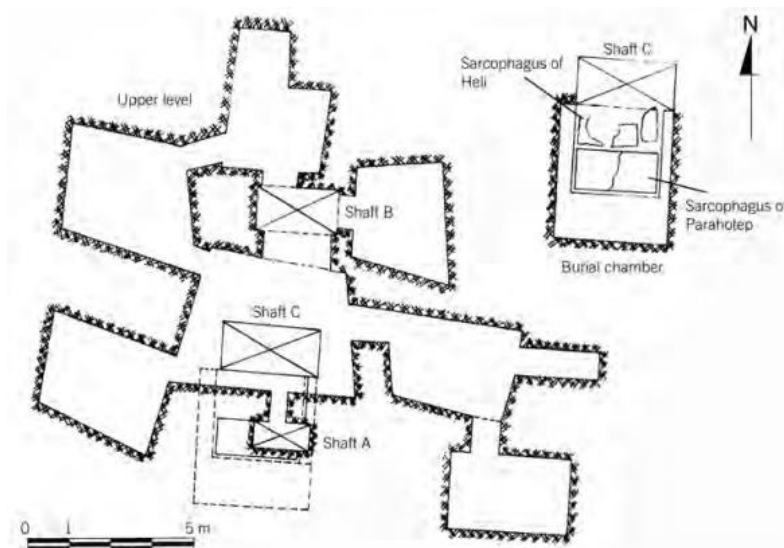


Figure 17. SEDMENT CEMETERY B, TOMB 201 BELONGING TO (PA-)RAHOTEP. SOURCE: FRANZMEIER, “NEWS FROM PARAHOTEP,” *JEA* 100 (2014), 155 (FIG. 4).

(Pa-)Rahotep and Heli were not the only ones to have a presence in this tomb. As is illustrated in figure 17 above, the tomb consists of three shafts and several chambers on two separate subterranean levels. Shabtis belonging to four or five other individuals have been found in the chambers. These belong to a *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n Hr.y-š=f* - high priest of Herishef, whose name does not survive, a *ḥm-nṯr sn.nw n ʾsir* - second prophet of Osiris named Tjay, a *nb.t-pr* - lady of the house named Baja, the *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n ʾsir* - high priest of Osiris Tjay and Merisumaat with no surviving titles.⁴⁰³ None of these individuals are known offspring of (Pa-)Rahotep and Heli, but the inclusion of funerary objects belonging to such high ranking individuals as two high priests and a prophet in Tomb 201 is intriguing.

As for Tjay, the high priest of Osiris, whose name was found on two large limestone ushabtis in Tomb 201, it is possible to establish a tighter connection between him and (Pa-)Rahotep. He was the only high priest of Osiris with this name during the New Kingdom, and both Dalino and Franzmeier agree that he was in office during the late 18th or early 19th dynasty.⁴⁰⁴ An inscription on the standing statue of the later high priest of Osiris Wennenefer, Athens NM 106, states:

imy-r niwt tʿty R^c-htp mʿ^c-ḥrw sʿ sʿb ḥm-nṯr tp.y n ʾsir Tʿ mʿ^c-ḥrw

⁴⁰¹ Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” *JEA* 100 (2014), 171.

⁴⁰² Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” *JEA* 100 (2014), 152.

⁴⁰³ Tjay was likely in office during the late 18th to early 19th dynasty, Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” *JEA* 100 (2014), 171-172.

⁴⁰⁴ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 207; Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” *JEA* 100 (2014), 172.

*Overseer of the City and vizier Rahotep, true of voice, son of the dignitary, high priest of Osiris Ta.*⁴⁰⁵

According to Franzmeier, the names Tjay and Ta were interchangeable, proven by both spellings being present in the tomb TT 23 (reign of Merenptah) and on the ushabti Leiden AST 65.⁴⁰⁶ Dalino seems to agree with this, since he used both spellings for the entry about this individual.⁴⁰⁷ It was discussed in section 4.1 above, how linear kin were termed *s3/s3.t* or *it/mw.t*, while non-linear kin or associates were often distinguished by the term *sn/sn.t*.⁴⁰⁸ Following this kinship terminology, (Pa-)Rahotep was a direct descendant of Tjay/Ta. He could not have been the father, since it is known that this was the high priest of Ptah Pahemnetjer, but as Dalino suggests, he could have been the maternal grandfather.⁴⁰⁹

Since objects from different individuals were found in Tomb 201, the question can be raised who the initial builder was. It is the opinion of Franzmeier, that (Pa-)Rahotep was the original owner of the tomb due to the layout with the shaft containing the burial chamber of himself and his wife Heli on the second level, while he is uncertain whether Tjay was ever buried there, though he thinks it unlikely.⁴¹⁰ Hence, the ushabtis belonging to the other individuals (the prophet of Osiris Tjay, lady of the house Baja, and the unknown high priest of Herishef) would point to either later burials or ushabti donations placed within the tomb. Poole has argued for a multi-functionality of the figures, as an image of the owner, not just a “servant.”⁴¹¹ The ushabtis might have been placed in the tomb for other reasons, as representatives of the owners to take part in the offering cult of (Pa-)Rahotep.

When it comes to known family members, (Pa-)Rahotep and Heli only have one known son, Meri, who is mentioned on the seated statue of (Pa-)Rahotep BM EA 712 with a vertical column of text on the front right edge of the seat, which states:

s3=f s^cnh rn=f idn.w Mr.y n pr-^cnh

*His son who causes his name to live, deputy Meri of the House of Life.*⁴¹²

It is not specified which institution this House of Life was a part of, but they were generally places of writing and record keeping, with another interpretation taking the *pr-^cnh* as *house of the bundled*, i.e., papyrus scrolls, as well as spaces for important rituals.⁴¹³ Due to the family

⁴⁰⁵ KRI III (1980), 451.

⁴⁰⁶ Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” JEA 100 (2014), 173.

⁴⁰⁷ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 207.

⁴⁰⁸ Olabarria, *Kinship and Family* (2020), 64.

⁴⁰⁹ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 207.

⁴¹⁰ Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” JEA 100 (2014), 176.

⁴¹¹ Poole, “Slave or Double?,” *Seventh International Congress* (1998), 897, 900.

⁴¹² KRI III (1980), 65.

⁴¹³ Morenz, “Neues zum *pr-^cnh*,” GM 181 (2001), 81. Parkinson states that during the Middle Kingdom, the *pr-^cnh* was partly cultic in nature, partly functioning as a scriptorium, as well as being an institution for advanced learning, which was part of the temples and sometimes also other institutions such as palaces, Parkinson, “Libraries,” *Libraries before Alexandria* (2019), 133. The only physical evidence of the House of Life dating to the New Kingdom comes from Amarna where two mudbrick buildings were placed adjacent to the “king’s house” and the small Aten temple. These buildings were identified as such due to stamps on the mudbricks with the signs for *pr-^cnh*, Hagen, “Libraries,” *Libraries before Alexandria* (2019), 252. The *Onomasticon of Amunemopet* begins by stating that it was written “for the ignorant” by the scribe of the divine books in the House of Life (*sš šfd.w-ntr m*

presence in the area, Meri could either have been connected to a temple in Heracleopolis Magna, or alternatively he may have followed his father to Memphis. In any case, he is not present in tomb 201, so he likely built his own mortuary monument elsewhere.

(Pa-)Rahotep's wife Heli had a stela made (BM EA 183), which mentions her husband's father, the high priest of Ptah Pahemnetjer, and another man given the same title, named Didia.⁴¹⁴ This may be the grandfather of (Pa-)Rahotep, a possibility also mentioned by Dalino.⁴¹⁵ Hence, the vizier stemmed from a family with deep cultic connections, and his appointment to vizierial office again points to a desire by the rulers of the early 19th dynasty to connect the ruling class of Egypt with important deities and temples, as was the case with Paser. It is also interesting that the stela BM 183 is dedicated to a group of people mostly associated with the cult of Amun. Apart from (Pa-)Rahotep, his father Pahemnetjer and possible grandfather Didia, it mentions *imy-r iḥ.w wr n Imn* – great overseer of cattle of Amun Meryti, *ḥr.y-pd.t* – troop commander Pay, as well as four women who were all *šm^c.yt n Imn* – chantress of Amun, named Tity, Sheritre, Mutnofret and Sementi.⁴¹⁶ Since Heli was the great-granddaughter of the high priest of Amun Parennefer/Wennenefer, meaning a line of Heli's family had roots in Thebes,⁴¹⁷ it is possible that these individuals with a title associated with Amun belong to this family line. At least, there do not seem to be other connections to the Amun cult within the family of (Pa-)Rahotep.⁴¹⁸

(Pa-)Rahotep thus had his tomb built at Sedment instead of the more traditional burial site for Lower Egyptian high officials Saqqara. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms, high officials chose to build their tombs close to the burial site of the king, while Saqqara was popular from the mid-18th dynasty onwards even though the king was buried in the Valley of the Kings, but during the reign of Ramesses II it became more common to build tombs outside the main necropolises of Saqqara and the Theban west bank. Grajetzky suggests that the easiest explanation for such a choice might be that the tomb owner was born there.⁴¹⁹ The document mentioning (Pa-)Rahotep, P. Wilbour dated to the reign of Ramesses V, with an estate in the area of Sedment, along with his wife's position as chief of the *ḥnr.t* for the main deity there, does suggest a close tie to this location. Raedler suggests that this was agricultural land for the upkeep of the mortuary cult of the vizier,⁴²⁰ which would then show that such a cult did survive at least some generations after the death of the owner. The period between the end of Ramesses II's reign and the beginning of Ramesses V's was some 64 years.⁴²¹ Though very little is known about (Pa-)Rahotep's early life, it may be fair to assume that his career began in a similar

pr-^cnh) Amunemopet, while the title *scribe of the House of Life* in the text of the onomasticon is placed between the titles of *sš-nswt* - royal scribe and *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* – lector priest, as well as being grouped among various high-ranking priestly titles, Gardiner, *Onomastica I* (1947), 1. This was also noted by Hagen, who has suggested that this could point to the House of Life being a culturally prestigious institution, Hagen, "Libraries," *Libraries before Alexandria* (2019), 255.

⁴¹⁴ KRI III (1980), 56.

⁴¹⁵ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 72.

⁴¹⁶ KRI III (1980), 57.

⁴¹⁷ In office towards the end of the 18th dynasty, Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 18.

⁴¹⁸ Franzmeier, "News from Parahotep," *JEA* 100 (2014), 175.

⁴¹⁹ Grajetzky, *Burial Customs* (2003), 89.

⁴²⁰ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 371.

⁴²¹ According to the chronology in Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 492.

fashion as described in the biographical texts of Paser's tomb chapel TT 106 and the block statue of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons.⁴²² If he indeed was born at Sedment, he may not have spent much of his childhood there, as his block statue (Boston MFA 03.1891) from the causeway leading to the Osiris temple in Abydos states:

di.n-w(i) nb=i ir t3ty m shpr n hw.t-Pth hpr[.kwi] imy-r hr.y t3.wy wp t3 n nswt

*My lord made me as vizier, as one whom the temple of Ptah raised. I became top overseer of the Two Lands and judge of the land of the king.*⁴²³

The text indicates that he underwent his early education in the scribal school of the temple of Ptah, presumably in Memphis. If this statement is to be trusted, (Pa-)Rahotep may have been as young as 5-6 years old when he relocated to Memphis to begin his education, although the whole family could have moved there when his father Pahemnetjer was appointed high priest of Ptah. This possible age for beginning educational training comes from the biographical texts of the two block statues of Bakenkhons (discussed below, section 11.3.).⁴²⁴ However, the title *wr.t hnr.t n Hr.y-š=f* – chief of the *hnr.t* of Herishef of (Pa-)Rahotep's wife Heli does indicate a continued relation to the area. On her own stela (BM EA 183), she used the title *šm^c.yt n.t Hw.t-hr nb.t nht rs.t* – chantress of Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore,⁴²⁵ one of the many names of the goddess which is associated with her cult in Memphis.⁴²⁶ This, then, shows an association of Heli to Memphis, the main seat of office of her husband, which would mean that at least for some of her life she likely lived in that city. The stela itself is unprovenanced, but the reference to this Hathor would suggest it came from the Memphite region. Heli is also depicted worshipping Hathor as lady of the sycamore alongside two other women on a naos of rose granite from the tomb complex in Sedment.⁴²⁷ She did here use the title *chief of the hnr.t* though without mentioning the god Herishef, so it is unclear which deity and temple the title refers to, but the relief shows a connection between Heli's position in Memphis and Sedment.

It is also interesting to note that the same statue, Boston MFA 03.1891, reveals the following detail in the inscription on the front right side of the legs:

t3ty P3-R^c-h^tp m3^c-hrw wn m ntr

*The vizier Parahotep, true of voice, who is like a god.*⁴²⁸

The interpretation of this *wn m ntr* addition can be as straightforward as seeing (Pa-)Rahotep as deceased, i.e., part of the realm of Osiris who the statue is dedicated to. Davies does not mention this detail,⁴²⁹ and his lack of comment seems in favor of the thought that the text refers to (Pa-)Rahotep as deceased rather than a deification. It is, however, an unusual addition to place after the standard *true of voice* epithet. Certainly, there is no other source that indicates

⁴²² Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 41, 150.

⁴²³ *KRI III* (1980), 64.

⁴²⁴ Jansen-Winkel, "Career of the Egyptian High Priest," *JNES* 52 (1993), 223.

⁴²⁵ *KRI III* (1980), 57.

⁴²⁶ Mofah, "Uralte Sykomore und andere Erscheinungen," *ZÄS* 92/1 (1965), 40.

⁴²⁷ *RITANC III* (2013), 47.

⁴²⁸ Bottom line written on front of the figure's long robe, *KRI III* (1980), 64.

⁴²⁹ *RITANC III* (2013), 49.

this vizier was deified, though his Sedment tomb might have become a site for depositing funerary gods, as shown above. In one instance in connection with Paser, an addition to the *true of voice* epithet was used: The ivory pen case Liverpool 24.9.00.92, on which the epithet reads *smꜣ tꜣ - who joins with the earth*.⁴³⁰ Davies suggests that such an object made of a very valuable material was not one that the vizier used daily, but rather, it was a gift from the king.⁴³¹ Hence, the inscription on the pen case was a reflection of royal favor bestowed upon Paser. The same favor could be reflected on (Pa-)Rahotep's statue, since such monuments were often granted by the king.⁴³² This monument placed in a mudbrick shrine on the causeway to the Osiris temple with the king's permission could then partake in the cultic practice of the god.⁴³³

A further indication of (Pa-)Rahotep and his family's close ties to Sedment comes from a stela found in Abydos on which several individuals have been given titles relating to the cult of Herishef. The stela shows in the top register Isis and Osiris being adored by four people, the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, who is said to be *of Pi-Ramesses*, one man with the partial name [...]*hm-ntr*, possibly the viziers father Pahemnetjer, then someone [...] *in the house of Herishef* named Parahotep, and finally one man titled *it-ntr Hr.y-š=f - god's father of Herishef*, named Rahotep.⁴³⁴ The lower register shows five men and mentions two *god's father of Herishef*, Khonsu and Amunmose.⁴³⁵ As Davies points out, there is no known connection between (Pa-)Rahotep and the men named on the stela,⁴³⁶ but the emphasis on this particular deity on a stela placed in the southern city of Abydos, otherwise known for its cultic importance for the worship of Osiris, indicates that (Pa-)Rahotep made an effort to clearly define a connection to Sedment and the area of Heracleopolis, while also maintaining his position as northern vizier with the mention of Pi-Ramesses.

In summary, the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep was placed in the northern office at some point before regnal year 19 of Ramesses II. At that time, his southern colleague Paser had held the position of Upper Egyptian vizier for more than 20 years. At first glance it seems that (Pa-)Rahotep with his 49 artifacts and monuments largely followed his older colleague's desire to record his name on as many of such as possible, but closer examination reveals that a large part of them, 17 in total, belong to his tomb complex in Sedment. It is therefore clear that Paser was unique in his productivity when it came to inscribing his name on monuments and artifacts across all of Egypt, although, their use of titles suggests that they were both equally active in assignments given by the king. It has also been shown in this section that (Pa-)Rahotep was held in high regard by his peers, at least in Sedment where funerary objects of high-ranking officials found their way into his tomb. The same cannot be said for Paser's tomb in the Theban necropolis, but his importance is clearly visible within the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina, which was shown in section 5. above, and which is examined further below.

⁴³⁰ Line 6, *KRI III* (1980), 14.

⁴³¹ *RITANC III* (2013), 9.

⁴³² Raedler, "Rank and Favour," *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 145.

⁴³³ *RITANC III* (2013), 49.

⁴³⁴ Line 7-9, *KRI III* (1980), 63.

⁴³⁵ Line 10-12, *KRI III* (1980), 63.

⁴³⁶ *RITANC III* (2013), 49.

6.2. Paser and the Tomb Scribe Ramose

Paser's presence in the tomb builders' village Deir el-Medina is evident from his many sources deriving from there. From these sources it is clear that he had a particular relationship with the tomb scribe Ramose since many of them are connected to both of these individuals. This scribe was himself a man of great influence in the village, where he had a total of three tombs built. One of the indicators of their close relationship is O. Michaelides 62, a draft of a letterhead. It is thus not a direct communication between the scribe and the vizier, but the text states that Ramose was *hr.y-^cmr.y* - *his beloved subordinate*.⁴³⁷ None of the other communications from the village inhabitants to Paser use such a term, and Haring does not mention this as an option for introductory formulae in his work on Ramesside letters.⁴³⁸

In addition to the textual sources, architectural elements from the *khenu*, a cult sanctuary for the deified living Ramesses II placed adjacent to the temple of Hathor at the north end of the village,⁴³⁹ suggests that the two men together were responsible for having it built.⁴⁴⁰ Davies suggests that the space followed the architectural outline of the Ramesseum on a smaller scale,⁴⁴¹ The extraordinary position of Ramose is confirmed further by the establishment of donations given from the memorial temple of Ramesses II to a statue of Ramose placed in the *khenu*.⁴⁴² The foundation of this royal donation is described in the text inscribed on the stelophorous statue of Ramose (Cairo JE 72000).⁴⁴³ Kitchen says it is "of the royal tomb scribe Ramose, while a wooden statue of Ramesses II found in the ruins of the *khenu* may have been the one the statue cult was set up for."⁴⁴⁴ Further, Davies states that the statue is "of Ramose," and that the *khenu* was a purely religious space which did not provide a civil residence for the king's statue.⁴⁴⁵ The stelophorous statue's whereabouts in the collections in Cairo is unknown, but it seems clear by the statement of Davies, that he did not interpret the funding of the endowment of this statue to be for a statue cult for Ramesses II within the *khenu*. This notion is supported by Exell, who states that the endowment was set up by Ramose and Paser, while the identity of the statue that was the beneficiary is unclear.⁴⁴⁶ Exell writes further that Ramose was personally invested in the cult of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, as several of his monuments refer to this deity, and that the cult of Hathor at Deir el-Medina was a state project initiated by Ramesses II.⁴⁴⁷ The connection to the cult of Hathor is also present in Paser's TT 106, which was contained a relief depicting the king suckling the Hathor cow, an image

⁴³⁷ *KRI III* (1980), 29.

⁴³⁸ Haring, "In Life, Prosperity and Health!" *Fs Burkard* (2009), 180-191.

⁴³⁹ Lintel, statue, and left-side door jamb naming the scribe Ramose and the vizier Paser, *KRI III* (1980), 26, 630.

⁴⁴⁰ Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 79. A door lintel, also from the *khenu*, contains the titles and name of Paser, *KRI III* (1980), 27.

⁴⁴¹ *RITANC III* (2013), 19.

⁴⁴² *KRI II* (1979), 363.

⁴⁴³ Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 147.

⁴⁴⁴ *RITANC II* (1999), 218.

⁴⁴⁵ Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 80.

⁴⁴⁶ It may either have been a Hathor cow-statue, the stelophorous of Ramose itself or a wooden statue of Ramesses II, Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers* (2010), 73, footnote 6.

⁴⁴⁷ Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers* (2010), 73; *Ibid.*, "Senior Scribe Ramose," *CRE 2004* (2006), 53.

otherwise not known from private tombs.⁴⁴⁸ This is an indication of the importance placed on this cult in the Theban area by the king. In any case, the offerings coming from the king's memorial temple, the Ramesseum, to the statue in Deir el-Medina would eventually go to Ramose himself, as offerings were usually redistributed following the end of their cultic purpose.⁴⁴⁹ The text on the statue states that it was decreed in regnal year 9, that *wḏ ḥm=f^c.w.s. sw3ḥ ḥtp-nṯr n twt pn* - his Majesty l.p.h. commanded a divine offering to be established for this statue.⁴⁵⁰ Haring argues that this line shows that the text was a copy of an actual royal decree, which is made clear by the statement *wḏ ḥm=f*.⁴⁵¹ It also seems clear by the use of the demonstrative pronoun *pn* for *this* statue that the offerings were meant for this particular statue, and therefore it is important who it actually depicted. If it shows the image of Ramose, then the offerings would have benefitted his own mortuary cult and not the king's. Paser is named as the benefactor (*ii.y ḥr-r=f* - he comes about it), which highlights the relationship between these two men, be it primarily beneficial for both in a professional capacity or also on a friendly level. O. Michaelides 62 could be an indication of the latter. A further indication of the extraordinary relationship between the two men and the high status of Ramose is the discovery of shabtis bearing his name related to the Apis bull burial in Ramesses II's 16th regnal year.⁴⁵² Paser deposited several objects in the Serapeum tomb of the Apis on the same occasion (discussed further in section 11.2. below), meaning it is possible the two men attended this major event together.

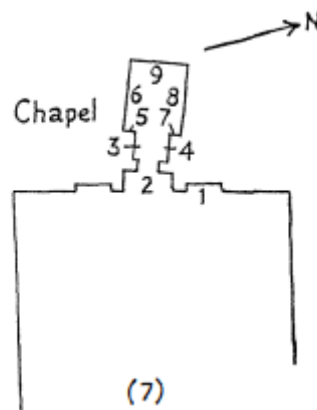


Figure 18. LAYOUT OF THE TOMB CHAPEL OF RAMOSE, TT 7. SOURCE: *PM I-I* (1960), 2.

There are multiple attestations of Ramose in and around the workmen's village. In particular, three tombs are attributed to him (TTs 7, 212 and 250).⁴⁵³ Davies speculates that TT 7 was destined for Ramose himself, while TT 250 based on iconography may have been intended for the female servants of Ramose and his colleague Neferhotep. TT 212's state of preservation has not allowed any attributions but may have been the burial place of the male servants.⁴⁵⁴ TT

⁴⁴⁸ See PhD dissertation by Cannon Fairbairn, University of Birmingham (in preparation).

⁴⁴⁹ As shown in fig. 3 by Haring, Ramose may have had to donate a piece of land to the Ramesseum in order to uphold the offerings to the statue cult of Ramesses II, but the offerings would eventually go to him, Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 149.

⁴⁵⁰ Line 3, *KRI II* (1979), 363.

⁴⁵¹ Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 148.

⁴⁵² Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2011), 150.

⁴⁵³ *KRI III* (1980), 612-620.

⁴⁵⁴ Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 83.

7 is decorated with a scene showing the Theban triad, Amun seated on a throne with Mut and Khonsu behind him, while Ramesses II, Paser and Ramose stand before them in poses of adoration.⁴⁵⁵ The image is prominently placed on the east facing back wall of the tomb chapel (numbered 9 in fig. 18 above).⁴⁵⁶ It was not uncommon for the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina during this period to depict the vizier interceding for them before the gods on stelae and in their tombs.⁴⁵⁷ However, the choice by Ramose to place this scene straight in front of the viewer entering his tomb chapel reflects a message of self-promotion as one who had the protection of both king and vizier. His economic ability to construct three tombs also points to a certain level of wealth and influence. This notion is strengthened further by the fact that Ramose is himself depicted in several of his peers' tombs,⁴⁵⁸ which reflects his influence in the village. The existence of three tombs belonging to Ramose points further to the possibility that if a subordinate with such a close relationship to Paser was able to build several tombs, the vizier was more than capable of also constructing more than one. This speaks in favor of the existence of another unknown tomb belonging to Paser, as theorized in section 5.2. above.

It is known from the ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings between KV 7 (Ramesses II) and KV 9 (Ramesses VI), O. Cairo CG 25671, that Ramose was appointed scribe in the Place of Truth (*sš m s.t-M³c.t*) in regnal year 5, third month of Akhet, day 10 of Ramesses II.⁴⁵⁹ Some of his monuments reveal that he was an *outsider* (*n bnr – of the “outside”*⁴⁶⁰), someone who came from outside the workmen's village,⁴⁶¹ and it seems therefore that Paser must have spotted a particular talent in him. Based on the title sequence inscribed on stela Bankes no. 4, it is clear that Ramose was himself a man of status and influence before he was appointed to the scribal position in the village. The stela states that he was the *imy-r pr-ḥd n pr Mn-ḥpr<.w>-R^c – overseer of the treasury of the temple of Menkheperure* (Thutmoses IV), *imy-r gs-pr m pr imy-r ḥtm.t – overseer of administration in the house of the overseer of the seal*, *sš ḥsb iḥ.w n Imn-R^c – scribe who reckons the cattle of Amun-Re*, *ḥr.y-^c sš š^c.t n r-p^ct – assistant of the scribe of correspondence of the hereditary noble*, *imy-r k³.wt ḥr imnt.t W³s.t – overseer of works in western Thebes* and *imy-r pr-ḥd m s.t-M³c.t – overseer of the silver house in the Place of Truth*.⁴⁶² As vizier and head of the workforce of Deir el-Medina, it would have been the responsibility of Paser to appoint the new scribe. Less than four years later, the two men commenced the building work in honor of their king.

In addition to the architectural pieces, a fragment of a stela (or a lintel) shows Paser and Ramose adoring Ramesses II. The accompanying text is a formulaic praise to the lords of eternity by Paser, repeated in the name of Ramose.⁴⁶³ Davies argues, that both the *khenu* and parts of

⁴⁵⁵ Hoffmann, *Bilder im Wandel* (2004), pl. 20.

⁴⁵⁶ *PM I-I* (1960), 16.

⁴⁵⁷ Discussed further in section 8.3. below.

⁴⁵⁸ Bierbrier, *Tomb-builders of the Pharaohs* (1982), 32.

⁴⁵⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 636.

⁴⁶⁰ Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 68.

⁴⁶¹ Since his parents, named in his tombs, had titles not related to the Deir el-Medina workforce, Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 80.

⁴⁶² *KRI III* (1980), 620. It is unclear who exactly the *hereditary noble* referred to was, *RITANC III* (2013), 447.

⁴⁶³ Current placement unknown, therefore no catalogue number, *KRI III* (1980), 26.

the Hathor temple were built on the initiative of the pair, based on the evidence already mentioned and on a dedicatory panel with depictions of two persons he believes to be Ramose and Paser.⁴⁶⁴ Given the date on the king's ka-statue as regnal year 9, it is a given that the *khenu* was built early in Ramesses II's reign, and therefore, some years into Paser's career as vizier.



Figure 19. LINTEL FROM THE *KHENU* OF RAMESSES II AT DEIR EL-MEDINA. SOURCE: LOUVRE MUSEUM DIGITAL COLLECTION.

The limestone lintel from the *khenu* shown above (fig. 19) displays the name of Paser along with the line:

ir n r-p^{ct} ḥ³.ty-^c smr tp.y n ḥm=f wr m i³.wt ^{c3} m s³ḥ n sr m-ḥ³.t rh.tyt imy-r niwt ṭ³ty P³-sr

*Made by the hereditary noble and count, first companion of his Majesty, great in his offices, great in dignity of the magistrate in front of the commoners, the overseer of the City and vizier Paser.*⁴⁶⁵

The interesting part about this particular inscription, is the emphasis placed on Paser's ability to manage his duties on this monument placed in the highly literate village.⁴⁶⁶ So much so, that in the limited space available the choice of titles fell upon the usual ranking (*r-p^{ct} ḥ³.ty-^c*) and function titles (*imy-r niwt ṭ³ty*), while Paser's assurance of his abilities was placed in between them. Furthermore, this is the only known example of him using these two titles (see Index 1), perhaps best classified as epithets. It is possible that the vizier sought to assert himself, both through this inscription and the building itself, as a good leader, in the eyes of the villagers and of the king, to whom the *khenu* was dedicated.

Other viziers of the Ramesside Period are attested in the tomb builders' village, but none as frequently as Paser, and no other vizier is known to have constructed religious buildings for the king, other than for the deified Amenhotep I and his mother queen Ahmose-Nefertari, who

⁴⁶⁴ Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 80. For inscription text, see *KRI II* (1979), 705.

⁴⁶⁵ Louvre E 16329, discovered by Bernard Bruyère in the tomb builders' village and acquired by the Louvre Museum in 1939, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010024869> in: Louvre Museum (accessed: 21/3 2024).

⁴⁶⁶ Baines and Eyre estimated 1% of the overall ancient Egyptian population were literate, while the number in Deir el-Medina was significantly higher, as the assumption is that the men came into daily contact with writing through their work, so not only trained scribes but other parts of the crew were literate to some degree, Baines & Eyre, "Four Notes," *Visual and Written Culture* (2007), 70, 94.

are believed to have founded the village.⁴⁶⁷ Since Paser brought an outsider into the village to be the scribe, who would presumably be loyal to him, it is possible that Ramose was placed there to influence the workmen to pledge their allegiance to the vizier and the king. Arguably, Deir el-Medina would have had learned scribes who could fill the position, but they may have been more inclined to be loyal to the village than to the vizier. If there was a conflict or distrust among the workmen towards the authorities, it would have made sense for Paser to place his own man in the influential position as scribe. The loyalty of the necropolis scribe Amunnakht to the vizier Ta who appointed him, is visible in the communication between the two men where Amunnakht assures the vizier of his attempts to calm the workmen during the reign of Ramesses III in the conflict known from the Turin Strike Papyrus.⁴⁶⁸ Häggman states that a scribe loyal to the vizier could aid in the workmen's willingness to cohere.⁴⁶⁹ There is no direct evidence of any conflict within the village during the reign of Ramesses II, but the political instability of the new dynasty could have influenced the mood. In addition, Seti I had expanded the workforce of the village during his reign,⁴⁷⁰ while the number of workmen diminished to around 30 by the end of the reign of Ramesses II.⁴⁷¹ If dismissals begun early in the king's reign, it could have sparked dissatisfaction among the crew which caused Paser to employ a scribe from the outside. As shown in this section, Ramose became a man of great influence in the village, while he also maintained a close relationship with the vizier, perhaps even accompanying him to Saqqara for the Apis burial in Ramesses II's regnal year 16. Thus, he could have played an important part in ensuring a stable environment in the village, improving Paser's ability to lead the workmen, and therefore, the building works of the king. Since Paser has numerous attestations in the village, including in three tombs and on three stelae,⁴⁷² it seems that the move was successful.

6.3. Summary: Social Connections

The evidence of Paser's social network comes mainly from his tomb TT 106 and Deir el-Medina. TT 106 shows him interacting with named individuals in his role as vizier receiving gold collars from the chamberlains in the reward scene before Seti I, and in the neighboring scene, he inspects the work of the craftsmen at Karnak. At Deir el-Medina his presence is of a different character. Here, he is on stelae shown as the one who intercedes with the gods on behalf of the donor. His relationship with the tomb scribe Ramose was extraordinary in the way that they constructed the *khenu* for Ramesses II together in the village. This points both to the prestige of the position of tomb scribe, as well as Paser's need and wish to assert himself as the leader of the workmen. By placing an "outsider" in this important position, he ensured having

⁴⁶⁷ OEAE (2001), 71.

⁴⁶⁸ Turin cat. 1880, recto 1.3-5, Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (1948), 52.

⁴⁶⁹ Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 128

⁴⁷⁰ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 259.

⁴⁷¹ O. DM 621 dated to regnal year 64 of Ramesses II gives 13 men plus the workmen Penamun and Merysakhmet for one side of the gang, meaning both sides of the gang would come to 30 men in total, Černý, *Community of Workmen* (1973), 105.

⁴⁷² KRI III (1980), 609, 613, 678, 699, 738, 826.

an individual of great influence inside the village, who was more likely to be loyal to him than if an “insider” had been chosen. The fact that there was a need for him to do so shows that the vizier having control of the village was not a given.

This chapter has discussed aspects of Paser’s social network, with the social context of (Pa-)Rahotep as comparative material. Through the presented evidence, it is possible to map out links to both the Karnak temple and its workshops, as well as to Deir el-Medina. The following chapter examines another aspect of the life of Paser, namely the course of his career analyzed through the available evidence of his monuments, artifacts and inscriptions.

7. PASER’S CAREER

As previously stated, both (Pa-)Rahotep and Paser were sons of high priests who were in office during the very earliest Ramesside reigns. (Pa-)Rahotep was the son of the high priest of Ptah, Pahemnetjer, and as Raedler notes, this status could very well have eased his access to education, perhaps in the scribal school of the Ptah temple.⁴⁷³ The same could have been the case for Paser in Thebes. It has also been stated that Seti I, and Ramesses II after him, were particularly pious, which is visible in their building programs, and that both kings served as both high priests of Amun and viziers before ascending the throne. Thus, it is possible to put forth the notion that the religious roles of Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep’s fathers played part in their sons building a career at the royal court, which ultimately led to them being appointed as viziers at the beginning of the new dynasty. The emphasis placed on Paser’s parents in TT 106 supports this notion. They were both important figures in the temple of Amun in Karnak, his father, Nebnetjeru, as high priest of Amun and his mother, Merytre, as chief of the *hnr.t* of Amun.⁴⁷⁴ (Pa-)Rahotep married into a family of high priests; his wife Heli being the daughter of the high priest of Osiris, Minmose, and her great grandfather the high priest of Amun, Parennefer/Wennefer.⁴⁷⁵ This may point to the close connection between temple and state administration.

Though it is not possible to completely reconstruct the life of Paser, some information about his career can be found on his monuments. From biographical texts placed on pillar B and G in the broad hall of his T-shaped tomb chapel of TT 106 it is known that he began his career as high official under the rule of Seti I, was at some point during the reign of that king promoted to vizier and continued in office under the next king, Ramesses II.⁴⁷⁶ The timeline for Paser’s tenure as vizier has been a matter of discussion. Raedler has argued that Paser became vizier in the south already during the reign of Ramesses I. The evidence for this is the interpretation of a sentence in Paser’s biographical text in his tomb chapel for his career under Seti I, which states that:

⁴⁷³ Raedler, “Prestige, Role and Performance,” *Palace and Temple* (2011), 143.

⁴⁷⁴ Known by these titles from inscriptions in TT 106 and on the standing statue of Paser *ÆIN* 50. *KRI I* (1975), 286, 288, 297. *KRI III* (1979), 21.

⁴⁷⁵ Franzmeier, “News from Parahotep,” *JEA* 100 (2014), 175.

⁴⁷⁶ For biographical text related to career under Seti I see *KRI I* (1975), 299. For biographical text related to career under Ramesses II, essentially an abbreviated version of the former, see *KRI III* (1980), 8.

iw wd.n nb=i ts b3k im r sr tp.y n ch dh.n=f-sw r imy-r imy.w-hnt hm-ntr tp.y n Wr.t-hk3.w

*My lord commanded the servant here be elevated to first companion of the palace, and he promoted him to overseer of chamberlains and high priest of Great-of-magic.*⁴⁷⁷

Directly after, it is stated that:

whm.n=f rdi.t=f r imy-r niwt t3ty wp M3c.t

*He (i.e., Seti I) repeated to place him (i.e., Paser) as overseer of the City and vizier, who judges Maat.*⁴⁷⁸

The second sentence is interpreted by both Brand and Raedler to mean that Paser was already appointed vizier under Ramesses I and was confirmed in this office by Seti I.⁴⁷⁹ It is proposed here instead that the sentence should be understood as Paser first being promoted to high official office and then promoted further to vizier, as the biography in the first line above recounts Paser's career path and promotions before becoming vizier. The same phrase of promotion is used by the tomb scribe Ramose, who wrote on O. Cairo CGC 25671 on the occasion of his promotion to this position:

whm di.tw=f r ss m s.t-M3c.t m rnp.t-sp 5 3bd 3 3h.t sw 10 nswt-bity Wsr-m3c.t-Rc Stp-n-Rc

*One repeated to place him as scribe in the Place of Truth in regnal year 5, third month of Akhet day 10 of the Dual King Usermaatre Setepenre.*⁴⁸⁰

So, unlike with the biographical information from Paser, in Ramose's case it is completely clear when he was appointed to the position of tomb scribe and the other titles known from his earlier monuments must therefore reflect his earlier career stages. It is known that before this promotion, Ramose was the *ss n pr Mn-hpr.w-Rc* – *scribe of the house of Menkheperure*, the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV, as the same ostrakon states,⁴⁸¹ while his stela Bankes no. 4 recounts other positions he held up until that point through a string of titles.⁴⁸² Davies suggests that since Ramose kept his title as scribe in the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV on O. Cairo CGC 25671, he must only shortly before this have received his promotion.⁴⁸³ He could therefore not have held the position of tomb scribe prior to the date written on the ostrakon. Based on the similar phraseology used both on Ramose's ostrakon and in Paser's biographical texts, the repetition in promotion in TT 106 is thus not to be understood as regarding the office of vizier, but as regarding the act of being promoted itself. In addition, Paser's tomb chapel does

⁴⁷⁷ On TT 106's column B in the broad hall, line 10, *KRI I* (1975), 299.

⁴⁷⁸ Line 11, *KRI I* (1975), 299.

⁴⁷⁹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 341. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 295.

⁴⁸⁰ Ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings, *KRI III* (1980), 636.

⁴⁸¹ *KRI III* (1980), 636.

⁴⁸² He was the *imy-r gs-pr m pr imy-r htm.t* – *overseer of the administration in the house of the overseer of the seal*, *ss hsb k3.w n Imn-Rc* – *scribe who reckons the cattle of Amun-Re*, *hr.y-c ss sc.t n r-pc.t* – *assistant of the scribe of correspondence of the hereditary noble*, *imy-r k3.wt hr imntt W3s.t* – *overseer of works in western Thebes* and *imy-r pr-hd m s.t-M3c.t* – *overseer of the treasury in the Place of Truth*, *KRI III* (1980), 620.

⁴⁸³ *RITANC III* (2013), 447.

not mention Ramesses I in any way, nor are any of his many sources connected to that king. The evidence therefore suggests that Paser began his career at court under Seti I.

As also noted by Brand and Raedler in connection with the question of Paser's promotion to vizier as shown in the biographical text the phraseology of the biographical text on column B is copied in the one addressed to Ramesses II on column G. This is again taken as confirmation that Paser was reappointed as vizier by that king,⁴⁸⁴ which would mean that the first biography also describes a reappointment instead of promotion. However, Froot argues that the very few pieces of evidence showing Paser's career under Seti I are contrasted by the vast number dating to Ramesses II, which suggests that he became vizier during the later part of Seti I's reign.⁴⁸⁵ And as argued in chapter 6 above, since TT 106 carries the cartouche of Seti I above the entrance and very little text and imagery refer to Ramesses II,⁴⁸⁶ a late addition to the tomb as it was already finished or nearing completion. The placement and reduced length of the text suggests that it was an unplanned addition made when the new king Ramesses II ascended the throne. That the text is an exact copy of the first, except for the shortened passages, is a further indication of this. Thus, the intention for adding the biographical text to column G was in this case not done to emphasize the act of promotion. Rather, it highlights Paser's relationship with the new king and the important confirmation of his continued position as vizier.

The emphasis in the tomb chapel is on Paser's relationship with Seti I, including the aforementioned biographical text and the reward scene showing Paser in front of the seated king.⁴⁸⁷ The tomb chapel is divided in two by theme, with religious emphasis in the north end, and royal relations in the south end. The biographical text describing Paser's career under Ramesses II is placed on pillar G among the otherwise religious content in the north end, well away from the royal content towards the south, suggesting that the construction of the tomb was well underway, perhaps close to completion, when Ramesses II ascended the throne. The only other mention of Ramesses II is on a stela carved on the exterior wall towards the north end of the courtyard of TT 106, while the emphasis on Paser's relation to Seti I takes up the space of the south end of the exterior wall, as is the case in the interior of the south end of the broad hall.⁴⁸⁸ This along with the artistic style of reliefs in the tomb suggests a building date under Seti I.⁴⁸⁹ Furthermore, Hofmann notes that the cartouche inscribed on the entrance architrave of a tomb reveals under which king it was built, and for TT 106 the cartouche bears the name of Seti I.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, the construction date of Paser's tomb is confirmed as sometime during that king's reign, possibly towards the end since some space for the mention of his successor, Ramesses II, did

⁴⁸⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 341. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 295.

⁴⁸⁵ Froot, *Self-presentation in Ramessid Egypt* (2004), 157.

⁴⁸⁶ A stela at the north end of the exterior courtyard wall and the biographical text on column G in the broad hall, *KRI III* (1980), 1, 8.

⁴⁸⁷ For text and image, see Assmann, "Ein Gespräch im Goldhaus," *Fs Brunner-Traut* (1992), 43-60.

⁴⁸⁸ *RITANC I* (1993), 189.

⁴⁸⁹ I discussed the dating of the tomb in my MA thesis *The Vizier Paser. A Life in the Service of the King* (unpublished, 2020), 50-51.

⁴⁹⁰ Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel* (2004), 49.

exist. Other than TT 106, the only evidence for Paser's career during the reign of Seti I⁴⁹¹ is a conjoined vessel made of white faience (fig. 18), which contains the cartouches of that king and also names Paser:⁴⁹²



Figure 20. CONJOINED VESSELS 48.457. SOURCE: WALTERS ART MUSEUM ONLINE COLLECTION.

Left: *r-p^ct imy-r niwt t³ty P³-sr* Right: *r-p^ct hm-ntr M³ct P³-sr m³c-hrw*

Left: *Hereditary noble, overseer of the city and vizier Paser.* Right: *Hereditary noble, prophet of Maat Paser, true of voice.*⁴⁹³

Although the piece does not yield much information, it confirms Paser's place in office under Seti I, otherwise only known from his own tomb. In addition, Raedler suggests that the vessel is a luxury item as a cosmetic container presented to Paser as a gift from the king, representing royal favor.⁴⁹⁴ Since no evidence of a burial or any burial equipment has been found in TT 106, it is unlikely that this artifact originates from there. As addressed in the introductory chapters above, it is problematic to rely on monumental texts for accurate information. Therefore, it is useful to look at other evidence to back up the information provided in Paser's biographical texts. In the case of the conjoined vessels, they confirm his position as vizier during the reign of Seti I. The Walters' Art Museum's information on this piece states that there are signs of breakage on the back lower side opposite the inscriptions, which means that the artifact could once have formed a square of four vessels.⁴⁹⁵ This could explain the choice of the lesser title *hm-ntr M³ct* as one of only four inscribed on the vessels. This particular title had existed since the Old Kingdom and was from the 5th dynasty onwards associated with the vizier, and as such likely more related to judicial work than to any religious function.⁴⁹⁶ Thus, it referred to the function of judge in legal matters within the office of vizier and not an office in its own right. The title does, however, correlate with the praenomen of Seti I, *Mn-M³ct-R^c* – *Established is the*

⁴⁹¹ A stela from Deir el-Medina (Turin 50090) showing Seti I in veneration before Amenhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari also depicts a vizier whose name is now lost, likely either Paser or Nebamun, Brandt, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 251. Having viewed the stela in person in Turin, I believe it is possible that a fragment of the staff of the hieroglyph *sr* 𓂏 is visible on the top right corner over the seated man name determinative belonging to the vizier's name. Alternatively, this could be the stem of the reed leaf from the name *Imn*, for Nebamun, but the angle of the line is wrong compared to other versions of this sign on the stela. It is therefore possible that this is a second attestation of Paser under Seti I outside of TT106.

⁴⁹² Now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, accession number 48.457, unprovenanced, Q4.65, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 329.

⁴⁹³ <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/22270/conjoined-jars/> in: The Walters Art Museum (accessed: 5/10 2023)

⁴⁹⁴ Raedler, "Zur Struktur," *Ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches* (2006), 56.

⁴⁹⁵ <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/22270/conjoined-jars/> in: The Walters Art Museum (accessed: 5/10 2023)

⁴⁹⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel* (1954), 74.

Justice of Re and his epithet *Mr(.y)-n-M³c^t* – *beloved of Maat*, both inscribed on the vessels. Thereby, Paser makes a subtle connection to the king by also invoking Maat.

Regnal Year	Main Titles	Artifact/Monument	Description
Seti I	<i>imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	Walters Art Museum 48.457	Conjoined jars with the cartouches of Seti I
Seti I	<i>smr tpy n c^h imy-r imy.w-hn.t n nb t³.wy, hm-ntr tpy n wr.t-hk³w, imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	TT 106	Biographical text: Column B, side (a)
Ramesses II	<i>imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	TT 106	Biographical text: Column G, side (a)
Year 9 of Ramesses II	<i>sš-nswt imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	Cairo JdE 72000 Khenu of Ramesses II, Deir el-Medina	Ka-statue of Ramesses II by necropolis scribe Ramose
Year 16 of Ramesses II	<i>šsir t³tyt s³b imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	Louvre E.68-N.762 and E.69-N.763	Two pectorals from Saqqara; Apis bull funeral. Inscriptions on back
Year 17 of Ramesses II	<i>imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	MMA 23.3.26	TT 311, “graffito” by Paser, the MK tomb of Khety
Year 21 of Ramesses II	<i>t³ty</i>	Letter B2	Boghazköi diplomatic letter in cuneiform
After year 21 of Ramesses II	<i>r-p^ct h³ty-c, hm-ntr tpy n Imn, imy-r hm.w-ntr nb.w n ntr.w nb.w</i>	Cairo CGC 42156 Karnak cachette	Cuboid statue of Paser, offering formula
Year 30 of Ramesses II	Khay first attested as vizier	Cairo O. CGC 25204	Celebration of the first heb-sed of Ramesses II
3 rd decade of Ramesses II	Bakhenkhons is attested as high priest of Amun	Munich Gl. WAF 38 Karnak cachette	Cuboid statue of Bakhenkhons, biographical text

Table 3. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR PASER⁴⁹⁷

As shown in table 3 above, the biographical text with a praise of Ramesses II in TT 106 states that Paser continued in the office of vizier after the death of Seti I under the rule of Ramesses

⁴⁹⁷ Sources: Biographical texts of TT 106, Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 150-153; *KRI I* (1975), 299. Ka-statue of Ramesses II by Ramose at Deir el-Bahri, Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 147; *KRI II* (1979), 363. Two pectorals from Apis bull funeral at Saqqara, Q_4.100 and Q_4.101. Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 333; *KRI II* (1979), 366. Graffito in TT 311, *KRI III* (1980), 23. Cuneiform diplomatic letter to king Hattusili III, Edel, *Ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz* (1994), 32-35. Karnak cachette cuboid statue of Paser, *KRI III* (1980), 292. First attestation of Khay as southern vizier in Ramesses II’s 30th regnal year at Gebel el-Silsilah commemorating the 1st heb-sed of the king and O. CGC 25204 containing a hymn to Ramesses II by Khay in connection to the same occasion, Orsenigo, “Khay,” *Egyptology at the Dawn of the 21st Cent.* (2005), 430. Biographical text on Bakhenkhons’ cuboid statue states that he had “already” been High Priest of Amun for 27 years, when the statue was made, Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 39, 41. The timeline was developed as part of my MA thesis, *The Vizier Paser. A Life in the Service of the King* (2020, unpublished), 17.

II. This is evidenced by the two biographical texts on column B and G in the broad hall. The text on pillar B begins with praise to Seti I (*dd=f ind-hr=k ntr nfr* – *He says: Greetings to you, good god*), and continues with a recount of Paser’s career under this king and finishes with a speech by Paser to his companions.⁴⁹⁸ The biography states that Paser began his career at court with promotion by the king:

iw wd.n nb=i ts b3k im r smr tp(.y) n ʿh dh.n=f -sw r imy-r imy.w-hn.t hm-ntr tp(.y) n wr.t-hk3.w

*My lord commanded that the servant here be promoted to first companion of the Palace, he appointed him to overseer of chamberlains and high priest of Great-of-magic.*⁴⁹⁹

The text then continues with a recount of Paser’s promotion to vizier:

w hm.n=f r di.t=f r imy-r niwt t3ty

*He repeated to have (me) placed as overseer of the City and vizier.*⁵⁰⁰

The second biographical text on column G addressed to Ramesses II is badly preserved. It is identical to the first, except for the praise of the king, which was shortened and the finishing speech by Paser, which was omitted. As argued above, TT 106 was largely, if not completely, finished by the time Ramesses II became king, and therefore the reason for making a shorter edition of the text may have come down to space. The part of the biography recounting Paser’s promotions is identical in the two editions.⁵⁰¹ This has sparked some discussion on the nature of keeping an office as a new king ascended the throne, since it may not be certain that a vizier was safe from replacement on such an occasion. The two biographical texts are placed in a monumental setting, a tomb chapel made for self-presentation. It is therefore important to be aware of the ideological nature of such biographies. However, in this case the other monuments of Paser confirm the career path through his use of titles combined with the kings’ names mentioned on them.

The first exact date for his time in office during the rule of this king comes from the ka-statue from the *khenu* of Ramesses II in Deir el-Medina, Cairo JdE 72000, from regnal year 9 of Ramesses II as shown in table 3 above, while the last secure date comes from the diplomatic letter to Hattusili III in regnal year 21. His successor, the vizier Khay, is first attested as such in regnal year 30, in connection with the celebration of the king’s first jubilee (*hb-sd*), which gives Paser somewhere between 21 to 29 years as vizier under Ramesses II,⁵⁰² plus an unknown

⁴⁹⁸ *KRI I* (1975), 298.

⁴⁹⁹ *KRI I* (1975), 299.

⁵⁰⁰ *KRI I* (1975), 299. Frood has translated this line “then again he placed him as overseer of the City and vizier.” She interprets the praise of Seti I to be in the voice of Paser, while the biography is the response of the court, Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 149, 151. The sentence is missing an object, which I suggest being an omitted first-person dependent pronoun.

⁵⁰¹ *KRI I* (1975), 299. *KRI III* (1980), 9.

⁵⁰² Kitchen gives Paser at least 20 years in office under Ramesses II, *RITANC I* (1993), 189.

number of years under Seti I. The latter ruled for no more than 11 years,⁵⁰³ but it is not known when during these years Paser was promoted. At some point later in his career, he became the high priest of Amun at Karnak. The next to hold this position was Bakenkhons, who is first attested as such sometime during Ramesses II's third decade on the throne. This means that Paser must have passed away at some point between regnal years 30 and 39, giving him anywhere between 8 to 17 years as high priest. Paser must therefore have reached an age deemed appropriate at the time for possessing the highest official rank in ancient Egypt during the 11-year reign of Seti I. The text from TT 131 describing User(-Amun)'s promotion to vizier states that *ḥty ph[.n] = f tni* – *the vizier has come of age*.⁵⁰⁴ This line suggests that the age of a prospective vizier was of importance, he had to be of a certain age to attain the office. Helck calculated that User(-Amun) would have been 45 years old at the time of his promotion,⁵⁰⁵ though without any other specific data for viziers' age at their time of promotion to the vizierate, it is difficult to determine if this was the exact moment a prospective vizier could be appointed. Kubisch proposes that Paser was "a very young man" at the time of his promotion to vizier,⁵⁰⁶ though without specifying what "very young" entails.

There are many issues with determining the appropriate age for becoming a high official in ancient Egypt. Firstly, it is unclear when a person was considered an adult capable of such a responsibility. Marshall suggests that there were two stages of a young person's life that was recognized: The transition from childhood to adolescence, where the childhood sidelock of hair was cut, and the transition from adolescence to a fully grown member of society, suggested to be roughly around 16 to 20 years of age. She recognizes, though, that the ancient Egyptians were unaware of their exact age, which complicates the assessment of at what point these transitions occurred.⁵⁰⁷ One of the very few sources that reveal any information about the career path of a high official in the New Kingdom is the block statue of the high priest of Amun Bakenkhons (Munich Gl. WAF 38), which states that he began training as a *nds ikr* – *excellent youngster*.⁵⁰⁸ This does not provide any further aid in determining an exact age group for children beginning school training. If Marshall is correct in assessing an adult member of society to have been in their mid to late teens, Paser could have become vizier as early as aged 16. The question is whether he was at that point deemed to possess the experience needed to hold that office, or his youth was seen as an advantage for the king, who could then easier shape him into the second in command he needed.

If Paser was in the age range of 16 to 20 years old at the time of his promotion within the reign of Seti I, he would have reached an age of 48 to 70 at his time of death around the third decade of Ramesses II's reign. 48 is a low estimate, assuming he was 16 at his time of promotion in the last regnal year of Seti I. It is believed that he served as advisor to the new young

⁵⁰³ The latest known monument of Seti I is the stela at Gebel Barkal, dated to regnal year 11, *KRI I* (1975), 75. Some scholars argue for a longer reign of up to 15 years, but there is at present no textual evidence to support this, Hornung, "New Kingdom," *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 210-211.

⁵⁰⁴ Line 9, Helck, "Berufung des vezirs Wsr," *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 108.

⁵⁰⁵ Helck, "Berufung des vezirs Wsr," *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 116.

⁵⁰⁶ Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 192.

⁵⁰⁷ Marshall, *Childhood in Ancient Egypt* (2022), 162, 167.

⁵⁰⁸ *KRI III* (1980), 298.

king Ramesses II, who was no more than twenty years of age at the time of his ascension to the throne,⁵⁰⁹ because Paser held the title *imy-r imy.w-hn.t* – overseer of chamberlains⁵¹⁰ which is used in his biographical texts from TT 106, as well as on his statue from the temple of Ptah in Memphis, Cairo CGC 630.⁵¹¹ According to the *Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II for the Temple of Seti I* in Abydos, the chamberlains were the ones who placed the crowns on the new king's head, as the text reads:

[*dd.n=f*] *r=i sh^c.w-sw m [nswt m³]=i nfr=f iw=i ^cnh.kwi [rdi.n=f] ^cš.tw n imy.w-hnt r smn.ti h^c.w hr wp.t=i*

[He said] concerning me: “Crown him as [king, so] I may [see] his perfection while I am alive!” [He summoned] the chamberlains to place the crowns on my brow.⁵¹²

As the overseer of chamberlains at that time, it is therefore likely that Paser played a major role in crowning Ramesses II. If this was indeed the case, one would expect the age of the vizier to exceed that of the king, especially if he did serve as the young king's advisor. Raedler estimates Paser's age to have been in the mid-twenties at the time of the reign of Ramesses I,⁵¹³ which would make him somewhere in his mid-thirties by the end of the time of Seti I. Though Raedler presents no evidence for this estimate, it is possible that this was the case, in particular if he indeed was considered an advisor to Ramesses II at the time of his ascension to the throne. This would push Paser's age at time of death closer to the high estimate of 70.

In summary, several of Paser's monuments and artifacts provide hints of the course of his career, most directly his biographical texts in TT 106, though no specific information is found about his age. It is, however, possible to establish some estimates of his length of life through attestations dated to the reign of Seti I up until the third decade of Ramesses II's reign. By combining the information from TT 106 with the other monuments of Paser it can be confirmed that Paser was promoted to vizier under Seti I and re-confirmed in that office under Ramesses II. The long list of sources and the use of titles on his monuments, in addition to his very long career, show furthermore that he held a high position at the royal court.

While this chapter has focused on the length and course of Paser's career through the evidence made available by his monuments, artifacts and inscriptions, the following chapter utilizes these sources to discuss specific activities of the vizier.

⁵⁰⁹ Stadelmann estimates the age of the king at 18-20 years at the time of his coronation, Stadelmann, “Lange Regierung Ramses' II,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 458.

⁵¹⁰ Kubisch, “Religious and Political Role,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 192.

⁵¹¹ Column B, line 9, *KRI I* (1975), 299; Column G, line 6, *KRI III* (1980), 9; Dorsal pillar of statue, *KRI III* (1980), 13.

⁵¹² Line 1-4, *KRI II* (1979), 328.

⁵¹³ Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses' II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 346.

8. ACTIVITIES



Figure 21. PASER'S GRAFFITO ON SEHEL ISLAND NEAR ASWAN. SOURCE: GASSE & RONDOT, *INSCRIPTIONS DE SEHEL* (2007), 519.

Evidence for the movements of Paser comes from his graffito left on a granite boulder on Sehel Island (fig. 21) located in the Nile River just south of Aswan. Its exact location is not noted anywhere, but the catalogue of the site describes that the majority of the graffiti were inscribed on the western slope of a hill, named Bibi-Togog (Mountain of Pepi?) by the locals, where they face the remains of a chapel dedicated to the protector goddess of the island, Anuket.⁵¹⁴ This is on the south tip of the island where also the Ptolemaic Famine Stela is carved into the rockface. As can be seen in the above figure, the cartouches show the names of Ramesses II, *Wsr-M³ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c* and *R^c-mss Mr.y-Imn*. The components of the king's praenomen and nomen suggests that the graffito was made sometime after regnal year 2 and before regnal year 21.⁵¹⁵ This graffito was likely not carved by Paser himself, since chiseling the quite large 96 cm high and 101 cm wide inscription with both hieroglyphs and figures⁵¹⁶ would have been a strenuous task which required specialized skills. Since the king's names in the cartouches do not survive, it is not possible to clarify during which king's reign the graffito was carved. It is however a testament to the travel pattern of the vizier, who as part of his duties oversaw not only the construction of the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings, but also other monumental building works. In addition to this, further evidence of Paser's movements have been preserved.

In regnal year 20 of Ramesses II, the king signed a peace treaty with the ruler of the Hittites, Hattusili III.⁵¹⁷ This event proved to be a crucial moment in Paser's career since he himself was involved in the diplomatic proceedings leading to the signing of the treaty. As stated above, it is possible that it was Paser as the overseer of chamberlains who crowned the young king

⁵¹⁴ De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des Monuments* (1894), 77.

⁵¹⁵ The praenomen was changed to this form from regnal year 2 onwards, while the nomen *R^c-ms-sw* was the most often used after regnal year 21, Brand, *Ramesses II* (2023), 86, 88.

⁵¹⁶ Gasse & Rondot, *Inscriptions de Sehel* (2007), 216.

⁵¹⁷ There had been unrest between the two countries for over 60 years, culminating in the Battle of Kadesh in Ramesses II's 5th regnal year, but Hattusili III may have sought peace with Egypt in an attempt to stabilize his rule after deposing his predecessor, Brand, *Ramesses II* (2023), 293.

Ramesses II. It has also been stated that Paser kept his office as vizier after the passing of Seti I. This points to the trust Ramesses II had in his southern vizier, which could be the reason why he was personally involved in the peace negotiations with Hatti. The year after the peace treaty was signed, Paser responded to a letter he had received from the Hittite king. The cuneiform letter he sent, written in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* at the time, was found at the Hittite capital Hattusa, modern Boghazköi.⁵¹⁸ It is addressed to the Hittite king from Paser and a group of unspecified *Great Ones*, indicating the important role he had played in the negotiations. The letter states:

1. *So says Pa[ser, vizier to the king of the land of Egypt], and the Great Ones of the great king, the king of the land of Egypt:*
2. *To Hattus[ili, the great king, the king of the land of Hatti], our [l]ord, speaking:*
3. *Now, the great king of the l[and of Egypt, our lord]*
is well, (and) his lands are very well.
4. *The great king, the king of the land of [Hatti, our lord]*
5. *wrote to us on the oc[casion of the beautiful peace, on the occasion of the beautiful brotherhood]*
6. *and on the occasion of the relationship of the brother[hood, in which the king of the land of Egypt is and]*
6. *in which you are.*
7. *Very good it is that the Great King, [the King of Hatti],*
8. *wrote to us regarding the beautiful peace (and) regarding the beautiful brotherhood.*
9. *The sun god and the gods of the land of [Egypt and the weather god and the gods] of the land of Hatti will l[et]*
10. *the peace and brotherhood of the great king, the king of Egypt,*
11. *our lord, with [Hattusili],*
12. *the great king, the king of the land of Hatti, his brother for eternity, [thrive].*
13. *And we will let the [peace and the brotherhood]*
14. *be[tween] the l[and of Egypt and]*
15. *the land of Hatti thrive for eternity. We are at peace and we*
16. *have sworn and we are in [this relationship for eternity].*
17. *Now, we have sent [a gift to our lord and]*

⁵¹⁸ Edel, *Ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz* (1994), 32-33.

18. *to the servants of our lord. The [gift]*
 19. *that Paser [and the Great Ones of the land of Egypt]*
 20. *have sent to our lord by the hand of [Parikhnawa,]*
 21. *the royal messenger:*⁵¹⁹

This is then followed by a list of gifts sent from Paser and the *Great Ones* to Hattusili III, unfortunately this part of the text is mostly lost, though it does reveal there would have been items of gold and linen.⁵²⁰ The content of the letter itself is not unusual and follows the standard formulaic style of letter writing known from international correspondence of the New Kingdom. It is unusual, though, that a non-royal individual wrote directly to the king of another country, since heads of state would contact each other directly without the need for an intermediary.⁵²¹ The phrasing *great peace* and *great brotherhood* in the letter also mirrors the wording of the treaty itself,⁵²² which was copied onto the walls of the Ramesseum and Karnak temple.⁵²³ This similar phraseology shows Paser's knowledge about the details about the treaty, in particular the diplomatic language employed by the parties involved.

Furthermore, it was not just a simple messenger, who delivered this letter to the Hittite court. Parikhnawa, or Netjerwymes as he is also known, had a sizable tomb complex made in the area known as Bubasteion (tomb I.16) in the Saqqara necropolis, consisting of a four-meter-wide columned courtyard in front of a tomb chapel containing a massive statue of Hathor in her form as a cow with the standing figure of Ramesses II between her front legs.⁵²⁴ Such a tomb complex shows the status of Parikhnawa as a member of the top elite of the 19th dynasty society. It also reflects the importance of the royal messengers, and in particular, the role such an individual played in the diplomatic negotiations leading to the peace treaty. It also seems that Parikhnawa received a promotion to *imy-r pr wr n Mn-nfr* – *great overseer of the estate of Memphis* later in his career,⁵²⁵ which could be an indication of the success of his endeavors. This again shows how important the treaty was to Egypt and underlines the reason for the involvement of Ramesses II's top officials, namely his viziers.

The letter from Paser to Hattusili III is the only example of a non-royal corresponding directly with a foreign head of state from the extensive archives of Amarna and Boghazköi.⁵²⁶ The fact that Paser received a letter from the Hittite king and responded in his own right seems to be connected to the unusual situation of the peace treaty negotiations and the diplomatic involvement of the vizier. As argued, this may be evidence of the trust Ramesses II had in his vizier,

⁵¹⁹ Letter B2 after German translation by Edel, *Ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz* (1994), 33.

⁵²⁰ Edel, *Ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz* (1994), 34.

⁵²¹ Roth, "Internationale Diplomatie," *Ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches* (2006), 94.

⁵²² Translation by Allam, *Treaty of Peace and Alliance* (2018), 22.

⁵²³ And probably on temple walls of multiple other temples, though these do no longer survive. The original treaty was engraved onto a silver tablet and delivered to Ramesses II, according to the temple copies, Allam, *Treaty of Peace and Alliance* (2018), 5.

⁵²⁴ Zivie, *Lost Tombs of Saqqara* (2007), 110.

⁵²⁵ Zivie, *Lost Tombs of Saqqara* (2007), 120.

⁵²⁶ Edel, *Ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz* (1994), 14–230; Rainey Z'Zl, *El-Amarna Correspondence* (2015), 57–1268.

not only to maintain the obligations placed on him through the vizierial office, but also his ability to lead diplomatic negotiations with a foreign nation on behalf of the Egyptian king. From the Boghazköi archive it is known that delegations of envoys travelled between the courts of Hatti and Pi-Ramesses while the negotiations were ongoing. While there is no evidence among Paser's titles or monuments that he ever travelled beyond the flow of the Nile, it is possible that his northern colleague (Pa-)Rahotep did. The following section therefore explores the clues to this vizier's involvement in diplomacy and foreign affairs compared to the activities of Paser.

8.1. Diplomacy: One Vizier to Rule Them All?

Raue argues for an exceptional period, during which the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep briefly held the office in both Upper and Lower Egypt, because of the title *ḥꜥtj n(w) šmꜥw Mḥw* – *Vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt* appearing on two votive vessels found in Abydos.⁵²⁷ This argument has been repeated by Franzmeier,⁵²⁸ though without taking into account other viziers' use of the title. In fact, the same title appears in two instances with Paser's name, a graffito in the mountains of western Thebes, as well as a fragment of a statue base from Deir el-Medina (location now unknown).⁵²⁹ It is also used in a copy of an accounting letter from the treasurer Seti to the king,⁵³⁰ as well as found on a relief fragment from a tomb chapel in Western Thebes belonging to the vizier Khay, who was appointed to the office after Paser.⁵³¹ Similarly, Helck speculated that viziers carrying this title would have intermittently served in both offices, if their colleague had either died or been removed from his post.⁵³² It is possible that all three viziers held both offices at some point in their careers does exist, and as Raedler suggests, there could have been short intermediate periods between one vizier leaving office and the next being instated.⁵³³ At the very least the use of *vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt* not only by (Pa-)Rahotep, but also Paser and Khay shows, that the former vizier was not unique in assuming this title, which seems to have been the assumption made in previous research.

There are two examples of a similar title, *imy-r šmꜥw Mḥw* – *Overseer of Upper and Lower Egypt* in connection with Paser, two drafts of letterheads from Deir el-Medina, O. Michaelides 62 and 66,⁵³⁴ which Gnirs argues is a variation of the title *imy-r idb.wy* – *overseer of both riverbanks*, used as a polite address to the vizier by his subordinates, due to similarity in syntax

⁵²⁷ Raue, "Ein Wesir," *Fs Stadelmann* (1998), 350; Q_5.17 and Q_5.18, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 360.

⁵²⁸ Franzmeier, "News from Parahotep," *JEA* 100/1 (2014), 170.

⁵²⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 22, 28.

⁵³⁰ O. Berlin P. 12337, unknown provenance though the letter concerns the annual expenditure in the Place of Truth. The vizier is stated to be the one to bring the report to the king, *KRI III* (1980), 145-146.

⁵³¹ Q_6.6. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 378.

⁵³² Helck mentions (Pa-)Rahotep and Khay under Ramesses II, Panehsy under Merenptah and Paraemheb under Seti II as attested with this title, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 25.

⁵³³ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 296.

⁵³⁴ *KRI III* (1980), 29.

and content.⁵³⁵ There is no mention of the title *imy-r Šm^cw Mḥw* in any of the publications compiling titles of officials in the Old, Middle and New Kingdom respectively.⁵³⁶ The closest would be *imy-r Šm^cw - Overseer of Upper Egypt*, which does not seem to be a vizier title.⁵³⁷ The argument put forth by Gnirs is therefore a compelling one. In all but one case the title *Vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt* occurs not in the owner's tomb or on any larger monuments, but instead on minor artifacts such as the votive vessels of (Pa-)Rahotep and a graffito of Paser in the Theban mountains.⁵³⁸ It could be argued that the title was either given solely honorifically or was used by one vizier as the other travelled outside the country. Meaning, one vizier temporarily took over the responsibility for both offices, while the other was away. One text from the early 20th dynasty, states in a brief line:

iw.tw ḥr di.t tḳty T3 r tḳty T3 Šm^c Mḥy

*One has made the vizier Ta as the vizier Ta of Upper and Lower Egypt*⁵³⁹

Häggman argues that this statement shows that the incorporation of the south and north into the title of vizier was not rhetorical. She states further that it is possible that Ta was given charge of both parts of the country due to the untimely dismissal of the northern vizier at the time.⁵⁴⁰ This may have been the case for Ta in the time of Ramesses III, but there is no evidence that any of the viziers in office during the reign of Ramesses II fell out of favor. Should the suggestion made by Helck be followed, namely that a vizier was removed from his post during that time,⁵⁴¹ it would imply that the person in question had lost the favor of the king. In such a scenario it would not be expected that an individual could continue their career in a favorable position as high priest, which was the case for both Paser, Khay, Neferrenpet and (Pa-)Rahotep. As argued by Kubisch, Papyrus Harris I contains information that the temple of Karnak, which was the seat of the high priest of Amun, controlled the economy of the state by owning estates measuring over 230.000 hectares during the 20th dynasty.⁵⁴² The political role of the high priest of Amun changed dramatically towards the end of the 20th dynasty,⁵⁴³ but there can be no doubt that the temple of Karnak, and indeed the other temples of ancient Egypt, served as the most

⁵³⁵ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 107.

⁵³⁶ Al-Ayedi, *Index* (2006); Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009); Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958); Idem., *Beamten-titeln* (1954); Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001).

⁵³⁷ Statue of Hapuseneb (Louvre), Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 140; TT 39, 18th dynasty, Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 47.

⁵³⁸ *KRI III* (1980), 22, 64.

⁵³⁹ O. Berlin P 10633 dated regnal year 29 of Ramesses III, *KRI V* (1983), 530.

⁵⁴⁰ Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 120.

⁵⁴¹ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 25.

⁵⁴² As well as employing 48.000 workers and owning 400.000 pieces of livestock, Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 189. According to Černý, when this text was written the temples owned approximately one third of the country's agrarian land, Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," *CAH II-II* (1975), 626. Warburton states that the temples had both landholdings and large numbers of dependents, which they controlled independently of the king. However, during the New Kingdom, the temples' economic growth was provided on the basis of endowments from the king, Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 302.

⁵⁴³ The growing power of the Theban priesthood toward the end of the 20th dynasty is evident through the surviving correspondence of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht, who was succeeded in office by two of his sons. This "family dynasty" shows that the king had lost influence over the domain of Amun, see Černý, "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III," *CAH II-II* (1975), 628.

important part of state economy.⁵⁴⁴ P. Harris I dates to the early 20th dynasty but is from before the decline of the Ramesside Period began, so it is not unrealistic to compare the economic position of the temples with that of the early 19th dynasty.

Concerning the position of high priest of Amun, it is known from the tomb of Nebwenenef that Ramesses II himself came to Tawer in his first regnal year to proclaim the then-high priest of Onuris and Hathor as the new high priest of Amun in Thebes.⁵⁴⁵ As argued by O'Connor, the ideological view of ancient Egypt was that the king appointed all permanent temple personnel, though in practice this may have only been the case in the major temples and for the position of high priest.⁵⁴⁶ There is no direct mention of any ceremonies performed during the installation of Paser as vizier in the biographical texts from TT 106.⁵⁴⁷ However, the reward scene in the broad hall of his tomb chapel clearly shows Paser in front of an enthroned and Osiride Seti I being rewarded with *menat*-necklaces on the occasion of his promotion, though it is not known if a ceremony took place in such a manner in the early Ramesside Period or whether the image was inspired by the tombs of the 18th dynasty viziers, which were decorated with similar scenes. As Frood notes, depictions of the king as Osiris are also present in the tombs of the earlier viziers such as Rekhmire in vizierial installation scenes, and as argued in section 3.2.1. above, Paser was probably inspired by these tombs when building his own.⁵⁴⁸ Since both Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep maintained their titles of vizier after assuming the offices of high priest of Amun and Ptah respectively, having one sole vizier seems superfluous. Therefore, the reason for using the title *vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt* may not have been the lack of a second vizier in the case of these two men, but rather, the absence of one who was abroad on an assignment for the king.

In Paser's case, there are no indications in the biographical texts in his tomb⁵⁴⁹ nor among his numerous titles (see Index 1) that he travelled abroad on official business of the king. The only mention of him beyond the stretch of the Nile is a stela inscription in Serabit el-Khadim on Sinai dated to no later than regnal year 2 of Ramesses II due to the spelling of the king's name *Mr.y-Imn* with the *mr*-hoe  instead of  which did not occur after that point.⁵⁵⁰ The text is written beneath the figures of the king and either a queen or princess,⁵⁵¹ where Paser was represented with the title *ḥw hr imn.ty n nswt* – *fanbearer on the right side of the king*,⁵⁵² a title predominantly used by his subordinates when addressing him,⁵⁵³ most frequent in letters, letterheads and model letters, but also on some stelae from the tomb builders' village of Deir

⁵⁴⁴ These include the three major temples of Karnak, Memphis and Heliopolis, and his own mortuary temple Medinet Habu, as well as a string of smaller temples, Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* (1994), 227-319.

⁵⁴⁵ Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2007), 36.

⁵⁴⁶ Such tasks were delegated to local officials in the case of minor and rural temples, O'Connor, "Social and Economic Organization," *Civilization* (1995), 321.

⁵⁴⁷ The verb *rdi.t* refers to Paser's promotion to vizier, transcription in *KRI III* (1980), 9, line 6.

⁵⁴⁸ Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2007), 154.

⁵⁴⁹ Biographical text involving Seti I, *KRI I* (1975), 298-299. Biographical text involving Ramesses II, *KRI III* (1980), 8-9.

⁵⁵⁰ Hikade, *Expeditionswesen* (2001), 177.

⁵⁵¹ Hikade, *Expeditionswesen* (2001), 17.

⁵⁵² *KRI II* (1979), 341. Title reconstructed by Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 317, footnote 232.

⁵⁵³ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 288.

el-Medina.⁵⁵⁴ Therefore, it is quite possible that it was not Paser who had the inscription on Sinai made as part of a journey he was on himself, but rather, a subordinate sent on an expedition to the area. Serabit el-Khadim is known as a mine for turquoise and thus, a holy place for Hathor, known as the Lady of Turquoise, for whom there was a temple built where this and other stelae have been found.⁵⁵⁵

As stated in the previous section, Paser's involvement in the diplomatic correspondence with Hattusili III relating to the peace treaty made between the Hittites and Egypt,⁵⁵⁶ is well known because of the cuneiform letter he sent to the Hittite capital. It does not state, however, if Paser himself had travelled to the Hittite court on any occasion relating to this treaty. It seems likely that such an important event in Paser's life would have left a trace in his vast prosopographical record, but there is no evidence to support such a notion. The letter remains one of only two textual sources that implicates someone other than the king himself in this major political event.



Figure 22. KNEELING STATUE OF (PA-)RAHOTEP, BM 712. TITLE OF ROYAL ENVOY MARKED. SOURCE: BRITISH MUSEUM

It is well known that the written record of ancient Egypt is incomplete and often biased towards the king or the unusual amount of written material from Deir el-Medina. Therefore, when it comes to research on non-royal individuals outside of the tomb builders' village it is useful to look at other source material available, such as monuments and artifacts, as well as the titles inscribed on them. Through the monumental record of Paser's northern colleague, (Pa-)Rahotep, it is known that he held the title *wpw.ty-nswt r t3 n Ht3* - *Royal envoy to the land of Hatti*. This is written on a statue of unknown provenance, now in the British Museum (see fig. 22 above).⁵⁵⁷ The figure is a kneeling statue, which once probably held a votive figure in its hands, but the top part including the figure is now missing. This type of statue would be expected to

⁵⁵⁴ *KRI III* (1980), 24, 25, 26, 28–30.

⁵⁵⁵ Hikade, *Expeditionswesen* (2001), 17.

⁵⁵⁶ Two copies of the treaty inscribed in Babylonian cuneiform on clay tablets were found in Boghazköi, Edel, *Vertrag* (1997), 2–12.

⁵⁵⁷ BM 712, Q_5.6, Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 357.

be found in a religious context,⁵⁵⁸ most likely in a temple dedicated to the god that corresponded to the now anonymous votive figure.⁵⁵⁹ With this specific title placed prominently on the front of the dress, along with the fact that it has not been found elsewhere on (Pa-)Rahotep's monuments, it could suggest that it was donated in relation to an event, which caused this title to be given or used. Raue speculates that the vizier served as envoy on either the occasion of the peace treaty negotiations or in relation to Ramesses II's marriage to a Hittite princess in the king's 35th regnal year.⁵⁶⁰ Since the statue is undated, it is not possible to definitively conclude for which occasion – or both – the vizier used the title, but as the king's name appears to be spelled *R^c-ms-s* it is possible that it was made before regnal year 21 (see discussion on spelling of the king's name, p. 89-90 above).

Similarly, in one single instance Paser used the title *wpw.ty-nswt n mhy.t* - *Royal envoy of the north wind* on a statue found at Mentuhotep II's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.⁵⁶¹ However, North Wind is marked as an error in *RITA III* with no notes on the issue.⁵⁶² In addition, Nebamun used the title *wpw.ty-nswt n t³.w ndm* – *Royal envoy of the sweet wind*. The concept of the *sweet wind* relates to wind coming from the north, assisting sailors going south up the stream of the Nile.⁵⁶³ As the wind comes from the north almost all year round in Egypt, the sail became an instant part of sailing on the Nile from the time of the earliest boats from around 3300 BC onwards.⁵⁶⁴ Therefore, the hieroglyph for *going south* is also the sail (𓏏). Both these titles may therefore allude to a function of the viziers as messengers for the king in Upper Egypt and/or Lower Nubia, which was also part of the Egyptian territory. As Paser was the Upper Egyptian vizier, this would point to an actual task performed as he travelled from the northern capital to deliver messages from the king in his main seat of office in Thebes or further south. There is one other example of a messenger title being used by a vizier in the New Kingdom. The 18th dynasty vizier Ramose had the title *wpw(t)y n nswt hr h³s(w)t nb(w)t* – *Envoy of the King in every foreign land* inscribed in his tomb,⁵⁶⁵ but the role of royal envoy seems otherwise to have been mostly used by officials, who either had this as their main occupation, or were viceroys or military personnel,⁵⁶⁶ i.e., persons that would be expected to have business outside the Egyptian border, and their titles did not refer to any specific countries they would have visited. So, (Pa-)Rahotep's mention of a specific location is the exception to the norm, with only one other secure example being P. Anastasi III, part of the Late Egyptian Miscellanies dating to the 19th dynasty, in which the recto col. 1 l. 9-10 reads *wpw.ty-nswt [n n³ wr.w] n.t*

⁵⁵⁸ Other statues of this type have been found in temple contexts, ex. Paser's Karnak cachette statue CGC 42156, two statues from the temple of Ptah in Memphis, CGC 630 and OM N 511. See catalogue below.

⁵⁵⁹ The statue does not preserve any dedications or text other than family members' names and titles and the cartouche of Ramesses II on the front of the tablet held by the statue's hands, *KRI III* (1980), 65.

⁵⁶⁰ Raue, "Ein Wesir," *Fs Stadelmann* (1998), 350.

⁵⁶¹ Penn Museum E.534/Liebieghaus 271a-d, *KRI III* (1980), 18.

⁵⁶² Line 18.7 after transcription in *KRI III*: "King's envoy of the north wind (*sic!*)."
RITA III (2000), 15.

⁵⁶³ Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* (1971), 11.

⁵⁶⁴ Landström, *Da Skibene Førte Sejl* (1978), 6.

⁵⁶⁵ 886a. Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 97.

⁵⁶⁶ Officials within these three categories held variations of the title *Royal Envoy*, often with the addition *of/to every (foreign) land*. See al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 247-250

ḥ3s.wt n Ḥ3rw – Royal envoy [of the Great Ones] of the land of Kharu.⁵⁶⁷ The title belongs to Amunemopet, who was not a vizier, but rather the royal envoy-title along with *royal charioteer* (*nt-ḥtr nswt*) likely represented his main occupation, if the above argument that the titles appearing closest to the owner's name represent his main occupation, is followed.

Considering the above information, it is likely that (Pa-)Rahotep did travel abroad to Hatti as royal envoy, either for the peace negotiations or the marriage of Ramesses II to a Hittite princess, or possibly both times, and Paser could on that occasion have held both titles of Northern and Southern vizier. Both viziers thus undertook an *ad hoc* assignment; since the title use was limited to one specific monument it speaks in favor of such tasks being performed on one or very limited occasions. The limited use of an *ad hoc* title for a specific episode sets it apart from titles of the other groups *function* and *daily/other tasks*, as defined in the introductory chapters above. The function titles occur almost without exception immediately before the title holder's name. Therefore, the minimum titles used by a vizier in the early Ramesside Period would be *imy-r niwt t3ty*, sometimes abbreviated to just *t3ty*, indicating that this was the main profession of the title holder. This title group was often, but not always, preceded by two title groups, *r-pct ḥ3.ty-c* – hereditary noble⁵⁶⁸ count,⁵⁶⁹ and *t3y.ty s3b* – chief justice,⁵⁷⁰ dignitary.⁵⁷¹ This can be seen in the middle column on the front of (Pa-)Rahotep's robe of the statue above (BM 712). These titles have roots in the Old Kingdom, and therefore may have lost their original meaning over time, so they would fall into the category of *ranking titles* in the New Kingdom. The latter title group was associated with the vizier, perhaps in his capacity of judge, as reflected in the proposed translations. The fact that the title *royal envoy to the land of Hatti* was given such a distinct placement on the front of (Pa-)Rahotep's robe is an indication that this specific task was of special importance, one that could have caused the vizier to commission the statue.

Thus, the evidence presented in this section shows that *ad hoc* titles were used in the early Ramesside Period where an extraordinary task demanded it, though it is not known if the king formally bestowed such a title on an individual, or if the official using it placed it upon himself. The peace treaty negotiations with Hatti were indeed such an event, and the title used by (Pa-)Rahotep along with the letter Paser sent to Hattusili III highlights the unusual importance of this specific event. The peace treaty made between Hatti and Egypt represents a unique diplomatic event of major importance. It was, however, not the only time the viziers needed their diplomatic skill sets. The following section discusses the evidence for other types of diplomacy, related to the vizier Khay.

⁵⁶⁷ Epithets and titles of the scribe's master, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/437319001> in: The British Museum (accessed 19/8 2023).

⁵⁶⁸ A title used since the Old Kingdom. Jones, *Index Old Kingdom* (2000), 315.

⁵⁶⁹ Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001). 142.

⁵⁷⁰ Jones, *Index Old Kingdom* (2000), 1000.

⁵⁷¹ Jones, *Index Old Kingdom* (2000), 802; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 192.

8.2. Everyday Diplomacy

A small but interesting find connected to Khay comes from Megiddo in Canaan. The original function of this small piece is difficult to determine. In the excavation report by Lamon and Shipton, it is grouped with the seals,⁵⁷² though with the depiction of the vizier adoring Amun on the opposite side of the text, its purpose may be better defined as an amulet. It is similar to other small square objects now in museum collections, which have been labelled seals, plaques or amulets, though their function is uncertain.⁵⁷³ Since Khay's piece does not appear to have a piercing and is carved in raised relief, it is possible that it was made as a seal. There are six plaques of similar style among Paser's artifacts: four with a depiction of the vizier adoring Amun, one adoring a female deity, and one with no published image or detailed description (Berlin ÄM 15389). From the five pieces with available photographs, it is clear that these pieces were not intended as seals (see catalogue under *Unknown Provenance*), since they are made with shallow relief and glazed over.



Figure 23. LEFT: STEATITE PLAQUE WITH THE TITLES AND NAME OF KHAY. SOURCE: LAMON & SHIPTON, "MEGIDDO I," OIP 42 (1939), PL. 73 (1). RIGHT: ILLUSTRATION BY SIMONE WILLEMOES SØRENSEN.

The ancient city of Megiddo was situated in Canaan, strategically well placed on the trade routes between Egypt and the northern Levant. Megiddo was a vassal state of Egypt during the 18th dynasty, while the relationship during the Ramesside Period is more obscure.⁵⁷⁴ The object is a small steatite plaque (fig. 21) containing on one side a depiction of the vizier adoring Amun and on the other the inscription:

imy-ir.ty n rh.yt imy-r niwt tʿty Hʿy mʿc-hrw

⁵⁷² Lamon & Shipton, "Megiddo I," OIP 42 (1939), pl. 73.

⁵⁷³ "Plaque" is modern terminology used for these types of small square pieces. For example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has 915 ancient Egyptian plaques in their collection (only 212 shown with image) from all time periods and in varying materials. It is clear that those with painted images or shallow relief could not have worked well as seals, while those with deep carved or raised relief could have. Some were clearly made to be worn on the body (bracelets), while others could have been, since they are pierced. A few are too big to have been either (from foundation deposits or Ptolemaic relief sculptures), Metropolitan Museum of Art online collection: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search?department=10&q=plaque> in: Metropolitan Museum of Art (accessed: 12/9 2023).

⁵⁷⁴ Egypt ruled over several vassal states in the Syria-Palestinian region in the 18th dynasty as seen in the Amarna letters, Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation* (2000), 2.

*One who is in the eyes of the commoners, overseer of the City and vizier Khay, true of voice.*⁵⁷⁵

Not only is this artifact the only other attestation of a vizier outside of the Egyptian main territory other than the letter from Paser to Hattusili III found at Hatti, but it also contains a title otherwise not attested for Khay, *imy-ir.ty n rh.yt* which has an unclear meaning. It is not included in the indexes compiling the New Kingdom titles,⁵⁷⁶ but it was used by Paser on two separate occasions, on his standing statue holding a Ptah votive figure from the Ptah temple in Memphis,⁵⁷⁷ and one of his Karnak cachette statues.⁵⁷⁸ No other viziers in office during Ramesses II's reign are attested with this title. It remains, however, unclear what its purpose was. Directly translated as *one who is in the eyes of the commoners*, figuratively speaking it may suggest a role of "being in the public eye," i.e., someone who has a public role dealing with the issues of the people or conveying messages from the king. If we rely on the system of title categories introduced in chapter 2 above, the title from the plaque could be interpreted either as a function title or an epithet. The style of the title resembles others that have been labelled epithets, such as *ir.ty n nswt* – *eyes of the king* or *ꜥnh.wy n bi.ty* – *ears of the southern ruler*,⁵⁷⁹ but these other titles labelled as epithets all refer to a relationship with the king while Khay's title on the plaque refer to the people. The examples of Paser using the title both come from statues placed in a temple setting, while Khay's plaque is on a different medium and found in a foreign country.

Davies suggested that since there is no indication that Khay was ever sent on official business to Megiddo, the plaque may have been part of diplomatic gift exchanges with foreign emissaries as they came to pay tribute to Egypt.⁵⁸⁰ If this was the case, the title *imy-ir.ty n rh.yt* could fit with a motive of self-promotion, in particular if the meaning of the title is to be understood directly as "one who is in the eyes of the commoners," i.e., an official who has as his role to be visible for the people as an important figure. In addition, the other side of the plaque showing Khay adoring Amun could be an image promoting the vizier's connection to this important deity in the eyes of the prospective recipient. This, of course, demands that the plaque formed part of a diplomatic gift exchange, as suggested by Davies. Thus, it is possible that *imy-ir.ty n rh.yt* should be considered in the category of epithets, though as an act of self-promotion rather than a promotion of royal connection. This underlines the difficulties in placing at least some titles into specific modern categories. The ancient Egyptian thought does not conform to the ideas of modern-day researchers. The categorization does still hold value in that it enables analysis of various aspects of the roles of high officials, though caution should be taken when encountering a title that does not fit the criteria.

⁵⁷⁵ Lamon & Shipton, "Megiddo I," *OIP* 42 (1939), pl. 73 (1).

⁵⁷⁶ Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006). Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001).

⁵⁷⁷ Cairo CG 630, *KRI III* (1980), 11.

⁵⁷⁸ Cairo CG 42164, *KRI III* (1980), 16.

⁵⁷⁹ Both Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep used these epithets in temple, chapel, or tomb settings. For Paser: TT 106, Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062 and Ptah temple in Memphis statue Cairo CG 630: *KRI I* (1975), 293, *KRI III* (1980), 15, 11. For (Pa-)Rahotep: Ka-chapel stela Cairo JE 48845, *KRI III* (1980), 54. These epithets do, however, also reflect a function of the vizier as the king's representative. See section 3.2. above.

⁵⁸⁰ *RITANC III* (2013), 28.

8.3. Paser's "Graffito" in TT 311

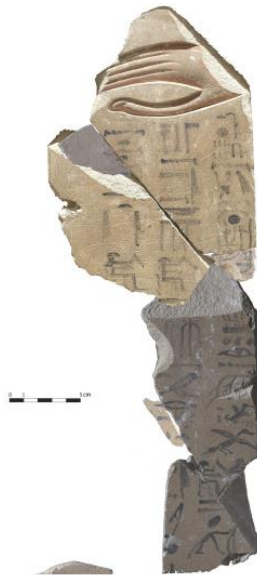


Figure 24. RESTORATION INSCRIPTION BY PASER. TOP TWO FRAGMENTS FROM METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, MME 23.3.26, BOTTOM TWO FRAGMENTS ARE NEW DISCOVERIES. SOURCE: RAGAZZOLI, "SECONDARY EPIGRAPHY," *PAM* 30 (2021), 218. PHOTO: M. JAWORNICKI.

As shown above, Paser used his tomb to facilitate the way he wished to present himself to visitors as well as the gods, which is to be expected of an ancient Egyptian tomb. What is unusual is the emphasis he placed on associating himself with the specific group of mid-18th dynasty viziers. A further indication of Paser's wish to position himself in the company of his predecessors in office is a graffito found in the tomb of the Middle Kingdom high official Khety, TT 311. The text is dated regnal year 17 under Ramesses II, as seen in the top right column. Part of the inscription is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 23.3.26), and interestingly, another 11 fragments of it have recently been discovered by the Polish archaeological mission in Asasif.⁵⁸¹ The restored text (see fig. 24 above) now reveals that it was placed as a "restoration inscription" with the first column reading:

*rnpt-sp 17 n nswt-bity Wsr-m³c^t-R^c stp-n-R^c [c.w.s. sm³]wy mnw ir n imy-r niwt t³ty P³-sr m³c⁻
hrw*

*Regnal year 17 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre Setepenre (Ramesses II) [l.p.h. renew]ing the monument done by the overseer of the City and vizier Paser, true of voice.*⁵⁸²

The middle column now also reveals that not only Paser's father, Nebnetjeru, is mentioned in the inscription but below his name, Paser's mother, Merytre, is also included. The column reads:

⁵⁸¹ Ragazzoli, "Secondary Epigraphy," *PAM* 30/1 (2021)

⁵⁸² Transliteration after photo by M. Jawornicki in Ragazzoli, "Secondary Epigraphy," *PAM* 30/1 (2021), 218.

ḥm-ntr tpy n Imn Nb-ntr.w m³^c[-hrw] ms n wr.t ḥnr.t [n] I[mn] Mr.yt-R^c [...]

High priest of Amun Nebnetjeru, true [of voice], born of the chief of the ḥnr.t [of] A[mun] Merytre

The restoration of older monuments is for the Ramesside Period otherwise only attributed to Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II, who famously left restoration inscriptions on mortuary monuments of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite necropolis.⁵⁸³ According to Gomaà, Khaemwaset was in his mid-twenties when he was appointed high priest of Ptah in c. regnal year 25 of Ramesses II.⁵⁸⁴ Since he used this title in all of the restoration inscriptions, it can be deduced that this work was undertaken after that point.⁵⁸⁵ This means that the restoration inscription made by Paser predates the work of Khaemwaset. The nature of the work conducted by the two men differs in characteristics, since Khaemwaset emphasized the involvement of the king in his inscriptions,⁵⁸⁶ while the Paser inscription in the tomb of Khety follows the standard of “restoration labels” made by Seti I.⁵⁸⁷ For example, on the pyramid of Unas, the restoration inscription placed there by Khaemwaset begins *wḏ ḥm=f imi-ḥr in wr ḥrp ḥmw.wt sm s³-nswt ḥ³-m-w³s.t* – *His Majesty decreed the command of the great one of the controller of crafts, the sem-priest, king’s son Khaemwaset*. In comparison as shown above, Paser placed himself as instigator of the renovation work. The text in Khety’s tomb is written in hieroglyphs and not hieratic as would be expected with a regular visitor graffito as is shown by another inscription made by Paser in tomb TT 93 of the great overseer of the House, Qenamun, who was in office during the reign of Amenhotep II in the 18th dynasty.⁵⁸⁸ Two further fragments (fig. 25) belonging to the recent find show that it was not Paser himself who physically wrote the text on the tomb wall of TT 311. Instead, the artist identified himself by stating the following:



Figure 25. FRAGMENT OF RESTORATION INSCRIPTION IN TT 311. SOURCE: RAGAZZOLI, “SECONDARY EPIGRAPHY,” *PAM* 30 (2021), 218. PHOTO: M. JAWORNICKI.

⁵⁸³ Snape, “Khaemwese and the Present Past,” *Fs Kitchen* (2011), 469.

⁵⁸⁴ Gomaà, *Chaemwese* (1973), 21.

⁵⁸⁵ Transcriptions by Gomaà, *Chaemwese* (1973), 101-136.

⁵⁸⁶ After transcription by Gomaà, *Chaemwese* (1973), 102.

⁵⁸⁷ As shown by Ragazzoli, “Secondary Epigraphy,” *PAM* 30 (2021), 226.

⁵⁸⁸ Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt* (2001), 104.

ir n w^cb sš-ḳd P³-ir.y

*Made by the wab-priest and draughtsman Pairy.*⁵⁸⁹

Thus, with this restoration inscription, Paser directly associated himself with the king by following the royal inscriptions, while Khaemwaset as a royal son did not need to underline royal favor and therefore, he may instead have been inclined to emphasize his loyalty to the king with the statement of acting on the king's orders. The restoration inscription's third column in TT 311 reads further that it was made for the tomb of the *father's father of (his) father* (i.e., ancestor, *n it it it(=f)*) Khety, who quite possibly was a vizier like Paser himself. In that way, he created an honorific lineage for himself as a descendant of an individual, who held the same office.⁵⁹⁰ In doing so, he followed the example of the kings he served, who sought to legitimize their position by association to earlier kings.

Regarding Paser's other graffito in TT 93 mentioned above, Peden notes that he may have visited this site to view a relief scene depicting a group of female musicians.⁵⁹¹ He could have visited this tomb in search of inspiration for his own, but unfortunately very little remains of the scene in TT 93,⁵⁹² which could have provided a comparison of artistic style to TT 106. There is no scene in Paser's tomb chapel depicting female dancers and musicians, only a group of male blind musicians are depicted on the eastern wall of the north end of the broad hall, placed in connection with the family scene shown at the beginning of this chapter.⁵⁹³ The purpose of the visit must in any case have been different from that of TT 311, since the graffito in TT 93 shows only Paser's name and titles, being written in the hieratic script, possibly in his own hand.

This inscription dated to the reign of Ramesses II in the tomb of Khety shows the continuation of Paser's desire to associate himself with important people of the past, which he began in his own tomb during the reign of Seti I with his association to the mid-18th dynasty viziers. Thus, throughout the height of his career his goal for self-presentation was to establish a lineage with the past that legitimized his position. The inscription in the tomb of Khety shows Paser's historic awareness of his local surroundings. The same awareness is present at the very south of Egypt at Gebel el-Silsila, where many viziers, including Paser left their mark. The implications of this site are discussed below.

⁵⁸⁹ In the article by Ragazzoli the fragment containing the name Pairy is placed above the fragment with the titles without any explanation for this, though in the translation notes, the author has switched the two pieces around, Ragazzoli, "Secondary Epigraphy," *PAM 30/1* (2021), 218, 222.

⁵⁹⁰ Ragazzoli, "Secondary Epigraphy," *PAM 30* (2021), 222.

⁵⁹¹ Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt* (2001), 104.

⁵⁹² Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun* (1930), 22, pl. 68.

⁵⁹³ *PM I-I* (1960), 222.

8.4. Gebel el-Silsila as a Gathering Point

Approximately 145 km south of Luxor in an otherwise remote area of the Nile lies the site known today as Gebel el-Silsila.⁵⁹⁴ The area consists of sandstone quarries on the east bank and a series of chapels (32 in total) and stelae constructed during the 18th and 19th dynasties on the west bank with the *Great Speos of Horemheb*⁵⁹⁵ placed furthest to the north of the site near the edge of the riverbank (see fig. 26 below).⁵⁹⁶ There once stood a second temple constructed during the reign of Horemheb 350 meters north of the *Great Speos*, but its remains were unfortunately destroyed by modern quarriers.⁵⁹⁷ Hence, the site was not only an important fine quality sandstone quarry from the 18th dynasty onwards, but also an important place of worship during the New Kingdom.⁵⁹⁸



Figure 26. THE GREAT SPEOS OF HOREMHEB PLACED NEAR THE EDGE OF THE NILE'S WEST BANK AS SEEN FROM THE RIVER. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

Paser had a chapel made in the north end doorway of the *Great Speos*, while the later vizier Panehsy (reign of Merenptah) had a chapel constructed in the south end of the same. Paser's immediate successor in the southern vizier's office, Khay, had a statue of himself erected in the north end of the broad hall (marked 27 in fig. 27, the ground plan of the *Speos* below), close to the chapel of his predecessor. Neferrenpet is also present in the *Speos*, depicted standing behind Ramesses II on the exterior north wall (numbered 7-8 in the ground plan below), also close to Paser's chapel.⁵⁹⁹ Another vizier, Huy, probably to be identified as the 18th dynasty

⁵⁹⁴ Caminos & James, *Gebel el-Silsila* (1963), 1.

⁵⁹⁵ Though the speos is named after the late 18th dynasty king Horemheb, Nilsson and Martinez argue for a construction date earlier than the Amarna Period, due to inconsistencies in the artistic style, suggesting that the monument suffered defacement during the monotheistic rule of Akhenaten, which would mean that it was made prior to this period, Nilsson & Martinez, "In the Footsteps of Ricardo Caminos," *ICE XI* (2017), 448.

⁵⁹⁶ Caminos & James, *Gebel el-Silsila* (1963), 2.

⁵⁹⁷ It was blown up using dynamite sometime between 1972 and 1975, Caminos, "Epigraphy in the Field," *Studies in Egyptology* (1978), 64.

⁵⁹⁸ The site was a place of "light occupation" from the Predynastic Period onwards and was opened as a quarry during the Middle Kingdom but became the largest sandstone quarry in Egypt in the 18th dynasty, Caminos & James, *Gebel el-Silsila* (1963), 1.

⁵⁹⁹ *PM V* (1962), 209.

vizier Amenhotep-Huy in office from the reign of Amenhotep III, had a statue placed in a niche in the broad hall (now mostly destroyed, marked 37, the ground plan below in fig. 27).⁶⁰⁰

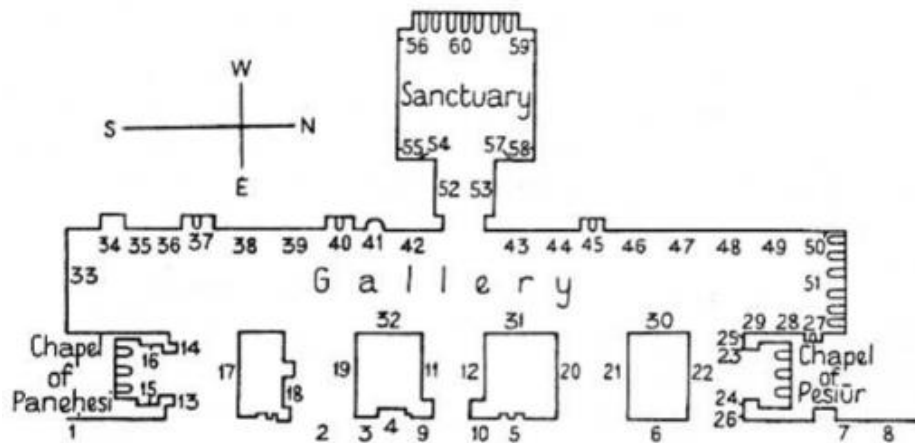


Figure 27. GROUND PLAN OF THE GREAT SPEOS OF HOREMHEB AT GEBEL EL-SILSILA. SOURCE: PM V (1962), 209.

The life and career of the vizier Khay, who followed Paser in office have not been thoroughly studied.⁶⁰¹ The first date which places him as vizier comes from an ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings containing a hymn to Ramesses II in connection with the king's first *heb-sed* in regnal year 30 (see table 4 below).⁶⁰² His last attested date is a stela in the *Great Speos* at Gebel el-Silsila, which commemorated the sixth *heb-sed* of Ramesses II in regnal year 45.⁶⁰³ After the sixth *heb-sed* the event was no longer recorded in the *Great Speos*, but instead in the temple in Armant, located just south of Thebes.⁶⁰⁴ In addition, the ninth *heb-sed* in regnal year 54 was proclaimed by the *imy-r pr wr m ḥw.t Wsr-M^ct-R^c Stp-n-R^c m pr-Imn* – Great overseer of the house in the temple of Usermaatse Setepenre (Ramesses II) in the house of Amun, Yupa.⁶⁰⁵ This shift in who had the responsibility of proclaiming the *heb-sed* could indicate that Khay was no longer alive at that point. Further, the tenth *heb-sed* of Ramesses II was again proclaimed by a vizier, this time by the successor of Khay, Neferrenpet. Thus, the change in official proclaiming the royal jubilee, the responsibility of which was returned to the vizier in time for the next celebration, indicates that Khay passed away during this time and a new vizier was not immediately appointed.

⁶⁰⁰ PM V (1962), 211.

⁶⁰¹ Orsenigo indicated his intention to publish a study of Khay in 2002, Orsenigo, "Khay," *Egyptology at the Dawn of the 21st Cent.* (2002), 430, footnote 10; Khay's sources number at present 28 after the latest publication on Ramesses II's viziers done by Raedler, "Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 377-383. As for Paser, attestations for Khay have been found in a wide geographical area, from Pi-Ramesses in the north to Gebel el-Silsila in the south, as well as one abroad: Door lintel from Pi-Ramesses, *KRI III* (1980), 36. Carved stelae in the *Great Speos of Horemheb*, Gebel el-Silsila west bank, *KRI II* (1979), 391, 393, 394. Steatite plaque from Megiddo, *KRI III* (1980), 36.

⁶⁰² *KRI II* (1979), 379.

⁶⁰³ *KRI II* (1979), 394. This gives Khay at least fifteen years in office as vizier.

⁶⁰⁴ *KRI II* (1979), 396-397.

⁶⁰⁵ *KRI II* (1979), 396.

Regnal year	Titles	Artifact/Monument	Description
<i>Year 30 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt ỉḥty</i>	Ostrakon Cairo CG 25204	Hymn to Ramesses II for his first <i>heb-sed</i>
<i>Year 40 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt ỉḥty</i>	Stela in Great Speos	Commemoration of 4 th <i>heb-sed</i>
<i>Year 42 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>ỉḥty</i>	Inscription in Great Speos	Commemoration of 5 th <i>heb-sed</i>
<i>Year 45 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr nw nṯr.w nb.w imy-r niwt ỉḥty</i>	Stela in Great Speos	Commemoration of 6 th <i>heb-sed</i>

Table 4. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR KHAY.⁶⁰⁶

After Khay, Neferrenpet was appointed vizier of Upper Egypt. There are only two certain dates for his time in office, the tenth and eleventh *heb-sed* proclamations of Ramesses II, as shown in table 5 below.⁶⁰⁷

Regnal year	Titles	Artifact/Monument	Description
<i>Year 57 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt ỉḥty</i>	Pylon in temple of Armant	Inscription proclaiming the 10 th <i>heb-sed</i> of the king
<i>Year 60 of Ramesses II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt ỉḥty</i>	Pylon in temple of Armant	Inscription proclaiming the 11 th <i>heb-sed</i> of the king

Table 5. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR NEFERRENPET.⁶⁰⁸

The next Upper Egyptian vizier after Neferrenpet, Panehsy, is only attested during the reign of Merenptah, the immediate successor of Ramesses II. He, like Paser, constructed a chapel in the Great Speos of Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsila, which shows the image and cartouches of that king.⁶⁰⁹ There are no exact dates for Panehsy's time in office, and it is therefore not possible to establish whether he replaced Neferrenpet when he became high priest of Ptah, or if he was placed in the southern vizier's office after the death of his predecessor. Dalino notes that Neferrenpet must have passed before the end of Ramesses II's reign, since his successor as high priest of Ptah, Hori, son of prince Khaemwaset, is attested as such on the stela BM EA 167 bearing the cartouche of this king.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁶ KRI II (1979), 379, 393, 394.

⁶⁰⁷ There are 30 known sources attributed to this vizier so far, concentrated around Memphis and Luxor, as well as the *Great Speos of Horemheb* at Gebel el-Silsila; Six sources come from his tomb complex, including the tomb itself ST 0 in north Saqqara, while another four come from unspecified locations in Saqqara. The five sources deriving from the tomb are architectural or decorative elements removed from the tomb, now in museum collections, as listed by Raedler, "Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 387-394. He is attested in Deir el-Medina, but only through a wooden doorframe from the tomb of Neferhotep (Turin 1464), an ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings near KV 17, and a later ostrakon dated to the time of Seti II, KRI III (1980), 51, 597. KRI IV (1982), 317.

⁶⁰⁸ Inscriptions in the temple of Armant. KRI II (1980), 397.

⁶⁰⁹ KRI IV (1982), 89.

⁶¹⁰ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 77, 80.

The 18th dynasty vizier User(-Amun) also left his mark on the west bank of the site, though he had his own shrine made (Shrine no. 17).⁶¹¹ This shrine is located some 379 meters south of the *Speos* and its state of preservation is unfortunately rather poor. It does, however, preserve a scene showing the vizier and his family, which includes a *sꜣ-nswt imy-r ḥꜣs.wt rs.yt* – king's son, overseer of the southern desert lands (i.e., viceroy of Kush) Tjuro.⁶¹² The entrance door lintel of the shrine shows deliberate erasure of a royal cartouche, very possibly that of Hatshepsut, as well as the cartouche of Thutmose III,⁶¹³ which would indicate that the chapel was constructed during the five-year coregency period. It is worth noting that the viziers who had a presence here were all in charge of the Upper Egyptian office, which points to a division in activities for the northern and southern viziers, as no northern vizier is present at Gebel el-Silsila.



Figure 28. NAOS STELAE OF SETI I, RAMESSES II AND MERENPTAH AT GEBEL EL-SILSILA. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

As stated above, Gebel el-Silsila as a site lies far from any proper settlement. It did not have any other practical function other than the important sandstone quarry, which did not come to its size and importance until the early 18th dynasty.⁶¹⁴ The question therefore is why this desolate place became a site for numerous shrines of very important individuals during the New Kingdom. As shown in fig. 26 above, the *Great Speos* was built close to the riverbank, as were most of the other, smaller shrines and the stela of Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah (see fig. 28 above) and Ramesses III, with quarried sandstone hills behind them. Some of the shrines were carved into the sandstone higher up in the cliff side, meaning they were not directly accessible from a low Nile.

⁶¹¹ Caminos & James, *Gebel el-Silsila* (1963), 57.

⁶¹² Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 461, fig. 3.

⁶¹³ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Viziers User-Amun* (1998), 85.

⁶¹⁴ The area was quarried from the Middle Kingdom onwards but was at its peak importance during the New Kingdom, Kucharek, "Gebel el-Silsila," *UEE* (2012), 2.

Thiem argues that during the 18th dynasty, this area was under the administration of the vice-roy of Kush, effectively making Gebel el-Silsila a boundary marker for the southern border of Egypt.⁶¹⁵ At the same time, this area is where the Nile is the narrowest within the ancient Egyptian territory.⁶¹⁶ This means that any boat passing by would come close to the chapels and the speos. However, one would not have been able to identify the owners of the chapels from the river, meaning visitors would have to disembark in order to inspect the inscriptions. The site is almost exclusively accessible from the water, meaning that the individuals present here felt it important to have a monument visible to passersby in this specific location. Caminos argues that the placement of the shrines here meant that they were accessible from the water during the inundation,⁶¹⁷ suggesting that the inundation season was of importance to this site. Thiem states that a high Nile would have flooded both the *Great Speos* and the smaller shrines, something that was intended by the builders to happen.⁶¹⁸ This suggests that the act of flooding was of cultic importance as an act of rejuvenation, which was the same principle used in Seti I's Osireion at his temple in Abydos. This part of the temple had a platform surrounded with water perhaps intended to emulate the tomb of the god Osiris.⁶¹⁹ Kucharek does, however, dispute this notion, and argues instead that while the placement of chapels, *speos* and stelae close to the edge of the river would occasionally cause them to be flooded, the topic of their decorations does not suggest that this was the aim of their construction here.⁶²⁰ Instead, the relief scenes and texts are of funerary nature, suggesting that the shrines were made as cenotaphs in order for the owners to take part in the offerings presented to the gods at the site.⁶²¹

In any case, the site was associated with the inundation of the Nile, which is evident from the term *p³ mw w³b* - *the pure water*. This term was first used at Gebel el-Silsila during the reign of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV, and Caminos and James argue that it must refer to the waters of the inundation, since it can be identified with the term *nw.y* - *flood*.⁶²² On the royal stelae dating to the Ramesside Period, the term is used as part of an epithet (*hr.y-ib p³ mw w^cb* - *who dwells in the pure water*)⁶²³ for specific deities, namely Amun-Re, Horus, Osiris, Geb, Nut, Shu/Onuris-Shu, Thoth and Taweret.⁶²⁴ The texts of all four stelae are very similar, all with invocations to the god Hapi and a decree for biannual offerings for Hapi, Amun-Re and water gods.⁶²⁵ The stelae therefore support the importance of the site for the inundation. As for the latter female deity praised on the stelae, Taweret is on one stela from Deir el-Medina mentioned as *hnw.t mw w^cb* - *mistress of the pure water*, and is often provided with this epithet within the village, which Kucharek argues was a custom brought from Gebel el-Silsila.⁶²⁶ In addition, in an inscription on his Ptah temple statue Cairo CG 630 from Memphis, Paser wished for being

⁶¹⁵ Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh* (2000), 29.

⁶¹⁶ Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh* (2000), 28; The ancient Egyptian toponym for the area was *hny* - *rowing place*, referring to the Nile as being narrow at this site, Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh* (2000), 32.

⁶¹⁷ Caminos & James, *Gebel el-Silsila* (1963), 7.

⁶¹⁸ Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh* (2000), 267.

⁶¹⁹ O'Connor, *Abydos* (2009), 51.

⁶²⁰ In addition, the force of the water flow of the inundation would have been very destructive to the buildings, Kucharek, "Gebel el-Silsila," *UEE* (2012), 9.

⁶²¹ As shown by the figures in Kucharek, "Gebel el-Silsila," *UEE* (2012), 7-8.

⁶²² The term here refers to a group of unspecified deities who are "in the pure waters," Caminos & James, *Gebel el-Silsilah* (1963), 34.

⁶²³ Stela of Ramesses II, line 12, and stela of Merenptah, line 9, *KRI I* (1975), 82, 83.

⁶²⁴ Kucharek, "Gebel el-Silsila," *UEE* (2012), 4.

⁶²⁵ From line 5, *KRI I* (1975), 85-89.

⁶²⁶ Kucharek, "Gebel el-Silsila," *UEE* (2012), 4.

purified with *mw w^cb pr m 3bw* – with the pure water that comes forth from Elephantine,⁶²⁷ providing a further reference to the inundation as something sacred. Hence, the site of Gebel el-Silsila influenced other parts of ancient Egyptian society as a place of great importance for the yearly inundation, and, following that, the regeneration of the cultivated land with life-giving crops for the people.

The east bank of the site is marked by some 1800 graffiti (of which 40 are in hieroglyphs or Hieratic), dating from the Predynastic Period to modern day, while around 300 are recorded on the west bank.⁶²⁸ Some of these date from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, with a pattern of clusters just above the *Great Speos*,⁶²⁹ meaning they predate the construction of this monument. Contrary to the New Kingdom chapels, their nature does not reflect a religious motive, but rather, they were carved by the personnel of expeditionary forces that came to quarry here prior to the more systemized exploitation of the area during the New Kingdom.⁶³⁰ Unfortunately, the area remains poorly published to this day,⁶³¹ which means that the nature of the New Kingdom graffiti is not fully understood. Inside the *Great Speos*, there are seven recorded and published graffiti.⁶³² Four of these date to the reign of Ramesses II and are placed in connection with the proclamations of his *heb-sed*.⁶³³ The remaining three graffiti date to the reign of Ramesses III and were all made by the royal scribe and chief of the treasury Setemhab, who wrote that he came there to execute works for the king, bringing with him an expeditionary force of 3000 men.⁶³⁴

In addition, in regnal year 6 of Seti I, a stela commissioned by the king was carved on the east bank of the quarry. The text states that a force of 1000 men of the army (*ḥw n mš^c.w s ḥ*) was sent to the area in order to retrieve stone.⁶³⁵ Another stela carved on the east bank rock face, is also dated to the reign of Seti I, and was dedicated by the *imy-r mš^c.w m mn.w n nb t3.wy* – overseer of the army⁶³⁶ for the monuments of the lord of the Two Lands Hapy.⁶³⁷ The presence of an individual using such a title suggests that Seti I did send an expeditionary force to Gebel el-Silsila to quarry sandstone for his building projects.⁶³⁸ The main activities of the

⁶²⁷ Line 5, *KRI III* (1980), 12.

⁶²⁸ Ranging from depictions of animals and humans to texts in various scripts (with 300 significant Demotic inscriptions). Many more ancient graffiti may have been lost over time as quarrying removed them, Caminos, “Epigraphy in the Field,” *Studies in Egyptology* (1987), 60, 61, 64.

⁶²⁹ Osing, “Graffiti de l’Ancien et du Moyen Empire,” *Sehel* (2004), 4.

⁶³⁰ Osing, “Graffiti de l’Ancien et du Moyen Empire,” *Sehel* (2004), 6.

⁶³¹ After Camino and James’s first publication *Gebel el-Silsilah – The Shrines* (1963), research on the area was paused due to more pressing research matters in Nubia and further publications stopped after the later untimely passing of Caminos. The publication of the graffiti of Wadi Shatt el-Rigal was finally realized in 2021, with a promise of a following publication of the graffiti of Gebel el-Silsilah, though this is still forthcoming, publisher’s foreword (Jan Geisbusch) in Caminos & Osing, *Wadi Shatt el-Rigal* (2021), 11.

⁶³² Caminos mentions a “large number of graffiti,” both Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic and Greek, Caminos, “Epigraphy in the Field,” *Studies in Egyptology* (1987), 62. They remain, however, unpublished.

⁶³³ The inscriptions consist merely of the scribes’ titles and names, *KRI II* (1979), 395, line 9-11; *KRI IV* (1982), 90, line 15, 91, line 3-8.

⁶³⁴ Dated regnal year 5, first month of Shemu. He states that the expeditionary force consisted of 2000 men of the *mš^c.w*, 500 stonemasons, 4 *ḥ-n-s/.../r* ships and 500 [...]men, *KRI V* (1983), 228, line 14-16.

⁶³⁵ Line 10, *KRI I* (1975), 60.

⁶³⁶ Kitchen argues that the presence of standard-bearers in the text makes it clear that it was an army force and not simply an expedition, *RITANC I* (1993), 57.

⁶³⁷ Line 13, *KRI I* (1975), 61.

⁶³⁸ Kitchen states that it is possible that Hapy was a member of the force sent by Seti I as stated in his stela, *RITANC I* (1993), 58.

people sent to the area was therefore concentrated around the east bank quarry, and not the west bank chapels. Leaving visitors' graffiti on monuments was common practice throughout ancient Egyptian history, as demonstrated by Peden's work.⁶³⁹

The main period for building works on the west bank was therefore the 18th dynasty, with only the chapel of Paser and Panehsy, along with the statue niches of Khaemwaset, Khay and Neferrenpet inside the *Great Speos* dating to the 19th dynasty. After this building activity on the west bank stopped, and what remained was the carving of graffiti. Thus, although the area may have continued to hold religious importance after the end of the 19th dynasty, this was not manifested in the building of religious spaces. Gebel el-Silsila did remain an important sandstone quarry, but the focus on participation in religious ceremonies through building of cenotaphs did not continue in later periods.

8.4.1. Wadi Hammamat in the Context of Gebel el-Silsila

An area comparable to Gebel el-Silsila and indeed also to Sehel Island and the area of Aswan in terms of usage, is Wadi Hammamat. This 200 km long wadi in the eastern desert formed both the shortest route through the desert from Quft to the Red Sea and was a quarry for especially greywacke, but also granite and gold.⁶⁴⁰ In addition, many travelers and quarry workers left their mark on the stone here by carving stelae and graffiti throughout ancient Egyptian history, from the Early Dynastic to the Roman Period.⁶⁴¹ The inscriptions made on the rock faces varied in type from personal names and titles to royal and religious iconography.⁶⁴² All three sites were then important quarries located on highly busy travel routes, one going east, the other south, as well as being social gathering points.

In relation to viziers, only one individual of this office left inscriptions in the wadi, namely Amenemhat, who was active during the reign of Mentuhotep IV in the 11th dynasty. Three of the four inscriptions he had made consists of descriptions of expeditions to the wadi to procure stone for the king and gods.⁶⁴³ Two of them are dated to the same day, regnal year 2, 2nd month of Akhet, day 15. The first describes the size of the expeditionary force as being 10.000 men, while the second contains a direct speech of the vizier describing his mission as commanded by the king, along with the large expeditionary force he had under his charge.⁶⁴⁴ The next vizier to have his name inscribed on the stone of the wadi was Paraemheb, who was in office during the reign of Seti II.⁶⁴⁵ This rock carved stela shows the vizier in an adoring pose in front of the king's cartouches. The text does not mention any expedition or other reason for the vizier to be present at the site, which was also the case with Paser's name mentioned together with

⁶³⁹ Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt* (2001).

⁶⁴⁰ Bloxam, "Place Full of Whispers," *CAJ* 25/4 (2015), 793, 794.

⁶⁴¹ Bloxam, "Place Full of Whispers," *CAJ* 25/4 (2015), 789.

⁶⁴² Bloxam, "Place Full of Whispers," *CAJ* 25/4 (2015), 803.

⁶⁴³ Couyat & Montet, *Ouadi Hammamat* (1912), 77, 79, 98, 103.

⁶⁴⁴ Couyat & Montet, *Ouadi Hammamat* (1912), 79, 98.

⁶⁴⁵ Couyat & Montet, *Ouadi Hammamat* (1912), 114.

Ramesses II and an unknown queen by the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim on Sinai.⁶⁴⁶ Hence, there is no record of any vizier conducting an expedition to Wadi Hammamat after the late 11th dynasty. This points to a change in the viziers' area of operation after that point. As has been shown, the early Ramesside viziers are exclusively attested across the length of the Nile that formed part of the Egyptian territory. The exception to this is Paser's mention on Sinai and his diplomatic letter found at Boghazköi, as well as Khay's plaque in Megiddo, the latter of the two being related to the role of the vizier as diplomat rather than expedition leader.

Thus, even though the functions of these sites were similar, Wadi Hammamat did not receive the same type of visits from viziers as Gebel el-Silsila or Sehel Island, at least not one that can be read from the stone. As the site was a quarry, it is possible that any inscriptions made by viziers have not survived, though the lack of any mention of one here from the late 11th dynasty until the reign of Darius in the Persian Period,⁶⁴⁷ does indicate that expeditions to the wadi and further east did not fall under the regular assignments of the vizier. Sites along the Nile such as the quarries of Gebel el-Silsila and Sehel Island did, however, belong to the viziers' routes of travel, as witnessed by their presence here. This supports the notion from section 7.1. above, which showed that the act of a vizier travelling abroad on an official mission for the king was extraordinary.

8.5 Summary: Action and Context

The vizier Paser's social network shows clear ties to Deir el-Medina, which demonstrates the influence he had there, both as director of the village and as overseer of the construction of the royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings. The appointment of Ramose, an outsider with no familiar relationship with the tomb builders' village, as the tomb scribe could suggest that the inhabitants were dissatisfied with their working conditions. For Paser to have an outsider employed in the prestigious role of scribe meant that he had a loyal ally within the community, who could work for the vizier to calm the situation.

The importance of Paser to the king, Ramesses II, is clearly demonstrated by his involvement in the diplomatic events leading to the peace treaty concluded between Egypt and Hatti in Ramesses II's 20th regnal year. The letter sent from Paser to the Hittite king, Hattusili III, shows that he played an important enough role in the event that he had direct contact with a foreign head of state, something that is otherwise unattested. It has also been shown that in the event of one early Ramesside vizier travelling abroad, the other could take over for a period of time, as evidenced by the title *imy-r niwt t3ty n Šm^c Mḥw* – *overseer of the City and vizier of the South and North*. One such occasion is attested for the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, who used the title *wpw.ty-nswt r t3 n Ḥḫ* – *royal envoy to the land of Hatti* and his colleague Paser could for the

⁶⁴⁶ *KRI II* (1979), 341. Kitchen remarks that the reason for the mention of Paser here is obscure, but it is possible that he was sent out by the king to observe the mining activities, *RITANC II* (1999), 203. As has been argued in this chapter, none of Paser's titles or monuments indicate that he was ever sent abroad on behalf of the king.

⁶⁴⁷ Couyat & Montet, *Ouadi Hammamat* (1912), 68.

duration of his travels have been vizier for all of Egypt. Thus, these two examples show *ad hoc* assignments performed by viziers.

The viziers did travel internally in Egypt along the Nile. One particular socio-cultural gathering point for them was the otherwise remote location of Gebel el-Silsila. While this quarry received much attention from viziers, Wadi Hammamat containing valuable stone types like granite and greywacke did not. This points to specific patterns in travel routes, which did not include going east to the desert quarry or towards the sea route to the Asiatic and southern African countries. Hence, the viziers did not usually travel abroad.

9. FUNCTIONS OF THE VIZIER IN THE 18TH DYNASTY AND THE EARLY RAMESSIDE PERIOD

According to Van den Boorn's analysis of *The Duties*,⁶⁴⁸ the role of the vizier was tripartite as being the king's deputy, manager of the king's palace, i.e., the royal estate, and head of the civil administration. This fits well with the records found in the *Onomasticon of Amunemipet*, which lists the vizier as the head of three separate governing bodies, namely as *ḥḥy* – vizier, head of the king's council, *ḥḥy imy-r niwt nw T3-Mr.y* – vizier and overseer of the Cities of Egypt, head of the managing government (great council), and *ḥry-sšt3 n pr-nswt* – master of secrets in the Palace, interpreted by Grandet as the chairman of the royal administration.⁶⁴⁹

The three 18th dynasty viziers discussed here are Rekhmire (TT 100), User(-Amun) (TT 131) and Amunemopet (TT 29), who, as stated above, are relevant to the present study due to the fact that they were the initial group of viziers who had *The Duties* inscribed in their tomb chapels, the text that was in the early 19th dynasty copied by Paser in TT 106. The tomb of Rekhmire is of further value as it also contains an autobiography describing the vizier's appointment to office by king Thutmose III, as well as being decorated with scenes showing various functions of the vizierial office.⁶⁵⁰ Although these monumental texts are not to be taken at face value, but rather as ideological, there is valuable information to be gained from them. As already stated, Paser chose to include the text *The Duties* in the decorative program of his tomb, TT 106. The fact that Paser chose to place his tomb close to these earlier viziers and to place emphasis on his promotion vizier with a copy of *The Duties*, biographical texts detailing his career path, how he became vizier under Seti I and maintained that position under Ramesses II, as well as the inclusion of a reward scene showing Paser in front of Seti I,⁶⁵¹ strongly suggests that he sought to associate himself with that group.

⁶⁴⁸ *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 310-324.

⁶⁴⁹ As sectioned after the numbering by Gardiner. Grandet, "Chapter on Hierarchy," *Ramesse Period* (2018), 130, 131, 133.

⁶⁵⁰ Published with copies of the tomb scenes by Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943).

⁶⁵¹ For *The Duties*, see van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988). For biographical and reward scene texts, see Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 148-156.

In addition, some of these 18th dynasty viziers, namely Aametu, User(-Amun), and Rekhmire, were closely related, as well as having strong ties to the cult of Amun at Karnak and familial ties to the viceroys of Kush at the beginning of the 18th dynasty through Aametu.⁶⁵² Thus, this family represents an exceptionally powerful group with great influence over the administration during this time. With the evidence already presented in the case study of Paser, it is clear that he must have been well aware of this family's history and his attempts to be associated with them must then have been premeditated. Furthermore, TT 106 is located in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, situated on the south side of Deir el-Bahri, a site popular with both Middle Kingdom and 18th dynasty viziers, and not placed at Dra Abu el-Naga, another site popular among high officials, which oversees the mortuary temple of Seti I (see map, fig. 29 below). Thus, Paser chose the proximity of earlier viziers' tombs over that of the king's mortuary temple. For this reason, it is relevant to include the mid-18th dynasty viziers in this study.

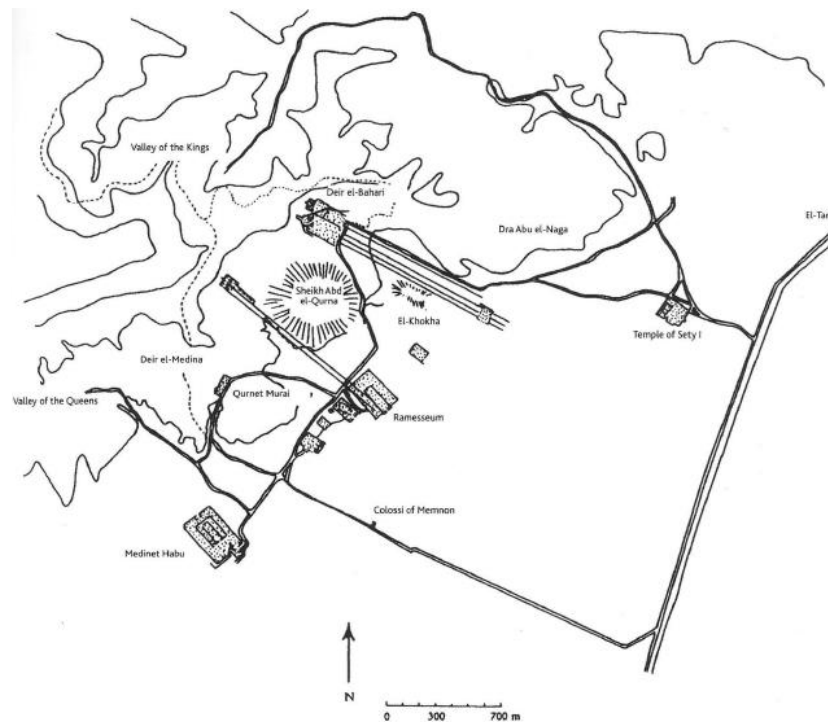


Figure 29. MAP OF THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS. SOURCE: F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, *THEBAN NECROPOLIS* (2003), 3.

The first mid-18th dynasty vizier to have both *The Duties* and the Installation-text inscribed in his tomb was User(-Amun). He used the names User and Useramun interchangeably,⁶⁵³ for which reason he is called User(-Amun) here. This vizier has the best-preserved record of the 18th dynasty with 20 attestations in total.⁶⁵⁴ As discussed in section 5.1. above, Paser sought to be associated with this vizier in particular, and his relatively high number of known sources compared to the other viziers in office during this period, may have aided Paser's level of knowledge of and interest in him. It should be added to this that one of User(-Amun)'s tombs,

⁶⁵² Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 76.

⁶⁵³ *URK IV* (1909), 1039-1044.

⁶⁵⁴ Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun* (1994); Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun* (1998), 85-99.

TT 61, a usurped tomb originally dated to the Middle Kingdom, is located close to both the tomb of User(-Amun)'s father, Aametu called Iahmose (henceforth Aametu), and TT 60, the tomb of Antefoker, who was a Middle Kingdom vizier.⁶⁵⁵ The location of the tombs of these two individuals may well have influenced the placement of a tomb complex of User(-Amun) here, as all of these tombs seem to have influenced Paser's choice to place his tomb complex in their vicinity.

The successor of User(-Amun) in the southern vizierial office, Rekhmire, was the grandson of the vizier Aametu and nephew of User(-Amun). His father was a wab-priest of Amun called Neferweben, a brother to User(-Amun),⁶⁵⁶ while his mother was the *hkr.t-nswt* Beta.⁶⁵⁷ Directly translated this title means *ornament of the king* but it has often been translated as *royal concubine*.⁶⁵⁸ Helck suggests for this title a connection to the royal "harem,"⁶⁵⁹ though this is not explicitly stated in the title. Skumsnes uses the translation *royal acquaintance*, which is perhaps a more neutral term,⁶⁶⁰ though *lady in waiting* may be just as correct.⁶⁶¹ In any case, the use of *nswt* must refer to a position related to the king, and therefore the women who held it must have been of high rank. The title is attested already in the Old Kingdom, where Jones suggests that women who carried it were of married status, as opposed to those called *nfr.t-nswt*.⁶⁶² Thus, Beta was a woman with direct connection to the royal household, who was married to a wab-priest, which in modern scholarship has been viewed as a lower-ranking position within the temple. How a *hkr.t-nswt* was viewed in terms of rank within the palace during the 18th dynasty is also difficult to establish, especially when the heritage of Beta is unknown.⁶⁶³ It is therefore questionable whether the position of wab-priest should be viewed as low-rank or if it was an insignificant position, it affected Neferweben's social rank. The fact that he was a son of the powerful Aametu and married to a woman with a connection to the royal household would suggest that he did not suffer a social loss by carrying this title.

Despite the lavish tomb Rekhmire had built for himself (TT 100), little else is known about him. His tomb complex and three other sources are all that survive today.⁶⁶⁴ As shown in the previous section, he became vizier during the reign of Thutmose III and is attested as such in P. Louvre 3226.⁶⁶⁵ The king passed away before the completion of TT 100, and so, Rekhmire recorded the accession of Amenhotep II to the throne with himself still as vizier.⁶⁶⁶ It seems, though, that there may have occurred some form of controversy during or at the end of his

⁶⁵⁵ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 268.

⁶⁵⁶ The family relations of Rekhmire are described on the north wall of the broad hall of his tomb chapel, Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), 14.

⁶⁵⁷ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 490.

⁶⁵⁸ Ex. PM I-I (1962), 325.

⁶⁵⁹ I.e., *königlichen Harimmädchen*, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 297.

⁶⁶⁰ Skumsnes, *Patterns of Change* (2018), 103.

⁶⁶¹ Jones, *Index Old Kingdom* (2000), 794

⁶⁶² No. 2899, Jones, *Index Old Kingdom* (2000), 794.

⁶⁶³ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 490.

⁶⁶⁴ Stela Louvre C 74 and O. Berlin P 10621, *URK IV* (1909), 1173, 1174. P. Louvre E 3226, Megally, *Recherches* (1977), 278.

⁶⁶⁵ Megally, *Recherches* (1977), 278.

⁶⁶⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), 63.

career, since it appears that his image in his tomb was systematically destroyed.⁶⁶⁷ If he for an unknown reason fell from grace with the king, it could have been a reason for Paser to not favor this particular vizier over his uncle User(-Amun) and grandfather Aametu.⁶⁶⁸ No exact dates are available for the end of his term in office, but his successor, Amunemopet, is attested as southern vizier during the reign of Amenhotep II through this king's presence in his tomb (see following section). Thus, Rekhmire held the office of the southern vizier in the later years of the reign of Thutmose III, was confirmed in that position at the accession of Amenhotep II but was replaced by Amunemopet at an unknown date (see table 6 below).

<i>Regnal year</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Artifact/Monument</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Year 34 under Thutmose III</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	P. Louvre E 3226	Accounting records
<i>Accession of Amenhotep II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	TT 100	Relief scene
<i>Reign of Amenhotep II</i>	Amunemopet is attested as vizier	TT 29	Tomb of Amunemopet

Table 6. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR REKHMIRE.⁶⁶⁹

Rekhmire's tomb complex TT 100 is located at the south end of the area of the Theban necropolis called Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a bit away from other vizier tombs, perhaps because the stone quality was better there,⁶⁷⁰ whereas Paser's tomb is placed at the north end. The stone quality where TT 106 was built is not good and has later caused parts of the ceiling and walls to collapse,⁶⁷¹ so its placement could not have been chosen for that reason. TT 100 consists of a T-shaped chapel with a large transverse hall, and was the second tomb chapel to have a copy of *The Duties* and the Installation-text inscribed,⁶⁷² the former being the best-preserved copy of the four existing duplicates. Since this tomb chapel does not hold a burial shaft dating to the time of Rekhmire, the vizier could not have been buried here. Johnson has suggested that he may have followed the example of the kings of the time by separating their religious spaces located near the Nile valley on the west bank from their hidden tombs in the Valley of the Kings.⁶⁷³

The family of Rekhmire had a strong connection to the cult of Amun at Karnak, both through their own positions within the precinct,⁶⁷⁴ but also through Aametu's marriage to the sister of

⁶⁶⁷ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 277.

⁶⁶⁸ Jiménez-Higueras has shown that the spatial relations between tombs was not coincidental: Aametu and his family members created a "family complex" of tombs, with additional tombs of people who served them in life, at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Jiménez-Higueras, *Sacred Landscape* (2020), 25. This shows that the powerful family attracted people, who wanted to keep their association with them in the necropolis.

⁶⁶⁹ Megally, *Recherches* (1977), 278; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), 63; *PM I-I* (1960), 45.

⁶⁷⁰ Or the upper slopes may have become crowded with other tomb chapels and space was therefore scarce, Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 277.

⁶⁷¹ Shown in the photographs of the tomb where ancient repairs were made, taken by Eva Hofmann, Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), plate 57.

⁶⁷² Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), 15, 30.

⁶⁷³ Johnson, "Monument for a Vizier," *KMT* 14/2 (2003), 30.

⁶⁷⁴ Rekhmire himself was titled *overseer of all works of Amun, overseer of all workshops of Amun, overseer of the šn^c-workshop of Amun and first scribe of the divine offerings of Amun*, while User(-Amun) was titled *overseer*

the then mayor (*ḥ3.ty-ꜣ*) of Thebes, Ineni, who also held several high-level positions within the Amun temple. Shirley has concluded, that before Aamet, there was no connection between the precinct of Amun and the office of vizier, but his son, User(-Amun) held several priestly titles related to Amun.⁶⁷⁵ Rekhmire and at least three of his sons also held positions related to the Amun cult,⁶⁷⁶ and it is possible that one of them was being trained as successor of his father. However, as stated above, Rekhmire's tomb chapel was at some point deliberately defaced (see fig. 30 below) and the southern vizier's office passed to Amunemopet, who had no familial relation to this former family dynasty of viziers. It is interesting, then, that after the disruption of the Egyptian temples during the Amarna Period, Paser was closely connected to the very top of the leadership of the cult of Amun through his father, Nebnetjeru, and was chosen to become vizier at the beginning of the 19th dynasty.



Figure 30. DEFACED IMAGE OF REKHMIRE, TRANSVERSE HALL TT 100. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

The third and final vizier of the 18th dynasty to have a copy of *The Duties* inscribed in their tomb was Amunemopet, also called Païry. There are no exact dates for his time in office, but he was, as stated above, the southern vizier during the reign of Amenhotep II. This king is depicted in his first tomb, TT 29, which is located near of the other viziers dated to this period, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 60 meters west of Rekhmire's TT 100.⁶⁷⁷ He was not related to the former viziers but may have had a close personal connection to the king since childhood, reflected by the positions of his father within the royal household.⁶⁷⁸ His mother Nebu, as well as his wife carried the title *ḥkr.t-nswt* – lady in waiting. Hence, both parents and the wife of

of the granaries of Amun, overseer of all works of Amun and scribe of the divine seal of the house of Amun. One brother of User(-Amun), Amunmose was titled scribe of the silver house of Amun and another, Hori, was the steward of the temple of Amun, Eichler, *Verwaltung des "Houses des Amun"* (2000), 124, 205, 206, 250, 306.

⁶⁷⁵ Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 79; see also Jiménez-Higueras, *Sacred Landscape* (2020), 27.

⁶⁷⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1943), 14.

⁶⁷⁷ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 281.

⁶⁷⁸ His father was the *imy-r ip.t ḥm.t-nswt* – overseer of the queen's apartments and *mn^c-nswt* – tutor of the king, Ahmose-Humay, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 297.

Amunemopet carried titles closely related to the royal household, while his brother was placed in another important office, that of mayor (*h3.ty-9*) of Thebes. This vizier did thus also come from a family of great importance, though instead of that family being an independent unit they were directly involved with the king. Amunemopet was awarded the high honor of a second tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 48) which is located close to the tomb of the king he served, Amenhotep II (KV 35).⁶⁷⁹ Jiménez-Higueras argues that familial and professional relationships played a strategic role in the placement of a tomb, visible through clusters of tombs related by kinship of the tomb owners.⁶⁸⁰ It was therefore not coincidental were a tomb was built, but rather a show of privilege and prestige. The shift away from the Aametu family dynasty of viziers may reflect the loss of royal favor suffered by Rekhmire towards the end of his career. It could also be a consequence of the accumulated power of this family, which may have become too much for the king to ignore. Therefore, by choosing a new vizier with a close relation to the king himself, he opted for someone who would likely be more inclined to place his loyalty with the sovereign.

Amunemopet still chose to have *The Duties* inscribed in his tomb chapel of TT 29, which may reflect that the text had a purpose. As Eyre states, *The Duties* provides a list of guidelines for the vizierial office, while the other text found in three mid-18th dynasty vizier tombs, the Installation-text, serves as instructions directly from the king.⁶⁸¹ *The Duties*, on the other hand, could be compared to royal decrees, which provided a specific code of conduct.⁶⁸² Thus, through his choice of text, Amunemopet may have sought association with the vizier's office more than directly with the king in this tomb chapel. The only vizier to choose the Installation-text over *The Duties* was Hapu, who was in office during the reign of Thutmose IV, in his tomb TT 66.⁶⁸³ This tomb is located on the opposite side of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna to Amunemopet's TT 29, closer to the tombs of Aametu and User(-Amun), as well as some Middle Kingdom viziers.⁶⁸⁴ So, while Amunemopet may have sought the association of Rekhmire, his successor Hapu preferred the company of that vizier's ancestors. This could again point to the loss of favor of Rekhmire, which may only have happened after Amunemopet had commissioned the building of his own tomb close to TT 100.

<i>Regnal year</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Artifact/Monument</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Reign of Amenhotep II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	TT 29	Theban tomb
<i>Reign of Amenhotep II</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	KV 48	King's Valley tomb

Table 7. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR AMUNEMOPET.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁷⁹ The tomb is undecorated, but ownership is confirmed by several shabtis found there, <https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-48-amenemipet> in: The Theban Mapping Project (accessed: 24/3 2023).

⁶⁸⁰ Jiménez-Higueras, *Sacred Landscape* (2020), 27.

⁶⁸¹ Eyre, *Use of Documents* (2013), 56.

⁶⁸² Eyre, *Use of Documents* (2013), 58.

⁶⁸³ Faulkner, "Installation of the Vizier," *JEA* 41 (1955), 18.

⁶⁸⁴ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 285.

⁶⁸⁵ *PM I-I* (1962), 45. <https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-48-amenemipet> in: The Theban Mapping Project (accessed: 24/3/ 2023).

Amunemopet's tomb TT 66 is the 18th dynasty vizier's tomb located closest to Paser's TT 106 (see fig. 31 below). It was also next to this tomb that Paser had a mudbrick pyramid built,⁶⁸⁶ which connects the 19th dynasty vizier directly with his 18th dynasty predecessor. So, although Paser may have sought to associate himself more with User(-Amun), he also connected himself with Amunemopet by placing his mudbrick pyramid in this exact location. Paser showed through his choice of location for his tomb, as well as the graffiti he scribbled in other tomb complexes of the Theban necropolis,⁶⁸⁷ that he was very much aware of the history of the site and the people interred there. It cannot, therefore, be a coincidence that TT 106 was built where it stands today.

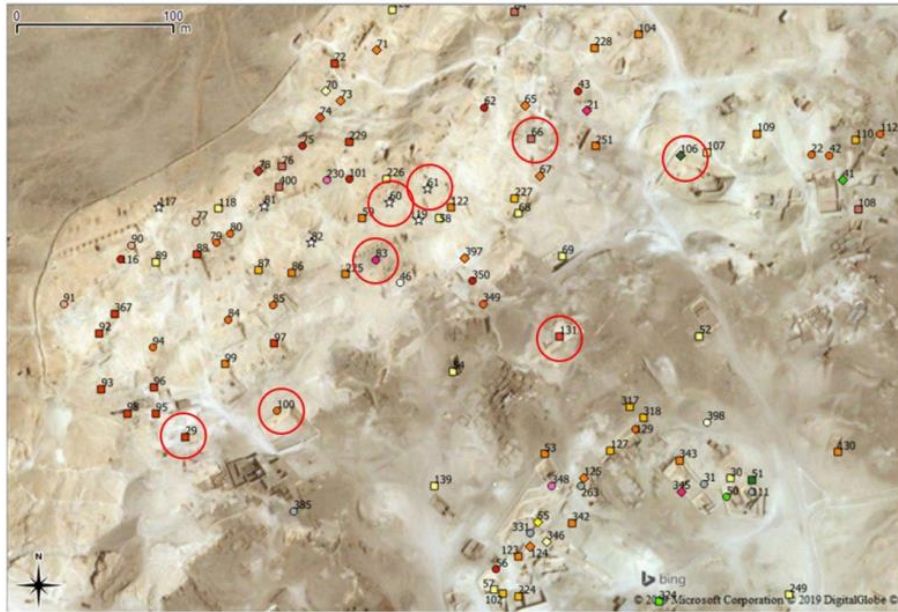


Figure 31. TT 106 SPATIAL RELATION BETWEEN MID-18TH DYNASTY VIZIERS' TOMBS (CIRCLED). SOURCE: SLINGER, *TOMB FAMILIES* (2022), 290, FIG. 349.

9.1 Jurisdiction

The monumental text of *The Duties* describes the vizier's role as divided into three main areas: jurisdiction over civil servants, operational control over various departments and civil servants, and their appointment.⁶⁸⁸ While *The Duties* does not speak of the vizier as judge outside of the civil administration,⁶⁸⁹ other sources reveal that he did have a role in court cases dealing with many aspects of the law in the ancient Egyptian society. Several titles used by the viziers refer to their role of being involved with the jurisdiction of ancient Egypt, *ḥm-nṯr Mꜣꜥt* – *prophet of Maat* and *tꜣyṯy* – *justice* being among the frequently occurring, though archaic, titles. In addition, Paser's Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42164 is inscribed with the title *didi ḥp.w* – *he*

⁶⁸⁶ Seyfried, "Dritter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 343, fig. 1.

⁶⁸⁷ Qenamun, TT 93, *KRI III* (1980), 22 and Kheti, TT 311, *KRI III* (1980), 23.

⁶⁸⁸ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 315-322.

⁶⁸⁹ Lines 8-9 describe how any misconduct made in any bureau of the administration should be brought before and judged by the vizier, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 77.

who gives the laws, while his Deir el-Bahri statue London BM 687 provides the title *wpp M3ꜥt* – he who judges Maat.⁶⁹⁰ The *Decree of Horemheb* dated to the late 18th dynasty states that this king established two great *kenbets* in two of Egypt's major cities, Thebes and Memphis or Heliopolis,⁶⁹¹ the main cities associated with the viziers. As both *The Duties* and other monumental inscriptions demonstrate, the ideological concept of the viziers as judge is clear. This is also clear from the decorative program of the tomb of the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire (TT 100), which has a relief scene dedicated to the role of the vizier as fair judge in all legal matters.⁶⁹² In his tomb autobiography, Rekhmire states that the king provided him with his own court of justice where no one could overrule him.⁶⁹³ In order to discuss their factual role, some legal documents that refer directly to the early Ramesside viziers' involvement in legal cases are discussed in this section.

The first case involves the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep (P. BM EA 10568) regarding a dispute about the division of slaves as inheritance.⁶⁹⁴ The date is damaged, but the Hieratic sign for 10 and the top of what is probably the ligatured sign for 9 is visible (see fig. 32 below).⁶⁹⁵ The papyrus was found in modern day Medinet Gurob in the Fayum region.



Figure 32. DATE LINE OF P. BM EA 10568. SOURCE: BRITISH MUSEUM ONLINE COLLECTION, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10568 (ACCESSED: 18/9 2023).

Unfortunately, the papyrus is very damaged, and both the beginning and ending of the text are lost, making it difficult to discern the exact information it would have provided. It is a fragmented single column of text which describes a dispute over the inheritance of a group of servants (*b3k.w*, in this connection likely to be understood as enslaved people) in regnal year 19(?) under Ramesses II, taking place in Pi-Ramesses, with the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep functioning as the head of the *kenbet*.⁶⁹⁶ This one column of text must have been part of a longer legal text describing the proceedings of the case from its beginning until it came to the hands of the vizier, who in the surviving piece of text relates his decision on the matter to the involved parties. Allam dated the papyrus to the late 19th dynasty due to the mention of (Pa-)Rahotep.⁶⁹⁷ Since it has been shown that this vizier was active at the latest around year 52 of Ramesses II (see

⁶⁹⁰ KRI III (1980), 17, 19.

⁶⁹¹ Kruchten, *Décret d'Horemheb* (1981), 148; Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy* (2016), 95. This monumental text is a rare occasion in which the topic of a royal decree does not revolve around the establishment or protection of temple estates, as Haring points out, Haring, "Administration and Law," *A Companion* (2010), 232.

⁶⁹² The relief depicts the court of the vizier, and the officials attached to it, and it is placed right next to the part of the text of *The Duties* which describes the vizier's judicial role, see Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1944), 30-34, pl. xxiv-xxv.

⁶⁹³ Line 11, Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1944), 80.

⁶⁹⁴ Allam, "Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven," *ZÄS 128/2* (2001), 89.

⁶⁹⁵ Both Allam and Kitchen have read year 19 in their transcriptions, Allam, "Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven," *ZÄS 128/2* (2001), 90; KRI VII (1989), 100.

⁶⁹⁶ The document is 29,5 cm wide and 21,5 cm high, Allam, "Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven," *ZÄS 128/2* (2001), 89.

⁶⁹⁷ Allam, "Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven," *ZÄS 128/2* (2001), 89.

fig. 15, section 5.1. above), Allam's dating may be incorrect. Although the subsequent five rulers of the 19th dynasty enjoyed significantly shorter reigns than Ramesses II,⁶⁹⁸ the later part of his reign would not be the *late 19th dynasty*.

Because of the damaged state of the papyrus, the text does not make it completely clear whether (Pa-)Rahotep was physically present for any parts of the legal dispute, but since he is explicitly mentioned it is likely that he was. The line of text mentioning the vizier simply states:

*imy-r niwt ḥty R^c-ḥtp [...] pr-R^c-ms-sw mr(.y) Imn ^c.w.s. p³ k³ ^c3 n p³ R^c-Ḥr-ḥty knb.t [.....]yt
r ^cr.yt pr-^c3 ^c.w.s. r-dd*

*Overseer of the City and vizier Rahotep [...] Pi-Ramesses Beloved of Amun l.p.h., the great ka of Prahorakhte kenbet [.....] to the hall/door of pharaoh l.p.h, saying:*⁶⁹⁹

It is clear, however, that what follows this introductory line is the beginning of a summary of the case, which involved the *kenbet* of Medinet Gurob (*Mr-wr*) as well as the chief mason/weaver (*ḥr.y-iḳd.w/sh.ty*)⁷⁰⁰ Khaemtener, who made a claim against the two female citizens (*ḥnh-n-niwt*) Hatshepses and Bakperrep for a group of servants (*b³k.w*). One of the women claimed that only one female servant, Renenut, was with her and she would turn her over to Khaemtener, though Renenut was not with her at that moment.⁷⁰¹ It is not made explicit in the titles of the plaintiffs if they had any connection to the important royal palace of Medinet Gurob,⁷⁰² though they did have the means to see the issue of the rights to the servants all the way to the top of the judicial system, i.e., the great *kenbet* headed by the northern vizier. The legal dispute described in P. BM EA 10568 shows that the vizier was not initially involved in the case but became so as the parties were unable to come to an agreement in the local *kenbet*. Hence, the vizier was not present for legal cases on a local level but could be consulted if a final verdict could not be reached there. In addition, van den Boorn argues that the *ḥry.t* was part of the *pr-nswt*, both as a “place of justice” and as an “entrance area,” which served as a transitional space between the enclosed palace and the outside world.⁷⁰³ Grandet argues further, that the term was used for the central administration.⁷⁰⁴ This suggests that the *kenbet* referred to in the legal case was held at the palace.

A different legal dispute involving the vizier about the rights to certain landholdings, comes from the tomb of the *sš pr-ḥd n Pth* – *scribe of the treasury of Ptah*⁷⁰⁵ Mose in Saqqara. This

⁶⁹⁸ Merenptah having the longest reign with ten years, Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 493.

⁶⁹⁹ Line 1-3, *KRI VII* (1989), 101. For the reconstruction of the word *ḥry.t* – *hall/door* see Allam, “Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven,” *ZÄS* 128/2 (2001), 89.

⁷⁰⁰ As reconstructed by Allam, “Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven,” *ZÄS* 128/2 (2001), 92.

⁷⁰¹ Line 10, *KRI VII* (1989), 101.

⁷⁰² As shown by Hagen, though the papyri documents from the area are still poorly published, the palace – or *pr-ḥnr* – of Medinet Gurob employed a large quantity of various workers, which is visible through a list of employees, probably from a palace daybook, Hagen, “Controlling Workforces at the Palace,” *Proceedings of the Third Lady Wallis Budge Egyptology Symposium* (2023), 124-130.

⁷⁰³ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 279.

⁷⁰⁴ In the same way as the Ottoman government was named *the Sublime Gate* of the residence of the grand vizier, Grandet, “Ramesside State,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 865.

⁷⁰⁵ Line 2, *KRI III* (1980), 423.

dispute, known as the *Trial of Mose*, is described on both the north and south tomb chapel walls and consists of five individual court cases about the same estate brought before the *kenbet* and *great kenbet* of the vizier years apart. As Kruchten argues, this legal case is an example of how the court system functioned as described according to the *Decree of Horemheb*.⁷⁰⁶ The case of Mose took place in Lower Egypt with the *great kenbet* placed in Heliopolis working together with the regional *kenbet* in Memphis (*knb.t Mn-nfr*).⁷⁰⁷ The decree states that Horemheb placed “discrete men” in the two great cities of Upper and Lower Egypt⁷⁰⁸ (most likely referring to the *great kenbets* as Haring concludes)⁷⁰⁹ and while the text is fragmented, it does mention judges of the court (*sḏm.yw n knb.t*) being prophets, mayors and wab-priests,⁷¹⁰ who would then have formed the local *kenbets* in the style of what is known from legal texts from Deir el-Medina.

The text in Mose’s tomb states that the disputed land was originally awarded to a forefather of Mose named Neshi, to whom it was given by king Ahmose at the beginning of the 18th dynasty. The land was then inherited by Neshi’s descendants until a legal dispute about the rights to the land arose during the reign of Horemheb. The third case is dated to regnal year 14[+ x] of Ramesses II,⁷¹¹ where the mother of Mose, Nubnofret, brought a complaint to the *kenbet* saying that she had the rights to the land in question, but the *rwḏw* – *agent/ controller/inspector*⁷¹² Khay contested this claim in regnal year 18, wanting the land for himself. A claim which he at that point won before the *great kenbet*.⁷¹³ According to the text in Mose’s tomb, Khay only won because he had somehow tampered with the land registry placed in the royal granary and treasury in Pi-Ramesses by removing the name of Nubnofret from it. In the fifth and final case, the date of which is unknown, Mose states that he brought his complaint before the vizier in Heliopolis, and again the registers documenting the family’s rights to the land were not found, so, instead, multiple witnesses from the area in question were brought before the vizier and the *great kenbet*, and they all testified that Mose and his mother were descendants of Neshi and therefore the rightful owners of the land. The end of the text is unfortunately very damaged, and it is therefore not known if Mose was successful in winning this last complaint, but it is unlikely that he would use this amount of space in his tomb chapel if he was not.⁷¹⁴ This is supported by a relief accompanying the legal case text, which shows Mose standing with his arms raised in a jubilant posture behind to male figures, who are bent

⁷⁰⁶ Kruchten, *Décret d’Horemheb* (1981), 158.

⁷⁰⁷ As described in line 15, Mose’s parents take the case to both courts, *KRI III* (1980), 425.

⁷⁰⁸ Column 4, Kruchten, *Décret d’Horemheb* (1981), 148, 150.

⁷⁰⁹ Haring, “Administration and Law,” *A Companion* (2010), 232.

⁷¹⁰ Column 7, Kruchten, *Décret d’Horemheb* (1981), 148, 151.

⁷¹¹ Date is damaged with only the number 10 and four lines visible, though the space shows that the number must have been higher than 14, see *KRI III* (1980), 426, l. 4.

⁷¹² Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 306.

⁷¹³ *KRI III* (1980), 426, l. 10.

⁷¹⁴ *RITANC III* (2013), 320; Haring, “Administration and Law,” *A Companion* (2010), 231; Gaballa, *Memphite Tomb Chapel* (1977), 30; Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes* (1905), 25. The only scholar to contest this view of the trial’s outcome is Allam, who suggested that the legal text was not placed in Mose’s tomb chapel as eternal proof of his victory, but rather, in the hopes that he would be more successful in the matter in the beyond, Allam, “Some Remarks,” *JEA* 75 (1989), 111.

over. They are standing before a scribe taking notes and the seated members of the *ḳnb.t sdm.yw* – *kenbet of judges*.⁷¹⁵ The scene thus shows Mose as successful in his complaint.

From this case, it is interesting to note both the vizier's direct involvement in the case, that the great *kenbet* led by the vizier took place in Heliopolis, and that an actual register of land ownership was kept and also updated. Though as Eyre argues in his analysis of the text, when Mose's father Huy died, Mose was the heir to the land in question. His mother, Nubnofret, could as a woman therefore no longer act as its "representative," and she would not figure in the lists of collected revenue held in Pi-Ramesses.⁷¹⁶ This would explain why her name was not found in any official document, as the text in Mose's tomb states. In all, the legal case of Mose shows that at the head of the justice system during the New Kingdom stood the vizier as chairman of the *great kenbet*, even though the king was the ideological supreme justice in religious texts.⁷¹⁷ Furthermore, *The Duties* specify that it was the vizier, who was the judge in any matter involving field boundaries,⁷¹⁸ as also noted by Haring.⁷¹⁹

It has been suggested that the vizier who oversaw the proceedings of the case was *Ir.y[...]*, the name only partially preserved in the list of individuals present for the proceedings.⁷²⁰ This is contested by Auenmüller, who argues that this should instead be read as the adverb *thereof*, as in *the overseer of the City and vizier thereof [...]*, because no vizier with this name is otherwise attested.⁷²¹ Since the other viziers in office during the reign of Ramesses II are so well-attested, it seems unlikely that an otherwise completely unknown vizier would have existed, and thus, the argument made by Auenmüller is followed here. The actual vizier(s) who dealt with the case is then not revealed in the text, but two northern viziers are possible candidates. As was established in section 6.1. above (see table 2), (Pa-)Rahotep is first attested as vizier in regnal year 19 under Ramesses II. He could, however, have been assigned to the office earlier, in which case he would have been the vizier to oversee the legal proceedings of the complaints made by Nubnofret and Khay, and most probably he was vizier when Mose's complaint was brought to the *kenbet* the fifth and final time. The other vizier who could have been involved in the case, possibly even as far back as at the beginning of the dispute during the reign of Horemheb, is Nebamun.

⁷¹⁵ Pieke, "Der Blick zurück nach vorn," *Fs Pusch* (2016), 234, pl. 9.

⁷¹⁶ Eyre, *Use of Documents* (2013), 159.

⁷¹⁷ Haring, "Administration and Law," *A Companion* (2010), 231.

⁷¹⁸ Line R20, Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 185.

⁷¹⁹ Haring, "Administration and Law," *A Companion* (2010), 232.

⁷²⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 432, l. 9. Also, translation in *RITA III* (2000), 170 and Gaballa, *Memphite Tomb Chapel* (1977), 24. This was furthermore the assumption made by Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 293.

⁷²¹ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 625. This was also suggested by the translation of the text done by Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes* (1905), 10.

<i>Regnal year</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Artifact/Monument</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Horemheb, unknown date</i>	<i>r-p^ct ḥ³ty-^c imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	TT 324 ⁷²²	Tomb of Hatya, relief depiction at offering table alongside vizier Usermontu
<i>Regnal year 2-3 (?) of Seti I</i>	<i>imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	P. BN 213 ⁷²³	Timber account

Table 8. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR NEBAMUN.

Compared to the other viziers in this study, relatively little is known about Nebamun and only seven sources attributed to him have been found.⁷²⁴ It is a matter of discussion whether he was vizier of the north or south.⁷²⁵ In this regard, it is worth noting that the palace timber account from Memphis, P. BN 213, states that wood was delivered to:

t³ c.t n imy-r niwt t³ty Nb-Imn

*The house of the overseer of the City and vizier Nebamun.*⁷²⁶

This is a clear indication that Nebamun had some sort of accommodation available to him in Memphis, though this is not sufficient evidence to place him in the northern office.⁷²⁷ Paser had buildings constructed in both Buhen in the far south of the Egyptian territory⁷²⁸ and in Pi-Ramesses in the Delta while being Upper Egyptian vizier. It is also worth noting, that the delivery list is part of the Memphis palace accounts, indicating that the wood came from there, whereas the nature of the delivery, either being part of a salary or being a commodity with another purpose, is not clear from the text.⁷²⁹ No tomb belonging to Nebamun has been discovered which could have aided in placing him in either office. It is interesting, though, that he is

⁷²² Q_3.4, Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 304, 307. Raue dated this tomb to shortly after the Amarna Period due to the style of relief, Raue, “Ein Wesir,” *Stationen* (1998), 344, footnote 50.

⁷²³ *KRI I* (1975), 280.

⁷²⁴ Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 304-305.

⁷²⁵ Kitchen places him as southern vizier, making him Paser’s predecessor, on the basis of the titles *sšm n s.t-nḥḥ imy-r k³.wt mnḥ m t³ dsr* – leader of the place of eternity, effective overseer of works in the Sacred Land inscribed on his statue from Abydos, Cairo CG 1140, *KRI I* (1975), 283. He argues that this title could be expressing Nebamun’s responsibility to oversee the building works in the Abydos necropolis, a task expected to be undertaken by the Upper Egyptian vizier, *RITANC I* (1993), 187. Raedler, on the other hand, places Nebamun in the northern office from the reign of Horemheb until the second decade of the reign of Ramses II at the latest. A relief in the tomb of Hatia, TT 324 dated to shortly after the Amarna Period, shows Nebamun seated at an offering table across from his colleague, the vizier Usermontu, drawing shown in fig. 1, Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 294, 298. This vizier was in office from the reign of Tutankhamun to Horemheb, known from a stela belonging to him, where the cartouche of the former was at some point erased and replaced by that of Horemheb, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 305. The only other sources for Usermontu are a relief in the tomb of Khonsu, TT 31, dated to the reign of Tutankhamun or Ay, and a stela from the temple of Armant, and they do not reveal whether he was vizier in the north or south, Davies, *Seven Private Tombs* (1948), 13, pl. 11; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 444.

⁷²⁶ *KRI I* (1975), 280.

⁷²⁷ Helck assumed that Nebamun held the northern office on that basis, Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 311.

⁷²⁸ For further information on this monument, see chapter 10 below.

⁷²⁹ Kitchen dated the document to very early in the reign of Seti I, *RITANC I* (1993), 187.

mentioned as *sn=f* – *his brother* together with the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep on two monuments of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer; the family monument from Abydos, Cairo JE 35258, and the unprovenanced standing statue Athens Museum 106.⁷³⁰ As discussed in section 5.1., the use of the term *sn=f* – *his brother* did not necessarily indicate biological brotherhood, but rather, was often a term used for non-biological kinship. (Pa-)Rahotep's son and Wenennefer's father do share the same name, Mery, but they do not use the same titles: The son Mery was *idn.w n pr-^cnh* – *deputy of the House of Life*, while the father Mery was *hm-ntr tp.y n 3sir* – *high priest of Osiris*.⁷³¹ If the two are the same person, he would have been promoted between the construction of the two monuments. On the other hand, Mery was a relatively common name, so they could just as easily be two different individuals entirely.

A vizier was also involved in the case of O. BM 65930 (formerly O. Nash 1), a trial related to the theft of copper in Deir el-Medina dated to year 6 of the reign of Seti II.⁷³² Like the case above, this case also shows that the viziers were involved in some legal disputes. In this case, the crime was seen as so severe that the village *kenbet* deemed it worthy of the penalty of death. The text states:

*ḥḥ.n t3 knb.t hr dd ḥḥ=t 3 ḥnh(.t)-n-niwt Hr.y-i3 š3y mw.t m3c.ty rmt-is.t Nb-nfr
is.tw hr w3ḥ t3y=s mdw.t r ii(.t) t3ty*

Then the kenbet said: She is a great false one, the citizeness Herya, worthy of death. The workman Nebnefer is in the right.

*Then her matter was laid down until the vizier should come.*⁷³³

The offense of Herya of stealing copper was deemed so severe that the final judgement was left to the vizier. After this line of the text follows a list of members of the *kenbet* present. It is after this list that the author of the text recalls the earlier case of Tanedjemhemes, the wife of the workman in the place of Truth (*rmt-is.t m s.t-M3c.t*), Pashedu,⁷³⁴ who stole a very small amount of copper, which was punished harshly by the vizier Neferrenpet. The author encourages the current vizier to pass equally harsh judgement in the new case.⁷³⁵ As McDowell states, theft within the village of Deir el-Medina was otherwise dealt with locally, while in this case and the earlier one referred to in O. BM 65930 where the theft involved copper, the crime was

⁷³⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 449, 451. Since the cartouches of Ramesses II are present on both, the monuments are easily dated to that king's reign. As (Pa-)Rahotep is titled vizier on the monuments and Paser was promoted to the office already during the reign of Seti I, Nebamun could no longer have been vizier at the time they were made. There is no evidence suggesting that Wenennefer was actually related to the two viziers.

⁷³¹ The son of (Pa-)Rahotep is named Mery on the vizier's fragmented statue, BM 712, *KRI III* (1980), 65. The father of Wenennefer is called Mery on the family monument Cairo JE 34505, *KRI III* (1980), 453.

⁷³² *KRI IV* (1982), 315. The ostrakon measures 23 cm in height and 19,5 cm in width and is inscribed on both the recto and verso.

⁷³³ Line 13-14, *KRI IV* (1982), 316.

⁷³⁴ Pashedu was further involved in criminal activity in the village as he was accused of being one of the workmen in league with the notorious chief workman Paneb, who according to P. Salt 124 committed acts of violence against other members of the Deir el-Medina community as well as stealing stone from the king's tomb for his own, McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 191; Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 224.

⁷³⁵ McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 188.

deemed so serious that the presence of the vizier was needed.⁷³⁶ The offense of stealing copper is in the text called *the abomination of this village*,⁷³⁷ which discloses further the severity of the crime. Hence, disputes on the local village level would have been dealt with by a local *kenbet*, depending on the severity of the crime at hand which would also have been the case in Deir el-Medina. The text also describes how the accused was *brought forth to the riverbank*.⁷³⁸ According to McDowell, this means an accused was brought there to be interrogated by the vizier or other officials.⁷³⁹ These cases show that the *kenbet* of the village would deal with most of the disputes arising there internally. As shown in the trial of Mose and the inheritance dispute over enslaved individuals, certain members of society had access to the vizier and the *great kenbet* in legal disputes. The population of Deir el-Medina was employed directly by the king to build his tomb, and the southern vizier was their main superior contact, as is clear from the many communications, monuments and artifacts related to him that have been found in the village.⁷⁴⁰ Therefore, the inhabitants of the village had the option to call upon the vizier when necessary. The presence of the vizier to oversee these cases from Deir el-Medina underlines the seriousness of the crimes committed.

Another case from the later 19th dynasty in which the vizier is mentioned is that of P. Salt 124.⁷⁴¹ The text is a complaint addressed to the vizier by the workman Amunnakhte, who accuses the chief workman Paneb of various crimes committed in and around the village, as well as adultery involving three different women.⁷⁴² Although the text is of a slightly later date than the main focus of this project, it does however show that the workmen of Deir el-Medina were able to bring a complaint against the foremen of the gangs directly to the vizier, as also noted by McDowell.⁷⁴³ The first mention of a vizier in the text describes a case of bribery. Amunnakhte complains that after the death of his father and the murder of his brother by “the enemy,” Paneb took five servants belonging to Amunnakhte’s father and gave them to the vizier Paraemheb, who then made Paneb chief workman.⁷⁴⁴ By accepting the servants from Paneb and making him chief workman over Amunnakhte, the vizier made himself guilty of bribery. *The Duties* does not mention anything about the morality of the vizier, but the Installation-text specifying the moral conduct of the vizier from the tomb of Rekhmire, TT 100, states:

⁷³⁶ McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 187.

⁷³⁷ *bw.t n pꜣy dmi*, KRI IV (1982), 317.

⁷³⁸ *iw=f hr di.t iꜣy-s r mry.t* – He (the scribe Hatya) had her brought forth to the riverbank, line 8, KRI IV (1982), 317.

⁷³⁹ McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 221.

⁷⁴⁰ See the collected lists of sources related to the southern viziers under Ramesses II in Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 310-342, 377-383, 387-394. For new additions to Paser’s list of sources, see catalogue below.

⁷⁴¹ This document also derives from Deir el-Medina and consists of three sheets of papyrus measuring in total 62 cm in length and 38 cm in height, Černý, “Papyrus Salt 124,” *JEA* 15/3/4 (1929), 243.

⁷⁴² McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 190. See also the translation by Černý, “Papyrus Salt 124,” *JEA* 15/3/4 (1929), 244. This Paneb is known from several sources from the tomb builders’ village and is attested as chief workman from somewhere between regnal year 1 and 5 of Seti II to around regnal year 2 of Siptah, Davies, *Who’s Who* (1999), 36. Even though P. Salt 124 does not contain a date, it must have been written at some point during this period.

⁷⁴³ McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 209.

⁷⁴⁴ Černý, “Papyrus Salt 124,” *JEA* 15/3/4 (1929), 244. Paraemheb was in office at least during the reign of Seti II, as he is dated to this period through nine inscriptions found at Wadi Hammamat, KRI IV (1982), 179-181.

m=k tm m w^ch hr=f pw hr sr.w d³d³.w.t tm ir n=f [mr.wt?] rmt nb.t

Look, he is one who does not favor the magistrates and councils, one who does not make for himself [a partisan?] of any people.⁷⁴⁵

Thus, the idealized conduct of the vizier did not allow him to be partial in any matter brought before him. Bribery is not explicitly mentioned, but accepting one would have caused him to be partial by favoring the briber. Furthermore, in his autobiography in TT 100, Rekhmire assures the reader that he never took any bribe,⁷⁴⁶ which causes one to think that bribery was a well-known tactic, as the case brought forth by Amunnakhte also shows. If bribery was not an issue in ancient Egypt, assuring your audience of your incorruptibility would be superfluous. As Faulkner argues, the opinion of the public mattered, and the judgement of the vizier must have been viewed as fair not just within legal cases, but in the eyes of the public.⁷⁴⁷ In the current case, the public opinion was that of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, where at least Amunnakhte was so dissatisfied with the ruling of the vizier that he put it into writing. This case then again shows the idealized nature of the monumental texts, in this case the Installation-text, which did not always reflect reality.

Another vizier, Paraemheb's predecessor named Amunmose, is also mentioned in the text. He was in office during the reign of king Amunmesse, datable through the libation basin Vatican Museum Inv. 156 which contains both names.⁷⁴⁸ The passage mentioning the vizier Amunmose is particularly interesting because it reveals that Paneb had him removed from office, as the text reads:

mtw ʕ-n-is.t Nfr-ḥtp smi=f n tḥty Imn-ms mtw=f ir.t n=f sbʔy mtw=f smi tḥty n Ms.y mtw=f di.t rwi=f m tḥty r-dd ir.y=f knkn=i

And the chief workman Neferhotep reported him (Paneb) to the vizier Amunmose and he (the vizier) punished him (Paneb), and he (Paneb) complained (about) the vizier to Mesy, and he (the king) had him (the vizier) resign as vizier, (with Paneb) saying: He had me beaten.⁷⁴⁹

Černý concluded that the Mesy mentioned in the above line must have been a nickname for the ruling king during this period, Amunmesse, since the vizier was second only to the king and hence only the king could dismiss him.⁷⁵⁰ This has not been contested; this argument was also followed by McDowell⁷⁵¹ and it is therefore also followed here as the argumentation put forth by Černý remains solid. What is interesting for this study to note from the above excerpt, is that Paneb according to the text was able to complain about the vizier directly to the king, with the dismissal of the vizier from office as a result. Neither Černý nor McDowell pay this detail much attention, other than McDowell's short note that it cannot be confirmed whether this

⁷⁴⁵ Line 3, Faulkner, "Installation of the Vizier," *JEA* 41 (1955), 19, fig. 1.

⁷⁴⁶ Line 25, Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1944), 82.

⁷⁴⁷ Faulkner, "Installation of the Vizier," *JEA* 41 (1955), 29.

⁷⁴⁸ *KRI IV* (1982), 205.

⁷⁴⁹ Recto page 2, line 17-18. Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124," *JEA* 15/3/4 (1929), pl. XLIV.

⁷⁵⁰ Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124," *JEA* 15/3/4 (1929), 255.

⁷⁵¹ McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 191. This notion was also followed by Janssen, *Village Varia* (1997), 100.

indeed took place.⁷⁵² However, the possibility that the villagers had the potential power to overthrow a vizier shows that his position was not completely secure. This underlines the importance of Paser's control here as was demonstrated by his relationship with the tomb scribe Ramose. It has been shown that Paser had a strong presence in Deir el-Medina, both through the *khenu* and through 14 reliefs and stelae made by the inhabitants mentioning him.⁷⁵³ Amunmose did not have the same presence in the village, evident through the only two attestations, a stela fragment Cairo TN 9/6/26/3 and an offering table found there,⁷⁵⁴ in addition to the letter discussed here. Unfortunately, no further information about the possible dismissal of Amunmose is given neither in the letter nor elsewhere, so it would be pure speculation to discuss how Paneb would have attained the power to move the king towards such a decision. As discussed by Janssen, the reign of Amunmesse is debated and the situation around Thebes and the west bank, including Deir el-Medina, was unstable,⁷⁵⁵ which would have contributed to the events described in the text of P. Salt 124. However, this does not explain Paneb's hand in the dismissal of the vizier. It does, though, display that as the king's employees, the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina had channels of communication to him. Accordingly, the vizier had to adjust his behavior, meaning the idealistic rhetoric shown towards the public in the Installation-text is confirmed in the pragmatic documentary text. It therefore also shows the system of patronage going both ways.

The three cases discussed in this section show that the vizier would only in certain cases become involved in legal matters. The tomb builders' village had its own *kenbet*, which dealt with all sorts of legal matters.⁷⁵⁶ Thus, the viziers' involvement in these cases partially negates the legal aspects of *The Duties*, in which it is stated that all legal matters are to be dealt with by the vizier personally. The text states:

m rdi(.w) shm sr nb m wd^c-r(y)t m h³=f

*Any official will not be allowed to control the dispensation of justice in his office.*⁷⁵⁷

And it continues:

in t³ty hsf n=f r-wd³.t iw=f

*It is the vizier who will punish him according to his offense.*⁷⁵⁸

All three cases introduced here involve people from what could be determined as (upper) middle class, the inhabitants of the tomb builders' village being an unusual segment of the ancient Egyptian population, and a family with the funds to keep slaves. In an idealized manner,

⁷⁵² McDowell, *Village Life* (1999), 191.

⁷⁵³ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 312-316.

⁷⁵⁴ From pit, chapel G, KRI IV (1982), 204, 205.

⁷⁵⁵ He discusses the possibilities of the regnal years of Amunmesses as a usurper coinciding with those of Siptah, Janssen, *Village Varia* (1997), 104.

⁷⁵⁶ Various *kenbets* were widely used throughout Egypt during the New Kingdom, though most of the evidence comes from Deir el-Medina. Here, it dealt solely with legal matters and had no other duties, McDowell, *Jurisdiction* 1990), 143.

⁷⁵⁷ R8. Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 77.

⁷⁵⁸ R9. Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 77.

The Duties describes how the vizier was responsible for all legal disputes in ancient Egypt. The text reads:

smi.t(w) n=f mdw.t nb(.t)

One reports to him all (legal) disputes

And further:

ntf sdm cncn nb [...] m šm s r mdw.t hn^c snnw=f

*He hears every complaint [...] when a man goes to dispute with his equal.*⁷⁵⁹

It is not specified in the text if all ranks of society had equal opportunity to make their complaints directly to the vizier, but *The Duties* shows that ideologically this was the case. There were only two viziers at any time in the New Kingdom, and they could not hear every single legal dispute in the country. This points to the ideological nature of *The Duties* as not always portraying the exact day-to-day work life of the vizier. In reality, the legal disputes discussed here show that the vizier was only directly involved if a dispute could not be settled by the local *kenbet*, or if the offense committed was so severe that the top judicial capacity was needed in order to pass judgement on the accused. So, as initially stated in chapter 2, *The Duties* is a monumental text, which represents the ideal of the vizierial office. While some of the contents do refer to parts of the tasks of the vizier, some are idealized and do not reflect what was physically possible on a daily basis for one person alone.

9.2. The Economy: Taxation

The exact functioning of the ancient Egyptian economy and the viziers' role in it is difficult to ascertain due to the lack of documentation. For example, where the viziers secured their own financial resources came from seems like a simple question; however, it is difficult to answer due to the lack of sources. One area where it is possible to establish a connection between the state-based economy and the vizier by means of textual and visual sources is taxation. For a long time, it was believed that the ancient Egyptian economy relied largely on a redistributive system of crops controlled by the state,⁷⁶⁰ meaning, simplified, that produce was collected by the state, before being partially distributed back into the community.⁷⁶¹ Such a system would make the population of ancient Egypt greatly dependent on the state. In recent years this theory has been revised,⁷⁶² and Moreno García argues instead that a system of patronage influenced

⁷⁵⁹ R26 and R27, Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 250, 276.

⁷⁶⁰ For example, O'Connor, "Social and Economic Organization," *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (1995), 320.

⁷⁶¹ Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 93. Eyre argues that this was in no way the case, since the state did not hold such control over the rural population, Eyre, "The Economy: Pharaonic," *A Companion* (2010), 306. Moreno García argues that the state distributed wages to its employees but never as part of a larger redistribution system, Moreno García, "Royal Taxation," *Ancient Taxation* (2021), 303.

⁷⁶² For a discussion of this topic, see Cooney, "Profit or Exploitation?" *JEH* 1.1 (2008), 79-82. For a discussion of the Polanyi economic system theory, see Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 83-88.

the local communities,⁷⁶³ meaning that members of the general public were more dependent on local powerholders than on the state. Similarly, Eyre states that for an ordinary member of the ancient Egyptian society, the only encounters with the state would have been at tax collection.⁷⁶⁴ The impact of the state on rural communities may very well have depended on tax collection and on the agricultural crops the tax collection demanded to be prioritized.⁷⁶⁵ An economy fully controlled by the state would imply that there was no entrepreneurship and no free market, but documents from the New Kingdom as well as tomb reliefs depicting market places dating to the Old Kingdom show that a market for commodities existed.⁷⁶⁶

The surviving information in the written sources other than *The Duties* about the viziers' role in taxation during the New Kingdom is scarce, but some evidence does exist. A single title used by Paser both on his Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062 and his statue Copenhagen AEIN 50, probably from Mendes,⁷⁶⁷ refers to his role as tax/revenue collector, *ḥsb.w b3k.w n ḥ3s.wt nb(.t)* – the one who counts the revenue⁷⁶⁸ of all foreign lands. None of his titles have connection with the tax collection within Egypt, but a very similar title used by (Pa-)Rahotep, *ḥsb.w b3k.w nb(.w) m t3 r-dr=f* – the one who counts all the revenue of the entire land, on his ka-chapel stela Cairo JE 48845 from Saqqara,⁷⁶⁹ is an indication that the vizier was involved in tax collection within the Egyptian borders. However, to state that he single-handedly counted all of the collected taxes of the entire land would be an exaggeration, and the title must therefore reflect an idealized statement, while it is possible that the vizier with this title should be considered the nominal head of accounting. The same would be the case for Paser's title regarding external revenue. Warburton states in connection with the term *b3k.t* that while there is general consensus that it refers to an obligatory payment or delivery, there is a problem with determining on which basis authorities claimed the right to the *b3k.t* resources.⁷⁷⁰ Hence, the foundation for understanding the system of such revenue remains unclear.

When it comes to the viziers' functions within the fiscal system, the Saqqara monument of (Pa-)Rahotep is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it is made of pink granite, a material that came from the region of Aswan, meaning it was transported roughly 900 km up the Nile. As a costly stone, this was reserved mainly for royalty and the top of ancient Egyptian society,⁷⁷¹ to which the vizier belonged. Secondly, it was inscribed with lengthy texts on both sides.

⁷⁶³ Meaning that households of the upper classes encompassed not only family members, but also other dependents such as “friends” and serfs. Moreno García, “Limits of Pharaonic Administration,” *Fs Pardey* (2013), 88.

⁷⁶⁴ Eyre, “Patronage, Power and Corruption,” *IJPA* 34/11 (2011), 703.

⁷⁶⁵ Moreno García, “Ancient States,” *JEH* 7 (2014), 217.

⁷⁶⁶ Warburton uses as an example that Books of the Dead have been found with blank spaces left for the deceased's name which suggests that these documents were manufactured in advance of sale, making them evidence of a production for the open market, Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 106. For Old Kingdom tomb reliefs, see Eyre, “The Economy: Pharaonic,” *Companion* (2010), 295.

⁷⁶⁷ *KRI III* (1980), 15, 21.

⁷⁶⁸ The Wörterbuch suggests for *b3k.t* “tax of the Egyptians” or “tribute of foreign people” as translation, *WB I* (1971), 428; while Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae suggests *revenue*, (results of) work, <https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/lemma/53860> in: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (accessed: 29/5 2024). According to Müller-Wollermann, the term refers to taxes from both inside and outside of Egypt, and that these taxes were produced, i.e., created through work, and their amount was therefore determinable, Müller-Wollermann, *Einführung* (2021), 84.

⁷⁶⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 54.

⁷⁷⁰ Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 253.

⁷⁷¹ This stela is substantial in size, measuring 157 cm in height and 82 cm in width, *RITANC III* (2013), 42.

One side, Face I, consists of a text assuring the reader of the vizier's high moral standards, which includes:

ink ʕk m nis ḥsb tnw gsgs wdj.t rh-s m šfd.w

*I am one who enters as summoned, who counts the numbers, who regulates the grain measure (?) and who knows it in the book scrolls.*⁷⁷²

It is not explicitly stated that this relates to taxes, but it implies that the vizier was responsible for accounting and bookkeeping. It is interesting that on this substantial monument placed in a public setting in the proximity of the Serapeum,⁷⁷³ the vizier boasts about his accounting skills. That the stela was inscribed on both sides and the edges⁷⁷⁴ indicates that it was in its original placement free standing, making it possible to walk around it and read all sides. Although it was dedicated to Ptah, Apis and Anubis, the focus of the texts is not directed towards the deities, but rather, directed towards the (literate) audience. While Face I consists of the text assuring the reader of the vizier's moral behavior and wisdom, Face II first provides a long list of the vizier's titles and then an appeal to the living to perform censuring and libation for him. Both edges are inscribed with long lists of titles mostly related to (Pa-)Rahotep's role as an agent on behalf of the king.⁷⁷⁵ Hence, the stela is a show of self-promotion. This information should be viewed in combination with the title *ḥsb.w bjk.w nb(.w) m t3 r-dr=f* – *the one who counts all the revenue of the entire land*, which is placed directly in front of (Pa-)Rahotep's vizier title and name, a prominent position indicating a wish for this specific function to be noticed. In all, taxation as an important task for the vizier is not specifically mentioned, although topics related to it are implied.

The Duties may originally have provided some information on the subject of taxation on an idealized level, but the end of the text where this topic appears is severely damaged. Line 29 of the copy of *The Duties* from the tomb of Rekmire states:

*smi n=f djdj.t wr.t htr*⁷⁷⁶ = *s[n]*

*The Great Council reports to him their taxes/revenues*⁷⁷⁷

This is the only place in the text where the word *htr* for tax/revenue is used. Müller-Wollermann states that this term refers to general tax obligations, including the mandatory deliveries from the royal treasury.⁷⁷⁸ In concurrence with this, Warburton argues that this word was used to describe a contribution made of a portion of produce, and that *htr* used in connection with the king and the vizier was directly connected to income.⁷⁷⁹ Another word *in.w* ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$) is used four times, and while the etymology of the word is from the verb “to bring,” the translation of the

⁷⁷² KRI III (1980), 54.

⁷⁷³ Davies argues that the text on face II appeals to the visitors to the “tomb of the Apis,” meaning the stelae would originally have been placed there, RITANC III (2013), 42.

⁷⁷⁴ KRI III (1980), 53-55.

⁷⁷⁵ KRI III (1980), 55.

⁷⁷⁶ Written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$.

⁷⁷⁷ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 284. See also Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re vol. II* (1943), pl. CXXII.

⁷⁷⁸ For the Deir el-Medina workforce, as rations (excluding grain) and salaries, while grants from the king to temples could also be referred to as such, Müller-Wollermann, *Einführung* (2021), 84.

⁷⁷⁹ Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 275, 277.

term used in texts related to tax is disputed.⁷⁸⁰ Müller-Wollermann argues that the term is used for deliveries of both domestic and foreign nature, though the focus was not the compulsion to deliver, nor the product being delivered.⁷⁸¹ Gordon suggested that this word is best translated as *revenue* or *dues*, based on its occurrence in the Middle Kingdom economic document P. Harageh 3 dated to the late 12th or early 13th dynasty, where it is stated that the *hb inw* – *exaction of dues* is recorded.⁷⁸² The same phrase is used in *The Duties* in line 29.⁷⁸³ The term *in.w* is used elsewhere in TT 100, the tomb of the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire, with five registers showing the tomb owner receiving tribute from foreign lands, i.e., the *Southern Foreign Lands*, Punt, Retenu and Crete (see figs. 33 and 34 below).⁷⁸⁴ The decorative program of TT 100 provides further details for the (idealized) routines of the 18th dynasty viziers through reliefs showing tax/revenue being brought before him. However, since these scenes were copied from his uncle's tomb TT 131 (User(-Amun)), they cannot depict a specific historic occasion. They do, however, highlight taxation as an important area of responsibility for the vizier. Warburton comments that although the reliefs show an idealistic version of tax collection, there can be no doubt that the vizier as the king's representative did receive revenue on behalf of the state.⁷⁸⁵ This notion is supported by the fact that Paser's biographical texts on column B and G in the broad hall of TT 106 mention that the king ordered him to be responsible for receiving the *in.w* of all foreign lands.⁷⁸⁶ This statement emphasizes the function of the vizier as the one in charge of collecting foreign revenue.



Figure 33. FOREIGN TRIBUTE BRINGERS, BROAD HALL TT 100. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

The relief scene from TT 100 shown in fig. 33 above depicts foreign tribute bringers with exotic animals, such as a giraffe, baboon, and leopard, in addition to horses, ivory, wood, jars and pots. Meanwhile, the native Egyptians in fig. 34 (below) carry goods such as grain, wooden chests, and golden collars, while herding cattle. The scene is divided in two and placed on

⁷⁸⁰ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 284

⁷⁸¹ Müller-Wollermann, *Einführung* (2021), 84.

⁷⁸² He also notes that this phrase is common in Demotic, Gordon, *Context and Meaning* (1983), 103, 338.

⁷⁸³ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 284.

⁷⁸⁴ *URK IV* (1909), 1094.

⁷⁸⁵ Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 137.

⁷⁸⁶ Line 11, *KRI I* (1975), 299; Line 7, *KRI III* (1980), 9.

either side of the entrance doorway in the broad hall on the eastern wall, the southernmost one right next to Rekhmire's copy of *The Duties*.⁷⁸⁷ As Davies describes, the scene shows 80 officials, each from a specific tax district of Upper and Lower Egypt, with the title and district of the official written above him.⁷⁸⁸

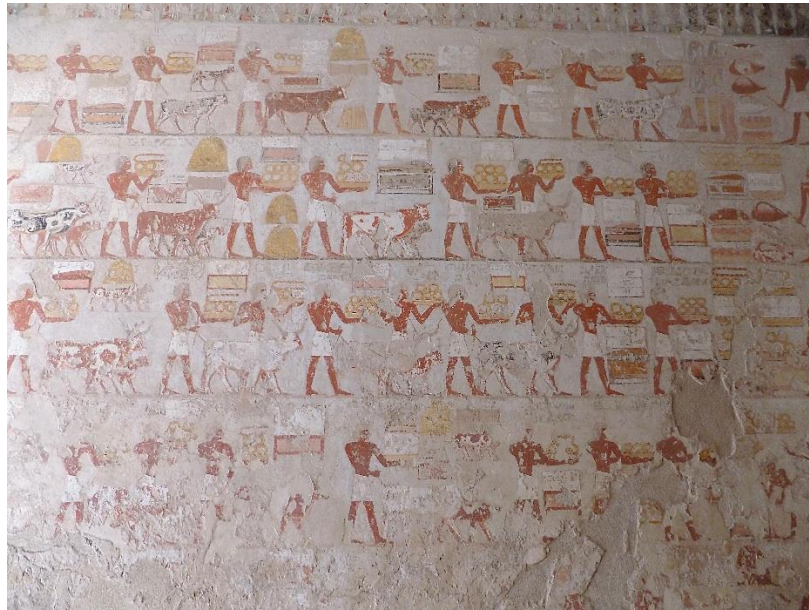


Figure 34. EGYPTIAN TAX/REVENUE BRINGERS, BROAD HALL TT 100. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

The relief not only shows the vizier's role in tax collection, but also that each district had an official who was responsible for collecting it in his specific area and having it brought to the vizier. However, the scene should again be seen as an idealization rather than an actual event. As this scene was placed right next to *The Duties* in TT 100 and occupied a large part of the east-facing wall, it indicates that tax collection formed an important part of the vizier's function. The Palermo Stone, a king list of the Old Kingdom's 1st to 5th dynasties,⁷⁸⁹ mentions biannual censuses of cattle, fields, and gold,⁷⁹⁰ i.e., the same products being brought to the vizier Rekhmire in TT 100, which indicates that the symbolic meaning of these products as the accumulation of ancient Egypt's combined productional wealth was carried through from the Old to the New Kingdom. When it came to gold, Egypt was the main source for the international economy during the Early Bronze Age, as Moreno García points out.⁷⁹¹ As is evident from the Amarna Letters, the Egyptian gold was an important asset in international affairs. For example, letter EA 4 from the Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil to Amenhotep III mentions gold in exchange for a Babylonian princess.⁷⁹² Likewise, the later Babylonian king Burra-buriash wrote to Amenhotep IV and demanded "much high-quality gold" to undertake a "project."⁷⁹³ The same king later wrote to Tutankhamun complaining that the latter king had not

⁷⁸⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1944), 32.

⁷⁸⁸ Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (1944), 32.

⁷⁸⁹ The king list was created somewhere between the 5th and 12th dynasty, the main piece of the stone resides as the name indicates in Palermo with fragments in Cairo and London. Its provenance and dating are still a matter of debate, Wilkinson, *Royal Annals* (2000),

⁷⁹⁰ Gold as the total of ancient Egypt's mines and/or mineral production, cattle as a symbol of total agricultural wealth, Wilkinson, *Royal Annals* (2000), 133, 158.

⁷⁹¹ Moreno García, "Royal Taxation," *Ancient Taxation* (2021), 292.

⁷⁹² Rainey Z'l, *El-Amarna Correspondence* (2015), 75.

⁷⁹³ Letter EA 7, Rainey Z'l, *El-Amarna Correspondence* (2015), 87.

sent enough gold.⁷⁹⁴ Thus, during the New Kingdom's 18th dynasty and, hence, the time of Rekhmire, User(-Amun) and Amunemopet, who had *The Duties* inscribed in their tomb chapels, gold was used as a way to finance foreign trade and as part of diplomatic proceedings as gifts, as well as being given as donations to temples.⁷⁹⁵

There is, therefore, very little direct evidence of the vizier's role as tax collector, although the above discussion does show that it was part of his regular routine during the New Kingdom. The pink granite stela of (Pa-)Rahotep does, however, indicate that this vizier chose to present himself to the (literate) public as someone who was fair and knowledgeable on such matters. Likewise, the 18th dynasty tombs of Rekhmire and User(-Amun) show that the topic of taxation was an important one to the viziers. The continuity of the functions of the vizier within the state economy in the early 19th dynasty is demonstrated by the use of titles by Paser who pointed out his connection to the royal treasuries on multiple occasions. These titles are discussed below.

9.2.1 Paser as Treasurer

While Paser did not seem to have placed much emphasis on his economic function as tax collector, he did use several titles referring to another aspect of the economy, namely the treasury. The titles are, in particular:

<i>imy-r pr.wy-ḥd</i>	Overseer of the silver house
<i>imy-r pr.wy-nbw</i>	Overseer of the gold house
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd n nb t3.wy</i>	Overseer of the silver house of the lord of the Two Lands
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd nbw</i>	Overseer of the silver and gold house
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd pr-nbw</i>	Overseer of the silver house and the gold house
<i>imy-r ḥtm.w</i>	Overseer of the sealed items
<i>imy-r ḥtm.w nb.w n nswt</i>	Overseer of all sealed items of the king

Table 9. PASER'S TITLES RELATED TO THE TREASURY. FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, SEE INDEX 1.

The titles are inscribed on temple statuary from Karnak and Memphis, a graffito from the west Theban mountains, and on building elements from Deir el-Medina and Buhen.⁷⁹⁶ None of the other early Ramesside viziers boasted such titles (see Indexes), but the 18th dynasty vizier Ramose did use the title *imy-r pr-ḥd wr* – *great overseer of the silver house*⁷⁹⁷ and the title *overseer*

⁷⁹⁴ Letter EA 9, Rainey Z'l, *El-Amarna Correspondence* (2015), 93.

⁷⁹⁵ Janssen, "Role of the Temple," *State and Temple Economy* (1979), 507.

⁷⁹⁶ *Overseer of the silver house* and *overseer of the gold house* on Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062, *KRI III* (1980), 16, line 9; *Overseer of all sealed items of the king* on the Memphis Ptah temple statue Cairo CG 630, *KRI III* (1980), 12, line 14; *overseer of the silver house and the gold house* is used in one of the two rock graffiti in Wadiyein, *KRI III* (1980), 22, line 11; *Overseer of the silver house of the lord of the Two Lands* is inscribed on a fragment of a lintel from Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 26, line 9; The same title is found on a relief fragment from Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 27, line 8; Lastly, *overseer of the sealed items* stems from a model letter, O. Toronto A11, *KRI III* (1980), 31, line 7.

⁷⁹⁷ *URK IV* (1958), 1789.

of the silver and gold houses in his tomb TT 55,⁷⁹⁸ while User(-Amun) used the similar *overseer of the silver house and the gold house* in TT 131.⁷⁹⁹ The latter is identical to the title used by Paser in a graffito in Wadiyein in the mountains of Thebes West.⁸⁰⁰ The Middle Kingdom vizier Mentuhotep carried the title *overseer of the sealed items*,⁸⁰¹ that Paser also used. Hence, while it was not common for viziers to hold such titles and the position of treasurer was most often held by a high official as his main function, it did happen occasionally. The significance of Paser's use of titles related to the treasury does then not lie in the mere fact that he used them, but the extent of this usage.

There is a philological issue with the way the institutions referred to in these titles are translated. Both the *htm.w*, *pr.wy-ḥd* and *pr.wy-nbw* are often translated "treasury," without any distinction between their actual functions.⁸⁰² As Vernus states, the titles involving *htm.w* – *sealed items* come from the act of sealing with clay and a stamp seal in order to ensure the items remained uncorrupted until they were needed.⁸⁰³ Grajetzky points out that during the Old Kingdom the title of *imy-r htm.w* was not carried by an important individual within the state administration, but rather was held by someone in charge of the personal property of a high official. This changed during the Middle Kingdom where an individual with this title became second in command to the vizier.⁸⁰⁴ The biographical text inscribed on the stela of the *overseer of sealed items* and *liegeman of the king* (*hr.y-tp nswt*) Tjeti, describes his function in this office as being in charge of precious items under his seal. Those items included all the goods and produce delivered to the king from everywhere in the country.⁸⁰⁵ This indicates that the *overseer of sealed items*, during the Middle Kingdom at least, was responsible for safekeeping deliveries of state tax, when the title was used in connection with the king. For the 18th dynasty Bryan argues that the title was held by individuals, who functioned as envoys for the king and therefore travelled extensively to oversee production of goods or lead mining expeditions.⁸⁰⁶ In Paser's case, the title *overseer of all sealed items of the king* has so far only been found on his Ptah temple statue Cairo CG 630 from Memphis⁸⁰⁷ and *overseer of the sealed items* in the letter copy on O. Toronto A.11.⁸⁰⁸ It is not inscribed in his tomb chapel of TT 106, which suggests that this function was either not considered a critical part of his vizierial duties or that it was so well integrated into this office that it did not usually need to be brought to attention. There was a place by the village of Deir el-Medina referred to as the *Enclosure* (*p3 htm*), which functioned as a granary, entry point for incoming goods and an administrative center, as well as a gathering place for the *kenbet* and visiting officials.⁸⁰⁹ The use of this title in connection with Paser within the village may therefore refer to this *Enclosure* rather than a treasury.

⁷⁹⁸ Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (1941), pl. XII and XIX.

⁷⁹⁹ Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun* (1994), 70.

⁸⁰⁰ KRI III (1980), 22, line 11.

⁸⁰¹ Reign of Senwosret I, Vernus, "Observations sur le Titre *imy-r htm*," *Grund und Boden* (1994), 254.

⁸⁰² Bryan distinguishes between the institutions by translating *htm.t* with *treasury* and *pr-wy-ḥd-nbw* with *treasury house*, Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991), 244, 247.

⁸⁰³ Vernus, "Observations sur le Titre *imy-r htm*," *Grund und Boden* (1994), 251.

⁸⁰⁴ Grajetzky, *Court Officials* (2009), 43.

⁸⁰⁵ Stela BM EA 614, line 5, Blackman, "Stela of Thethi," *JEA* 17/1/2 (1931), 56.

⁸⁰⁶ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991), 245.

⁸⁰⁷ Line 14, KRI III (1980), 12.

⁸⁰⁸ Using the seated man as determinative, Line 7, KRI III (1980), 31.

⁸⁰⁹ Its exact location is today unknown, Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 71.

While the evidence for Paser's status as *overseer of the silver house* and *overseer of the gold house*, along with *overseer of all sealed items of the lord of the two Lands* come from a temple statue from Karnak and Memphis respectively, the remainder of the occurrences of this type of titles come from Deir el-Medina.⁸¹⁰ As southern vizier, Paser would have been responsible for paying out salaries to the tomb builders.⁸¹¹ The concentration of the use of these titles around the village could therefore be understood as a signal to the inhabitants that he had this task under control. As is known from the Turin Strike Papyrus,⁸¹² the tomb builders would revolt if they felt mistreated and securing their goodwill by ensuring a steady delivery of dues owed, would keep the construction work for the king's tomb going. As Vernus argues, the addition of mentioning the king, i.e., *the lord of the Two Lands*, to the title *overseer of all sealed items* means that the title holder was responsible for all of the goods and products belonging to the king.⁸¹³ He thereby suggests that during the Middle Kingdom at least the title held an actual function rather than being honorific in nature. The continuation in the use of the title as a function in the 18th dynasty⁸¹⁴ shows that this remained the case into the New Kingdom. During the reign of Ramesses II, Panehsy used *imy-r pr-ḥd* as his function title, while also proclaiming to be the *imy-r ḥtm.w rsy mḥtt* – *overseer of the sealed things of the south and north*.⁸¹⁵ Coincidentally, this Panehsy is also the original author of a letter to the deputy of the estate of Amun⁸¹⁶ Hori in Thebes, in which he reports on the personnel, livestock and produce of Amun's estate in the Delta.⁸¹⁷ Although the numbers stated in the copied text on the ostrakon found in Deir el-Medina may be incorrect,⁸¹⁸ it nonetheless provides insight into the function attached to this office. The letter shows that Panehsy was responsible for processing the numbers of the annual revenue of the estate for tax collection purposes.⁸¹⁹ As was shown in the previous section, part of the vizier's responsibilities was tax collection. The title *overseer of all the sealed items of the king* underlines this with the function demonstrated by Panehsy's letter.

Paser shows himself as active *overseer of the silver and gold house* in his tomb chapel of TT 106. Following the reward scene showing the vizier receiving gold collars before Seti I, the next scene depicts him inspecting the workshops at the temple of Karnak and the *house of gold*.⁸²⁰ The lower of the two registers shows Paser in front of a set of scales weighing vessels of electrum and gold, while the accompanying text states that this action occurs *m pr.wy-ḥd n*

⁸¹⁰ See footnote 785 above.

⁸¹¹ Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 121.

⁸¹² Dated to regnal year 29 of Ramesses III, the Strike Papyrus documents how the tomb builders refused to work and went down to the mortuary temple of Thutmose III to protest until they were given the rations they were owed, translation in Edgerton, "Strikes in Ramesses III's Twenty-Ninth Year," *JNES* 10/3 (1951), 139-144.

⁸¹³ Vernus, "Observations sur le Titre *imy-r ḥtm*," *Grund und Boden* (1994), 256.

⁸¹⁴ Sobekhotep held the title during the reign of Thutmose IV, Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV* (1991), 244.

⁸¹⁵ Statue BM EA 1377, line 7, *KRI III* (1980), 136.

⁸¹⁶ The precise title has been lost but may be reconstructed based on the existence of a Hori with this title, owner of TT 28, who fit the dating of the text, *RITANC III* (2013), 125.

⁸¹⁷ O. Gardiner 86, *KRI III* (1980), 138-140.

⁸¹⁸ This ostrakon is likely a copy of an original (papyrus) letter sent from the Delta region to Thebes and copied as a school text in the tomb builders' village. One entry in the list of property mentions that a single fowl keeper was responsible for 34.230 birds, an unrealistic number, *RITANC III* (2013), 126.

⁸¹⁹ The text states: *iw=i hr ḥtr-w m š3wt* – *I have assessed them for taxation*, *KRI III* (1980), 139, line 7. Warburton states that the term *š3wt/š3wt* for tax was used in particular when dealing with livestock, and furthermore, that regarding the income of temples the *š3wt* was determined by *ḥtr* assessment, Warburton, *State and Economy* (1997), 281. This fits with the topic handled in the letter of O. Gardiner 86.

⁸²⁰ Drawing of relief scene in Assmann, "Gespräch im Goldhaus," *Fs Brunner-Traut* (1992), 45.

nswt nḥt - in the silver house of the victorious king (see fig. 35 below).⁸²¹ Paser's biographical text on column B in the broad hall of TT 106 states:

wḥm.n=f rdi.t=f r imy-r niwt ḥty wp m³.t di.w m ḥr=f r sšp in.w n ḥ³sw.t rsy mḥt.t r pr-ḥd n nswt

*He (the king) repeated to place him (Paser) as overseer of the City and vizier who judges what is right and who is charged to receive tribute of the southern and northern foreign lands for the silver house of the king.*⁸²²

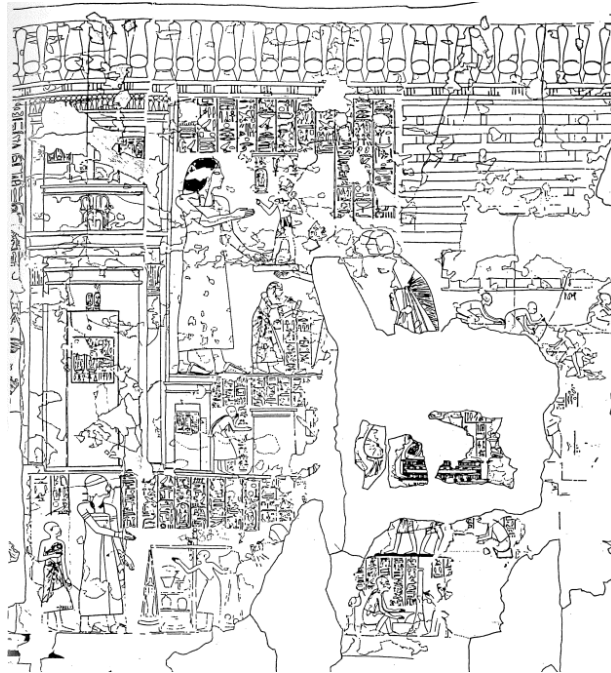


Figure 35. RELIEF SCENE SHOWING PASER INSPECTING WORKSHOPS AND THE TREASURY AT KARNAK, TT 106. SOURCE: ASSMANN, "GESPRÄCH IM GOLDHAUS," *Fs BRUNNER-TRAUT* (1992), 45.

As was discussed in the previous section, the exact translation for the term *in.w* is still debated. However, this statement in Paser's biographical texts clearly shows that it involves tribute made by foreign lands under Egyptian influence. Furthermore, it is here shown that these dues were to be sent to the *silver house* managed by the vizier. This implies that one function of the *silver house* was to manage and store incoming tax revenue.

The inspection scene in TT 106 also includes a *ir.y-^{c3} n ḥwt-nbw* – *doorkeeper of the mansion of gold*. The *pr.wy-nbw* and the *ḥwt-nbw* should be understood as two separate institutions. The *Dedicatory Inscription* of Ramesses II in Seti I's temple at Abydos states that the temple was in a state of disrepair and that:

sšm.w=s r t³ nn ms.ntw=f m rh.t n=f nw ḥw.t-nbw

*Its seshem-statue was on the ground, it was not made as a product of the mansion of gold.*⁸²³

⁸²¹ *KRI III* (1980), 294, line 6.

⁸²² Text addressed to Seti I, line 11, *KRI I* (1975), 299. The same phrase is present in the parallel biographical text addressed to Ramesses II on column G in TT 106, line 7, *KRI III* (1980), 9.

⁸²³ Line 4, *KRI II* (1979), 326.

The text thus states that the *mansion of gold* was where statues of a certain quality were produced, which corresponds with the relief scene in TT 106 showing Paser inspecting a statue of the king. In addition, both the above statement and the inspection scene in TT 106 are reflected in Paser's title *imy-r ḥw.wt-nbw m ms sšm.w nṯr.w nb.w* – *overseer of the mansions of gold in fashioning the images of all gods*, inscribed on his Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062.⁸²⁴ Thereby, he presents himself in yet another function, as responsible for the production of both royal and divine statues produced in the *mansion of gold*. Furthermore, the two titles *imy-r k3.wt m mn.w wr.w* – *overseer of works in the great monuments* and *imy-r imy.w-r ḥmw.wt nb(.wt) n(.t) nswt* – *overseer of the overseers of every workshop of the king* are part of his title sequence placed at the end of his promotion by the king in the biographical text on column B in the tomb's broad hall.⁸²⁵ Paser thereby underlined this part of his duties in a text placed directly across from the relief scene of him inspecting the royal workshops (see layout of tomb, fig. 6 above). The institution of the *mansion of gold* (*ḥw.t-nbw*) then must represent a different function than the treasuries (*pr.wy-ḥd/pr.wy-nbw*). The scene in TT 106 implies that the titles related to the treasury used by Paser were not simply honorific but instead related to an actual function of the vizier.

Thus, even though the early Ramesside viziers did not emphasize their economic functions to any great extent, the evidence that can be found through their use of titles does reveal their role in the economy. These sources also show an interaction of the vizier with specific members of the public, a subject discussed further below.

9.3. Patronage

In section 6.2 above, Paser's connection with the tomb builders' village Deir el-Medina was discussed through his relationship with the tomb scribe Ramose and their building of the *khenu* for Ramesses II. This demonstrated the direct interaction between the vizier and the village inhabitants. Likewise, it was discussed in section 8.2 how a steatite plaque with the name and titles of the vizier Khay shows his involvement both in regular diplomatic proceedings and with the people of the Egyptian empire. As Moreno García argues, the act of patronage was fundamental to ancient Egyptian society. It allowed individuals of separate social layers to gain access to those of higher social status, as well as a level of protection from authority figures.⁸²⁶ Although he uses the example of patronage mainly within a household,⁸²⁷ the theoretical basis for the patronage system can be expanded to circles of power within administration and its hierarchy. A specific office with a high official at its head had the same structure as a household and the subordinates under the leading official were its members.

⁸²⁴ Line 9, *KRI III* (1980), 16.

⁸²⁵ Line 13, *KRI I* (1975), 299.

⁸²⁶ Moreno García, "The "Other" Administration," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 1042.

⁸²⁷ Moreno García, "The "Other" Administration," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 1043.



Figure 36. WATER/LIBATION CUP WITH THE NAME AND TITLES OF PASER, LOUVRE E. 5344. SOURCE: LOUVRE MUSEUM ONLINE COLLECTION.

With this in mind, a several objects connected to Paser point to his relationship with his subordinates and how they interacted, elucidating a further aspect of the role of the vizier in the early Ramesside Period. Two cups bearing Paser's name and titles (fig. 36) could have been produced as gifts. Both are of unknown provenance, made of blue faience and decorated with almost identical inscriptions.⁸²⁸ The main text around the exterior reads:

Berlin 19742: *ir sš.w nb(w.) nty iw=f r sš m pȝy ps ḥn^c ir kbḥ im=f mtw=f dd*

Louvre E. 5344: *ir sš.w nb(w.) nty iw=f r sš m pȝy ps iw=f kbḥ im=f mtw=f dd*

As for any scribes who will write with this pot and will do libation with it, while he says:

Here follows a *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula for the ka of the vizier Paser, after which it is stated:

Berlin 19742: *ḥs-sw Dḥwty Sšȝt mtr-sw ir sdm Dḥwty nb mdw.t-nṯr*

(Then) Thoth and Seshat shall favor him, and Sight-and-Hearing shall instruct him. Thoth, lord of sacred writing.

Louvre E. 5344: *ḥs.y-s [sic] Dḥwty Sšȝt mr.y-ti ir sdm Dḥwty nb mdw.t-nṯr*

*(Then) Thoth and Seshat shall favor him, beloved of Sight-and-Hearing. Thoth, lord of sacred writing.*⁸²⁹

Hence, the text on these pots promises to reward the scribes, who speak an offering to Paser when they use it, with divine favor. Thoth is well-known as the god of wisdom, knowledge, and writing, while Seshat was his female counterpart as goddess with the same attributes, with the addition that her name is the actual feminine of *sš*, meaning female scribe.⁸³⁰ The first line

⁸²⁸ Louvre E. 5344 and Berlin 19742, the latter was lost during WWII, Radler, "Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 329; *KRI III* (1980), 35.

⁸²⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 35.

⁸³⁰ Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians* (1969), 424.

of text also reveals the intended use of the pots: for libation and for the scribe to dip his pen when writing. Or, as Ragazzoli points out, the action of the scribe dipping his pen in the waterpot to moisten it for the ink becomes at the same time an act of libation via the invocation inscription.⁸³¹ Thus, every time the scribe in possession of one of these pots used it, he automatically made a libation for his master, Paser. The act of gifting the pots was then not just a token of prestige for the recipient, but it was also beneficial to the vizier.

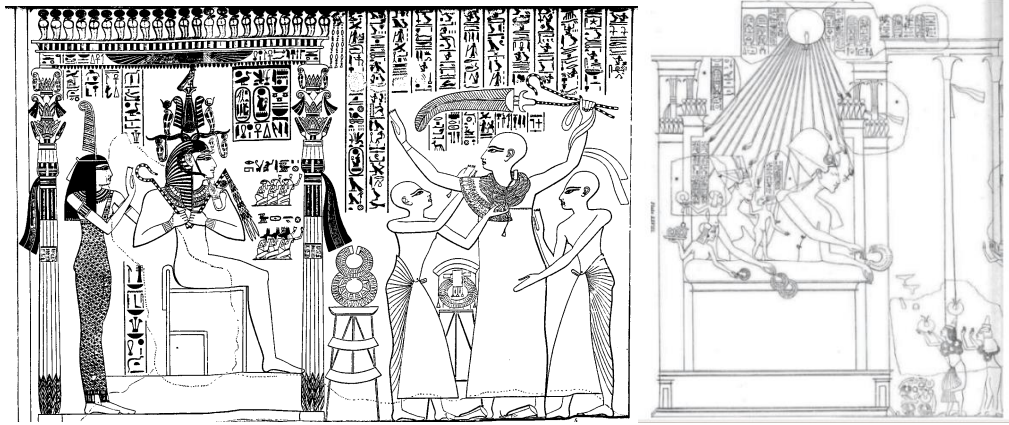


Figure 37. LEFT: PASER'S REWARD SCENE, TT 106. SOURCE: FROOD, *BIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS* (2002), 154. RIGHT: WINDOW OF APPEARANCE WITH AKHENATEN AND NEFERTITI, TOMB OF AY. SOURCE: DAVIES, *ROCK TOMBS OF AMARNA 6* (1908), PL. XXIX.

It is clear from the text with its emphasis on scribes that these pots were not meant for Paser's personal use. Instead, they could have been used as favors given by him to his subordinates, in this case trained scribes. In a similar manner the king presented his high officials with gifts, as shown in the reward scene in TT 106 with Paser receiving *menat*-collars in front of Seti I, or through the Window of Appearances as known from Amarna and Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (see fig. 37 above).⁸³² Both scene types are known from reliefs from TT 55, the tomb of the vizier Ramose,⁸³³ while a relief from the tomb of Ay at Amarna shows Akhenaten standing in an opening raised above his officials, handing out gifts in the form of necklaces.⁸³⁴ The ancient Egyptian term for the Window of Appearances – *sšd n ḥꜥy* is mentioned in the *Decree of Horemheb*, written on a stela on the 10th pylon of Karnak,⁸³⁵ while reliefs showing officials receiving gold gifts from the king are known from the Old Kingdom onwards.⁸³⁶ Gnirs argues that the development of raised podiums and windows and balconies of appearances coincide with the growing importance of diplomatic gift exchange and the reception of international delegations as a way of displaying competitive power, and furthermore, that the Window of Appearances represented a change from discrete showings of favor to a more public display.⁸³⁷ This display was copied in the tomb reliefs of the New Kingdom high officials, who showed off their privilege in reward scenes. There are no corresponding tomb scenes showing any ceremony of the vizier rewarding his subordinates, but the reward scene was traditionally followed by a scene showing the tomb owner arriving home by chariot to his

⁸³¹ Ragazzoli, *Scribes* (2019), 509.

⁸³² Kemp, "Window of Appearance," *JEA* 62 (1976), 82.

⁸³³ Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (1941), pl. XXIX, XXXIII, XXXIV-XXXV.

⁸³⁴ Davies, *Rock Tombs of Amarna 6* (1908), pl. XLII

⁸³⁵ Kruchten, *Décret d'Horemheb* (1981), ix, 162.

⁸³⁶ Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (1978), 13. The Window of Appearances, however, is first known from the reign of Amenhotep III in the 18th dynasty, Gnirs, "In the King's House," *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 35, footnote 103.

⁸³⁷ Gnirs, "In the King's House," *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 35-36.

house and family.⁸³⁸ It is not explicitly shown that the tomb owner handed out favors to those welcoming him home, however, the two small pots reveal that such favors were given on some occasions.



Figure 38. PARTIAL PAINTED RELIEF FROM RAMOSE'S TT 7 SHOWING TO THE LEFT RAMESSES II, PASER AND RAMOSE ADORING THE THEBAN TRIAD PLACED INSIDE A MOUNTAIN. SOURCE: HOFFMANN, *BILDER IM WANDEL* (2004), PL. 20.

Another act of patronage is the act of interceding before the king or various deities on behalf of a subordinate. Such an act is depicted in the tomb scribe Ramose's tomb chapel of TT 7 (see fig. 38 above). This is an example of the vizier depicted standing behind the king, interceding before the Theban triad on behalf of the scribe. Another example is the stela Boston MFA 09.287, showing Paser before Ramesses II interceding for a chief workman (name lost).⁸³⁹ As McDowell states, it was the vizier, who appointed all the workmen of the village.⁸⁴⁰ Paser had a close relationship with the tomb scribe Ramose and multiple sources derive from the village in the form of stelae and ostraca. Neferrenpet and the other southern viziers of the New Kingdom would arguably also have had close ties to the workmen, their daily chores, and the building of the king's tomb. Very little is known about Neferrenpet's interactions with the tomb builder's village, but it is known from the sources of Paser and from the titles he used, that he was very much involved with matters concerning the village.

(Pa-)Rahotep's Tomb 201 at Sedment reveals another example of the use of patronage. As was discussed in section 6.1. above, several individuals placed funerary objects within the subterranean tomb chambers. Franzmeier equates one of them, the *ḥm-nṯr snnw n ʒsir* - *second prophet of Osiris* Tjay, with the *ḥm-nṯr n ʒsir* - *prophet of Osiris* Tjay, who is present on the stela found in the courtyard of Tomb 201.⁸⁴¹ The stela shows three registers with (Pa-)Rahotep in an adoring pose before rows of gods and an individual pictured smaller behind him (see fig. 39 below). Both Pamminger and Raedler argue that this shows the vizier interceding before the gods on behalf of the men standing behind him.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁸ A tradition that began at Amarna in the 18th dynasty and continued into the early Ramesside Period, as evidenced by the presence of such a scene in TT 41, the tomb of Amunemopet, Assmann (excursus by U. Hoffmann), *Grab des Amenemope* (1991), 75.

⁸³⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 26.

⁸⁴⁰ McDowell, *Jurisdiction* (1990), 125.

⁸⁴¹ Stela Cairo JE 47001, Franzmeier, "News from Parahotep," *JEA* 100 (2014), 171.

⁸⁴² Pamminger, "Magistraler Intervention," *SAK* 23 (1996), 292; Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das Ägyptische Königstum* (2004), 347.



Figure 39. DRAWING OF STELA CAIRO JE 47001. SOURCE: RAEDLER, "DIE WESIRE RAMSES' II," *DAS ÄGYPTISCHE KÖNIGTUM* (2004), 374.

This notion fits well with similar stelae from Deir el-Medina showing Paser interceding on behalf of various inhabitants of the village, which Pamminger exemplified with stela Field Museum Chicago A. 31684 showing Paser in an adoring pose in front of the cartouches of Ramesses II with the tomb scribe Ramose standing behind him.⁸⁴³ Other examples of this type of stela with Paser as interceder from the village are Boston MFA 09.287 (Paser and the workman Qaha before Ramesses II and the goddess Hathor) and Copenhagen AEIN 1553 (Paser and a servant in the Place of Truth (name lost) before Hathor as a cow – see fig. 40 below).⁸⁴⁴



Figure 40. STELA AEIN 1553, PASER AND SUBORDINATE BEFORE HATHOR. SOURCE: NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK, COPENHAGEN.

The placement of stela Cairo JE 47001 in the tomb complex of (Pa-)Rahotep is interesting. The Deir el-Medina examples were placed in the village (although their original placements and

⁸⁴³ Pamminger, "Beispiel Magistraler Intervention," *Fs Gundlach* (1996), 184, pl. 12a-b.

⁸⁴⁴ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 314, 316.

exact findspots are unknown), not in the vicinity of TT 106, Paser's tomb complex. The placement of Tjay's stela instead resembles the six votive stelae found in the tomb of the *imy-r pr n pr ʿ3-hpr.w-R^c* – *steward of the house of Aakheperure* (Amenhotep II) Any, TA 23.⁸⁴⁵ Davies suggests that these stelae were donated by subordinates of Any, except for one which was placed there by his brother.⁸⁴⁶ The topic of the stelae differs from Tjay's since they do not show Any as interceding on behalf of the donor, but rather show the donor offering to Any in five of the six cases (see example below, Any-men offering to Any, fig. 41), while the texts are offering formulae for the ka of the deceased.⁸⁴⁷ The motivation for placing the stelae in Any's tomb therefore differs from those showing Paser as interceding before deities in Deir el-Medina and Tjay's stela at Tomb 201 at Sedment. Even though they still display an aspect of the patronage system, they are devoted to the memory of their presumed superior, instead of using his position to gain godly favor. As Pamminger comments, for the vast majority of the ancient Egyptian population their interaction with the gods was direct without the intervention of a temple.⁸⁴⁸ The use of the vizier as a middleman between the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina and the gods was a natural step to take according to the system of patronage, since he was their leader who was in regular contact with them, in juxtaposition to the more distant king. The same may well have been the case for the individuals who were under the direction of the northern vizier, as stela Cairo JE 47001 shows.



Figure 41. STELA OF ANY-MEN FROM THE TOMB OF ANY AT AMARNA, TA 23. SOURCE: Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (1908), Pl. XXII.

⁸⁴⁵ Any also held titles related to the cult of the Aten, namely *ss wdhw Itn n p3 Itn m pr Itn m 3h.t-Itn* – *scribe of the offering table of Aten for the Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten*, Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (1908), 7.

⁸⁴⁶ Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (1908), 9.

⁸⁴⁷ Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (1908), 9-10, pl. xxi, xxii, xxiii; The sixth stela shows the donor Thay with Any on a chariot, Davies suggests that this stela may have been intended for a suitably sized space marked with ink inside the tomb chamber, Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (1908), 10, pl. xxii.

⁸⁴⁸ Pamminger, "Magistrale Intervention," *SAK* 23 (1996), 282.



Figure 42. O. TORONTO A11 AS TRANSCRIBED BY GARDINER, *HIERATIC OSTRACA* (1913), 16B-16E.

Further evidence of the direct contact between the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina and the southern viziers comes from the ostrakon O. Toronto A.11 (fig. 42 above).⁸⁴⁹ It contains four copies of letters, two on the recto and two on the verso, and while three of them are addressed to the vizier Khay, one was meant for Paser.⁸⁵⁰ The texts contain standardized greetings phrases, but the individuals given as the original authors are worth noting. While other letter copies and drafts often mention the scribes or overseers of the workforce, i.e., the leaders of the village, O. Toronto A.11 reveals the original authors as the *hr.y-mdꜣy* – *chief of the medjay* Mininwy (letter 2, recto), the *rmt-is.t m St-Mꜣt* – *workman in the Place of Truth* Inherkhau (letter 3, verso) and the scribe – likely a draughtsman – *sš-ḳd*, as concluded by Kitchen –⁸⁵¹ named Nebre (letter 4, verso). As Davies also points out, the draughtsmen often abbreviated their titles from *sš-ḳd* to *sš*.⁸⁵² The name and title of the author of letter 1, recto, is not preserved.⁸⁵³ These individuals were not the highest-ranking members the village community, but rather represented the majority of its population.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁴⁹ This is a substantial square ostrakon measuring even in its incomplete state 54 cm in height and 28 cm in width, Gardiner, *Theban Ostraca* (1913), 16a.

⁸⁵⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 31, 40-44.

⁸⁵¹ As per his translation in *RITA III* (2000), 22.

⁸⁵² Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 149, footnote 1.

⁸⁵³ Gardiner, *Theban Ostraca* (1913), 16b.

⁸⁵⁴ The tomb building crew consisted of two gangs, the right side and the left side, each led by a foreman and his deputy, and in addition, one tomb scribe along with subordinate scribes under his authority. The gangs were made up of draftsmen and sculptors, as well as servants of the tomb (*smd.t n pꜣ hr*), while the rest of the free male population were guards and doorkeepers, Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), xix; Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 61, 65; Černý, *Community of Workmen* (1973), 183.

In addition, the draughtsman Nebre is depicted together with his father Pay in TT 4, belonging to the *ṭj.w* – *sculptor* Qen, in which there is also a scene showing Paser.⁸⁵⁵ It is therefore very possible that this is the same Nebre who originally wrote the letter to Paser copied on O. Toronto A.11.⁸⁵⁶ As for the individuals addressing the vizier Khay, the chief medjay, Mininwy, is known from one other source, namely P. Cairo 65739.⁸⁵⁷ The list of witnesses at the end of the text mentions the chief medjay  - Mini[.].i,⁸⁵⁸ who Černý confidently identifies as the Mininwy named on O. Toronto A11.⁸⁵⁹ Davies lists no record of a *workman in the Place of Truth* Inherkau,⁸⁶⁰ but since the other two men named in the letters are actual individuals rather than fictitious, it is likely that he is simply otherwise unattested. Hence, these letters may be understood as model letters, but they give an impression of who in the village was able to be in direct contact with the vizier, while they also represent a template on how to address him. All four letters begin with the title and name of the sender, followed by:

(Title and name) *ḥr swdʒ-ib n nb=f*

(Title and name) *greets his lord*

Then follows a row of titles and the name of the recipient vizier. This conforms with the other draft letterheads and letter copies related to these two early Ramesside southern viziers.⁸⁶¹ As for the titles used to address the vizier, all of the correspondence relating to Paser begin with *ṭjy ḥw ḥr wnm.y n nswt* – *fanbearer on the right side of the king*,⁸⁶² while the same is only the case in one of the three letters addressed to Khay on O. Toronto A11.⁸⁶³ Additionally, two more letters relating to Khay exist, O. Cairo CGC 25,832 and O. DM 114, both of which use this title. The former is addressed to Khay by the tomb scribe Kenherkhopshef, while the latter is addressed by Khay himself to the chief workman Nebnefer.⁸⁶⁴ *Fanbearer on the right side of the king* is not a title often used by the viziers, nor is it a strictly vizierial title since it was used by a range of high officials during the New Kingdom.⁸⁶⁵ Thus, the use of this title should not be understood as a function title, but rather, as an honorific title reflecting status. As such, its use in vizierial correspondence may point to a form of polite address.

As shown in this section and section 6.2. above, the viziers of the south in office during the early Ramesside Period had a close working relationship with the tomb builders' village, not just with the top representatives, i.e., the foremen and tomb scribes, but also with other

⁸⁵⁵ KRI III (1980), 677-678.

⁸⁵⁶ As Davies has shown, there was only one draughtsman named Nebre during the reign of Ramesses II who would then be the original author of the letter to Paser, Davies, *Who's Who* (1999), 149.

⁸⁵⁷ This is a judicial text dating to after regnal year 15 of Ramesses II comprising a case where the *ḥt.t-n-niwt* Irynefer is accused of using unjust methods to purchase two slaves by the *wꜥw* – *soldier/sailor* Ankhi. The *ḥt.t-n-niwt* Irynefer states that she was offered one of the slaves, a young girl, in year 15, Gardiner, „Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase,” JEA 21/2 (1935), 141. This is interpreted by both Černý and Gardiner to mean during the reign of Ramesses II, Černý, *Community of Workmen* (1973), 265, Gardiner, „Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase,” JEA 21/2 (1935), 141.

⁸⁵⁸ End of line 23, Gardiner, „Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase,” JEA 21/2 (1935), pl. XVI.

⁸⁵⁹ Černý, *Community of Workmen* (1973), 265.

⁸⁶⁰ Davies, *Who's Who* (1999).

⁸⁶¹ For Paser: O. Gardiner 13, 71 and 79, O. Michaelides 62 and 66, KRI III (1980), 28-31. For Khay: O. Cairo CGC 25,832, KRI III (1980), 44.

⁸⁶² KRI III (1980), 28-31.

⁸⁶³ The letter from the workman Inherkhau, KRI III (1980), 43.

⁸⁶⁴ KRI III (1980), 44-46.

⁸⁶⁵ Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 651; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 235.

members of staff who were able to communicate with him directly and had a template of how to do so. This shows parts of the southern viziers' regular routine, being responsible for the village and, hence, the building works of the kings' tombs.

This chapter has, so far, dealt with the evidence relating directly to the regular routine of the early Ramesside viziers. There is, however, another aspect of their roles, which is not reflected in the written or visual record: how they were chosen for the office. It has already been established that both the father of Paser and of (Pa-)Rahotep were high priests of the principal deities of their time, Amun and Ptah, which may well have been a contributing factor to their promotion to vizier. However, their post-Amarna predecessors along with their career paths may also shed light on this topic.

9.4. Excursus: Ramesses I and Seti I before becoming kings.

The sources relating to viziers during and directly after the Amarna Period are scarce. It is likely that the role of vizier sometime after the Amarna Period was occupied by first Paramessu, who later became Ramesses I, and by his son Seti, the later Seti I.⁸⁶⁶ During this time, a third individual, Nebamun, also held the office of vizier, but since his tomb is yet to be discovered, it is difficult to prove whether he held office in the north or south. This section discusses the evidence, and the previous studies made on this subject to better understand the role which the next viziers, Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep stepped into.

At the end of the 18th dynasty, when Horemheb had to appoint his successor, he chose the man that would become Ramesses I, who most likely was known as Paramessu before his ascent to the throne.⁸⁶⁷ Both Horemheb and his chosen successor had a military career and held religious offices before being appointed to the office of vizier. The evidence for the earlier careers of Paramessu and his son Seti come from the so-called *400 Year Stela* from the temple in Tanis (Pi-Ramesses), dated to regnal year 34 or later of Ramesses II due to the fact that he is represented on it with his titulary used only from his second *heb-sed* onwards.⁸⁶⁸ The text states that a vizier Paramessu was the father of another vizier, named Seti:

ii.tw pw ir.n r-p^ct imy-r niwt t³ty (...) Sty m^{3c}-hrw

It was the hereditary noble, overseer of the City and vizier (...more titles...) Seti, true of voice, who came

s³ r-p^ct imy-r niwt t³ty (...) P³-r^c-mss

⁸⁶⁶ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 291.

⁸⁶⁷ The social background of Paramessu is known from his Karnak statue Cairo JE 44863 on which it is stated that he was the son of the *s³b hr.y-pd.t* – dignitary and troop commander Seti and that the family came from Avaris. Both the family's place of origin and the titles used by Paramessu on his Karnak statue match those found on the *400 Year Stela* naming Paramessu as king Ramesses I, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 502-503.

⁸⁶⁸ The Horus-falcon and Nebty names were changed on that occasion, *RITANC II* (1999), 169.

*son of the hereditary noble, overseer of the City and vizier (...more titles...) Paramessu*⁸⁶⁹

As both Auenmüller and Murnane point out, this stela, along with two statues from Karnak belonging to a vizier Paramessu, are a good indication that this theory is credible.⁸⁷⁰ In addition, Gnirs reconstructed the career of Paramessu from his time as troop commander all the way to vizier through his use of titles. She argues that the positions held by him are an expression of the internal politics of Horemheb, visible in the fact that Paramessu held both high ranking military and elite court titles.⁸⁷¹

The motivation of Ramesses II for having the *400 Year Stela* made is also worth noting. The text initially states that:

wḏ ḥm=f ir.t(w) ḥḥ.w ʕ m inr n mʕ.t ḥr rn wr n it.w=f n mr.wt sḥḥ rn n it=f

*His majesty commanded a great stela to be made in granite for the great name of his fathers, in order to cause the name of his forefathers to be raised.*⁸⁷²

It seems clear from this line of text which directly precedes the introduction of Seti and Paramessu only interrupted by the date that has given this stela its name, that the king made this monument for his own relatives, in particular for his ancestors. It would then be unlikely that the following text would describe his current viziers and not his father and grandfather, as discussed as an option by Kitchen.⁸⁷³ Unfortunately, the stela breaks off after the introductory lines of titles, so it is unknown how the inscription ends, but Brand argues that the purpose of the stela was to show the forefathers of Ramesses II as chosen by Seth of Avaris to assume the throne.⁸⁷⁴

Regnal year	Main Titles	Artifact/Monument	Description
<i>Horemheb, unknown date</i>	<i>r-p^ct ḥʕty-^c imy-r niwt ʕty Pʕ-R^c- ms-sw</i>	Two statues ⁸⁷⁵	From the 10 th pylon of Karnak
<i>Regnal year 1 of Ramesses I</i>	<i>nswt-bity</i>	Strasbourg 1378 ⁸⁷⁶	Donation Stela
<i>Regnal year 2 of Ramesses I</i>	<i>nswt-bity</i>	Cairo JE 38264 ⁸⁷⁷	Sinai, lesser stela

Table 10. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR RAMESSES I.

⁸⁶⁹ KRI II (1979), 288.

⁸⁷⁰ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 502-503; Murnane, “Kingship of the 19th Dynasty,” *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 194-197.

⁸⁷¹ As both *r-p^ct* – hereditary noble (as a title given to the king’s heir), vizier, troop commander, overseer of foreign lands, royal scribe and marshal (*imy-r ssm.t* – overseer of horses), Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 68.

⁸⁷² Line 5, KRI II (1979), 288.

⁸⁷³ RITANC II (1999), 170.

⁸⁷⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 337.

⁸⁷⁵ URK IV (1909), 2175.

⁸⁷⁶ KRI I (1975), 3.

⁸⁷⁷ KRI I (1975), 1.

As shown in table 10 above, Ramesses I is attested as Paramessu during the reign of Horemheb and with no later date than his own second regnal year (the lesser Sinai stela, Cairo JE 38264). It is generally assumed that Paramessu was an older man when he ascended the throne as Ramesses I.⁸⁷⁸ As shown by his Karnak statues, during his military career he advanced from troop commander to *overseer of the military of the lord of the Two Lands*, the highest military rank anyone was appointed to under the rule of Horemheb.⁸⁷⁹ In addition, he held the title *r-p^ct* – *hereditary noble* without the usual sequence of the added *h3ty-c*,⁸⁸⁰ which indicates that Paramessu had been chosen as Horemheb's heir.⁸⁸¹ In addition, Gnirs argues that he only very late in his career was given the title of overseer of the military, as part of his preparation for the throne.⁸⁸²

As illustrated by table 11 below, there are no attestations of Seti I from his career before he ascended the throne. His hypothetical co-regency with Ramesses I is known from the *Abydos Dedicatory Stela*, on which it is stated that Seti led his father's army to victory in foreign lands:

dr=i n=f t3.w Fnḥw sh.ty=i n=f pšnw ḥr h3s.wt m^cky=i n=f Km.t n ib=f tsw=i n=f nsyt=f im

*I subdued for him the lands of Fenkhu, and I repulsed for him the dissidents of the deserts, so that I may protect Egypt for him of his heart, and I organized his kingship for him there.*⁸⁸³

As Brand argues, these duties are no different from those undertaken by Horemheb during the reign of Tutankhamun, and Seti I does not claim in the text that he acted as king.⁸⁸⁴ Instead, the text indicates that Seti was considered the heir of his father, at least in his own words after his father's passing.⁸⁸⁵

Seti's titles of vizier are only known from the *400 Year Stela*, where it is stated that he was:

r-p^ct imy-r niwt t3ty t3y ḥw ḥr wnmy n nswt

*Hereditary noble, overseer of the City, vizier, fanbearer on the right side of the king.*⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁷⁸ Ramesses I reigned for less than two years, and his son, Seti I, is attested to have between 11 and 15 years on the throne. *RITA I* (1993), xix. The short reigns of the first two kings of the 19th dynasty could point to their more or less advanced age at the time of their coronation.

⁸⁷⁹ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 338.

⁸⁸⁰ Title inscribed on one of his statues found by the 10th pylon at Karnak, *URK IV* (1958), 2175.

⁸⁸¹ Horemheb did himself hold this particular title before ascending to the throne, Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 193. In the *Onomasticon*, the *r-p^ct* is shown as heir to the king, entry number 72, Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 14*.

⁸⁸² Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 68. In addition, the somewhat advanced age of Paramessu by the time of his becoming Ramesses I is discussed by Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 376-379.

⁸⁸³ *KRI I* (1975), 110.

⁸⁸⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 311.

⁸⁸⁵ Kitchen understands Seti's use of the phrase being "a star at his (i.e., Ramesses I's) side" on both the Abydos Dedicatory Stela and a statue base from Medamud, as him being second to the king, not equal, *RITANC I* (1993), 131. Further, Brand argues that the number of monuments dedicated by Seti I to his father after his death indicate that he was not named co-regent of his father but remained crown prince, the monuments mentioned here were most likely also commissioned by Seti I, Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 312.

⁸⁸⁶ *KRI II* (1979), 287.

Furthermore, the stela states that he was the son (*sꜣ*) of the likewise titled Paramessu and the lady of the house, Tiy.⁸⁸⁷

<i>Regnal year</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Artifact/Monument</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Reign of Seti I</i>	None – deputy of Ramesses I	Abydos Dedicatory Stela ⁸⁸⁸	Dedicatory inscription by Seti I for Ramesses I
<i>Regnal year 9 of Seti I</i>	<i>nswt-bity</i>	Kanais temple of Seti I ⁸⁸⁹	Threefold inscription
<i>Regnal year 11(?) of Seti I</i>	<i>nswt-bity</i>	Khartoum Museum 1856 ⁸⁹⁰	Gebel Barkal Stela
<i>Reign of Ramesses II</i>	<i>r-pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜥ</i> <i>imy-r niwt ỉꜣty</i>	Cairo JE 60539 ⁸⁹¹	400 Year Stela

Table 11. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR SETI I.⁸⁹²

The lack of evidence for Seti's time as vizier makes it difficult to ascertain if he would have occupied the northern or southern vizierial office. However, Auenmüller places both Paramessu and Seti in the northern office based on their family roots connecting them to the Delta region.⁸⁹³ Brand assumed that Paramessu and Seti served as viziers concurrently, the older Paramessu in the south, based on an inscription on his statue found in Thebes.⁸⁹⁴ The inscription states *ḥr ḥrp mn.w ir.n=f r pr it=f Imn* – offering for the monuments he has made for the house of his father Amun.⁸⁹⁵ Brand's argument is, that the southern location of the statue and its dedication to the main deity of Thebes indicate that Paramessu had his main office in the south. However, since the subsequent viziers had statues dedicated to various deities placed in several temples across the country, this is a moot point. Following Brand's argument, Seti should then have been placed in the north, since his religious titles (*sšm-ḥb Bꜣ-nb-ḏdw* – festival leader of the Ram-lord-of-Mendes, *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n Swth* – high priest of Seth and *ḥr.y-ḥb.t n Wꜣḏ.yt* – lector priest of Wadjet)⁸⁹⁶ suggest it.⁸⁹⁷ He states further that Seti must have left vizierial office when he became heir presumptive at the time of his father's enthronement, his reason for this argument being that Seti was then a son of a reigning monarch, who would not need the position of vizier as a career path to the throne as his predecessors Ay, Horemheb and

⁸⁸⁷ KRI II (1979), 288. The queen of Ramesses I and mother of Seti I is known by the name Sitre, but Brand speculates that she may have changed her name from Tiy when she became queen, Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 344.

⁸⁸⁸ KRI I (1975), 110.

⁸⁸⁹ KRI I (1975), 65.

⁸⁹⁰ KRI I (1975), 75.

⁸⁹¹ KRI II (1979), 287.

⁸⁹² According to van Dijk, the date on the fragmented Gebel Barkal stela should be read as year 3 rather than year 11, making regnal year 9 known from Kanais the highest regnal year number for Seti I, van Dijk, "Date of the Gebel Barkal Stela," *Fs Bourriau* (2011), 326.

⁸⁹³ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 502, 509.

⁸⁹⁴ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 340.

⁸⁹⁵ Von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (1951), 27, footnote 99.

⁸⁹⁶ KRI II (1979), 288.

⁸⁹⁷ Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 340.

Paramessu had.⁸⁹⁸ However, Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis, held the important office of high priest even though it cannot be argued that he as the king's son needed such a position. Instead, it would be counterproductive to remove the future Seti I from the vizierial office, if the reason for these future kings' tenure as viziers was for them to gain insight into the administrative functions of the state as preparation for their role as ruler after having served in the military.⁸⁹⁹ Thus, there is no factual evidence that this was the case, and it remains possible that Seti stayed in the office of vizier until he himself ascended to the throne. That the two future kings held the office of Upper Egyptian vizier follows the timeline as reconstructed by Raedler, who placed the contemporary vizier Nebamun in the north.⁹⁰⁰

As for the two Karnak statues belonging to the vizier Paramessu, one poorly preserved, they were found by the tenth pylon and are inscribed with the cartouches with the names of Horemheb; *Dsr-hpr.w-R^c Stp-n-R^c* and *Hr-m-ḥb Mr.y-Imn*. Both are made of granite and show a seated, cross-legged man dressed in the long vizier's robe with a fine wig on his head and with a papyrus scroll spread across his legs.⁹⁰¹ The texts inscribed on both statues show this vizier had a background in the military, with the titles *hr.y-pd.t* – *troop commander*, *imy-r ssm.t* – *overseer of horses* and finally *imy-r mš^c.w n nb tḥ.wy* – *overseer of the army of the lord of the Two Lands*.⁹⁰² In addition, the inscription on the base of one of the statues also reveal that Paramessu was the son of a troop commander named Seti,⁹⁰³ showing that the military career path had a longer tradition within the family, the father, however, only held a low-ranking title.⁹⁰⁴ The same statue also carries the title *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n ntr.w nb.w* – *overseer of the prophets of all the gods*, the same title later used by Paser⁹⁰⁵ and connected to the Amun cult of Karnak, at least during the Ramesside Period.⁹⁰⁶ Lastly, the statue is inscribed with the title *idnw n ḥm=f n šm^c.w mh.w* – *deputy of his Person in the south and north*, which as Gnirs points out, is a title also used by Horemheb after he became heir to the throne.⁹⁰⁷ In all, this statue carries unusual titles that can only be attributed to the future king Ramesses I.

A further indication for the identity of Ramesses I comes from two granite sarcophagi, now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, one found in Gurob and the other in a tomb shaft near Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.⁹⁰⁸ Both sarcophagi contain a depiction of the owner in the normal vizier attire and both show that the name of the owner, Paramessu, had at

⁸⁹⁸ And further, that the heirs presumptive of Seti I and Ramesses II never carried the titles of vizier, Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 340, footnote 181.

⁸⁹⁹ Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 196.

⁹⁰⁰ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 293.

⁹⁰¹ Cairo JE 44863 and JE 44864, Legrain, "Statues des Paramessu," *Ann. Ser. 14* (1914), 29.

⁹⁰² URK IV (1958), 2175-2176.

⁹⁰³ It states: *ir n sḥb hr.y-pd.t St.y mš^c-hr.w* – *Made by the dignitary, troop commander Seti, true of voice*, URK IV (1958), 2176.

⁹⁰⁴ The troop commander served as the lowest ranking officer's title of the foot soldier divisions, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 18.

⁹⁰⁵ On his statue from Deir el-Bahri (BM 687), *KRI III* (1980), 18. For Paser's role as high priest, see chapter 9 below.

⁹⁰⁶ Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 189.

⁹⁰⁷ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 113.

⁹⁰⁸ Polz, "Särge des (Pa-)Ramessu," *MDAIK 42* (1986), 146, 147.

some point been changed to Ramessu. The titles inscribed on them are also similar to those held by Horemheb before he became king.⁹⁰⁹ In addition, it appears that the purpose of the change was not usurpation, but expansion of the owner's name. The text on the sarcophagus from Gurob was edited to contain the title *sꜣ-nswt – king's son* added before his name and *nb wbn – lord of appearances* added after. Furthermore, his name was enclosed in a cartouche in a final editing.⁹¹⁰ However, as Gnirs argues, the title *king's son* could well be a result of a later usurpation, since the *nb wbn* part of the name is not compatible with the royal names used by Ramesses I.⁹¹¹ The sarcophagus from Medinet Habu also shows Ramessu's name enclosed in a cartouche, along with much of the same text as the other sarcophagus, and Polz attributes both pieces to one person, due to both the textual and stylistic similarities, as well as the size of the smaller Medinet Habu sarcophagus that would fit inside the larger one from Gurob,⁹¹² although both Gnirs and Brand conclude that both the title *king's son* and the inclusion of a cartouche is a result of a later usurpation by a son of Ramesses II.⁹¹³ Even though the history of ownership of the two sarcophagi has been widely discussed,⁹¹⁴ it is probable that the Paramessu who owned both of them and the two Karnak statues was indeed the later Ramesses I, as concluded by Murnane.⁹¹⁵

Ramesses I and Seti I occupying this highest civil office sets two of the last viziers of the 18th dynasty markedly apart from those who followed them at the beginning of the 19th dynasty. Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep came from priestly families, and none of the early Ramesside viziers held any form of military titles (see Indexes). Ramesses I and Seti I therefore followed the tradition of earlier 18th dynasty rulers, who held military ranks prior to ascending the throne,⁹¹⁶ while this was not the case for the viziers, they themselves appointed. This suggests that as the first kings of the new 19th dynasty had heirs that could consolidate this family's claim to the throne, their choice of viziers aimed to further their position of power both domestically and abroad.

9.5. Summary: Roles and Divisions

The sources related to the early New Kingdom viziers, do to a certain degree reveal information about their regular routines. Judicial texts dated to the reign of Ramesses II confirm the role of the vizier as judge, which is also reflected in their use of titles. The tomb reliefs of Rekhmire agree with *The Duties* in depicting the vizier's financial role as tax collector, while

⁹⁰⁹ Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 193.

⁹¹⁰ Polz, "Särge des (Pa-)Ramessu," *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 154-155.

⁹¹¹ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 115.

⁹¹² Polz, "Särge des (Pa-)Ramessu," *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 155.

⁹¹³ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 115; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (2000), 336, 339, footnote 175.

⁹¹⁴ See Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 192. Also, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 114-115.

⁹¹⁵ Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 195.

⁹¹⁶ Though not all kings became experienced on the battlefield, the military role of the rulers from the Middle Kingdom onwards, but particularly during the New Kingdom, had great importance since the defeat of the Hyksos, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 34.

titles used by the early Ramesside viziers suggest a continued importance of this function. On a smaller scale, the water pots of Paser show his role in the system of patronage. This role is particularly visible throughout the village of Deir el-Medina, where Paser's presence in a multitude of stela as well as on some tomb reliefs show his influence on the inhabitants as their immediate leader.

This chapter has shown that the roles of the last viziers of the 18th dynasty, Paramessu and Seti, were quite different from those of the first viziers of the 19th dynasty. Paramessu was chosen by Horemheb as his successor to the throne, a choice which brought about a new dynasty. The military background of both Paramessu and Seti served well to prepare them for both higher administration of the military body and the politics of foreign affairs, while the office of vizier provided them with knowledge of civil service and internal administration of Egypt.⁹¹⁷ Since Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep lacked any kind of military titles and were chosen as viziers from families with deep roots in the religious sphere, their backgrounds stand in stark contrast to those of their immediate predecessors, which is evidence for the wish of Seti I to strengthen the bond with Amun-Re and Ptah in the pursuit of positioning himself as legitimate ruler in the eyes of the gods.⁹¹⁸ At the same time, this was also a continuation of the choice made by Horemheb for the vizierial office, with Nebamun being a member of a priestly family.⁹¹⁹ With the titles Horemheb bestowed on Paramessu, it seems highly likely that he was chosen as heir to the throne, with his son then becoming eligible to assume the throne after his father. Therefore, Paser's position as vizier became extraordinary; he was the first vizier to be appointed in the 19th dynasty who was not placed in the office as a link to becoming king. Rather, as a person who was not intended to inherit the throne, the office of vizier was the highest echelon he could achieve.

Thus, while Seti I and Ramesses II chose their viziers based on different reasons than their predecessors, the common denominator was still a connection to the major temples of ancient Egypt, while national and international relations were an important contributing factor.

⁹¹⁷ Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 196.

⁹¹⁸ Seti I stressed his relationship with the gods in temple inscriptions by the frequent use of the term *3h* – *effective/useful/beneficial (for the gods)* which is also used in his names inscribed on his temple building projects, Brand, "Ideology and Politics," *Bilder im Wandel* (2005), 25.

⁹¹⁹ His father Ramose was a *sem*-priest, see *KRI III* (1980), 451.

10. PASER AS HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN



Figure 43. PASER AS HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN, CAIRO CG 42156, ON DISPLAY AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION, CAIRO. PHOTO: AUTHOR.

During the later years of his career, Paser held the titles of high priest of Amun at Karnak. This is known from a statue found in the Karnak cachette (see fig. 43 above), which is inscribed with his name and the titles of this office.⁹²⁰ It is a granite kneeling statue holding a naos topped with a ram's head. The human figure wears the spotted leopard skin draped over the right shoulder and wide pleated skirt, along with the shoulder-length wig of the high priest, the same costume Paser's father, the high priest of Amun, Nebnetjeru, can be seen wearing in the family scene of fig. 4 at the beginning of chapter 3. This statue does not mention any titles related to the office of vizier, but because it contains the cartouches of Ramesses II and no other person named Paser is known to have held this position during that king's reign, it is probable that the statue belonged to our vizier Paser. Raedler connects this piece with another statue belonging

⁹²⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 292. Dalino suggests that this statue instead could represent another Paser, the *it-ntr n Imn* mentioned in TT 16 belonging to the prophet of Amenhotep I, Panehsy, Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 23; However there is no further evidence that this Paser carried the titles of high priest of Amun. Two unprovenanced ushabtis in the UCL collection and a statue fragment in Skt. Petersburg, Hermitage 18111, are also inscribed with the name Paser and the titles of high priest of Amun, *KRI III* (1980), 293; Q_4.41, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 323; while the two Karnak cachette statues can be attributed to the vizier Paser due to similarity in features, the possibility of a second Paser, high priest of Amun, cannot be excluded, although the two ushabtis and the statue fragment have figured on the list of sources for the vizier Paser since Donohue, "Vizier Paser," *JEA* 74 (1988), 109, 110; latest on the source list provided by Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 323, 332 and Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 838, 840.

to Paser also found in the Karnak cachette, another granite kneeling statue holding a naos, and believes they may have been placed in the temple at the same time, since they are of very similar style (see fig. 44 below).⁹²¹



Figure 44. LEFT: CAIRO CG 42156. RIGHT: CAIRO JE 38062. SOURCE: LEGRAIN, *STATUES ET STATUETTES* (1909), PL. 19, 28.

Both statues wear the same style of wig, are shown kneeling and holding onto the naos in the same manner. In addition, they have similar facial features with rounded brows, almond shaped eyes and plum cheeks, although the nose area on Cairo CG 42156 has been damaged, and while this statue wears a short false beard, the other shows a clean-shaven chin. The similarity in style strengthens the argument that the high priest of Amun Paser and the vizier Paser are the same person. The other statue (Cairo JE 38062) does not mention him as high priest of Amun, but the text does have a religious focus since the titles placed on top of the naos and on the shoulders of the figure are:

Naos top: *hr.y-ḥb hr.y-tp Hr(-p³-)ḥrd sm ḥrp ḥw.wt n nb t³ty s³b imy-r niwt t³ty P³-srw m³c-ḥrw*

Chief lector-priest for Horus-the-Child, sem-priest, controller of the temples of the lord, judge and dignitary, overseer of the City and vizier Paser, true of voice.

Left shoulder: *ḥm-ntr i³ḥ nb.w*

Prophet of the one, who illuminates all (?)

Right shoulder: *ḥm-ntr šr.t s³b*

*Prophet of the one, who presides over the dignitaries (?)*⁹²²

⁹²¹ Cairo JE 38062 and Cairo CG 42156. Footnote 244 in Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 320.

⁹²² *KRI III* (1980), 16.

The full meaning of the titles inscribed on the shoulders is uncertain,⁹²³ but their religious character is demonstrated by the word *ḥm-ntr* – *prophet* (literally *servant of the god*). The front of the naos mentions the goddess Mut and the god Khonsu, wife and son of Amun, who together with him make up the Theban triad, though Amun himself is not mentioned in the inscription on this statue. This god is, on the other hand, the only deity named on Cairo CG 42156, which mentions Paser with the titles of the high priest of Amun and contains a dedicatory inscription to that god.⁹²⁴ So, the possibility remains that the two statues of similar style although with different uniforms were placed within the Karnak temple complex at the same time. This was perhaps on the occasion of Paser's installation as high priest, since one of them is dedicated solely to Amun, while the other contains only the high priest titles. Considering the different dedications of the two statues it is not certain that they were originally placed together in the temple. There are various options for placing statues within the large temple complex, and it is possible that the one dedicated to Amun was placed within the main temple, while the other was placed in the temple of Mut or Khonsu, since it was dedicated to them. The fact that the statues were found almost two months apart in 1904⁹²⁵ suggests that they were not buried together, which could indicate that they were not standing right next to each other at the time they were moved to the cachette.

In a similar fashion, the vizier Khay had two statues erected in the Karnak temple complex.⁹²⁶ Unlike Paser's statues, these two monuments do not have a particular focus on religious titles. Rather, they contain only the very common *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula and the standard title sequences of the vizier *r-pꜣt ḥꜣt.y-ꜥ it-ntr mr.y-ntr tꜣy.ty sꜣb imy-r niwt tꜣty* – *hereditary noble and count, god's father and beloved of the god, dignitary and judge, overseer of the City and vizier* and variants of these. Cairo CG 4166 is also inscribed with a prayer to receive offerings from the temple,⁹²⁷ which is to be expected from this type of statue. This difference between the religious focus of Paser and Khay only using titles related to the vizier could be a further indication of the progressively more stable political situation in the later part of the reign of Ramesses II. Thus, the motivation behind erecting these two sets of statues within the Karnak temple complex may differ. As was stated above, Paser could have placed emphasis on his religious titles because the statues were made on the occasion of him receiving the office of high priest of Amun. Khay's statues, on the other hand, with their style of inscription fit well with many other statues found within temple contexts.⁹²⁸

Two ushabtis in the University College London collection, as the Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42156, only mention a Paser in the capacity of high priest of Amun.⁹²⁹ The material, text, and style of the two objects are the same,⁹³⁰ so it is probable that they originated from the same

⁹²³ Donohue interprets these titles as archaic, an expression of the vizier's association with the king as his officiant, Donohue, "Vizier Paser," *JEA* 74 (1988), 118.

⁹²⁴ *KRI III* (1980), 292.

⁹²⁵ Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* (1909), 23,31.

⁹²⁶ From the Karnak cachette, Cairo CG 4165 and Cairo CG 4166, *KRI III* (1980), 37, 38.

⁹²⁷ *KRI III* (1980), 38.

⁹²⁸ With texts relating to receiving offerings and maintenance of the individual's cult, see Frood, "When Statues Speak About Themselves," *Statues in Context* (2019), 4.

⁹²⁹ UCL 39702 and 39703 (fragment), *KRI III* (1980), 293.

⁹³⁰ Photographs available <https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/collect/683> in: University College London (accessed: 23/11 2023).

context, although their provenance is unknown. In addition, a fragment of a black granite statue also only shows the title of high priest of Amun with Paser's name.⁹³¹ The Karnak cachette statue along with these three objects are the only examples of Paser not being mentioned with his titles of vizier. While the possibility of a second Paser holding the office of high priest of Amun cannot be fully excluded, these objects could indicate a special occasion where it was deemed appropriate to only use the titles of high priest, maybe when he was installed in the office. As shown in the approximate timeline for Paser above (Table 3) the Karnak cachette statue CG 42156 is dated to after regnal year 21 of Ramesses II due to the spelling of the king's nomen inscribed on it, which was standardized to *R^c-ms-sw* (𓂏𓂛𓏏𓏏) on royal monuments after the peace treaty with the Hittites the preceding year.⁹³²

Another monument which strengthens the link between the high priest Paser and the vizier Paser is his chapel in the *Great Speos of Horemheb* at Gebel el-Silsila. The inscribed text on the left-hand side of the door jamb leading to the inner part of the chapel,⁹³³ contains the title *imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr n nṯr.w nb.w Šmꜣ.w Mḥ.w* – *overseer of the prophets of all the gods of the south and north*, while the other side contains his vizierial titles.⁹³⁴ Likewise, a variation of the title is found on the standing statue BM EA 687, from the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, as well as the letter copy on O. Toronto A11, which also contain his vizierial titles.⁹³⁵ This is evidence speaking in favor of Paser holding the titles of both vizier and high priest of Amun simultaneously. In addition, Khay also used the titles of vizier and high priest concurrently as shown on his stela in the *Great Speos*.⁹³⁶ The statue of Paser from the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri preserves half of the high priest of Amun title *imy-r ḥm(.w)-nṯr [...]*, while the cartouche on this statue spells the king's nomen *R^c-ms-s*.⁹³⁷ Brand notes that this way of spelling was predominant in Upper Egypt before regnal year 21, after which royal inscriptions conformed to the new spelling.⁹³⁸ This means that it cannot be ruled out that Paser received the titles of high priest of Amun before regnal year 21, although the spelling of the king's name may just reflect a preference of the Upper Egyptian artist. The question is, then, whether the title of high priest was bestowed merely as an honorific position, whether the men left vizierial office for the position of high priest, or whether the viziers actually occupied both offices at the same time.

As shown in Paser's approximate timeline above, his successor as high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, has no secure attestations other than his block statue dated to the third decade of Ramesses II and Khay is first attested as vizier in regnal year 30. This leaves a possible period of about 9 years when Paser, late in his career, could have held both the office of vizier and of high priest of Amun. The Karnak cachette statue containing no mention of vizier titles may point to the special occasion during which Paser was given the titles of high priest of Amun, perhaps sometime after regnal year 21 of Ramesses II, but definitely before the king's third decade on the throne when Bakenkhons was appointed to the office. Since Paser used the titles

⁹³¹ Hermitage 18111, Q_4.41, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 323.

⁹³² Brand, "Ideology and Politics," *Prozesse des Wandels* (2005), 31.

⁹³³ *RITANC III* (2013), 24.

⁹³⁴ *KRI III* (1980), 32.

⁹³⁵ *KRI III* (1980), 18, 31.

⁹³⁶ *KRI II* (1979), 395.

⁹³⁷ BM EA 687, *KRI III* (1980), 18.

⁹³⁸ Brand, *Ramesses II* (2023), 89.

of both offices on the Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42156, in his chapel in the *Great Speos* and on his statue in the temple of Mentuhotep II, it is possible he either retained the vizier title honorifically or kept active in both offices. An argument for the notion that the viziers of the early Ramesside Period kept their office while also occupying the seat of high priest is a stela of the vizier and high priest of Ptah, Neferrenpet, who is here depicted wearing both the traditional dress of the vizier and the spotted leopard skin of the high priest.⁹³⁹ The text of the stela gives Neferrenpet both the titles of vizier and of high priest.⁹⁴⁰

In the one instance where both Paser and Khay are mentioned on the same ostrakon, O. Toronto A 11, the letter addressed to Paser provide both his titles as high priest of Amun and as vizier,⁹⁴¹ which shows that the priestly and vizierial titles were not only used concurrently by Paser himself, but also by his subordinates, in this case by the draughtsman Nebre. The high priest title used in the letter is *imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr n nṯr.w nb.w t3 Šm3* – *overseer of the prophets of all the gods of the southern land*.⁹⁴² This closely resembles the overseer of prophets title that Paser otherwise used, namely *imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr n nṯr.w nb.w Šm3.w Mḥ.w* – *overseer of the prophets of all the gods of the South and North*, in the *Great Speos* as discussed above. As Kubisch has noted, the high priest of Amun Nebwenenef had three variations of this title in his tomb TT 157 in Dra Abu el-Naga during the later part of Ramesses II's reign. He was the overseer of prophets of *all the gods*, *all the gods of Thebes (W3s.t)* and *all the gods of the South and North*.⁹⁴³ She argues further that there is no indication that these variations represent any marked difference in the idea of the role of high priest.⁹⁴⁴ It is therefore suggested here that the title used in Nebre's letter is another variation, which does not reflect a specific role of the high priest of Amun. Since the letters on O. Toronto A11 are copies and do not contain any dates, it is not known when exactly they were written. As stated above, Khay is first attested as vizier in regnal year 30 of Ramesses II, so the original composition of the letters addressed to him could not have been made much earlier than that. On the other hand, it is not possible to conclude when the original letter to Paser was written, neither based on the use of the high priest title, nor the fact that this letter was copied onto the same ostrakon as the three letters to Khay.

Further evidence suggests that Paser held both offices at the same time. At the far south of the Egyptian territory at the fortress of Buhen a fragment of a door jamb was found in the temple of Amun, which contains titles probably belonging to Paser.⁹⁴⁵ His name is not preserved, but as the combination of titles of vizier and overseer of the silver houses (*imy-r pr.wy-ḥd*) is inscribed on the piece it is likely that it did belong to Paser, since he was the only early Ramesside vizier to hold that title.⁹⁴⁶ As part of a door jamb, the piece must have belonged to a larger

⁹³⁹ Berlin ÄM 2290. No photos available. Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007), 149.

⁹⁴⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 49.

⁹⁴¹ *KRI III* (1980), 31, 40.

⁹⁴² The introductory lines of the letter names Nebre first followed by an address to and the titles of Paser, *KRI III* (1980), 31.

⁹⁴³ Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 191.

⁹⁴⁴ Rather, all three variations found in TT 157 are common during the Ramesside Period, Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period in Egypt* (2018), 191.

⁹⁴⁵ In the surface debris of the north colonnade of the South Temple. Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* (1976), 133.

⁹⁴⁶ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 433-465. See also Indexes of titles below. Paser used variations of this title several times at Karnak, Deir el-Medina, and the Ptah temple in Memphis (see Index 1).

structure in or around the temple complex. As it is inscribed with *imy-r hm.w-ntr n ntr.w [nb.w]* – overseer of prophets of [all] the gods, a title used by the high priests of Amun,⁹⁴⁷ and it was found within the Amun temple of Buhen, it is possible that the structure was made for him, perhaps as an office, or commissioned by him as a chapel in his capacity as high priest of that deity. His chapel in the *Great Speos* at Gebel el-Silsila gives another variation of this title (*imy-r hm.w-ntr n ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w Mh.w* – overseer of prophets of all the gods of the South and North).⁹⁴⁸ It is worth noting that both these structures contain Paser's titles as high priest of Amun, in addition to his vizierial titles, and that both come from a religious context which demanded a longer voyage to reach.

It has previously been speculated that the vizier Paser and the high priest of Amun Paser were two different men entirely. Most recently Dalino put forth the notion that no evidence supports the claim that they should be the same man.⁹⁴⁹ But the existence of the evidence discussed above naming him both vizier and high priest of Amun, i.e., the partial door jamb from Buhen, his chapel in the *Great Speos*, his sandstone statue from the temple of Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahri and the model letter of Toronto A11 from Deir el-Medina addressed to him,⁹⁵⁰ indicates that the vizier Paser and the high priest of Amun Paser are the same man. As has also been shown in this section, it is however not possible to determine whether he held both offices at the same time or whether he retained one of the titles honorifically while holding the other in an active role.

As for the power and prestige the two offices represented, it has for a long time been assumed that the viziers stepped down from the vizierate in order to become high priests, a less challenging position for an aging man, as argued by Kubisch.⁹⁵¹ However, nothing in the extensive material record of Paser supports such a notion. The idea of retirement has been repeated by Dorman, who assumed that the 18th dynasty vizier Aametu “retired from public service” when his son User(-Amun) came to hold that office,⁹⁵² even though it is known from the instructional text inscribed in the tomb of User(-Amun), TT 131 that father and son were co-viziers for a period of time.⁹⁵³ The notion is perhaps coined from the expression *mdw i3w* – staff of old age,⁹⁵⁴ a position said in TT 131 to have been given to User(-Amun) by his father.⁹⁵⁵ The exact function of this term is not completely clear, but in a Middle Kingdom legal document, Mery, called Kebi, wants to guarantee the placement of his son Intef, called Iuseneb, as a *staff of old age* for him in the temple. The text states:

⁹⁴⁷ Kubisch, “Religious and Political Role,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 191. Paser used both this and *hm-ntr tp.y n Imn* – high priest of Amun in the inscription on his Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42156, *KRI III* (1980), 292.

⁹⁴⁸ *KRI III* (1980), 32.

⁹⁴⁹ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 23.

⁹⁵⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 18, 31, 32.

⁹⁵¹ Kubisch states that Paser “retired from his post as vizier between year 21 and year 30 of Ramesses II and could have taken over the office of High Priest of Amun afterwards.” Kubisch, “Religious and Political Role,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 199.

⁹⁵² Dorman, “Family Burial and Commemoration,” *Theban Necropolis* (2003), 37.

⁹⁵³ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun* (1998), 3-65.

⁹⁵⁴ Teaching of Aametu, Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun* (1998), 31.

⁹⁵⁵ Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 76.

(Line 3) *iw=i hr rdi.t p3y=i* (4) *mt.y n s3.w n s3=i Mry s3 Intf dd.w n=f Iw-snb r mdw i3w* (5) *hft ntt-wi tn.kwi*

(3) *I am giving my (position) (4) controller of the phyle to my son, Mery's son Intef, who is called Iuseneb, in order to be a staff of old age, (5) because I am old.*⁹⁵⁶

The title of *staff of old age* is known from Middle Kingdom royal co-regencies where the heir to the throne was placed as the assistant to the monarch. In the same fashion, an older official could employ his successor as his *staff of old age*, i.e., his apprentice who he could train to take his place.⁹⁵⁷ This is supported by the Installation-text in User(-Amun)'s tomb chapel of TT 131, in which it is proclaimed by the courtiers:

dd=sn hw si3=k ity nb=n r-ntt t3ty ph[n]=f tni nh.yw m ksw hn m psd=f ...

They said: Oh may you recognize, sovereign our lord, that the vizier has reached old age, a little bend has settled in his back...

...nk[3]y hr sp pn 3h t3.wy=ky rdi.w hr mdw i3w

*... Think on this matter. It is beneficial for your two countries to appoint a staff of old age.*⁹⁵⁸

User(-Amun) thus began his turn in office as co-vizier, or *mdw i3w* – *staff of old age*,⁹⁵⁹ alongside his father, Aametu, documented by both this text and the accompanying relief showing User(-Amun) being presented to Thutmose III, located on the southeast wall of TT 131.⁹⁶⁰ Aametu was already a man of great influence, with a possible relation to the early 18th dynasty viceroys of Kush, Ahmose Satayet and Ahmose Tjuro,⁹⁶¹ which is supported by the fact that Ahmose Tjuro is included in User(-Amun)'s shrine at Gebel el-Silsila.⁹⁶² Shirley argued that the position of *staff of old age* was a way for Aametu to secure the vizierial office as hereditary, as well as gaining and keeping control of key administrative functions by placing other family members in important positions.⁹⁶³ Through the ceremony of being instated as his father's "vizier apprentice" before the king, as shown in both the Installation-text and the accompanying tomb relief,⁹⁶⁴ the succession was given royal approval. Though, as a monumental text and image meant for self-presentation rather than being an administrative document, it is uncertain if such a ceremony took place in the exact form as described and depicted. In addition, Aametu placed several of his sons, including User(-Amun) early in his career, as clergy of Amun at Karnak, which he was enabled to do through his marriage to Taametu, a sister of the mayor of

⁹⁵⁶ UC 32037 from Lahun, dating to the reign of Amenemhat III, Collier & Quirke, *UCL Lahun Papyri* (2004), 100.

⁹⁵⁷ Jiménez-Serrano & Sánchez-León, "Co-Regencies," *Middle Kingdom Palace Culture* (2021), 240.

⁹⁵⁸ After transcription by Helck, "Berufung des Vezirs Wsr," *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 108.

⁹⁵⁹ The knowledge of this term mainly comes from (semi-)literary texts, and its factual meaning is therefore difficult to ascertain. For the collected texts recording the term, see Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 64-69.

⁹⁶⁰ Shirley, "Viceroys, Viziers and the Amun Precinct," *JEGH* 3/1 (2010), 83.

⁹⁶¹ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 488. Possibly through Aametu's marriage to Iahhotep, who may have been a sister of Tjuro. Shirley, "Viceroys, Viziers and the Amun Precinct," *JEGH* 3/1 (2010), 88.

⁹⁶² Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 77.

⁹⁶³ Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 75.

⁹⁶⁴ Aametu presents his son before the king, Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun* (1994), 75, pl. 72, 81.

Thebes, Ineni, who also held important positions within the cult of Amun. It thus seems that User(-Amun) began his professional career as wab-priest, a title written on the stela Uriage (Museum Grenoble 19), stating in the fourth line:

ink s^ch ikr iw ir.n(=i) w^cb k(=i) m h^w.t-ntr n Imn

*I was an excellent dignitary. I served as wab-priest when I entered into the temple of Amun.*⁹⁶⁵

The date for User(-Amun)'s promotion to co-vizier is around year 5 of the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, while he later continued as vizier in his own right until somewhere between regnal year 28 to 34 under Thutmose III (see table 11 below).⁹⁶⁶ The details of User(-Amun)'s path to the office of the southern vizier are described in TT 131, which also has an inscription of a teaching from Aametu to his son.⁹⁶⁷

Regnal year	Titles	Artifact/Monument	Description
Year 5 under Thutmose III/Hatshepsut	<i>r-p^ct h³ty-c imy-r niwt t³ty Wsr</i>	P. Turin 1878	Written on the verso
Year 28 under Thutmose III	<i>Imy-r niwt t³ty</i>	Tomb of the vizier's scribe Amenemhat, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	Stela
Year 34 under Thutmose III	Rekhmire is attested as vizier	P. Louvre E 3226	Accounting records

Table 12. APPROXIMATE TIMELINE FOR USER(-AMUN).⁹⁶⁸

It is of interest to note that P. Turin 1878, a copy of the appointment text from TT 131, dated to the first half of the 20th dynasty and found at Deir el-Medina,⁹⁶⁹ holds both a date and a statement of User(-Amun)'s occupation before becoming vizier and the number of years he had spent in the service of the king at the time of his promotion. The text provides the date *regnal year 5, first month of the Akhet, day 1* during the reign of *Menkheperre*, i.e., Thutmose III. The second line of text specifies an earlier title of the later vizier:

sš htm.w ntr Wsr-Imn n pr Imn

*Scribe of the divine seal Useramun of the house of Amun*⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁵ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Viziers User-Amun* (1998), 90.

⁹⁶⁶ The earliest date for his turn in office is provided by P. Turin 1878, as well as in a list of offerings made by him for a festival of Amun held at the Theban west bank, both dated to regnal year 5 of Thutmose III, Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Viziers User-Amun* (1998), 96. Regnal year 28 is recorded on a stela in the tomb of the *imy-r pr - overseer of the house* Amenemhat, while the next vizier Rekhmire is first recorded as such in regnal year 34 in the accounting records of P. Louvre E 3226, Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Viziers User-Amun* (1998), 101.

⁹⁶⁷ Dziobek, *Gräber des Viziers User-Amun* (1994), 75-76.

⁹⁶⁸ URK IV (1909), 1048; Megally, *Recherches* (1977), 278;

<https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Object/detail.aspx?iid=e3dea115528c40249460fb5f42d1d61e> in: Museo Egizio (accessed: 17/7 2023).

⁹⁶⁹ Frère, "Nomination du Vizir Ouseramon," *Rivista* 3 (2019), 2.

⁹⁷⁰ This title is also present in TT 131, and Dziobek has in his publication translated it *scribe and divine sealer*, Dziobek, *Gräber des User-Amun* (1994), 75. In his later publication, though, he seems to have changed his mind

So, the stela Uriage identifies his earliest career step as wab-priest in the temple of Amun, while this document provides a later title and position within the same temple. Further, line 3 and 4 (fig. 45) mentions the length of his career until that point, given as the answer to the king's question:

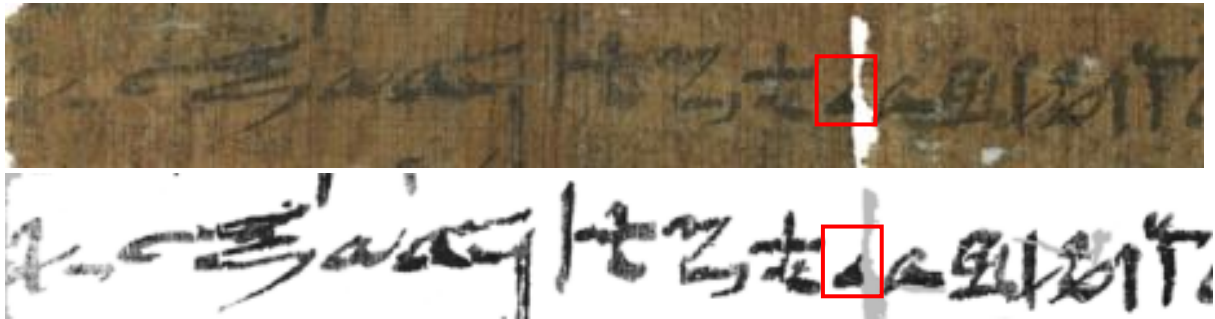


Figure 45. TEXT AND FACSIMILE, P. TURIN 1878, vs. L. 3. SOURCE: FRÈRE, “NOMINATION DU VIZIR OUSERAMON,” *Rivista 3* (2019), 6.

mt³ wr n rnp(.w).t [pw m-dr fh.t=f]

The exact meaning of this sentence has been widely debated with several possible translations. For instance, Frère suggests:

*The phallus [since] how long has it been undone?*⁹⁷¹

This translation raises the question of the use of male circumcision as a mark of some sort of initiation, an idea first introduced by Helck with his translation of the same text.⁹⁷² Quack, however, argues that this sentence begins differently and should instead be read:

Wsr-Imn s³ ³-mt³ wr n rnp(.w).t [...]

*Useramun son of Aametu, how many years [...]*⁹⁷³

As he points out, Helck has misread the Hieratic sign for the egg *o*, meaning *son*, and instead read the sign as the preposition *r* *o* (see area marked in red, fig. 45 above).⁹⁷⁴ It has already been pointed out, that User(-Amun)'s father, Aametu, carried a name of non-Egyptian origin. Thus, it would not be unexpected that his name was spelled in different ways, especially in a document written some 300 years after he was active. It seems therefore that there is no mention of circumcision in this text but rather, a misreading of a name.

To the above question, the answer follows:

30 n rnp(.w).t t³y pr-³ ³.w.s.

and instead translated *scribe of the divine seal*, Dziobek, *Denkmäler des User-Amun* (1997), 100. This was also noted by Shirley, who considered the latter translation to be correct, Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 81, footnote 357. This is also the translation preferred by Frère in her re-publication of P. Turin 1878 (*scribe du sceau divin*), Frère, “Nomination du Vizir Ouseramon,” *Rivista 3* (2019), 7.

⁹⁷¹ Frère, “Nomination du Vizir Ouseramon,” *Rivista 3* (2019), 68.

⁹⁷² Helck, “Berufung des Vezirs Wsr,” *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 111.

⁹⁷³ Quack, “Zur Beschneidung,” *Menschenbilder und Körperkonzepte* (2012), 596.

⁹⁷⁴ Quack, “Zur Beschneidung,” *Menschenbilder und Körperkonzepte* (2012), 596.

*30 of years it is, pharaoh, l.p.h.*⁹⁷⁵

It is thus understood that User(-Amun) had been in the service of the king for three decades at the time of his promotion to vizier. That would place his age somewhere in his late thirties to early forties at that point, if it is assumed that he began his education at the age of perhaps as young as five to six years old, perhaps up to the age of ten or twelve.⁹⁷⁶ This approximation again comes from the biographical text inscribed on the block statue of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, who succeeded Paser in that office,⁹⁷⁷ though as a monumental inscription the accuracy of this is debatable.

The same text also states about User(-Amun)'s tenure as *scribe of the divine seal in the house of Amun* that:

ir=i t3 i3wt n p3y=k it gr

*I held this office for your father also.*⁹⁷⁸

Thutmose III's father, Thutmose II Aakheperenre, ruled for no more than two to four years, while his predecessor Thutmose I Aakheperkare is attributed ten years of rule,⁹⁷⁹ which means that if User(-Amun) had served 30 years in public office by regnal year 5 of Thutmose III, he must have begun his career in the early years of the reign of Amenhotep I, who ruled for twenty years.⁹⁸⁰ User(-Amun) does not mention any position he may have held during the reigns of these earlier kings, but considering the descriptions of careers of both Bakenkhons and Paser in their biographical texts, he likely held a lesser position at this earlier stage. In addition, the Installation-text in User(-Amun)'s tomb TT 131 states about Aametu that *ph[.n]=f tni nhy ksw hn m psd=f* – *he has reached old age, a bit of a bend rests on his back* at the time when User(-Amun) was proclaimed co-vizier with his father,⁹⁸¹ indicating that Aametu was an older man whose son could therefore be well into adulthood. These sources indicate that there was a minimum age at which someone would be deemed to have the appropriate age to be assigned to the office. As shown by the two texts above, this age would be in the thirties for a prospective vizier, at least during the 18th dynasty, if active years are counted from the time a boy began his education in a scribal school. On the other hand, if the 30 years are to be counted from the first point of entering public office, this may have been some years later. If this was the case, an exact appropriate age for a young man to receive his first appointment is difficult to pinpoint, but as suggested by Helck, User(-Amun) may have been as old as 45 at the time of his appointment.⁹⁸² If the vizier was in his forties before he became the *staff of old age* for his father, he would have been in his teens at the time he entered public office and began the 30-year period

⁹⁷⁵ Frère, "Nomination du Vizir Ouseramon," *Rivista 3* (2019), 6.

⁹⁷⁶ Jansen-Winkel, "Career of the High Priest," *JNES 52/3* (1993), 224. Marshall, *Childhood in Ancient Egypt* (2022), 162, 167.

⁹⁷⁷ Munich Gl. WAF 38, *KRI III* (1980), 297-299.

⁹⁷⁸ Line 5, Frère, "Nomination du Vizir Ouseramon," *Rivista 3* (2019), 6.

⁹⁷⁹ From 1482–1480 BC (Thutmose II) and from 1493-1483 BC (Thutmose I), Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 492.

⁹⁸⁰ From 1514–1494 BC, Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 492.

⁹⁸¹ Helck, "Berufung des vezirs Wsr," *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 108.

⁹⁸² Helck, "Berufung des vezirs Wsr," *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 116.

described both on stela Uriage and in P. Turin 1878. The existence of the copy of the appointment text from TT 131 made about 300 years after the tomb was built, points not only to a historical knowledge of User(-Amun) but could also hint to the unusual nature of the use of a *staff of old age*, the actual use of which was limited to the Middle Kingdoms, as well as two instances dating to the 18th dynasty.⁹⁸³ It is however found later in the New Kingdom, in copies of the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, of which two copies date to the Middle Kingdom (P. L1 and P. Prisse), while the earliest New Kingdom copy, dated to the 17th or 18th dynasty, is the Carnavon Tablet 1 (Cairo CGC 41790).

The accounting records written on P. Louvre E 3226 provide the end date of User(-Amun)'s time in vizierial office, as the papyrus is dated to regnal year 34 under Thutmose III and names Rekhmire as vizier.⁹⁸⁴ This gives User(-Amun) between 23 and 29 years as vizier since his last firm date is regnal year 28 under the same king according to the stela of the vizier's scribe Amenemhat. This means that if he was in his forties when he was appointed, he would have been in his late sixties to early seventies at the time of his death. It is not suggested here that User(-Amun)'s father should retire due to old age, but rather, that an *assistant* should be appointed to aid the current vizier in his tasks. This notion is supported by McDowell, who argues that officials at the highest levels of ancient Egyptian administration had the opportunity to remain in office in spite of reaching a very high age by having an assistant.⁹⁸⁵ Donohue also presumed that Paser had "likely retired" from the role of vizier to become the high priest of Amun years before Khay is attested as vizier in Ramesses II's 30th regnal year.⁹⁸⁶ Most recently, Dalino assumed that the position of high priest of Amun was used as a form of "retirement" late in the life of Paser.⁹⁸⁷ For this notion to be considered correct, it must be assumed that the position as high priest of Amun at Karnak was a less demanding position than that of vizier, a post which would have been less strenuous on an aging man. But was this the case? The ancient Egyptian economy on a state level depended on the landholdings, and thus, the agricultural produce, of the temples. As collected by Haring, several written sources from the Ramesside Period, such as P. Wilbour and P. BM 10401, provide descriptions of the cooperation between temples and the state regarding tax collection, cultivation, as well as expeditions searching for precious materials such as galena and gold.⁹⁸⁸ The main temple estates of ancient Egypt were therefore not only sites of cultic importance to state religion, but were also crucial to the state economy. In this, Karnak and the Ptah temple of Memphis, were the most important temples in the country during the New Kingdom and consisted of large estates with large areas of agricultural land with a need for a substantial work force.⁹⁸⁹ The position as high priest of a large temple with both the cultic, economic and large staff responsibilities can therefore not be classified as a simple position. Furthermore, as shown in the inspection scene with Paser placed to

⁹⁸³ Hagen, *Ptahhotep* (2012), 129. Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 65.

⁹⁸⁴ Megally, *Recherches* (1977), 278.

⁹⁸⁵ McDowell, "Legal Aspects of Care of the Elderly," *Care of the Elderly* (1998), 201.

⁹⁸⁶ Donohue, "Vizier Paser," *JEA* 74 (1988), 107.

⁹⁸⁷ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 23.

⁹⁸⁸ Haring, "Ramesside Temples," *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007), 165.

⁹⁸⁹ Though while temples had their own workforce, much of this land was rented to a wide variety of workers through a rather complicated rental scheme, of which up to 30% of the yield was paid to the temples as payment for rent, Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization* (2018), 253.

the right of the reward scene in TT 106 (see fig. 46 below), Karnak also housed workshops for the production of statues and gold items. This indicates a close working relationship between the temple and the office of the vizier. The titles of high priest of Amun are not mentioned anywhere in TT 106 in connection with Paser, so it must have been in his capacity as vizier that he inspected the workshops.

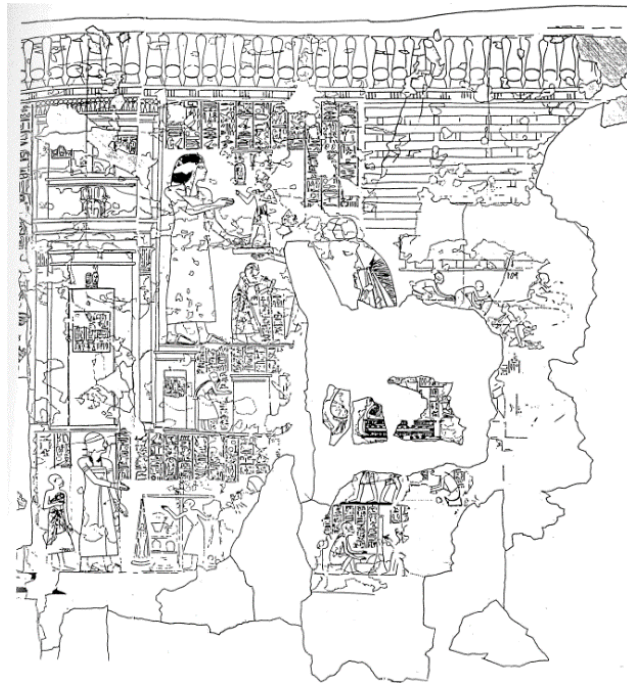


Figure 46. INSPECTION SCENE FROM TT 106. SOURCE: ASSMANN, "GESPRÄCH IM GOLDHAUS," *Fs BRUNNER-TRAUT* (1992), 45.

In conclusion, it cannot be definitively determined if Paser held the offices of vizier and high priest of Amun concurrently or if he stepped down as vizier to become high priest, but if the latter was the case, he did not do so as part of a severance package. There is no evidence that he ever lost favor with the king, and it therefore seems unlikely that he would be demoted in rank. If Paser became high priest instead of vizier, he did so because this position was more prestigious than the former, while another option is that he only obtained the high priest titles honorifically. Though, as has been shown in this section, he kept his vizierial titles after his appointment to the priestly office, and as McDowell pointed out, officials at this level of administration had the option to remain in office throughout their old age by appointing an assistant, with or without the official title of *staff of old age*.⁹⁹⁰ In any case, since Paser's colleagues (Pa-)Rahotep and Neferrenpet also came to hold high priest titles, in their case those of Ptah in Memphis, there was a pattern during the reign of Ramesses II of linking viziers to these priestly positions.

While it is difficult to define the nature of Paser's role as high priest of Amun, it is certain that the Amun precinct of Karnak and the Ptah temple of Memphis represented an important part of the ancient Egyptian economy, which again gave the temples a certain amount of power.

⁹⁹⁰ McDowell, "Legal Aspects," *Care of the Elderly* (1998), 201.

Therefore, the roles of the high priests and temples in the ancient Egyptian society are discussed further below.

10.1. High Priests: Biographies and Perspectives on their Administrative Roles

The most detailed source for the functions and daily rituals of the ancient Egyptian temples is the so-called *Book of the Temple*. This text, like *The Duties*, is another normative document describing the duties of an important office. Quack has done extensive work on the manuscripts containing this *book* and describes it as a substantial idealized manual, containing everything from agricultural plans to the tasks of all temple personnel.⁹⁹¹ Quack also put forth the notion that in style and language, the detailed instructions, especially in the part concerning the oath taken by the temple personnel, the detailed instructions in the *Book of the Temple* are structurally similar to *The Duties*.⁹⁹² Although he states that this instructional part of the book is considered the oldest, he does not discuss a date of composition further. However, the similarity in structure and language use in the two texts may point towards the possibility that the book was already in use during the early New Kingdom. According to Kubisch, high priests not only oversaw the religious proceedings of the temples but were also the administrative leaders, which gave them economic and political power.⁹⁹³ The temples were estates which included agricultural land, livestock, ships, workshops and storerooms, all of which demanded personnel to run,⁹⁹⁴ overseen by the high priest. And as Muhs argues, the royal decrees, such as the *Nauri*, *Hermopolis* and *Karnais Decrees* of Seti I and the *Armant Decree* of Ramesses II, show that the king used the temples as agents that collected and produced revenue, which the king could then use as needed.⁹⁹⁵ He therefore had a reason to protect the temples through the decrees, because they represented great economic value. Thus, since several early Ramesside viziers became titled as high priests at some point in their careers, it is worth looking into the lives and movements of the individuals who held such a position during this time period.

10.1.1. High Priests of Amun

The first high priest of Amun known to be in office after the cult was reestablished at the end of the monotheistic cult of the Aten of the Amarna Period was Parennefer/Wennefer. Previously it was believed that the two names belonged to two separate individuals, but from

⁹⁹¹ Quack, "Priestly Scholars," *JANEH* 8 (2021), 76. The text is known from several fragmented manuscripts written mostly in Middle Egyptian, which by the time they were written was considered the classical language only used in the temples, although some were also written in Demotic. All copies of the text have been found in Soknopaiou Nesos and a temple library in Tebtunis, two Greco-Roman towns in the Fayum region, Quack, "Organiser le Culte Ideal," *BSFE* 160 (2004), 10.

⁹⁹² Quack, "Organiser le Culte Ideal," *BSFE* 160 (2004), 19.

⁹⁹³ Kubisch. "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 189.

⁹⁹⁴ As agriculture formed the basis of the ancient Egyptian economy, Haring, *Divine Households* (1997), 22.

⁹⁹⁵ Muhs, *Ancient Egyptian Economy* (2016), 96.

inscriptions in his tomb, nr. -162- at Dra Abu el-Naga on the Theban west bank,⁹⁹⁶ it has been proven that at some point his name was changed from Parennefer to Wenennefer.⁹⁹⁷

Parennefer/Wenennefer was married to a *wrt. hnr.t n Imn* – chief of the *hnr.t* of Amun Isis, while his parents were a high official during the reign of Amenhotep III named Minhotep and a *šmꜥy.t n Imn* – chantress of Amun named Maia. Two of his sons also carried religious titles, Amunemopet was the high priest of Re at Heliopolis, while Hori carried the high priest title of both Mut at Karnak and Onuris at Thinis.⁹⁹⁸ Although his father's titles are unknown, it is clear that this family was deeply rooted within temple administration. It therefore seems that this family, like the family of Aametu before the Amarna Period, was able through family connections to hold on to a certain level of power within the Amun precinct. The position of high priest of Amun was not, however, passed from one family member to another at this point, since there is nothing to suggest that his successor Nebnetjeru, the father of Paser, had any familial connection to him.

The statue Copenhagen AIN 662 of Parennefer/Wenennefer carrying the cartouches of Ramesses II, was made by his son Amuneminet, who on this monument used the titles *hr.y-pd.t n pꜣ mšꜥ.w n Wsr-Mꜣt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Rꜥ* – chief bowman of the army of User-Maat-Re Setep-n-Re and *imy-r kꜣ.wt m mn.w nb(.w) n Mr.y-Imn Rꜥ-mss* – overseer of works for all monuments of Meryamun Ramesses.⁹⁹⁹ The chief bowmen were lower ranking officers in charge of divisions of foot soldiers, while higher ranking officers would have been the overseer of horses (*imy-r ssm.t*), commanders of chariotry (*kꜣn*) and the chiefs of stables (*hr.y-iḥw*).¹⁰⁰⁰ So, not only did the sons of Parennefer/Wenennefer occupy positions within the religious sphere, but one did also hold a position within the military well into the reign of Ramesses II. None of his sons managed to penetrate the upper layers of the administrative elite, and neither did the sons of User(-Amun),¹⁰⁰¹ which leads to the question of how to understand the hierarchy of elite members of the ancient Egyptian society. Thus, if all offspring, sometimes except for one son, in a family where the father held a top position as either vizier or high priest of Amun, held “lower-level” positions, it is perhaps necessary to reconsider how much influence the high priests and viziers had in placing their offspring in “influential positions” or what the prestige of such positions actually meant. In the case of the 18th dynasty vizier Aametu, it has been shown above that several of his family members came to hold high level positions both within the Amun precinct and in state level administration. The reasons for his success were discussed above (section 5.1.), and it was shown that he gained influence in Karnak through his marriage to Taametu, the sister of the mayor (*ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ*) of Thebes named Ineni, a man who also held

⁹⁹⁶ Numbered this way because the tomb had been discovered, but not identified earlier than the Heidelberg mission to the area, Kampp-Seyfried, “Vierter Vorbericht,” *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 177. This tomb should thus not be confused with TT 162 belonging to Kenamun, discussed in the previous section.

⁹⁹⁷ Kampp-Seyfried suggested that his former name for some reason became unpopular and therefore changed during the reign of Ramesses II, Kampp-Seyfried, “Zur Verfemung des Namens *Pꜣ-rn-nfr*,” *Fs Stadelmann* (1998), 305.

⁹⁹⁸ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 18.

⁹⁹⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 292.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 18.

¹⁰⁰¹ All six of User(-Amun)'s sons held titles related to the Amun precinct, but none were at the top of administration there, Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs* (1998), 120-123.

positions within the cult of Amun.¹⁰⁰² Since all six of Aametu's grandsons by User(-Amun) bore titles related to the Amun cult of Karnak, it is suggested here that influence over this temple precinct was of value to the vizier, although they did not possess the highest office there.¹⁰⁰³ Thus, User(-Amun), and his father before him, sought association with both viziers of the Middle Kingdom and highly influential men of the early 18th dynasty, i.e., the viceroys of Kush, as shown in section 8.4. above, and the mayor of Thebes with strong ties to the Amun precinct, in order to position themselves as a local family dynasty. This would provide them with the hereditary strength to hold on to their accumulated power. It is very possible that it was this same strength by association Paser sought some 200 years later, when he placed his tomb complex among these particular predecessors. It seems that the power of Aametu's family became too great over time, which may have caused the following kings to not choose their viziers from just one family. If the cult of Amun represented a similar circle of power, the king may have sought to divide the top positions between men who were not related.

A few high priests of Amun were in office during the early stages of the 19th dynasty who are poorly documented and their impact on the young dynasty therefore cannot be discussed in any particular detail.¹⁰⁰⁴ Another vizier in office during the reign of Ramesses II who used one of the titles of high priest of Amun, does provide further information on the office. This was the vizier Khay, and, like Paser, he seems to have used the high priest title at a later point in his career. The evidence comes from his inscription on the *Great Speos* stela at Gebel el-Silsila announcing the sixth *heb-sed* of Ramesses II in regnal year 45, where he used the title *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr nw ntr.w nb.w* – *Overseer of the prophets of all the gods*.¹⁰⁰⁵ This is the only time that Khay is registered with this title; while he also proclaimed the *heb-sed* in regnal year 40 and 42, he did not use the title until year 45 and not on any of his other sources.¹⁰⁰⁶ This suggests that the title of high priest was bestowed on him later than those of vizier. The same title

¹⁰⁰² Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 95.

¹⁰⁰³ One son, Samenkhet, was titled *sš ḥtm.t ntr n Imn* – *scribe of the divine seal of Amun*, and another, Merymaat, was the *ḥm-ntr(snnw) n Imn* – *(second) prophet of Amun*, Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs* (1998), 120, 121.

¹⁰⁰⁴ In TT 106 Nebnetjeru is depicted with the cartouches of Seti I inscribed on his "robe," *KRI I* (1975), 285. It is not known at what point he entered this office, since the only references to his career come from his son's monuments. Another high priest of Amun is known from the early Ramesside Period, namely Wepwawetmose, but very little information has survived on this individual, Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 193. Paser did not directly succeed his father as high priest. Instead, Nebwenenef was appointed to the position in the first regnal year of Ramesses II, which is described in a biographical text in his tomb, TT 157. The text states that the king had attended the Opet festival in Thebes and then travelled north to Thinis to appoint Nebwenenef, who was at that point the high priest of Hathor and Onuris, to the then vacant position of high priest of Amun in Karnak. The ceremony of installation was performed in Abydos, Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 36. After Nebwenenef the next attested high priest of Amun was Paser, whose role has already been discussed in detail in the previous section. There is very little evidence for a possible other high priest, Hori, who was named as such on a monument of his son, Kanakht, with no sign of peticide, dated to the reign of Ramesses II, Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 199. His successor in this position was Bakenkhons. He is well-known today because of two block statues on which he had inscribed his entire career from childhood to high priest of Amun, including the length in years for each of the positions he held. There are no exact dates for Bakenkhons' time in office, but his block statues are dated to the third decade of the reign of Ramesses II, and Frood estimates that he held the office for about 20 years. Full translation by Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 40-46.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *KRI II* (1979), 395.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See collected list of sources with titles in Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 377-383.

was also used by Paser in his chapel in the *Great Speos* with the addition *(n) Šm^c.w Mh.w – of the South and North*.¹⁰⁰⁷ Kubisch comments, that variations of this title are closely connected to the office of high priest of Amun in Thebes and may have expressed the administrative counterpart to the religious title *hm-ntr tpy n Imn – high priest of Amun* as a reference to the head of temple administration.¹⁰⁰⁸ This would imply that the office of high priest of Amun in Karnak contained two more or less separate functions, one administrative and one religious. There is no conclusive evidence for such a theory of distinctive separate roles in Egypt, but as shown in section 10 above Paser used the title of high priest of Amun alongside with the overseer title on his Karnak cachette statue Cairo CG 42156.¹⁰⁰⁹ That does not mean, however, that the two titles did not reflect a dual aspect of the role of high priest contained within one office. In Mesopotamia the temples were under the management of a *sangu*, the administrative high priest in charge of secular affairs of the estate, and an *enu*, the high priest in charge of all religious functions.¹⁰¹⁰ The lack of evidence for two high priests in charge of the temples in Egypt during the New Kingdom suggests that the two functions were administered by one individual at a time.

Dalino argues that the title *imy-r hm.w-ntr* was in the 18th dynasty transferred from the local governor to the high priests as the number of employees managed by the high priest increased.¹⁰¹¹ This fits with Quirke's notion that both this title and *imy-r hw.t-ntr – overseer of the temple* were titles belonging to mayors during the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰¹² The incorporation of *overseer of prophets* into the corpus of vizier's titles suggests that the management of the large temple estates changed during this time. It also seems that the use of *overseer of the temple*, a title used by the mayor of a town designating his economic responsibility for the temple estate,¹⁰¹³ fell out of use in the New Kingdom.¹⁰¹⁴ There are no other examples of Khay using either title related to the Karnak temple, and in fact, Dalino has not added him to his list of high priests.¹⁰¹⁵ Whether this lack of the use of *hm-ntr tpy n Imn* points to a difference in religious and administrative office as suggested by Kubisch, or simply a loss of Khay's inscriptions over time, cannot be decided. As is evident from the approximate timelines for Paser and Khay, there are no overlapping dates for these two individuals. The date for Bakenkhons as high priest of Amun is uncertain with an estimation no more exact than the third decade of Ramesses II's reign.

As the largest temple estate in the New Kingdom, Karnak represented not only the state cult of the god Amun-Re, but also held significant economic power. Therefore, it represented a

¹⁰⁰⁷ KRI III (1980), 32.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Kubisch, "Religious and Political Role," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 191.

¹⁰⁰⁹ KRI III (1980), 292.

¹⁰¹⁰ Sterba, "Organization and Management," *AMR* 1/3 (1976), 20.

¹⁰¹¹ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 174.

¹⁰¹² Where the *overseer of the temple* may have reflected lesser temples belonging to smaller towns and *overseer of prophets* the larger temple estates, Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 121.

¹⁰¹³ As shown by the Lahun business letters and accounts, Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 121.

¹⁰¹⁴ It is not present in the indexes of New Kingdom titles by Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006) and Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001).

¹⁰¹⁵ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), vol. 1.

danger to the sovereignty of the king if it became too independent. This is visible through the 18th dynasty family of viziers in Thebes, that also had strong ties to the Amun precinct. The accumulated power of the family may have caused Amenhotep II to choose a vizier from outside of Aametu's family line when it was time to replace Rekhmire with Amunemopet. While many members of the family of Aametu held titles related to the Amun cult, including the viziers User(-Amun) and Rekhmire, neither Amunemopet's parents nor himself are known to have held religious titles.¹⁰¹⁶ The choice to provide Paser with the titles of high priest of Amun during the reign of Ramesses II could therefore again represent the king's wish to increase his control of the precinct by inserting his trusted vizier in this position.

10.2. High Priests of Ptah

The high priests of Ptah in office during the early Ramesside Period used a different style of titles to the high priests of Amun at Karnak. The titles most often used were *sm n Pth* – *sempriest of Ptah* and *wr hrp ḥmw.w* – *great one who controls the artisans*, the latter of which began to be used during the early 19th dynasty. Maystre argues, that this title was created as a reaction to the growing power of the high priest of Amun in Thebes, and Ramesses II therefore sought to even the scale by placing more power in the hands of the high priest of Ptah.¹⁰¹⁷ This is also an argument in favor of Paser having an actual function as high priest of Amun: As a person who had the king's confidence, as demonstrated in the chapters above, he could be trusted with the power the office represented.

Two of Paser's contemporary colleagues, (Pa-)Rahotep and Neferrenpet, had similar career paths as him, though they held the titles of high priest of Ptah in Memphis rather than high priest of Amun in Thebes.¹⁰¹⁸ The predecessor of (Pa-)Rahotep in the office of high priest of Ptah was the fourth son of Ramesses II, Khaemwaset.¹⁰¹⁹ He was the only royal during the early Ramesside Period to be high priest of Ptah. As already stated, both his father and grandfather, Ramesses II and Seti I, held the title of high priest of Amun in Thebes before ascending to the throne, so it is perhaps not surprising that another royal son would be appointed to this role, though it can be argued that as a king's son who was at that point not in line to inherit the throne, it was not a necessity for him to hold this office. The choice to place him there is therefore an interesting one. Khaemwaset is thought to have passed away in the 55th regnal year of Ramesses II, since his younger brother Merenptah became crown prince at that point.¹⁰²⁰ Both

¹⁰¹⁶ According to the lists of sources collected by Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 818-821.

¹⁰¹⁷ Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 87.

¹⁰¹⁸ Raedler has made a thorough timeline of the high priests in Memphis covering the 18th dynasty to the end of the 19th dynasty, Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Palace and Temple* (2011), 138.

¹⁰¹⁹ Khaemwaset appears as the fourth son (second son of Isetnofret) in the processional relief depicting the children of Ramesses II in temples in Thebes, Abydos and Lower Nubia, Brand, "Reconstructing the Royal Family," *JAC* 31 (2016), 12, figs. 2-5.

¹⁰²⁰ Khaemwaset had himself become crown prince around year 52. Kawai, "Khaemwaset," *EAH* (2013), 3739.

Khaemwaset's son and grandson later came to hold the high priest position in Memphis, suggesting that it became hereditary to some degree.

(Pa-)Rahotep followed Khaemwaset as high priest of Ptah. He was the northern vizier and began to use the titles of high priest of both Ptah and Heliopolis later in his career.¹⁰²¹ Similar to Paser, he did not directly succeed his father, Pahemnetjer, who was the high priest of Ptah before Khaemwaset.¹⁰²² So, like Paser, (Pa-)Rahotep came from a priestly family, had a career at court, became vizier and later high priest of one of the most important deities of the New Kingdom. As stated in section 5.2. above, he was presumably appointed to the office after Khaemwaset became crown prince in regnal year 52 of Ramesses II,¹⁰²³ until his death, which is likely to have been at the beginning of the seventh decade of Ramesses II's reign, when Neferrenpet is attested to have held the office. This vizier's career path is more difficult to trace. Since no exact dates survive that could reveal at what point he became southern vizier and high priest of Ptah, respectively, it is difficult to determine which position he came to hold first. The implications of this are discussed below.

10.2.1. Neferrenpet as High Priest of Ptah in Memphis

Similar to both Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep, Neferrenpet was titled both vizier and high priest, in his case high priest of Ptah. He held office during the final decade of the reign of Ramesses II,¹⁰²⁴ but was replaced by Hori, son of Khaemwaset, after only a couple of years.¹⁰²⁵ At some point, Neferrenpet was given the titles of high priest of Ptah (*wr hrp ḥmw.w, sm n Pth*) in Memphis,¹⁰²⁶ while his tomb is located in the Saqqara necropolis (Tomb ST 0).¹⁰²⁷ Since the only secure dates for his time in office are his proclamations of Ramesses II's tenth *heb-sed* festivals in regnal year 57 and 60,¹⁰²⁸ occasions on which he did not use the title of high priest of Ptah, it is unclear whether he was first vizier and later became high priest, or if it was the other way around. The predecessors and successors of Neferrenpet in office as vizier or high priest of Ptah were as follows:

¹⁰²¹ Dalino places him as such during the sixth decade of Ramesses II's reign (between year 52 at the earliest and year 62 at the latest), Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 75.

¹⁰²² Besides his father, (Pa-)Rahotep is related to the southern vizier Parennefer/Wennefer through marriage, Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Palace and Temple* (2011), 148.

¹⁰²³ That seems at least to be the assumption made in the timeline of high priests of Ptah by Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Palace and Temple* (2011),

¹⁰²⁴ Neferrenpet proclaimed the 11th *heb-sed* of Ramesses II in the king's 60th regnal year, and so, must have still been vizier at that point. Inscription on the pylon of the Armant temple, *KRI II* (1979), 397.

¹⁰²⁵ According to the timeline established by Raedler, "Prestige, Role and Performance," *Palace and Temple* (2011), 139.

¹⁰²⁶ Kneeling statue and pyramidion from his Saqqara tomb ST 0, *KRI VII* (1989), 439; *KRI III* (1980), 50. Two stamp seals and a scarab, *KRI III* (1980), 51.

¹⁰²⁷ Raedler, "Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 389.

¹⁰²⁸ *KRI II* (1979), 397.

Name	HP Ptah	Northern vizier	Southern vizier	Earliest date	Latest date
(Pa-)Rahotep	X	X		RII year 19	RII after year 52
Neferrenpet	X		X	RII year 57 (vizier)	RII year 60 (vizier)
Hori	X			RII 6 th decade	Seti II (?)
Panehsy			X	Merenptah	Merenptah

Table 13. VIZIERS AND HIGH PRIESTS OF PTAH AROUND THE TIME OF NEFERRENPET'S TURN IN OFFICE.¹⁰²⁹

There are thus no overlapping dates with his contemporary colleagues, nor any specific dates for his time in office as high priest which would clarify whether he held the office of vizier or high priest first. He may have been awarded the office of high priest of Ptah since the position of high priest of Amun at Karnak was during the height of his career already occupied by Roma-Ray,¹⁰³⁰ when the position in Memphis became vacant. Paser's father, Nebnetjeru, had connections to the cult of Ptah, while his mother, Merytre, originally came from Memphis and that the family may have relocated to Thebes when Nebnetjeru became high priest of Amun in Karnak. Therefore, Neferrenpet could similarly manner have moved his main place of office. That his tomb is located in Saqqara would suggest that he had a stronger personal connection to this area, as was demonstrated in the case of (Pa-)Rahotep, who as northern vizier opted to build his tomb at Sedment rather than Saqqara.¹⁰³¹

The tomb of Neferrenpet, ST 0 in northern Saqqara close to the causeway of the Unas pyramid,¹⁰³² shows that he had attained the titles of both vizier and high priest of Ptah in Memphis when it was built. The titles of the high priest, *sm n Ptḥ* and *wr hrp ḥmw.w*, as well as the vizier titles *imy-r niwt t3ty* – *overseer of the City and vizier* are all inscribed on architectural elements deriving from the tomb complex. These elements include a pyramidion and a limestone column fragment,¹⁰³³ as well as a libation trough. The latter could have come from the tomb, though its provenance is not certain.¹⁰³⁴ The title use in Neferrenpet's tomb complex suggests that he either built it during the later years of his career, if the high priest titles were assigned to him in the same manner as to his predecessor, or that he came to hold this office quite early on. However, the fact that he did not use any religious titles for the proclamations of Ramesses II's tenth and eleventh *heb-sed* celebrations in regnal years 57 and 60¹⁰³⁵ would suggest that he had not yet received them at that point. Furthermore, since the next southern vizier, Panehsy, is not attested until the reign of Merenptah, this leaves room for Neferrenpet to have continued his career in this office after the passing of Ramesses II. This would entail that Neferrenpet first

¹⁰²⁹ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 75, 77, 80. *KRI VII* (1989), 100. *KRI II* (1979), 397. *KRI IV* (1982), 83-93.

¹⁰³⁰ Roma-Ray became high priest of Amun after Bakenkhons towards the end of Ramesses II's reign and stayed in office into the reign of Seti II. Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 28.

¹⁰³¹ Franzmeier, *Gräberfelder von Sedment* (2017), 776-778.

¹⁰³² Unpublished, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 392.

¹⁰³³ Liverpool Merseyside Country Museum M. 11015 and Josephson Collection, New York, Q_7.6 and Q_7.23, Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 389, 393.

¹⁰³⁴ BM EA 108, originally from the Salt Collection, *KRI III* (1980), 48.

¹⁰³⁵ *KRI II* (1979), 397.

held the office of high priest of Ptah and then became vizier. The lack of use of his high priest titles for the *heb-sed* proclamations would then suggest that these were of less importance to him. In general, he used the titles of high priest on monuments found in the Saqqara area, including his tomb, but not in the southern areas like Thebes and Gebel el-Silsila.¹⁰³⁶

10.2.2. Neferrenpet in Later Cultural Memory



Figure 47. GENEALOGY RELIEF, ÄM 23673. NEFERRENPET MARKED IN RED. SOURCE: <https://id.smb.museum/object/772504/fragment-einer-grabwand-mit-genealogie-oberpriester-von-memphis> IN: EGYPTIAN MUSEUM AND PAPYRUS COLLECTION, BERLIN (ACCESSED: 20/5 2024).

Another, albeit much later, monument provides information about the status of Neferrenpet as high priest. A partial relief from the tomb of Ankhef-ny-sekhmet in Saqqara, dated to the 22nd dynasty, reign of Sheshonqi I,¹⁰³⁷ now in the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection Berlin (ÄM 23673, fig. 47 above), lists the genealogy of the Memphite priesthood, or rather, a list of family members of the tomb owner, Ankhef-ny-sekhmet.¹⁰³⁸ The relief shows four horizontal registers, each with 15 individuals portrayed, making 60 individuals in total. In addition to 20 high priests of Ptah, the relief comprises one vizier, two high priests of Heliopolis, two sem-priests of Ptah and one overseer of works.¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁶ Three statues (Cairo CG 713 and CG 1034, BM EA 108), the pyramidion (Liverpool M. 11015) and a naophorus (Leiden AST 16), as well as Tomb ST 0 and architectural elements deriving from it, all with a Saqqara provenance, contain the high priest of Ptah titles, *KRI III* (1980), 47-48, 50; Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 392, 393. Monuments from Upper Egypt, statue niche at Gebel el-Silsila, *heb-sed* proclamations at Armant, statue from Karnak (current location unknown) and a door frame from TT 216 (Turin ME 1464) do not mention any priestly titles, *KRI II* (1979), 397; *KRI III* (1980), 48, 597; Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses’ II,” *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 393.

¹⁰³⁷ The relief measures 0,9 m long and 0,45 m high, Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 376.

¹⁰³⁸ Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 93.

¹⁰³⁹ Borchardt, “Stammbaum memphitischer Priester,” *Sitzungsber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* (1932), 619.

Among the names features Neferrenpet. The inscription before his name reads *n wr hrp ḥmw.w* – *of the controller of artisans*, a title used by the high priests of Ptah in Memphis. The relief is not securely provenanced, but Raedler suggests that it probably came from Saqqara,¹⁰⁴⁰ which, given the topic of high priests of Ptah seems probable. The text accompanying Neferrenpet and the three men directly behind him, states that they were in office *in the time of king Usermaatre Setepenre* (*m rk nswt Usr-M³c^t-R^c Stp-n-R^c*). Before the figure of Neferrenpet underneath the king's cartouche the word *s³* (𓂏) – *son (of)* is written, indicating that the following high priest was the father of the previous. The same indication is made for the next two men but using the spelling *io* for *son*. The two other men are given the same title as Neferrenpet, but, unfortunately, only the name of the first individual is preserved. According to Dalino the predecessor of Neferrenpet was (Pa-)Rahotep, and Khaemwaset before him, while the successors were Hori and Ii-iry.¹⁰⁴¹ None of these names fit with the partial ones on this block, the first reads *Pth-m-3h.t* and the next [...]*nḥ.t*. The last man belonging to this group is named Ptahhotep, and unlike the others he is not styled high priest, but rather, *imy-r k³.t* – *overseer of works* of Ramesses II. As discussed above, it is known from the pyramidion found in Neferrenpet's tomb, that he was named after his father and his son's name was Bakenptah.¹⁰⁴² The men named on the block could thus not be his blood relations, but *s³* is more likely to be understood as *successor* in this case.



Figure 48. CLOSE-UP OF GENEALOGY RELIEF, ÄM 32673, WITH HIGH PRIESTS OF PTAH DURING THE REIGN OF RAMESSES II. NEFERRENPET SECOND TO THE RIGHT.

In addition, the men standing behind the group highlighted above are said to have been in office *during the time of Menmaatre* (*Mn-M³c^t-R^c*), i.e., Seti I, meaning the relief should be read as going backwards in time from right to left. The two other high priests of Ptah said to be in office during the reign of Ramesses II should therefore be understood as the predecessors of Neferrenpet. As Maystre argues, Ankhef-ny-sekhmet could not possibly have known his family tree as far as sixty generations back, and any data from the relief must therefore be confirmed by other sources before it can be deemed reliable.¹⁰⁴³ That Neferrenpet was chosen

¹⁰⁴⁰ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 394. Borchardt writes that it came from a private collection to the museum in Berlin shortly before 1932, Borchardt, "Stammbaum memphitischer Priester," *Sitzungsber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* (1932), 618.

¹⁰⁴¹ Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 74-81.

¹⁰⁴² *KRI III* (1980), 50.

¹⁰⁴³ Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 97.

for this genealogy must then show that he was known in later times, either through his monuments or oral legacy.

It is interesting, however, that Neferrenpet was chosen to be represented as high priest of Ptah in this relief from the 22nd dynasty, the time of Libyan rulers in the Third Intermediate Period, and not in his function as vizier. Another high priest of Ptah, the son of Ramesses II, Khaemwaset, was remembered in later tradition in the Demotic story of *Setna Khaemwase* as a priest and magician.¹⁰⁴⁴ He is, however, not listed in the genealogy relief above. In contrast to Neferrenpet, many sources referring to Khaemwaset available to later generations, in particular the Serapeum and his restoration inscriptions on Old Kingdom monuments,¹⁰⁴⁵ which would explain the Ptolemaic interest in his person. The same richness of sources was not present for Neferrenpet, who also did not carry the title of king's son. This only makes it the more interesting that he became an object of interest to Ankhef-ny-sekhmet while Khaemwaset did not. The fact that he is on the relief remembered as high priest of Ptah rather than vizier, would speak to the status of these offices during the 22nd dynasty rather than the early Ramesside Period. As high priest of Ptah himself, Ankhef-ny-sekhmet did of course seek to emphasize his long family history in this specific office, which would explain the exclusion of other offices in his genealogy. Hence, the relief does not reveal if Neferrenpet was first and foremost vizier or high priest.

Another genealogy dating to the first Persian Period reveals that (Pa-)Rahotep was also remembered in later times. A rock inscription made by the controller of works Khnumibre in Wadi Hammamat dating to the 26th regnal year of Darius I states:

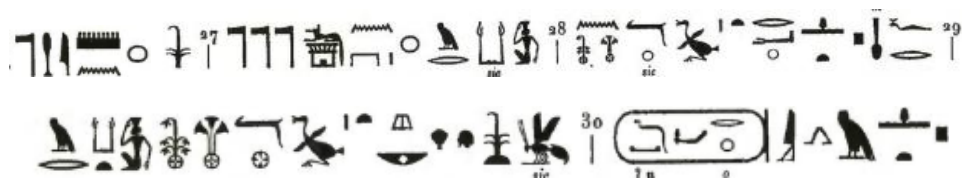


Figure 49. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE ROCK INSCRIPTION OF KHNUMIBRE. SOURCE: POSENER, *PREMIÈRE DOMINATION PERSE* (1936), 101.

ḥm-nṯr Imn-R^c-nswt-nṯr.w ḥr.y-sšt³ n pr R^c (i)m(y)-r k³.t n šm^c mḥw imy-r niwt t³ty R^c-ḥtp ḥrw=f¹⁰⁴⁶ r

(i)m(y)-r k³.t šm^c mḥw imy-r niwt t³ty ḥr(.y)-ḥb(.t) ḥr(.y)-tp nswt-bity Dsr Ii-m-ḥtp

The prophet of Amun-Re-Sonter, master of secrets of the house of Re, overseer of works of the south and north, overseer of the City and vizier Rahotep, whose voice is more than (that of (?))

*the overseer of works of the south and north, overseer of the City, chief lector-priest of the Dual King Djoser, Imhotep.*¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁴ Setna is a later word for *stm* or *sm*, a religious title used by the high priests of Ptah (*s(t)m n Pth*), Vinson, *Craft of a Good Scribe* (2017), 5.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Vinson, *Craft of a Good Scribe* (2017), 27, 28.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Posener suggests this reading rather than *ḥ* which was the reading made by Couyat & Montet, *Wadi Hammamat* (1912), 68. See Posener, *Première Domination Perse* (1936), 101, note m.

¹⁰⁴⁷ After the transcription by Posener, *Première Domination Perse* (1936), 101.

Posener suggests the reading 𓂏 - *hrw* rather than 𓂏 - *nfr* at the end of the first line because this sign is written differently elsewhere in the text.¹⁰⁴⁸ There is no other known vizier named Rahotep during the timeline that fits with Khnumibre's genealogy,¹⁰⁴⁹ and the person in question must therefore be the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep as also concluded by Maystre.¹⁰⁵⁰ So, although the (Pa-)Rahotep in question never held a title related to Amun-Re-Sonter or was the master of secrets in Re's temple, he did hold the titles of vizier and overseer of works and it must therefore be considered likely that the individual mentioned in Khnumibre's genealogy is our vizier, who was in office during the reign of Ramesses II. If one follows the interpretation of Posener, this may suggest that the accomplishments of (Pa-)Rahotep were viewed in this genealogy of the Persian Period as greater than those of Imhotep. It is stated that *his voice is more than (that of(?))*¹⁰⁵¹ the famed architect of Djoser's step pyramid, Imhotep. This shows the continued impact of Imhotep's achievements all the way into the Persian Period, but also the historical view of (Pa-)Rahotep and his importance over time. Maystre translates *hrw* with fame,¹⁰⁵² suggesting that his memory was kept alive. Thus, following Posener's and Maystre's interpretation, in the perception of Khnumibre, the accomplishments of (Pa-)Rahotep were greater than those of Imhotep.

As these two prominent officials were remembered in later times, one would almost expect the same to be the case for the most visible of them all, namely Paser. And that is, in fact, the case. Yet another genealogy, this one carved as a graffito onto the door leading north from the granite sanctuary to the Middle Kingdom courtyard at Karnak, placed between the fourth and fifth pylons, names Paser as well as two other viziers, Amunemopet and Amunmose.¹⁰⁵³ The inscription was made by the *imy-r sbꜣ(w) [n pr] pn* – *overseer of teachers of this [house]*, as suggested by Vittmann,¹⁰⁵⁴ or, as Frood suggests, *hr.y sbꜣ* – *chief of the door [of the temple of Amun]*,¹⁰⁵⁵ Horakhbit, who named these three viziers among others as his forefathers. However, even though the three men did exist, Horakhbit used a faulty chronology by naming Paser the father of Amunemopet and the son of Amunmose.¹⁰⁵⁶ Amunemopet, in fact, lived during the reign of Amenhotep II in the 18th dynasty,¹⁰⁵⁷ while Amunmose was vizier during the reign of Amenmesse.¹⁰⁵⁸ Horakhbit has therefore reversed the chronology. This genealogy shows again that monuments belonging to the individuals named in them were available to the creators of these genealogies. Since this particular inscription was placed within the temple of Karnak, it suggests that one or more of Paser's statues could have remained in place until the 22nd

¹⁰⁴⁸ He also considers the readings of Borchardt and Sethe, who make similar suggestions, Posener, *Première Domination Perse* (1936), 101, note m; 104, note q.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung* (1958), 285-344.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 146.

¹⁰⁵¹ Suggested translation by both Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 146 and Posener, *Première Domination Perse* (1936), 101.

¹⁰⁵² In French *renommée*, Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 146.

¹⁰⁵³ Vittmann, "Priesterstammbaum," *SAK 30* (2002), 351, 353, 359; The inscription dates to the 22nd dynasty, Frood, "Horkhebi's Decree," *Egypt in Transition* (2010), 105.

¹⁰⁵⁴ The text is damaged here, but Vittmann reconstructs this title after the title *imy-r sbꜣ(.yt) n pr-Imn* in the Saite Oracle Papyrus (Brooklyn Museum), Vittmann, "Priesterstammbaum," *SAK 30* (2002), 358, note aa.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Which suggests a play on the placement of the inscription in a doorway, Frood, "Horkhebi's Decree," *Egypt in Transition* (2010), 108.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Vittmann, "Priesterstammbaum," *SAK 30* (2002), 353, 359, note pp.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See section 9 above for details on this individual.

¹⁰⁵⁸ This is the same Amunmose who Paneb had dismissed as vizier according to P. Salt 124; recto page 2, line 17-18. Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124," *JEA 15/3/4* (1929), pl. XLIV; *RITANC IV* (2014), 186.

dynasty, where Horakhbit could see it.¹⁰⁵⁹ Although he provided Paser with the title *ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnsw-m-Wʾst-Nfr-ḥtp* – prophet of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep,¹⁰⁶⁰ which is otherwise not known to be used by him, the vizier titles *imy-r niwt ʿḳty* are also written before Paser's name. This makes it likely that it is the Ramesside vizier who is referred to, since no other vizier of this name is known.

As has been shown in the previous chapters, Paser was historically aware of his predecessors through their tombs, evidenced by his graffiti in them. Hence, later generations may well have been aware of Neferrenpet through his Saqqara tomb and (Pa-)Rahotep through his tomb at Sedment or from other personal monuments. Hence, three Lower Egyptian high officials who all lived during the reign of Ramesses II, Neferrenpet, (Pa-)Rahotep and Khaemwaset, along with the Upper Egyptian vizier Paser, were remembered centuries later. This indicates that in later periods sources for these individuals were still available and could be visited by others, who saw their monuments as opportunities for enhancing their own legacies through creative genealogies.¹⁰⁶¹

In all, Neferrenpet is relatively well-attested, although his name has not been found in nearly as many locations as Paser. Rather, his monuments are concentrated around the main sites of Memphis and Thebes, and at Gebel el-Silsila. Through the sources related to Neferrenpet, (Pa-)Rahotep, and Paser, it can be deduced that over the duration of the reign of Ramesses II, the king chose to bestow the titles of the high priests of Ptah and Amun upon his viziers. This suggests that Ramesses II preferred to keep the power of the temples closely connected to the royal administration. According to Maystre, Ramesses II gave much attention to the temple of Ptah in Memphis and the high priest there in order to balance out the power held by the high priest of Amun in Thebes.¹⁰⁶² The king's choice to place his own son as high priest of Ptah acts in favor of this notion, since that would increase the king's influence over the temple. The increased control over the economically important temple would then have led to a more politically stable environment in general, which was desirable after the end of the 18th dynasty. Hence, in the later years of Ramesses II's reign, the viziers and high priests who were in office after Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep may not have had the same need to establish their positions through monuments.

10.3. Summary: Early Ramesside High Priests

Paser received the titles of high priest of Amun at a later point in his career, evidenced by the lack of mention of such titles in his tomb chapel TT 106 built during the later part of the reign of Seti I, which does, on the other hand, name him as vizier. This is also the case for his successor in office, Khay, while his contemporary colleague in the north, the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep became titled as high priest of Ptah in Memphis, as well as high priest in Heliopolis at some

¹⁰⁵⁹ Though discussing Third Intermediate Period statuary, Frood suggests that the temple wall inscriptions were connected to the statues in their vicinity, Frood, "Horkhebi's Decree," *Egypt in Transition* (2010), 123.

¹⁰⁶⁰ And likewise for Amunmose, Vittmann, "Priesterstammbaum," *SAK 30* (2002), 353, 366.

¹⁰⁶¹ In Horakhbit's case, using temple walls for self-presentation became a developing tradition towards the end of the New Kingdom, Frood, "Horkhebi's Decree," *Egypt in Transition* (2010), 122.

¹⁰⁶² Maystre, *Grand Prêtres de Ptah* (1992), 85.

point in his career. Since Khay is only attested a single time with one of the titles of high priest of Amun in regnal year 45 of Ramesses II at Gebel el-Silsila and none of his other sources mention this title, it is unlikely that he received it prior to becoming vizier. And as has been shown, (Pa-)Rahotep, is first attested as vizier in regnal year 19, when Khaemwaset was high priest of Ptah. He could therefore not have received the titles until after the king's son passed away around regnal year 55. Furthermore, as shown in the above section, Neferrenpet was styled both as southern vizier and as high priest of Ptah. All four men used both the titles of vizier and high priest concurrently and none of them have overlapping secure attestations with other viziers or high priests. This means that it is not possible to determine if they left the office of vizier to become high priest, if they only held the titles honorifically, or if they held both offices at the same time. The latter option would certainly provide these men with power over both the administration of the state and the (temple) economy, and the question therefore remains, whether this was beneficial to the king or not. As was shown above, Neferrenpet was remembered during the 22nd dynasty in his function as high priest of Ptah rather than vizier in the genealogy relief belonging to the tomb of Ankhef-ny-sekhmet, while (Pa-)Rahotep was chosen for the genealogy of Khnumibre in his capacity of perhaps primarily overseer of works, which was also the occupation of the author, and also as vizier. This may point to the king's wish to ensure control over the important economic resources the temples were in charge of.

11. CONCLUSIONS ON THE STUDY OF 18TH AND 19TH DYNASTY VIZIERS

From the discussion in the above chapters, it becomes clear that the viziers of the early Ramesside Period were closely connected to the largest temples of the time, as was the case in the first half of the 18th dynasty. This tendency did, however, not continue in the 20th dynasty where viziers did not hold priestly titles or come from families with roots in the temple sphere.¹⁰⁶³ This could be a sign of a shift in the importance of the position, or a maneuver to separate the power of the vizier and the high priest as Amenhotep II did. The high priest of Amun did become a center of independent power towards the end of the 20th dynasty,¹⁰⁶⁴ which may reflect the late Ramesside kings' loss of control over both the Amun precinct and the area of Thebes as a whole. The number of sources related to the individual viziers also decreased after Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep, i.e., the viziers in office during the early part of Ramesses II's

¹⁰⁶³ During the reign of Seti II, a vizier named Paraemheb is attested in inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat as being chief of works (*hr.y k3.wt*), and son of a man with the same title, before becoming vizier, *KRI IV* (1982), 279-281. His successor was Hori, son of the high priest of Ptah, Hori, and grandson of Khaemwaset, also high priest of Ptah and son of Ramesses II, Dodson and Hilton, *Complete Royal Families* (2004), 171. He was vizier during the reigns of Siptah, Tawosret and Ramesses III, *KRI IV* (1982), 357; *KRI V* (1983), 376. Next was Ta, who was in office during the reign of Ramesses III in the early 20th dynasty, and like Paraemheb he was not a descendant of a priestly family, but rather, he was the son of the necropolis scribe Amunnakht, Edgerton, "The Strikes of Ramesses III," *JNES* 10/3 (1951), 138.

¹⁰⁶⁴ From the reigns of Ramesses IV to Ramesses IX, the position of high priest of Amun was occupied by Ramessesnakht, who seems to have taken on tasks which previously were part of the vizier's domain, such as overseer of all works and as distributor of wages to the necropolis workmen, as well as having control of gold mines. His son, Amenhotep, followed him in office. This family controlled the very important economic resources of Karnak and Medinet Habu for more than 70 years, Polz, "Ramsesnakht Dynasty," *ZAK* 25 (1998), 176, 283, 285.

reign. Paser was the only one of these men to serve under Seti I, and therefore, experiencing the earliest years of the new dynasty firsthand. The large difference in number of sources could thus point to a change to a more stable political landscape during the course of the 69-year reign of Ramesses II. It is interesting that the number of royal inscriptions also declined during the later years of the king's reign. Brand notes that after regnal year 40, the royal inscriptions are mostly limited to the declarations of the king's *heb-sed* celebrations.¹⁰⁶⁵

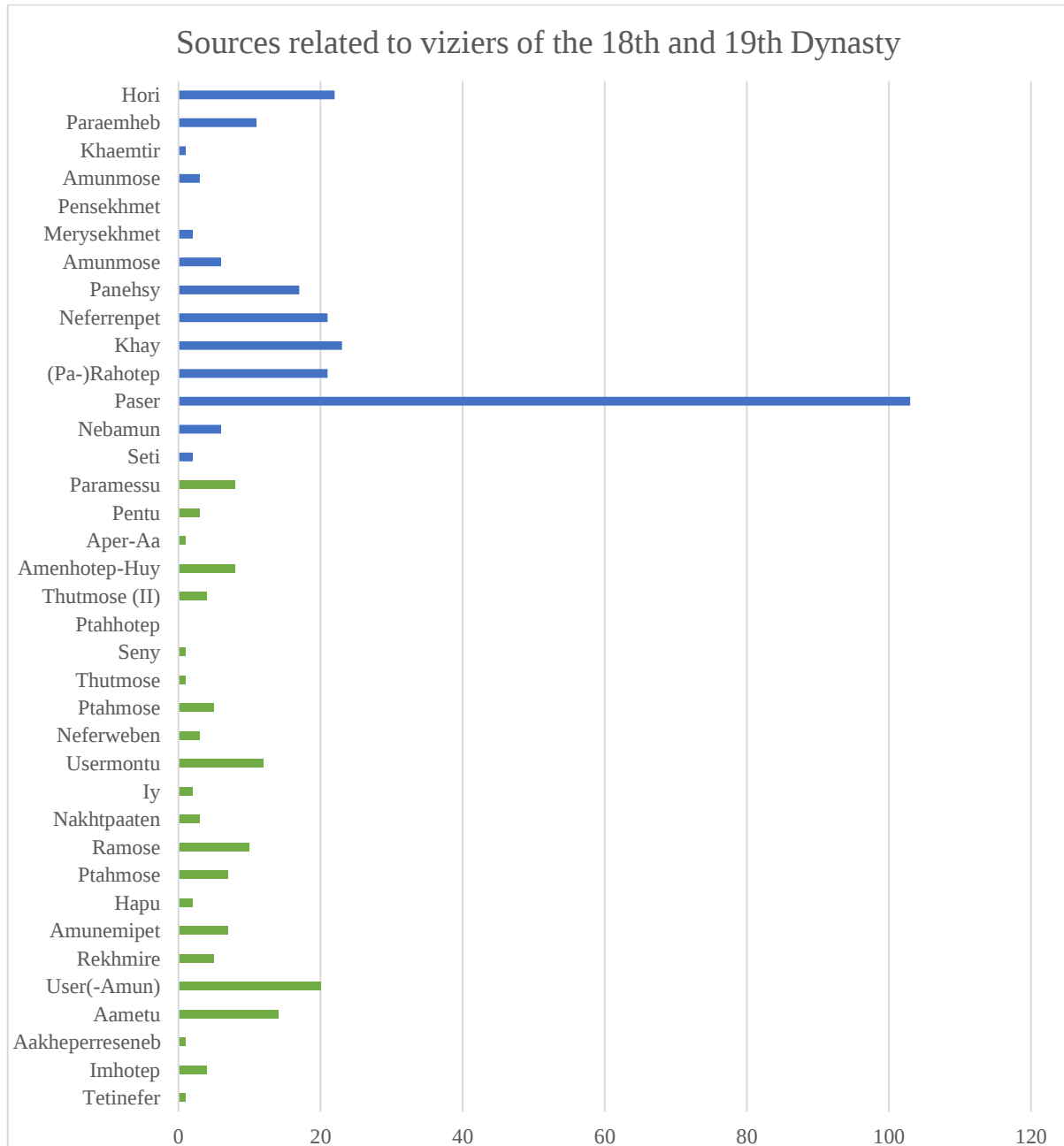


Table 14. DIAGRAM OF THE NUMBER OF SOURCES FOR ALL KNOWN UPPER AND LOWER EGYPTIAN VIZIERS OF THE 18TH AND 19TH DYNASTIES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER FROM BOTTOM UP, GREEN FOR 18TH AND BLUE FOR 19TH DYNASTY.¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁶⁵ Brand, "Ideology and Politics," *Prozesse des Wandels* (2005), 33.

¹⁰⁶⁶ For the 18th dynasty viziers: *URK II* (1906), *URK IV* (1909), *URK IV, heft 19* (1957), *URK IV, heft 21* (1958). For 19th dynasty viziers: *KRI I* (1975), *KRI II* (1979), *KRI III* (1980), *KRI IV* (1982). Additionally, the source lists collected in Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 815-854.

As stated above, Paser at the moment has 147 known sources, while (Pa-)Rahotep has 49, Khay has 28 and his immediate successor Neferrenpet has 30, as collected by researchers.¹⁰⁶⁷ However, previous lists of sources have included loose pieces deriving from a single source, e.g., mudbricks, stelae, partial reliefs etc. from a single tomb context, as separate sources. In the same manner, secondary mentions of a vizier, e.g., an administrative document that mentions the vizier's name, but is not directly associated with him, have also been included in these source lists. Such sources were not influenced by, nor were they directed towards, the viziers, and therefore do not reflect their actions. To give a more accurate picture of the number of sources directly associated with the actions of each vizier, the sources deriving from a single context are counted as one, and the secondary mentions are left out in the diagram above (table 14). Without counting sources deriving from the same context separately, and leaving out mentions in documents and letters, the number of sources for Paser amounts to 103.¹⁰⁶⁸

Shown in the diagram above (table 14) is the number of sources for each known vizier of the 18th (marked green) and 19th (marked blue) dynasties. It reveals that even though the 18th dynasty was significantly longer (approximately 245 years) than the 19th (approximately 100 years)¹⁰⁶⁹ and therefore represented by a total of 23 viziers versus 14 dating to the 19th dynasty, the number of sources remains low. The assumption must be factored in, however, that every one of these viziers built at least one tomb. This would in theory provide all of them with one source, even though some vizier tombs have not been discovered.¹⁰⁷⁰ For some of the viziers with high numbers of sources there is a margin of error, since some sources do not have a known provenance. This is especially true for Paser, who has 36 unprovenanced sources (see catalogue below). This means that it is possible that some of these unprovenanced sources come from a context already counted, such as a tomb complex. As can be read from the diagram above, while there is a margin of error Paser still stands out as the vizier with the most known sources.

The types of sources also cause some problems. Basically, types can be divided into sources of self-presentation and sources of secondary mentions by others. The former consists of all of the monuments and artifacts produced by order of an individual himself. The latter refers to the individual being mentioned by others on their monuments as part of their self-presentation or acts of patronage, but also mentions in various documents and letters. This last type does not

¹⁰⁶⁷ Latest collection done by Raedler: For Paser Q_4.1-4.139, for (Pa-)Rahotep Q_5.1-5.49, for Khay Q_6.1-6-28 and for Neferrenpet Q_7.1-7.30, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 355-369, 377-383, 387-394. See also Auenmüller, *Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 837-841, 843-845, 851-853.

¹⁰⁶⁸ This means that all sources coming from either TT 106, the *khenw* of Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina or the deposit of funerary goods from the Apis Bull burial at the Serapeum in Saqqara are counted as one (1). See catalogue of Paser's sources below.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 492-493.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Finds consist of funerary cones, ushabtis, mentions in tombs of family members and stelae from the tomb complexes. One exception is Usermontu, whose tomb location is unknown. He is therefore only known from two tombs of subordinates, TT 31 and TT 324, a stela (from a stelophorus) from Armant and a fragment of a statue now in private collection, Habachi, "Unknown or Little-Known Monuments," *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (1979), 36. See also the collected lists of sources by Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 815-836.

reflect any kind of self-presentation, nor does it represent any agency by the named individual, and they are therefore not included as sources in the diagram above. A mention in a copy of a letter can, however, still provide information about the duties performed by the viziers and the interactions they had with their subordinates, as has been shown in the chapters above. Therefore, secondary sources in the form of mentions by others in their tombs, and on stelae and statuary, are included in the above diagram because they represent an interaction with the vizier, while secondary sources in the form of mentions in letters or documents that do not reflect agency of an individual of interest, are not included.

The two 18th dynasty viziers with the largest number of sources are Aametu with 14 and User(-Amun) with 20. Of these, 12 of the sources related to Aametu are mentions of his name on other individuals' monuments, eight of those mentions are by his four known sons. User(-Amun) mentions his father regularly on his various monuments and five of those mentions are from his two tombs, TT 61 and TT 131. Since the two tombs are counted as single sources, the five mentions are reduced to two sources here. His grandson, Rekhmire, also mentions him in TT 100. The three other known sons of Aametu are Amunmose (TT 228), Neferhotep (TT 122 and statue from Deir el-Bahri) and Hor (statue from the mortuary temple of Thutmose I).¹⁰⁷¹ That leaves Aametu's tomb, TT 83, and the Karnak statue no. E 134,¹⁰⁷² which are likely of his own commission. Hence, even though only two sources come directly from Aametu himself, the frequent mentions of him on his family's and subordinates' monuments suggests that he was viewed as someone influential in his own time.

Contrary to his father, User(-Amun) had several monuments erected, among them his two tombs, TT 131 and TT 61, a chapel at Gebel el-Silsila and four statues at Karnak (Louvre E.6248, Cairo CG 42118 and CG 42119, and the statue fragment Inv. Nr. A 1955).¹⁰⁷³ Five sources derive from within his tomb complexes, while five are mentions by his father (TT 83), brother (TT 122), son (TT NN and graffito in Deir el-Bahri mountains) and nephew Rekhmire (TT 100). It thus seems that User(-Amun) had more monuments produced than his father, and far higher than the remaining 21 18th dynasty viziers where only Ramose (12 sources) and Usermontu (11 sources) exceed 10 known sources. As has been argued, the higher visibility of User(-Amun) through his monuments points to an additional reason for Paser's interest in this specific individual. Those monuments are all placed in prominent areas in which Paser is also present, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Karnak and Gebel el-Silsila. Since Paser placed large monuments in these areas, these must have been places of significance that he was aware of, and the monuments of User(-Amun) could thus have been known to him. The presence of an architectural element from a building at the fortress of Buhen near the second cataract approximately 500 km south of Aswan,¹⁰⁷⁴ suggests that Paser had a building available to him here. This in turn means that it is possible he travelled south along the Nile and passed by Gebel el-Silsila.

Of course, far from everything dating to the New Kingdom is preserved today, but the diagram above does show an interesting tendency none the less. The numbers of sources peak with Paser

¹⁰⁷¹ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 817.

¹⁰⁷² Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs* (1996), 103, 107.

¹⁰⁷³ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs* (1996), 85, 92-96.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* (1976), 133.

as vizier under Seti I and Ramesses II, though of his 103 sources only two dates to the reign of the former king. The tendency for viziers to make themselves known through a significantly higher number of sources than during the 18th dynasty continued throughout the reign of Ramesses II. It came to an end by the time of the next king, Merenptah, with the vizier Panehsy who is attributed 17 sources. The numbers increase again towards the end of the 19th dynasty and into the beginning of the 20th dynasty with the southern vizier Hori,¹⁰⁷⁵ who has 22 known sources, plus an additional 13 mentions on ostraca from Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁷⁶ The next southern vizier Ta¹⁰⁷⁷ also left a long list of 37 sources, though 25 of these are graffiti inscribed in the mountains of western Thebes, in addition to 12 ostraca from mainly Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁷⁸ After Ta, the following southern vizier was Neferrenpet (II).¹⁰⁷⁹ To him a list of six sources is attributed, plus an additional 25 ostraca and papyri from Deir el-Medina, western Thebes, and the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁸⁰ For all three of these viziers, a significant presence in the tomb builders' village in the form of documents and letters is evident. This was also the case with Paser, though his presence is also marked by the *khenu* for Ramesses II. In Ta's case, the reign of Ramesses III brought about the strike described in the *Turin Strike Papyrus*, in which the vizier is mentioned.¹⁰⁸¹ The unstable situation in the village may therefore well have necessitated his presence there. In a similar manner, the chaotic end to the 19th dynasty with the fight for power between the ruling queen Tawosret, last ruler of the 19th dynasty, and Siptah, founder of the 20th dynasty,¹⁰⁸² could have been the reason for Hori's focus on the village and the Valley of the Kings with its vast buried treasures which could potentially be extracted to fund a war. This was indeed done by the high priest of Amun and viceroy of Kush Piankhy according to a letter sent from the foremen of the gangs and the necropolis scribe Butehamun in year 10 of the Renaissance under Ramesses XI. The letter states that the crew had located a sealed ancient tomb and were in the process of preparing it for their lord, as Piankhy had commanded.¹⁰⁸³ Hence, control over the tomb builders meant control over large quantities of gold and other valuable materials.

While the southern viziers of both the 19th and 20th dynasties are clearly visible through their sources, many of the contemporary northern viziers are almost absent from the textual and archaeological record. Some of the 20th dynasty viziers are impossible to place securely in either office because of their lack of sources, as Auenmüller has demonstrated: Of the 10 remaining viziers of the 20th dynasty, only Iuty is securely placed in the northern office (contemporary with Ramesses III(?)), while Thutmose can be placed in the south (contemporary with

¹⁰⁷⁵ in office during the reigns of Seti II and Ramesses III (year 12), Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 514.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 854.

¹⁰⁷⁷ In office during the reign of Ramesses III, last attested year 29, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 515.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 857.

¹⁰⁷⁹ in office from year 1 of Ramesses IV to Ramesses VI (or IX?), Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 516.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 859.

¹⁰⁸¹ P. Turin 1881, Dresbach, *Das Wesirat* (2012), 373-379.

¹⁰⁸² Callender, "Queen Tausret," *SAK* 32 (2004), 82.

¹⁰⁸³ Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (1990), 195.

Ramesses IX (attested in regnal year 4)).¹⁰⁸⁴ Eight viziers therefore cannot be assigned to either the northern or southern office due to a lack of source material. It is however clear that three of the four viziers who are securely placed in the southern office are the ones with the most sources attached to them. Hence, there is a marked difference between the north and south regarding the distribution of sources which might be explained by the lack of surviving sources from the larger temples of the north in which non-funerary monuments would have been placed.

The long list of sources associated with Paser does suggest that compared to his colleagues in the vizierial office, he had reasons to produce this large quantity of monuments. As was shown in section 6.2. above, the reason for his very visible presence in the village of Deir el-Medina may well have been an attempt to ensure control over the workmen. As for his other sources not related to his tomb, the deposit he had placed in the tomb of the Apis bull buried in Ramesses II's 16th regnal year in particular shows his high status (see section 12.2 below). When it comes to agency in self-presentation, temple statuary played a large role. As Kjølbj argues, during the New Kingdom non-royal statues aided in ensuring that an individual would be remembered by the living. Furthermore, they presented the statue owner in the way he wished to be viewed by both the temple staff and by passersby, while also being a safer place than others to ensure the preservation of one's name.¹⁰⁸⁵ Temple statues thus represented an opportunity for non-royal individuals to extend their self-presentation beyond the tomb and further ensure the preservation of one's name. No less than 16 statues of Paser from various temple contexts have survived.¹⁰⁸⁶ Even taking into account that the monuments of southern viziers had a better chance of survival than the ones of the northern viziers, who generally have fewer known sources, the other southern viziers are still far behind Paser. Of the six southern viziers, who followed after him in the 19th dynasty, four have known statues (19 in total)¹⁰⁸⁷ with only four

¹⁰⁸⁴ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 513-518.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Kjølbj, "Material Agency, Attribution and Experience of Agency," *Being in Ancient Egypt* (2009), 35.

¹⁰⁸⁶ This includes everything from fragments to more or less intact monuments. From unspecified locations in the Delta: Copenhagen AEIN 50, *KRI III* (1980), 21.3-21.14; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 318, and Louvre E. 25980, *KRI III* (1980), 10.10-11.1; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 318. Two statues from the temple of Ptah in Memphis, Cairo CGC 630, *KRI III* (1980), 11.13-13.16

Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 321, and Durham OM N 511, *KRI VII* (1989), 407.12-407.15; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 319. Seated statue from Medamud, London BM EA 954, *KRI III* (1980), 14.10-15.4; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 320. Three statues from the Karnak cachette, Cairo JdE 38062, CGC 42156 and CGC 42164, *KRI III* (1980), 15.6-17.5, 292.13-293.6; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 319, 320, 321. Three statues from Deir el-Bahri (two from the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II and one from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut), Philadelphia Penn Museum E.534A + Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271, London BM EA 687 and Cairo CGC 561 + Polish mission inv. nr. F 6349, *KRI III* (1980), 17.10-20.15; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 322, 339. Five statues of unknown provenance (one possibly from TT 106), Sct. Petersburg Hermitage 1811, London BM 122 and BM EA 510, Moscow Pushkin MA I.I.a.1295 and one fragmented stelophor in private collection (formerly Varille Collection), *KRI III* (1980), 21.3-21.14, 33.3-33.11; Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," *Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 322-323.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Khay, Neferrenpet, Panehsy and Amunmose, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 843-847.

deriving from a temple context.¹⁰⁸⁸ Considering that statuary of the other viziers may have been lost over time, it is still remarkable that this many statues of Paser survived. This does suggest that he had more statues produced than any of his vizierial colleagues.

The many sources contribute to the fact that Paser also used a significantly higher number of titles, which as discussed in the above chapters show, that he was close to the king in his capacity of *imy-r imy.w-hnt* – *overseer of chamberlains*, as well as his epithets *shkr(.w) nswt r tit=f dsr* – *the one who decorates the king in his holy image* inscribed on his Ptah temple statue Cairo CG 630 and Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062, and *shkr bik=f* – *the one who decorates his falcon* found on the same Karnak statue.¹⁰⁸⁹ As for the history of the title, Ward notes that it was used during the Old Kingdom in connection with sculptors,¹⁰⁹⁰ while Quirke for the Middle Kingdom notes that the stela HT II, 8, mentions that it was the owner Semty in his capacity of *imy-hnt* who robed and crowned the king.¹⁰⁹¹ It was in this role that it is believed Paser was the one to crown Ramesses II as king. As the leader of the chamberlains, he was the one who crowned the young king Ramesses II, and in this position, he was a close adviser to the king. However, his colleagues, both those who came before him, his contemporaries and those who followed him in office, were also men of great importance. As has been shown, the 18th dynasty vizier Amunemopet was honored with a tomb (KV 48) next to the king he served in the Valley of the Kings, something no other individual of his rank achieved. And like Paser, (Pa-)Rahotep was involved in the peace treaty negotiations with Hatti in regnal year 20 of Ramesses II, visible through the title *whm.w-nswt r t3 n Htt3* – *Royal envoy to the land of Hatti*, inscribed on his statue BM 712.¹⁰⁹² This vizier and Neferrenpet also held the titles of high priest of Ptah in Memphis, a strategic choice by Ramesses II, who attempted to level the amount of power the cult of Amun in Karnak was accumulating with more focus on this position.

It does not seem coincidental that it was Paser who during the first two decades of Ramesses II's reign showed such a high level of productivity compared to his colleagues in vizierial office, both former, contemporary, and later. There must have been a motivation to do so. For example, as has been discussed in chapter 3, the political situation following the Amarna Period, caused by the lack of heirs, and hence, the ascent of kings of non-royal background to the throne, was highly unstable at the beginning of the 19th dynasty. Seti I was an active builder but left many works unfinished, such as the hypostyle hall at Karnak and his own mortuary temple in Abydos. Ramesses II began almost immediately after ascending the throne to finish what his father began, as he states in the *Dedicatory Inscription* in Seti's temple in Abydos.¹⁰⁹³ He also quickly began building works on his own mortuary temple, the Ramesseum. Foundation deposits found there indicate that work began already in the king's first regnal year, with

¹⁰⁸⁸ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013).

¹⁰⁸⁹ KRI III (1980), 11, 15. Taylor has no entries for the *overseer of chamberlains*-title for the 18th dynasty, Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001); while Al-Ayedi has only recorded the title as used by Paser, Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 32; though other early Ramesside viziers carried it.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ward, *Index Old Kingdom* (2006), 52.

¹⁰⁹¹ Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 34. The *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* has only registered textual use of this title during the Late Period, [https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/search/sentence?to-kens\[0\].lemma.id=550405](https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/search/sentence?to-kens[0].lemma.id=550405), in: *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (accessed: 6/6 2024).

¹⁰⁹² KRI III (1980), 65.

¹⁰⁹³ KRI II (1979), 326.

the use of the king's early praenomen *Wsr-M3ct-Rc*.¹⁰⁹⁴ It is therefore plausible that Paser followed the example of the kings he served and aimed to manifest his position as vizier through his many monuments. Since the number of surviving sources of viziers diminished after Paser, it is suggested that it was not deemed necessary to aim for the same level of productivity by his immediate successors. However, this partially reversed, shown by existence of many documents and ostraca involving viziers, as the need to exercise control over the tomb builders' village of Deir el-Medina arose at the end of the 19th dynasty and at certain times during the 20th dynasty.

12. EARLY RAMESSIDE ADMINISTRATION

State, temple and kingship of ancient Egypt were interconnected, and it is therefore important to analyze the changes made in terms of politics of kingship in order to understand the role of the viziers and any changes to their role from the beginning of the New Kingdom to the early Ramesside Period. Many incidents occurred during the span of the 18th dynasty, e.g., Akhenaten's monotheistic rule, the subsequent reinstatement of the temples and reigns of Ay and Horemheb, who produced no heirs, which ultimately lead to its demise and to the formation of a new dynasty.¹⁰⁹⁵ Thus, it is important to analyze the transition from the 18th dynasty to the new Ramesside kings, to explore its effect on the administration and the high officials functioning within it. This analysis will also contextualize *The Duties* as a monumental text and its idealized presentation of the role of the vizier.

When the 18th dynasty came to a close after the passing of three consecutive kings who were unsuccessful in fathering heirs, the 19th dynasty began with the enthronement of the military commander Paramessu (Ramesses I).¹⁰⁹⁶ As was discussed above, the rulers of the early Ramesside Period showed a desire to assert themselves as rightful claimants to the throne by continuing the return to the values and governmental structures of the pre-Amarna times of the mid-18th dynasty, which was begun by the government of Tutankhamun and continued under the leadership of Ay and Horemheb.¹⁰⁹⁷ For the first kings of the 19th dynasty, navigating the political landscape of the ancient Egyptian state may not have been easy. As Brand argues, the early Ramesside Period was not one of stability, and the monumental building scheme was one of the means by which the kings could promote themselves as legitimate.¹⁰⁹⁸ This urge is further visible in the tomb of Seti I, KV 17, one of the largest and most elaborately decorated royal tombs in western Thebes, which also contains the first complete program of religious texts.¹⁰⁹⁹

¹⁰⁹⁴ Brand, *Ramesses II* (2023), 89.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 571.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 502.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 601.

¹⁰⁹⁸ In a modern term, propaganda was used in order to project a sense of "normalcy," Brand, "Ideology and Politics," *Prozesse des Wandels* (2005), 23-24.

¹⁰⁹⁹ For a description and an illustration, see <https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-17-sety-i> in: Theban Mapping Project (Accessed: 10/6/2024).

As a non-public space, the tomb could not be a part of a propagandistic plan to convince the elite and the general public of the legitimacy of the king, but it served as a way to sway the opinion of the gods. The artistic style of the tomb is reminiscent of the post-Amarna era, but also shows an evolution towards a purely Ramesside style.¹¹⁰⁰ Ramesses II continued the building works on monumental scale as soon as he had ascended to the throne,¹¹⁰¹ and the style and decorative program of his tomb KV 7, also one of the bigger tombs in the valley, largely follows that of his father's.¹¹⁰² Similar motifs are visible in the tomb of Paser, where the artistic style resembles KV 17 with finely carved relief reminiscent of the pre-Amarna style,¹¹⁰³ which again points to his wish to associate himself with this time period.

Concerning the administrative system at the beginning of the New Kingdom, Shirley argues that the rulers of the 17th dynasty employed an already established system of administration from the Middle Kingdom, which gave them power of stability to finally expel the threat of Kush and the Hyksos. This continuation of the system was therefore set up to handle the royal agenda as well as changes in socio-political circumstances. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that this systematical framework was not continued in the 18th dynasty.¹¹⁰⁴ The royal palaces were the homes of the royal household and of the royal court, which included the elite members of society and high-ranking officials. Thus, they also functioned as the administrative centers of the state.¹¹⁰⁵ Despite its short period of occupation, Akhenaten's Amarna provides the only complete example of the needs of king and court in ancient Egypt, shown through urban planning. In the part given the modern name *central city*, the buildings housing administrative functions, were placed in direct connection with the royal residences.¹¹⁰⁶ The one located to the east of the *king's house* (*pr-nswt*) contained the majority of the Amarna Letters was called the *Bureau of correspondence of Pharaoh* (*i3.t-š3.t n pr-č3*), which is known from stamped bricks found on the site.¹¹⁰⁷ If this entire complex of the *central city* is interpreted as one entity, i.e., the royal palace (*čh-nswt*), it is different from the description of the complex mentioned in *The Duties*, where the vizier is stated to control the *enclosure* (*hnw*), which the *pr-nswt* formed part of.¹¹⁰⁸ In Amarna there are no enclosure walls surrounding the *central city*,¹¹⁰⁹ which could either point to a specific choice made by Akhenaten for his new capital, or a change that had happened gradually since the composition of *The Duties*. Despite the fact that the Amarna Period represents a very unusual interval in ancient Egyptian history lasting

¹¹⁰⁰ The artistic style shows a development from that of Horemheb and Ramesses I with longer kilts, shorter legs and straight noses to Ramesside with longer figures and curved noses. Brand, *Monuments of Seti I* (1998), 290.

¹¹⁰¹ Notably, his temples at Abu Simbel, Luxor and Abydos. Redford, "Earliest Years of Ramesses II," *JEA* 57 (1971), 118.

¹¹⁰² <https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-07-ramesses-ii> in: Theban Mapping Project (Accessed: 10/6 2024).

¹¹⁰³ Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel* (2004), 43.

¹¹⁰⁴ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 575.

¹¹⁰⁵ Raedler, "Zur Struktur," *Der ägyptische Hof* (2006), 40.

¹¹⁰⁶ Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization* (2018), 332, 344.

¹¹⁰⁷ *The House of Life* (*pr-čnh*), understood as a place of learning/school, storerooms and Aten temples were also placed here. https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/central_city/index.shtml in: The Amarna Project (Accessed: 10/6 2024).

¹¹⁰⁸ Van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 67.

¹¹⁰⁹ https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/central_city/index.shtml in: The Amarna Project (Accessed: 10/6 2024).

only around two decades, the needs of the royal administration must have largely remained the same.

Through time change did occur within the administration, at least regarding the high officials employed there. During the reigns of Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV, there were close family ties between the highest-ranking officials, the viziers, in Thebes.¹¹¹⁰ This was not the case at the beginning of the 19th dynasty, with Paser and his peers having no family relation,¹¹¹¹ although Paser's father, Nebnetjeru, was the high priest of Amun at Karnak. After the end of the Amarna Period, the sons of various high officials were employed within the administration.¹¹¹² In particular, the *Restoration Stela* from Karnak, erected in year 1 of Tutankhamun, reveals that:

bs.n=f w^cb.w hm.w-ntr ms.w sr.w nw niwt=sn m s³ s rh rh rn=f

*He (the king) introduced pure-priests and prophets, children of officials of their towns as a son of a knowing man, whose name is known.*¹¹¹³

Hence, temple personnel were picked among the families of trusted officials. In comparison, the mid-18th dynasty viziers of Upper Egypt also had a strong connection to the Amun cult. For example, Rekhmire bore the titles of overseer of all works of Amun and steward of Amun, which placed him at the top of the administration of the Karnak temple.¹¹¹⁴ This accentuates the key role of the temples in administration and economy.

As already stated, the rulers of the early Ramesside Period sought to associate themselves with the kings of the 18th dynasty. The continued use of the ideological “constitutional” text *The King as Sun Priest* in the Ramesside Period adds further evidence to this point,¹¹¹⁵ although it does not reflect the actual makeup of ancient Egyptian society. As an ideology, the text manifests the king as chosen by Re to be his representative on earth, to uphold maat and judge the people,¹¹¹⁶ while in reality the task of running the country must have been much more complex. The existence of a large group of officials shows that they performed a myriad of tasks, which is reflected by the titles they held, from local to state level.

The temples in Ramesside Egypt were closely connected to the state, as some administrative documents from the later part of this period demonstrate.¹¹¹⁷ Therefore, the high priests of the major temples, most notably the temple of Ptah in Memphis and the largest temple in the country, Karnak, home to the god Amun-Re, must have played a vital part in the economy of the state. This is illustrated by the Karnak inscription by the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, who

¹¹¹⁰ Beginning with the vizier Aametu, Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 488.

¹¹¹¹ Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 503, 505–506.

¹¹¹² Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 605.

¹¹¹³ Line 17, *URK IV* (1958), 2029.

¹¹¹⁴ Katary, “Administration of Institutional Agriculture,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 729.

¹¹¹⁵ One version dating to Ramesses III exists inscribed on the walls of Medinet Habu. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (1979), 7.

¹¹¹⁶ Grandet, “Ramesside State,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 836.

¹¹¹⁷ For instance, the Wilbur Papyrus from the reign of Ramesses V. Haring mentions older studies as seeing temples and the state as competitive entities, whereas newer studies are in favor of the temples being an integrated part of state economy, Haring, “Ramesside Temples,” *IBAES VII* (2007), 165.

in the 10th regnal year of Ramesses IX describes how he is praised for collecting the revenue of the estate for the king, for which he was richly rewarded.¹¹¹⁸ This connection between state and temple is also visible in the titles and positions managed by Paser and his peers, for example by holding both the titles of vizier and high priest. As has been discussed in the previous two chapters, these two offices arguably dealt with all matters relating to administration, economy, and politics, as well as state level religion in the case of the high priests. This is also exemplified by P. Wilbour, an administrative document dated to the 20th dynasty, which describes the cultivated land of Middle Egypt and who controlled it. Text B is a list of the *khato*-land (*h³-n-t³*) belonging to the king, but administered by various individuals, among these the unnamed *imy-r hm.w-ntr* -overseer of prophets in paragraph 9, as well as 31 prophets mentioned in other paragraphs.¹¹¹⁹ Hence, the agricultural land was owned by the king, but administered in many cases by temple districts. *The Duties*, on the other hand, describes that it was the vizier, who was in charge of *q³tt*, *sm* and *htp-ntr*.¹¹²⁰ Van den Boorn understands these terms as types of land holdings given as royal donations, and that the *sm*-fields in particular were for temple domains, as also mentioned in P. Wilbour text A.¹¹²¹ The great P. Harris, dating to the 20th dynasty, also deals with landholdings, and this text shows a massive portion of agricultural land placed under the administration of temples by Ramesses III, though effectively it belonged to his own mortuary temple of Medinet Habu.¹¹²² The temples of the New Kingdom were then responsible for producing crops which in fact belonged to the state, which shows that the two entities were interconnected economically to an extensive degree.

Therefore, to understand the system in which Paser operated, it is important to address the social structure of the administration of the Ramesside Period. The following sections therefore discuss the hierarchical patterns of the highest level of state administration, as well as the movements of the royal court, in order to understand the patterns of movement of the early Ramesside viziers in the context of their functions discussed in the previous chapters.

12.1. Hierarchy

As discussed above, the administrative system of the New Kingdom was deeply complex, and although the high officials included in this study retained a large number of titles, some of these were honorific and do therefore not reveal any details on daily responsibilities. However, such titles can still provide information on hierarchy and circles of influence.¹¹²³ Having the favor of the king was critical to any high official who wished to advance or maintain his position.¹¹²⁴ It is therefore interesting that even though wishing for royal favor through monumental

¹¹¹⁸ Helck, "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung," *MIO* 4 (1956), 161-178.

¹¹¹⁹ Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* (1948), 120 (§9), 109-133.

¹¹²⁰ Line R27, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 265.

¹¹²¹ van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 273.

¹¹²² Grandet, *Papyrus Harris* (1994), 89.

¹¹²³ Martins, "Interconnecting Circles of Power," *DWJ* 5 (2020), 8.

¹¹²⁴ Raedler, "Rank and Favour," *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 141.

inscriptions was common among officials,¹¹²⁵ Paser is the only early Ramesside vizier who is known to emphasize this favor through the use of the titles *ḥs(.w)* – *the favored one*, *ḥs(.w) n ḥm=f/nṯr nfr* – *favored of his Person/the good god* and *ḥs(.w) n nṯr im=s* – *favored of the god who is in it* (i.e., the west), as well as *smr tp.y n ḥm=f* – *first companion of his Person*. These titles were placed in (semi) public spaces, his tomb chapel TT 106 and in Deir el-Medina.¹¹²⁶ Along with the other evidence that has been presented in the previous chapters, this suggests that Paser did hold an extraordinary position at court. However, royal favor was also shown in other ways, such as the granting of a plot for a tomb and its size within the necropolises.¹¹²⁷ As has been shown above, the 18th dynasty vizier Amunemopet was granted a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 48),¹¹²⁸ an honor which was not given to any other vizier. The early Ramesside vizier Neferrenpet had a significant tomb complex created in the necropolis of Saqqara North. It was built with an east-west orientation in the temple style typical of the area, though double the size of any of the neighboring complexes, with a pylon at the entrance and a rubble filled pyramid encased in limestone at the western end (see fig. 48 below), once topped with the granite pyramidion Liverpool M. 11015, discussed earlier.¹¹²⁹ The complex remains unpublished with just Tawfik’s preliminary excavation report describing it,¹¹³⁰ so it is of yet unknown which titles are to be found there, apart from those inscribed on the architectural elements which have made their way to various museum collections.

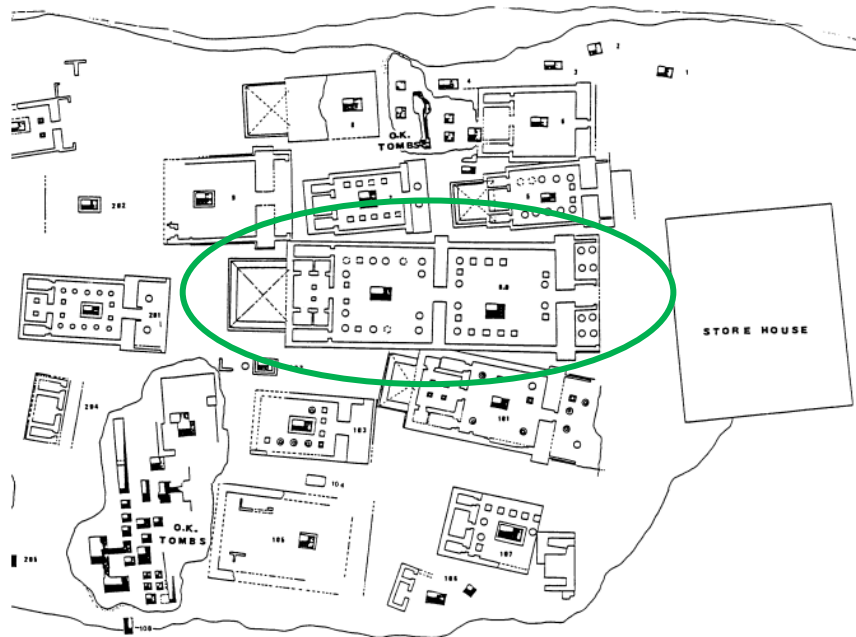


Figure 50. PART OF THE SAQQARA NORTH NECROPOLIS. ST 0 CIRCLED IN GREEN. SOURCE: TAWFIK, “RECENTLY EXCAVATED RAMESSIDE TOMBS,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 409.

¹¹²⁵ Raedler, “Rank and Favour,” *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 142.

¹¹²⁶ *KRI I* (1975), 285; *KRI III* (1989), 1, 24, 26, 27.

¹¹²⁷ Raedler, “Rank and Favour,” *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 142.

¹¹²⁸ <https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-48-amenemipet> in: Theban Mapping Project (accessed: 20/6 2024).

¹¹²⁹ Tawfik, “Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 407, 408.

¹¹³⁰ Tawfik, “Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 403-410.

There were thus several ways in which a high official could be granted and display the king's favor. These do not, however, reveal the internal hierarchy of the top administration of the early Ramesside Period. In order to examine this aspect, and the hierarchical relationship between the viziers and the high priests in particular, it is therefore necessary to investigate other primary sources.

The principal text which describes the hierarchy of the highest level of ancient Egyptian society is the *Onomasticon of Amunemopet*. This is a group of manuscripts inscribed on nine separate media all dating to the 21st or 22nd dynasty, though Gardiner dates Amunemopet himself to the late 20th dynasty due to the rareness of his name before that time.¹¹³¹ The text itself begins as an instruction with the heading:

ḥ3ty-^c m sb3yt wh^c ib mtr ḥm

*Beginning of the teaching (for) clearing the heart, instructing the ignorant.*¹¹³²

It then continues with stating that the following is a list of all things created by the gods, written by the *sš md3.t ntr m pr-^cnh* – *scribe of the sacred books in the house of life* Amunemope.¹¹³³ After this introduction follow the entries divided into subjects. The chapter on persons, court, offices and occupations begins with the entries number 63-66, god and goddess (*ntr*, *ntr.t*), male and female spirit (*3h*, *3h.t*), which is then followed by king (*nswt*).¹¹³⁴ The entries number 67-72 lists members of the royal family beginning with the king himself. Immediately following the royal family comes the vizier as entry number 73.¹¹³⁵ The structure of the chapter has led Grandet to call it the “chapter on hierarchy,” since it is obvious that it begins from the top downwards with the gods, king and royal family, followed by the high officials.¹¹³⁶ The remaining part of the onomasticon dealing with hierarchy contains four sets of officials in charge of separate parts of the administration led by the vizier, who is mentioned with the title *t3ty* twice in the *Onomasticon*.¹¹³⁷ Grandet has named these four groups the members of the king's council, the members of the *knb.t-^c3.t*, the members of the army and the members of the royal administration and placed the vizier as chairman of both the king's council and the great *kenbet* as the *Onomasticon* showed the vizier at the head of both these groups.¹¹³⁸ In addition, the head of the royal administration is the *ḥr.y-sšt3 n pr-nswt* – *master of secrets of the royal house*,¹¹³⁹ which is a title both Paser and (Pa-)Rahotep used. For Paser the title is inscribed on the back

¹¹³¹ The manuscripts that Gardiner names as the *Onomasticon of Amunemopet* consist of two well-preserved papyri (P. Golenischeff, Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, and P. Hood, BM 10202), one strip of leather (BM 10379), a collection of papyrus fragments from the Ramesseum, an ostrakon (O. Cairo JE 67100), a wooden writing board (BM 21635) and the opening lines are preserved on the verso of P. Boulaq I, while a few words are preserved on a potsherd from the Ramesseum. Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 24, 26.

¹¹³² Five of the nine examples begin with this heading, Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 1*, 26.

¹¹³³ Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 2*.

¹¹³⁴ Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 13*.

¹¹³⁵ Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 19*.

¹¹³⁶ Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 127.

¹¹³⁷ As number 73 and 86, Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 19*, 24*.

¹¹³⁸ Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130-133; Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 19*, 24*.

¹¹³⁹ Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 133.

pillar of his Karnak statue Cairo CG 42164,¹¹⁴⁰ while (Pa-)Rahotep had the title inscribed on his monumental stela Cairo JE 48845 from Saqqara.¹¹⁴¹ It does not seem to have been a commonly used title during the New Kingdom since both Al-Ayedi and Taylor have only registered it in the 18th dynasty in the tombs of the viziers Rekhmire (TT 100) and Ramose (TT 55).¹¹⁴² Hence, it was a vizierial title, which fits with the hierarchy groups as defined by Grandet, who in addition argues that these four groups represent the king's main mission of protecting the country, ensuring prosperity and pleasing the gods.¹¹⁴³ This section of the onomasticon demonstrates that the vizier's role was two-fold as head of the king's council and the managing government, while in their role as *master of secrets of the royal house* they also headed the royal administration,¹¹⁴⁴ which is consistent with van den Boorn's analysis of the vizier's role according to *The Duties*.¹¹⁴⁵

The text *The King as Sun Priest*¹¹⁴⁶ does, like the onomasticon, place the king as the idealized head of all administration,¹¹⁴⁷ though in reality he was not omnipresent and could therefore not single-handedly have overseen all aspects of the country's administration. As a further indication of the position of the vizier, his ideological role as the king's deputy is emphasized in the text *The Book of the Heavenly Cow* where Ra proclaims Thoth his "deputy" and, in the form of the moon, his vizier.¹¹⁴⁸ An excerpt of the text involving the role of the vizier reads:



iw=k m st=i st.y[=i] ih dd.tw n=k Dhwty st.y R^c

You shall be in my place <as?> [my] deputy. Then one shall say to you: 'Thoth, the deputy of Re.'

And then it continues:



hpr r=f m t3ty=i wnn=k gr m st.y=i

¹¹⁴⁰ KRI III (1980), 17.

¹¹⁴¹ KRI III (1980), 55.

¹¹⁴² Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 430; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 165.

¹¹⁴³ Grandet, "Chapter on Hierarchy," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 129.

¹¹⁴⁴ Table 2, 3 and 5. Grandet, "Chapter on Hierarchy," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130, 131, 133.

¹¹⁴⁵ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 310.

¹¹⁴⁶ The text is part of the royal funerary compositions of the *Books of the Netherworld* from the New Kingdom, Guilhou, "Myth of the Heavenly Cow," *UCLA Encyclopedia* (2010), 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Grandet, "Ramesside State," *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (2013), 858.

¹¹⁴⁸ The moon stands in for the sun during the night. Guilhou, "Myth of the Heavenly Cow," *UCLA Encyclopedia* (2010), 4. *The Destruction of Mankind* which forms part of the narrative is alluded to in the First Intermediate Period *Teaching for Merikare*, Wentz, "Book of the Heavenly Cow," *Literature of Ancient Egyptian* (2003), 289. The earliest known edition of the text, thought to be a Middle Kingdom composition, was found on the inside of the outermost shrine of Tutankhamun. In the Ramesside Period it gained popularity in royal tombs, and it is inscribed in the tombs of Seti I and Ramesses II, III and VI, KV 17, KV 7, KV 11 and KV 9, Guilhou, "Myth of the Heavenly Cow," *UCLA Encyclopedia* (2010), 1.

*So, you will become my vizier, you shall now be my deputy.*¹¹⁴⁹

Wente uses the translation *vicar* for *st.y*,¹¹⁵⁰ while the *Wörterbuch* suggests *deputy*.¹¹⁵¹ The *st.y* – *deputy* is then understood as the second in command, who takes over when the king is not present. This is presumably also the meaning deducted by Wente, though *vicar* has a more religious connotation today. As the text is a mythological narrative, the theme of hierarchy could with caution be applied to the actual state of affairs in the administration of the ancient Egyptian state as it was during the New Kingdom. The issue is again the ideological nature and potential audience of such a text. One can argue that the ideology took inspiration from the factual role of the vizier, though the text should not lead to an analysis of any daily tasks. However, these monumental texts in combination with the viziers' use of titles and evidence from administrative texts do show that the viziers were the king's second in command not only ideologically, but also in practice.

For example, as shown in section 9.1. above, the vizier was indeed the head of the great *kenbet* during the Ramesside Period, which is demonstrated by legal documents such as P. BM EA 10568, the legal dispute over ownership of enslaved people presided over by the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep¹¹⁵² and the *Trial of Mose*, a monumental inscription in the Saqqara tomb chapel of the treasury scribe Mose.¹¹⁵³ However, when it comes to members of the royal court and the king's council the evidence is more scarce. In addition to the blood-related members of the royal family, the royal court also consisted of the vizier(s), *smr w^ct.y* – *sole companions*, *šny.t* – *courtiers* and *ḥy ḥw ḥr wnmy n nswt* – *fanbearers on the right side of the king*.¹¹⁵⁴ *Sole companion* was used by a range of officials, including viziers,¹¹⁵⁵ while *courtier* during the New Kingdom was rarer, known mainly from the *Dedicatory Stela* in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, the *Sea Peoples Campaign* inscription in Medinet Habu and the *Onomasticon of Amunemopet*.¹¹⁵⁶ *šny.t* is not known from either the Old or the Middle Kingdom, and it must therefore have been a later addition to the corpus of titles,¹¹⁵⁷ but not one that came to be used as a personal expression of rank by high officials. Rather, it may be considered a descriptor of a group of people of certain standing. The *fanbearer*-title is another New Kingdom addition; however, this title was used by a range of high officials.¹¹⁵⁸ Al-Ayedi only lists one entry for this title,¹¹⁵⁹ but as shown in the title index below it was used by all the early Ramesside viziers.

¹¹⁴⁹ Verse 237-238 and 247-248, after transliteration by Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos* (1997), 23, 24. The text was originally written in columns, but is here written in horizontal lines for the sake of space.

¹¹⁵⁰ Wente, "Book of the Heavenly Cow," *Literature of Ancient Egypt* (2003), 295.

¹¹⁵¹ From German *Stellvertreter*, *WB IV* (1971), 8.

¹¹⁵² *KRI VII* (1989), 101.

¹¹⁵³ *KRI III* (1980), 423.

¹¹⁵⁴ Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 20*-22*. The scribe of P. Golenischeff has skipped ten entries from no. 76-88, which are present in P. Hood, as noted by Grandet, "Chapter on Hierarchy," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 127.

¹¹⁵⁵ For *sole companion* see Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 509; Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 202.

¹¹⁵⁶ *KRI II* (1979), 326; *KRI V* (1983), 39; Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 20*. The attestations of the title are collected by Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 624; No attestations in Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001).

¹¹⁵⁷ Ward has one entry of *šny* as "a type of workman" from Cairo CG 20085 dated to the Middle Kingdom, Ward, *Index Middle Kingdom* ((1982), 177; Jones has not noted any attestations of such a title for the Old Kingdom, Jones, *Index Old Kingdom* (2006).

¹¹⁵⁸ Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 235.

¹¹⁵⁹ Al-Ayedi, *Index New Kingdom* (2006), 650.

The title was not, however, used by the high priests of Amun and Ptah, which indicates that the clergy were not included as part of the royal court,¹¹⁶⁰ if the information provided by the onomasticon is to be trusted. This then points to a division between the royal court and the temple cults. Whether this should be taken as evidence that the high priests were subordinate to the viziers cannot be concluded on such a slim basis, but it may indicate the difference in function of the two positions: While the vizier operated on state-level, the high priest was connected to a single institution.

A further source related to hierarchy is the Berlin *Trauer Relief* originally from Saqqara, now in the Neues Museum (ÄM 12411, see fig. 51 below) dated to the reign of Tutankhamun in the late 18th dynasty. Slinger argues that this funerary procession scene shows the hierarchy of the highest officials of the administration during the reign of that king.¹¹⁶¹ Although the relief came from the tomb of the high priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty, who arguably was an influential figure, it is not known whether the people depicted in the funerary procession actually attended the event. The relief must have been created on the commission of the tomb owner before his death, and therefore reflects his ambition of self-presentation rather than actual events. The scene does, however, disclose information about the administrative hierarchy at the time through the individuals depicted in the funerary procession (see fig. 52 below). The upper register shows the processional route decorated with palm leaves and bouquets of flowers, as well as lamenting servants, who were to break jars as the funerary procession passed by.¹¹⁶² The lower register depicts the funerary procession for the deceased with presumably Horemheb in front followed by two viziers (*imy-r niwt t3ty*), their figures slightly set apart from the following group. Next follows a group of 11 figures, though they are captioned with only nine titles; two royal scribes (*sš-nswt*), the first with the additional title *steward* (*imy-r pr*), the other *overseer of that which is sealed* (*imy-r htm.t*). The following four individuals are titled *overseer of the gate* (*imy-r rw.yt*), *overseer of the military* (*imy-r mšc.w*), *overseer of chamberlains* (*imy-r ḥnw.ty*) and *overseer of the treasury* (*imy-r pr-ḥd*). The last three individuals concluding the procession of larger figures with individual titles are the high priest of Re in Heliopolis (*wr m3.w*), a semipriest (*sm*), which was a title used by the high priest of Ptah in Memphis, and lastly a mayor (*ḥ3t.y-ḳ*). Behind the primary group of larger figures follows a large group of temple personnel, the subordinates of the deceased, depicted smaller than the group in front. None of the front group officials in the procession are named, only titles are inscribed, while six names of the temple personnel are legible (Ty, Tjutju, Amunemheb, Merysakh[met], Ptahemheb and Rere).

¹¹⁶⁰ The entries noted by Taylor for the 18th dynasty do not include any members of priesthood either, Taylor, *Index 18th Dynasty* (2001), 235.

¹¹⁶¹ Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 266.

¹¹⁶² Figure 318, Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 266.



Figure 51. THE BERLIN TRAUER RELIEF, ÄM 12411. SOURCE: STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN. PHOTO: MARGARETE BÜSING.



Figure 52. CLOSE UP OF THE PROCESSION WITH HOREMHEB IN FRONT TO THE RIGHT.

According to Slinger, this is a hierarchical constellation that shows the co-operation between state and temple.¹¹⁶³ Horemheb, whose name does not survive in the relief, is not represented here with a title identifying him directly as the representative of the king, but rather as *[sš]-nswt* - royal [scribe] (title partially destroyed), *r-p^ct* – hereditary noble, and *imy-r mš^c.w* - overseer of the military. According to Murnane, the use of the title *r-p^ct* without the usual companion *h³t.y^c*, as done in this relief with Horemheb, was an expression of his extraordinary position at court after the Amarna Period.¹¹⁶⁴ Gardiner states that in the *Onomasticon of Amun-emepe*, this title designates the *crown prince*,¹¹⁶⁵ i.e., the heir to the throne. As he is the largest figure in the relief, this must reflect his status as the most important person present, which supports Gardiner's notion. A square of the relief containing the first titles of Horemheb has been deliberately chiseled out, possibly to reflect a change in his position, but the correction does not survive. What can be deduced from the scene is that the viziers are followed by a group of officials who carry titles that could easily have a relation to the administrative and vizierial offices. Behind them the high priests are followed by a group of temple personnel who are depicted as lower in status than the other group of officials, visualized by their smaller size. Schulman compares this procession with the contemporary scene from the tomb of

¹¹⁶³ The Saqqara provenance of the relief explains the presence of Lower Egyptian high priests, but the same hierarchy would apply for an Upper Egyptian scene of the same character, Slinger, *Tomb Families* (2022), 266.

¹¹⁶⁴ Murnane, "Kingship of the 19th Dynasty," *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (1995), 193.

¹¹⁶⁵ Entry number 72, list of royal family members, Gardiner, *Onomastica* (1947), 14*.

Tutankhamun (KV 62), where a similar group of officials is shown pulling the funerary barge with the king's body (see fig. 53 below).¹¹⁶⁶



Figure 53. RELIEF SHOWING THE FUNERARY PROCESSION OF KING TUTANKHAMUN. SOURCE: [HTTPS://THEBANMAPPINGPROJECT.COM/TOMBS/KV-62-TUTANKHAMUN](https://thebanmappingproject.com/tombs/kv-62-tutankhamun), IN: THEBAN MAPPING PROJECT (ACCESSED: 7/6 2024).

In the scene from KV 62 there are 12 officials dragging the barge, the same number of men as in the *Trauer Relief*. None of the individuals have been given names or titles, but the two men standing in second position from the barge have clean-shaven heads and wear the dress of the vizier, just as in the other funerary procession. The text above the procession does not reveal the identity of the individuals present, but it states that they are the *smr.w sr.w nw pr-nswt* – *companions and officials of the royal house* (see fig. 53 above). The funerary procession in KV 62 is related to the *Book of the Dead* spell number 1, which describes the deceased's journey to his tomb, often accompanied by a vignette showing such a procession. In addition, while non-royal funerary procession scenes were relatively common during the New Kingdom, KV 62 has the only known royal example of it.¹¹⁶⁷ Tawfik remarks, that the end of the rope which the officials are pulling, continues on the adjacent wall where Ay is shown performing the opening of the mouth ritual for the deceased king Tutankhamun, indicating that Ay is the procession leader.¹¹⁶⁸ Thus, his position is similar to the position of Horemheb in the *Trauer Relief*. Schulman argues that since Horemheb as heir to the throne (*r-p^ct*) stands closest to the bier followed by the two viziers in the *Trauer Relief*, the same position was held by the person placed closest to the king's sledge in KV 62, and this scene therefore depicts the administrative hierarchy in the same manner.¹¹⁶⁹ However, the only certainty that can be deduced from the two scenes is that during the late 18th dynasty, the viziers were third in command after the king and his heir.

¹¹⁶⁶ Schulman, "Berlin "Trauerrelief," *JARCE* 4 (1965), 57.

¹¹⁶⁷ Tawfik, "Spell 1," *OHEBD* (2023), 363.

¹¹⁶⁸ Tawfik, "Spell 1," *OHEBD* (2023), 363.

¹¹⁶⁹ Schulman, "Berlin "Trauerrelief," *JARCE* 4 (1965), 57.

The members of the procession in the *Trauer Relief* do in part fit with the hierarchical structure of the *Onomasticon* that Grandet has named the *king's council*. The vizier is placed at the head of it, while the *s3-nswt sms.w* - *king's eldest son* is second and the *imy-r mšc.w wr* - *great overseer of the army* is third.¹¹⁷⁰ In the *Trauer Relief* Horemheb is both the heir to the throne, due to the lack of an heir produced by king Tutankhamun, and the great overseer of the army. He therefore takes up both the second and third position of the *king's council* as listed in the *Onomasticon*. The two individuals following behind the two viziers in the *Trauer Relief* are titled *sš-nswt imy-r-pr* - *royal scribe, steward* and *sš-nswt imy-r htm.t* - *royal scribe, overseer of that which is sealed*. The fourth title mentioned in the *Onomasticon* is also a scribe, though a *sš šc.t n Hr-K3-nht* - *document scribe of Horus-Kanakht*. The next four entries of the *Onomasticon*, *wpwty-nswt n h3s.t nb.t* - *royal envoy to every foreign land*, *whmw-nswt tp.y n hm=f c.w.s.* - *royal herald to His Person l.p.h.*, *c3 n c.t n ntr nfr* - *great one of the chamber of the good god* and *ir.w k3.t 3h(.t) nb t3wy* - *doer of profitable works of the lord of the Two Lands*, are not represented in the relief. The next member of the *king's council*, the *imy-r imy.w-hn.t* - *overseer of chamberlains* is present in the relief, placed in eighth position after the *imy-r rwy.t* - *overseer of the gate* and another *imy-r mšc.w* - *overseer of the army*.¹¹⁷¹ It is then plausible that the procession of the *Trauer Relief* does represent part of the top of the administration as it looked during the later 18th dynasty. Generally, the smaller size of the group of 11 individuals, including the *wr m3.w* - *great one of seers* (high priest of Re) and *sm* - *sem-priest* (of Ptah) who conclude the group along with a *h3ty-c* - *mayor*, means that they were lower ranking¹¹⁷² than the viziers during Tutankhamun's reign. However, it is a matter of interpretation rather than fact whether the group of 11 officials following the two viziers were of decreasing rank according to placement in the group or they were all simply lower-ranking than the viziers.

The Duties, of an earlier composition date, states that the *imy-r htm.t* - *overseer of that which is sealed* had a close working relationship with the vizier, since the two were to exchange reports on the royal household on a daily basis.¹¹⁷³ Based on this it would make sense that this particular individual is placed right behind the two viziers in the *Trauer Relief*. Another close working companion of the vizier according to *The Duties* was the *imy-r chnw.ty* - *overseer of the interior chamber* (of the vizier or the palace¹¹⁷⁴). In the introductory chapter of the text, the overseer of the interior chamber was to be placed by the vizier's right side in his bureau (*h3 n t3ty*).¹¹⁷⁵ An individual with this title is also present in the relief above, placed in the procession behind the viziers. The title is, however, linked to the Middle Kingdom and was rarely used during the New Kingdom.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷⁰ For the members of the *king's council* see Grandet, "Chapter on Hierarchy," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130. For the procession in the *Trauer Relief*, see fig. 58 above.

¹¹⁷¹ Grandet, "Chapter on Hierarchy," *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130.

¹¹⁷² Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (1986), 236.

¹¹⁷³ van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 55.

¹¹⁷⁴ van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 35.

¹¹⁷⁵ van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 12.

¹¹⁷⁶ The textual evidence for this title comes mainly from the Middle Kingdom, see <https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de/lemma/400016>, in: *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (accessed: 6/6 2024); Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 85; van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 35.

In the procession there is also an individual titled *imy-r mš^c.w* – *overseer of the army*. *The Duties* states that it was the responsibility of the vizier to organize and coordinate the troops both in the entourage of the king and those stationed in the “Southern City” and the “Residence.”¹¹⁷⁷ Although, neither Paser nor any of the other early Ramesside viziers used any titles related to the military, the *Onomasticon* does show that the vizier could in some capacity have had a working relationship with the army commander as members of the *king’s council*.¹¹⁷⁸ At the beginning of the 18th dynasty *imy-r mš^c.w* – *overseer of the army* became a quite rare title due to the establishment of a standing army where new titles for the leaders became necessary as new departments of the army were created.¹¹⁷⁹ Though as Gnirs remarks, the extension of a title, for example *overseer of the army of the king* where “of the king” is an extension, could be omitted when writing space did not allow it.¹¹⁸⁰ This looks to be the case in the relief above where none of the titles above the figures of the procession have any such extensions. Gnirs states further, that from the late 18th dynasty until the Libyan Period the title *imy-r mš^c.w wr* was most often given to the heir to the throne.¹¹⁸¹ This again fits with the position taken by Horemheb in the relief, which in turn disagrees with *The Duties* stating that the vizier was the one in charge of the military. In all, the *Trauer Relief* is more likely to reflect the top of the administration as it functioned during the late 18th dynasty, than *The Duties* as an earlier composition, which emphasized the ideal role of the vizier. Meanwhile, the *Onomasticon* also places the vizier over the *king’s eldest son* and the *great overseer of the army* in the king’s council, while the king’s heir (*r-p^ct*) is placed above the vizier in the list of members of the royal court.¹¹⁸²

As for the rank of the religious leaders mentioned in both the *Onomasticon* and the *Trauer Relief*, both sources show a subordinate position of the high priests to the vizier. However, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, the high priests of the largest temples of the New Kingdom, and in particular the high priest of Amun, possessed a large amount of power through economic interests. During the Ramesside Period at least, the hierarchy of the *Onomasticon* may better be understood as the ideal of administration, while power of wealth played a substantial role in factual relationships between cults and royal administration. The *Trauer Relief* - of an earlier date - then reflects the ideal, which may have been closer to the factual state of things during the late 18th dynasty. As Haring points out, on an ideological level the temple estates represented the total economic provisions created by the king.¹¹⁸³ Hence, the high priests as heads of the temples were part of the royal administration, but in a subordinate role as also suggested by the *Trauer Relief* and the *Onomasticon*. This, then, supports the notion that if the early Ramesside viziers received the titles of high priests as an actual function, they would not have left vizierial office to do so because that would have been a step down on the

¹¹⁷⁷ van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 218.

¹¹⁷⁸ Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130.

¹¹⁷⁹ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 4.

¹¹⁸⁰ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 5.

¹¹⁸¹ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (1996), 6.

¹¹⁸² Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130.

¹¹⁸³ Haring, “Ramesside Temples,” *Das Heilige und die Ware* (2007), 166.

hierarchical ladder, a move which does not seem fitting for individuals who did not lose royal favor at any point in their lives.

12.2. Mobility

The mobility of the royal court was an important way for the administration to maintain control of the entire country.¹¹⁸⁴ In the Old Kingdom, the Following of Horus (*šms-Hr*) was a biannual event in which the king along with his court officials travelled the length of Egypt in order to “count” specific resources, such as agricultural fields or cattle. This is known from the inscriptions on the Palermo Stone, which bears a record of the events occurring during the reigns of kings from the Early Dynastic Period to the 5th dynasty.¹¹⁸⁵ In the New Kingdom, a model letter of the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* describes the cost and preparations needed for a royal visit, which would take place at “mooring places” (*mniw*) along the Nile.¹¹⁸⁶ There may not have been a need in the New Kingdom for the king personally, along with his group of high officials, to travel the country in order to “count” in the same way as it was done in the Old Kingdom. The development in administration meant that there was not only one vizier, who in the Old Kingdom was often a member of the royal family, but two, located in Memphis and Thebes, respectively.¹¹⁸⁷ In spite of ongoing discussions on the exact composition date of *The Duties* and its nature as semi-literary or literary,¹¹⁸⁸ it can still be deduced from the text that it was the vizier, who was responsible for collecting taxes at least from the beginning of the New Kingdom onwards. As for the mobility of the southern vizier himself, several ostraca from the later 19th and the 20th dynasties describe the vizier going north (*hd* – downstream).¹¹⁸⁹ For example, O. Cairo 25 794 describes how the vizier Hori arrived (*spr*) at Thebes in year 4 of Siptah, 2nd month of Shemu day 9, and went north (*hd*) 3rd month of Shemu day 6, meaning Hori stayed there for 27 days.¹¹⁹⁰ O. Cairo 2550 is a journal logging several trips made by the vizier Panehsy over a period of two years,¹¹⁹¹ while the Turin Strike Papyrus states that the vizier Ta went north after he had come in order to take the gods of the south (*ntr.w n3 rs.y*) to the *heb-sed*.¹¹⁹² Häggman argues that the frequent travelling was part of the southern vizier’s duties, since the royal residence and the administrative center were located in the north.¹¹⁹³ Although as Hagen states, even if the northern cities Pi-Ramesses and Memphis, as well as Thebes, were the administrative, political, and religious centers, it is difficult to determine

¹¹⁸⁴ Martins, “Interconnecting Circles of Power,” *DWJ* 5 (2020), 8.

¹¹⁸⁵ Haring, “Administration and Law,” *A Companion* (2010), 229.

¹¹⁸⁶ Hagen, “Movements of the Royal Court,” *Fs Martin* (2016), 161.

¹¹⁸⁷ Two viziers probably existed as early as the late Middle Kingdom, as discussed by Ilin-Tomich, “The Vizier Ankhu,” *JEH* 14 (2021), 161.

¹¹⁸⁸ On the basis of references in the text to institutions and titles of Middle Kingdom origin that were not actually in use in the New Kingdom; Quirke argues for a Middle Kingdom date, Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux* (2004), 23. Van den Boorn, on the other hand, argues for uses of archaic expressions in the text and a composition date sometime during the 18th dynasty, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier* (1988), 335.

¹¹⁸⁹ O. Cairo 25 538, *KRI IV* (1982), 315; O. Turin 57 055, *KRI V* (1983), 495; O. Berlin P 12 654, *KRI VI* (1983), 344.

¹¹⁹⁰ *KRI IV* (1982), 529.

¹¹⁹¹ Dated to regnal years 7 and 8 of Merenptah, *KRI IV* (1982), 155.

¹¹⁹² Recto, 2.18, Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (1948), 55.

¹¹⁹³ P. Turin Cat. 1880, recto column 2.18, the text is dated year 29 of the reign of Ramesses III, Häggman, *Directing Deir el-Medina* (2002), 121.

where the residence (*hnw*) or capital was, if it even was a single place.¹¹⁹⁴ Therefore, it may be reasonable to suggest that the viziers of the early Ramesside Period were equally mobile, which is also reflected in the numerous attestations of Paser all over the ancient Egyptian territory. In addition, Raedler suggests that the door lintel containing Paser's name and titles found at Qantir (Pi-Ramesses) is evidence of a temporary residence belonging to him in the capital city.¹¹⁹⁵ Should this lintel be considered part of a building made for habitation, the same could be considered for the part of a lintel found at Buhen. This would provide Paser with lodging at both the northernmost and southernmost parts of the Egyptian realm.



Figure 54. RELIEF SCENE FROM TT 157, TOMB OF NEBWENEF, SHOWING RAMESSES II (RIGHT) APPOINTING NEBWENEF TO HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN. SOURCE: HOFMANN, *BILDER IM WANDEL* (2004), 33, FIG. 35.

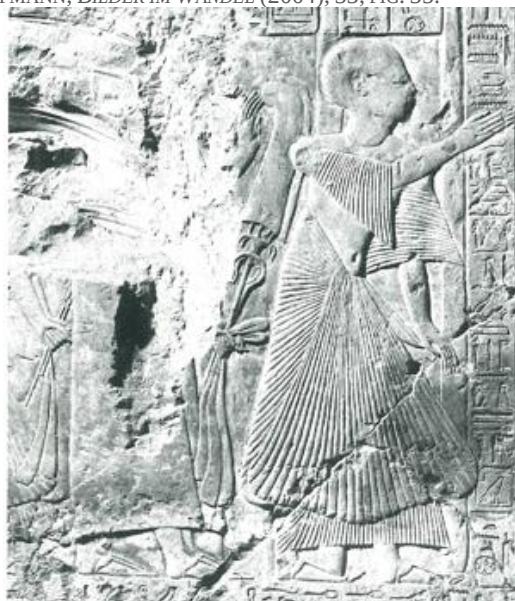


Figure 55. CLOSE-UP, APPOINTMENT SCENE IN TT 157 SHOWING PARTIAL DEPICTION OF TWO VIZIERS HOLDING *hnw*-FANS STANDING BEHIND NEBWENEF. SOURCE: HOFMANN, *BILDER IM WANDEL* (2004), 33, FIG. 35.

In addition to the above evidence of the king's travels during the Ramesside Period, the biographical text of Nebwenenef recorded in his tomb (TT 157) at Dra Abu el-Naga describes his appointment as high priest of Amun by Ramesses II. In the text the king is said to have travelled

¹¹⁹⁴ Hagen, "Movements of the Royal Court," *Fs Martin* (2016), 157.

¹¹⁹⁵ Raedler, "Rank and Favour," *Egyptian Royal Residences* (2009), 138.

north to Thinis from Thebes following his participation in the Opet Festival.¹¹⁹⁶ The relief accompanying the text recording Nebwenenef's promotion shows two viziers standing behind him before Ramesses II shown in the window of appearances (see figs. 54 and 55 above). This indicates that the viziers would have accompanied the king on such a journey, and since the text is dated to regnal year 1 of Ramesses II,¹¹⁹⁷ one of those viziers must have been Paser. As for the northern vizier, as has been discussed above, while it is not unproblematic to place Nebamun in this office, he remains the likely candidate.



Figure 56. TWO PECTORALS (LOUVRE E 69 AND E 68) FROM AN APIS BULL BURIAL IN SAQQARA. SOURCE: <https://collections.louvre.fr/> IN: MUSEE DU LOUVRE (ACCESSED: 12/1 2024)



Figure 57. LOUVRE E 70 AND E 75, FROM AN APIS BULL BURIAL IN SAQQARA. SOURCE: <https://collections.louvre.fr/> IN: MUSEE DU LOUVRE (ACCESSED: 12/1 2024)

Although written sources do not specify who in particular would accompany the king on his journeys, some archaeological evidence suggests that Paser would, at least in specific instances, have joined him. Artifacts found at the Serapeum in Saqqara dating to an intact Apis bull burial in regnal year 16 of Ramesses II (figs. 56 and 57) show that the vizier was likely present for that occasion. The Apis bull was associated with royal succession from the New Kingdom

¹¹⁹⁶ Translated by Froom, *Biographical Texts* (2002), 36.

¹¹⁹⁷ Froom, *Biographical Texts* (2007), 36.

onwards,¹¹⁹⁸ with the first “isolated tombs” in the area of north Saqqara that later became the Serapeum being constructed during the reign of Amenhotep III.¹¹⁹⁹ After the death of an Apis bull in regnal year 30 of Ramesses II, the “lesser vaults” (*petits souterrains*, see map fig. 58 below) of the Serapeum were constructed under the authority of Khaemwaset,¹²⁰⁰ and bulls continued to be interred here and in the “greater vaults” until the end of the Ptolemaic Period.¹²⁰¹ This strongly suggests that the death and burial of such a bull was a grand occasion which would have been attended by the king. The Serapeum is located in the necropolis of Saqqara North, the complex included a mortuary temple also constructed under Khaemwaset,¹²⁰² and there was once a road which may have been lined with sphinxes leading from the Nile River to its entrance.¹²⁰³ The tomb (G) of the Apis bulls buried in regnal years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II was the last of the “isolated tombs” (*tombes isolées*, see map fig. 58 below, tomb G marked with green circle) and was discovered intact by Auguste Mariette.¹²⁰⁴ The upper part of the walls depicts Ramesses II and Khaemwaset offering to an anthropomorphic Apis, while the lower parts were covered in gold leaf.¹²⁰⁵

The artifacts bearing the name and titles of Paser found inside the burial chamber include an olive-shaped bead of carnelian and two pectorals of gold and semiprecious stones.¹²⁰⁶ While there were two Apis bulls buried in the same chamber, one in regnal year 16 and one in year 30, these objects can be ascribed to the burial committed to the tomb in regnal year 16 with some certainty, according to Kitchen.¹²⁰⁷ In addition to the objects mentioned by Kitchen, the Louvre Museum has included a heart scarab and a *w3d*-column amulet, both of amazonite with gold decorations and inscriptions, with the artifacts found in the Serapeum and given the find-spot of the group of objects as the *Scha-em-djom room under the coffin to the right of the entrance*.¹²⁰⁸ In the same room to the left of the entrance 9 ushabti figures of various materials inscribed with Paser’s name were found.¹²⁰⁹ Dodson states that there were two jackals made of

¹¹⁹⁸ The cult of the Apis is known as far back as the 1st dynasty, though the theology changed around the beginning of the New Kingdom, Markovic, “Cult of the Sacred Bull Apis,” *History of Research* (2015), 135; Dodson comments that the Apis may have been related to the *heb-sed* of the king, Dodson, “Bull Cults,” *Divine Creatures* (2015), 74.

¹¹⁹⁹ Dodson, “Bull Cults,” *Divine Creatures* (2015), 74.

¹²⁰⁰ Through the evidence of dedicatory inscriptions with the name of Khaemwaset in the “lesser vaults” it is likely that construction work began under his supervision, Gomaá, *Chaemwese* (1973), 42; Colonna states that the building of the “lesser vaults” began after year 30 of Ramesses II under the direction of Khaemwaset, Colonna, *Religious Practice* (2021), 113.

¹²⁰¹ Dodson, “Bull Cults,” *Divine Creatures* (2015), 89.

¹²⁰² Gomaá, *Chaemwese* (1973), 43.

¹²⁰³ Dodson, “Bull Cults,” *Divine Creatures* (2015), 74.

¹²⁰⁴ 20th March 1852, Gomaá, *Chaemwese* (1973), 40.

¹²⁰⁵ Colonna, *Religious Practice* (2021), 113, 114, fig. 5.4; Mariette apparently found it fitting to take this gold, along with that covering the bulls’ coffins (about two kilograms) and use it as payment for his workers, Gomaá, *Chaemwese* (1973), 41.

¹²⁰⁶ Louvre E 71, Louvre E 68 and E 69, Raedler, “Netzwerke der Macht,” *Das Ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 333, 335.

¹²⁰⁷ *RITANC II* (1999), 220.

¹²⁰⁸ Louvre E 70 and E 75, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010007797> in: Musée du Louvre (accessed : 12/1 2024). *Scha-em-djom* seems to be Mariette’s interpretation of the name of Khaemwaset, Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857), 13.

¹²⁰⁹ Louvre N 772 (3 ushabtis under this number), N 773 (6 ushabtis under this number), <https://collections.louvre.fr/>, in: Musée du Louvre (accessed: 12/1 2024).

pottery placed on pylon-shaped bases placed in niches in one wall and that the bases contained four ushabtis made of faience belonging to Paser.¹²¹⁰

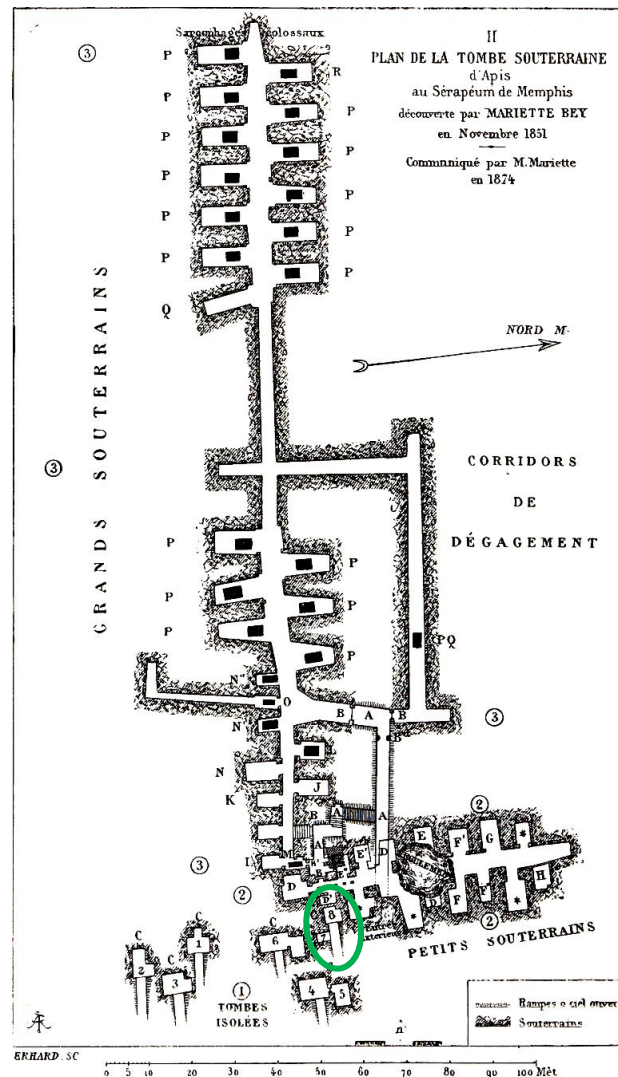


Figure 58. MAP OF THE SUBTERRANEAN VAULTS OF THE SERAPEUM IN SAQQARA NORTH. APIS BULL BURIALS IN ISOLATED TOMB G DATED TO THE REIGN OF RAMESSES II MARKED IN GREEN CIRCLE. SOURCE: RHONÉ, *L'EGYPTE* (1910), 216.

The two pectorals, the heart scarab and *w3d*-column are all made of valuable material (amazonite, lapis lazuli, diorite and gold) and finely crafted (see figs. 56 and 57 above). They are also funerary objects which would be expected to be buried with the body of Paser, since they are dedicated to his protection. The *w3d*-column is inscribed with an excerpt of chapter 160 of the *Book of the Dead*, concerning the vigor of the deceased, and the scarab's underside with chapter 27, which contains the incantation for protecting the owner's heart.¹²¹¹ In the same manner the two pectorals are inscribed with excerpts from the *Book of the Dead*. Louvre E 68 with an excerpt of chapter 26, which as the text requires is inscribed on a scarab made of lapis lazuli,¹²¹² as is the case with this piece. The other pectoral is, like the amazonite scarab, inscribed with an excerpt of chapter 27, as well as with chapter 30B, both spells to protect the

¹²¹⁰ Dodson, "Bull Cults," *Divine Creatures* (2015), 78.

¹²¹¹ Gombert-Meurice, "Amulette ouadj," "Scarabée du cœur," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 114, 115.

¹²¹² Gombert-Meurice, "Pectoral au nom du vizir Paser," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 116.

heart of the deceased from heart rippers.¹²¹³ Such items would then be expected to be part of Paser's equipment for his own tomb, but instead they were intentionally placed within the tomb of the Apis bull. Therefore, the nature of these objects indicates that they were placed in the tomb in order to be included in the rituals performed for the bull.¹²¹⁴ The many deposits of ushabtis placed in the area of the Serapeum dedicated to various individuals, mostly with connection to the cult of Ptah,¹²¹⁵ show that this was not an uncommon practice, though being granted a deposit within the burial chamber itself was not accessible to everyone.

Of particular note concerning this deposit is that while many officials and members of the royal court had ushabtis placed beneath the floor of the burial chamber,¹²¹⁶ the only other persons beside the king to have objects with his name inscribed on them placed in the chamber was Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II and high priest of Ptah in Memphis,¹²¹⁷ and Paser. As an individual of this rank, with the Apis being part of the cult of Ptah,¹²¹⁸ it is not surprising that the king's son was able to place a deposit within the tomb. The king himself had one pectoral of electrum with inlays of semiprecious stones placed there.¹²¹⁹ The remaining objects found in the tomb, which include canopic jars, several amulets and a pectoral in the shape of a vulture with a bull's head, all made of precious materials such as electrum, gold and semiprecious stones, were either without dedication or inscribed with the name Apis or Osiris-Apis.¹²²⁰ Thus, the northern vizier at the time, most likely (Pa-)Rahotep,¹²²¹ is not represented in the donated equipment indicating names. The fact that Paser placed a large collection of items in the tomb, some of which were of great value, shows that the vizier participated in this public event and that he may have had an obligation to do so while also being seen donating such fine objects. As Colonna remarks, the occasion of the Apis burial was an opportunity for involved individuals to display social status through privilege of access during an important religious ceremony

¹²¹³ Gombert-Meurice, "Pectoral au nom du vizir Paser," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 117.

¹²¹⁴ Gombert-Meurice, "Pectoral au nom du vizir Paser," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 117; In favor of this argument is also the work by Poole, who states that there is no specific evidence that the ushabti lost its identity as one with its donor, Poole, "Slave or Double?" *Seventh International Congress* (1998), 896.

¹²¹⁵ Such deposits have also been found at other important cultic places such as Abydos from the 18th dynasty onwards, Collombert, "La Société Memphite," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 119, 120.

¹²¹⁶ The ushabtis donated by various individuals, including personnel of the Ptah temple, the prince Ramesses, Khaemwaset and Paser, even craftsmen involved with producing the tomb and its content, were found in deposits dug in distinct positions within the funerary complex, Colonna, *Religious Practice* (2021), 116; Collombert, "La Société Memphite," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 119.

¹²¹⁷ Gombert-Meurice, "Amulette souret," "Amulet tit," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 112, 113; Collombert, "La Société Memphite," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 119.

¹²¹⁸ During the New Kingdom the living Apis bull was primarily associated with Ptah as *the living Apis, herald of Ptah*, Markovic, "Cult of the Sacred Bull Apis," *History of Research* (2015), 135.

¹²¹⁹ Found under the coffin opposite the entrance door, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010009302> in: Musée du Louvre (accessed: 27/6 2024).

¹²²⁰ With one faience amulet in the shape of Thoth. Gombert-Meurice, "No. 26-38," *Savoir et Pouvoir* (2016), 105-112.

¹²²¹ Allam, "Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven," *ZÄS* 128/2 (2001), 89.

in a semi-public setting.¹²²² This is evident through the ushabti deposits in the tomb and the votive stelae set up outside.¹²²³

The other Apis bull funeral in regnal year 30 of Ramesses II was recorded on two stelae found in the entrance way to room H of the Serapeum.¹²²⁴ It is possible that Paser still lived and may have taken part in this event, although Khay is attested as vizier that year.¹²²⁵ By the sixth *heb-sed* of Ramesses II, Khay undertook the proclamation by himself, without prince Khaemwaset, which is noted on his stela placed in the *Great Speos*.¹²²⁶ The tenth and eleventh *heb-sed* were proclaimed by another vizier, Neferrenpet, but the ninth celebration was proclaimed by the royal scribe and high steward of the Ramesseum (*imy-r pr wr m ḥw.t-Wsr-M³c-t-R^c Stp-n-R^c – great overseer of the House in the temple of Usermaatse Setepenre*) Yupa.¹²²⁷ All these inscriptions have in common that they state a variation of the sentence *wḏ ḥm=f di.t-m-ḥr n [NN] r sr p³ ḥb-sd mḥ [number] m t³ r-dr=f*¹²²⁸ – *His Majesty commanded the charge of [NN] to proclaim the heb-sed number [number] in the entire land*. This highly suggests that the various viziers and the high steward Yupa, who had these inscriptions made, did travel throughout the land in order to fulfill their assignment. Had this been considered an *ad hoc* assignment, the title most likely associated with the task would be royal herald (*wḥm.w-nswt – One who repeats (for) the king*). However, this title is not used in connection with the above-mentioned inscriptions. Khay had it inscribed on his Abydos stela, which Kitchen considers manufactured before his promotion to vizier, here as *wḥm.w-nswt tpy n nb t³.wy (smi mdw.t t³.wy) – First royal herald of the lord of the Two Lands (who reports the words of the Two Lands)*.¹²²⁹ His most important title of vizier is not mentioned on the stela, so it is likely that Khay held the office of first royal herald prior to becoming vizier. His Karnak squatting statue holding a naos (Cairo CG 42165) does give both the title vizier and royal herald, the latter placed prominently on the front left of the naos with the line *m-ḥtp n wḥm.w-nswt Ḥy – in peace by the royal herald Khay*. This could suggest an *ad hoc* assignment, perhaps in connection with the king's *heb-sed*, as was done by (Pa-)Rahotep in his function as *royal envoy to the land of Hatti*.¹²³⁰

¹²²² Colonna, *Religious Practice* (2021), 117.

¹²²³ Though beside three stelae by the lector-priest (*hr.y-ḥb.t*) Piay dated to year 30 of Ramesses II, it is not clear during which burial the remaining seven stelae were placed in the passage way to tomb G-H, Frood, "Role-Play and Group Biography," *Fs Spalinger* (2016), 73. Colonna names a total of 17 stelae from the "isolated tombs" dated to the 18th and 19th dynasties, before the "lesser vaults" were built, Colonna, *Religious Practice* (2021), 125, table 5.3.

¹²²⁴ Dodson, "Bull Cults," *Divine Creatures* (2005), 78.

¹²²⁵ This is known from O. CG 25204 containing a hymn to Ramesses II on the occasion of his first *heb-sed* in regnal year 30. The high priest of Ptah, the king's son Khaemwaset was the one who proclaimed the festival, recorded in the *Great Speos of Horemheb* at Gebel el-Silsila in the far south of Egypt, but Orsenigo argues that the hymn by Khay proves had an active part in the festivities. In the *Speos of Horemheb* at Gebel el-Silsila, Khay is recorded as the one who heralded six *heb-sed* festivals for Ramesses II from regnal years 30 to 45, Orsenigo, "Khay," *Egyptology at the Dawn of the 21st Century* (2002), 430.

¹²²⁶ *KRI II* (1979), 395.

¹²²⁷ Armant pylon, *KRI II* (1979), 396

¹²²⁸ *KRI II* (1979), 377-398

¹²²⁹ *KRI III* (1980), 37.

¹²³⁰ Statue BM EA 712, front of skirt, *KRI III* (1980), 65.

In addition, six ushabtis and two canopic jars of alabaster inscribed with the name and titles of Paser have been found in the Saqqara area, though without any specific archaeological provenance.¹²³¹ Davies speculates that the canopic jars were meant to form part of Paser's funerary equipment but were discarded because the goddesses associated with each of the Four Sons of Horus were mixed up by the craftsman.¹²³² Since the only known tomb belonging to Paser is TT 106 at Thebes, it would be unexpected to have his burial equipment produced in Saqqara, unless a second tomb is considered as was discussed in section 4.2 above. Raedler on the other hand, suggests that the existence of the canopic jars in Saqqara hints to the existence of a Ka-chapel belonging to Paser in the area.¹²³³ Since his northern colleague (Pa-)Rahotep did have such a chapel in the area, it is plausible that Paser also had one. However, without an exact find context, it is difficult to conclude with any degree of certainty why the canopic jars were located in Saqqara.

Another area of particularly important ritualistic meaning was Abydos. A group of vessels dating to the reign of Ramesses II were found, which are all *ib*-shaped (𓅓) and dedicated by prominent high officials of the time. These include the northern vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, the high priest of Osiris in Abydos Wennenefer,¹²³⁴ the high priest of Onuris Minmose¹²³⁵ and the king's son Khaemwaset.¹²³⁶ The specific type of heart-shaped vessel is shown as being used for ritualistic purposes in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. The king is here depicted performing libation over three vessels of the same type, standing before Osiris and Horus.¹²³⁷ In addition, (Pa-)Rahotep had a statue placed inside a mudbrick shrine on the causeway leading to the Osiris temple.¹²³⁸ As Davies argues, this allowed the statue to take part in the ritualistic celebrations for the god.¹²³⁹ Mudbricks stamped with the titles and name of Paser have also been discovered at Abydos.¹²⁴⁰ If these did not derive from a tomb, they may well have come from a cenotaph as Kitchen suggested,¹²⁴¹ or a chapel in the same style as that of (Pa-)Rahotep. Thus, even though Paser no longer lived when the rituals involving these heart-shaped vessels were

¹²³¹ The specific placement of the six ushabtis in Serapeum is not known. <https://collections.louvre.fr/>, in: Musée du Louvre (accessed: 12/1 2024). The two canopic jars missing their stoppers are noted by Reisner to have been found "in Saqqara. December 1861," Reisner, *Canopics* (1967), 221.

¹²³² Qebehseuef is falsely paired with Isis instead of Selqet and Duamutef with Selqet instead of Neith, *RITANC III* (2013), 27.

¹²³³ Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II," *Das ägyptische Königtum* (2004), 344.

¹²³⁴ The same Wennenefer who included (Pa-)Rahotep as his *sn*-brother on his statue Louvre A.66, his family monument Cairo JE 35258, his stela Cairo CG 34505 from Abydos and statue Athens National Museum 106, possibly also from Abydos, *KRI III* (1980), 450, line 2, 451, line 12, 452, line 2, 453, line 3, 454, line 5.

¹²³⁵ This Minmose is like (Pa-)Rahotep included as *sn*-brother by Wennenefer on his statue Louvre A.66 and stela Cairo CG 34505, *KRI III* (1980), 453, line 3, 454, line 5.

¹²³⁶ Effland, Budka & Effland, "Studien zum Osiriskult," *MDAIK* 66 (2010), 74, 77. According to Andreas Effland's talk in the Danish Egyptological Society, University of Copenhagen, on 11th September 2024, a vessel dedicated by Khaemwaset has also been found at Abydos. In addition, the vessels can be dated to the year of the fifth *heb-sed* of Ramesses II in his 42nd regnal year. This event therefore took place after the passing of Paser, which explains his absence from the dedicated vessels.

¹²³⁷ Calverley, Broome & Gardiner, *Temple of King Sethos I IV* (1958), pl. 6.

¹²³⁸ Statue Boston MFA 03.1891, *RITANC III* (2013), 49.

¹²³⁹ *RITANC III* (2013), 49.

¹²⁴⁰ O'Connor & Simpson, *Inscribed Material* (1995), 79, fig. 143.

¹²⁴¹ For the ushabti and ivory pen case found at Abydos, <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/inscribed-pen-case> in: Liverpool National Museums (accessed: 27/9 2024).

performed, his presence at Abydos shows that the area was a gathering point for high officials even earlier in the reign of Ramesses II. The depiction in Seti I's temple along with the existence of a group of dedicated *ib*-vessels of identical type, suggests that a specific ritual event occurred. Like the Apis bull burial in Saqqara, this event attracted the presence of the king and his high officials, and it is therefore another example of an event that caused a movement of the royal court. Interestingly, both occasions occurred during the reign of Ramesses II, while the evidence for such group dedications are otherwise limited to the later Apis burials. The rituals involving such dedications found in Abydos therefore seem restricted to this king's reign.

The above examples, the appointment of Nebwenenef to high priest, the participation in the Apis bull burial, and ritual involving the heart-shaped vessels in Abydos, show three different actions that can be confirmed as actually performed by viziers in the early 19th dynasty. The presence of the viziers at the promotion of Nebwenenef shows that they at least in some cases followed the king in his travels. Furthermore, Paser's participation in the burial of an Apis bull and (Pa-)Rahotep's presence in Abydos offers an insight into ritual functions performed by the early Ramesside viziers. In addition, the fact that Paser was given the opportunity to place valuable funerary objects inscribed with his name, suggests that he had a very high status in the eyes of the king. This is also reflected in his honorary titles *mḥ-ib n nswt m t3 r-dr=f* - *One who is trusted by the King in the entire land*,¹²⁴² and *ḥs.w n ḥm=f* - *One who is favored by his Majesty*.¹²⁴³ Of course, Paser was not unique in using such titles, but the objects show the royal favor in effect.

This section has shown that evidence for an actual duty performed by the early Ramesside viziers exists in the form of material culture. It has also been shown that in order to perform such a duty, the vizier followed, to some degree at least, the king's movements. This notion fits with the fact that architectural elements of buildings inscribed with Paser's name and titles, that may well have been for residential purposes, have been found in both Pi-Ramesses in the north and at Buhen near the second cataract in the south. The career of Paser after he became southern vizier has been investigated in the previous chapters, missing only his time before being appointed to this office. This link is discussed below.

12.3. Appointment to High Official Office

One question that arises from the discussion in the previous section is how someone could come to advance in rank and come to hold such high regard as the viziers, and Paser in particular, did during the early Ramesside Period. Shirley suggests three basic methods for the advancement of an official: Appointment on the background of either heredity, nepotism or

¹²⁴² Inscribed on his Karnak cachette statue Cairo JE 38062, *KRI III* (1980), 15.

¹²⁴³ Known from a fragmented stela from Deir el-Medina, *KRI III* (1980), 24.

merit.¹²⁴⁴ Every official was of course appointed to their offices, at least in theory, by the king himself,¹²⁴⁵ and it was therefore the motivation behind the appointment that depended on the social background of the appointee. As for heredity, it has already been shown that User(-Amun) was placed as a *staff of old age* for his father Aametu, a position which served not only as an apprenticeship, but also to ensure the succession of the office of vizier from father to son. Hence, heredity existed but was perhaps not that common during the New Kingdom.¹²⁴⁶ When it comes to nepotism, both Tutankhamun and Horemheb alluded to this in their monumental inscriptions, saying that Tutankhamun placed sons of noblemen (*srw*) as clergy in the temple, while Horemheb states that he installed troops of his army as temple personnel.¹²⁴⁷ The use of such statements in monumental texts would suggest that the use of nepotism, in the modern sense, was not uncommon during the New Kingdom. The merit of an individual, consisting of his personal qualifications for a specific office, might seem the straightforward way of being appointed. However, the sources that describe advancement through merit are most often biographies,¹²⁴⁸ i.e., they show the merit through self-presentation, which might not provide the full picture. Paser's biographical texts inscribed on two columns in the broad hall of TT 106, state that his early career already took place at the royal court, as it reads:

iw wḏ n nb=i ts b3k im sr tp.y n ḥ dhn.n=f-sw r imy-r imy.w-ḥnt ḥm-nṯr tp.y n Wr.t-ḥk3.w

*My lord commanded this servant to be elevated to first companion of the palace, and he appointed him to overseer of chamberlains and high priest of Great-of-magic.*¹²⁴⁹

This does not describe how exactly Paser was chosen to become an official working close to the king, or at what age. Since his father, Nebnetjeru, was the high priest of Amun at Karnak, the family must have been part of the absolute elite, which would most likely have given Paser a career advantage. In comparison, the successor of Paser in the office of high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, described his career from childhood to old age on the well-known block statue Munich GL. WAF 38, which is inscribed with a biographical text detailing the number of years he supposedly held different offices:

ir.y=i 4 rnpt m nds ikr ir.y=i 11 n rnpt m ḥwn iw=i m ḥr.y-iḥw n shpr n nswt Mn-[m3ᶜt]-Rᶜ

*I did 4 years as an excellent youngster, I did 11 years as a youth and I was as a chief stable-master being a ward (i.e., a trainee) of king Menmaatire (Seti I).*¹²⁵⁰

¹²⁴⁴ Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 34-54.

¹²⁴⁵ Although such a task could have fallen to the vizier or on the local level to local administrators, Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 35.

¹²⁴⁶ Ideally, the eldest son inherited the father's property and often his titles but should be understood as the estate trustee on behalf of the family rather than sole inheritor. In addition, it is likely that the king could either approve or deny the inheritance of a father's office and titles, Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 45-46.

¹²⁴⁷ From Tutankhamun's restoration inscription at Karnak and Horemheb's coronation text, as noted by Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 49.

¹²⁴⁸ Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom* (2005), 53.

¹²⁴⁹ *KRI I* (1975), 299.

¹²⁵⁰ *KRI III* (1980), 298.

The inscription continues to state that Bakenkhons then became wab-priest for 4 years before continuing his priestly career as first god's father of Amun (*it-ntr n Imn*) for 12 years, then third prophet of Amun (*hm-ntr 3nw*) for 15 years and second prophet of Amun (*hm-ntr snnw*) for 12 years. Finally, it is stated that:

hs.y=f-wi si3.w=f-wi hr bi3.t=i di=f-wi r hm-ntr tp.y n Imn m 27 n rnpt

*He favored me and he recognized me for my character. He placed me as high priest of Amun for 27 years.*¹²⁵¹

This text offers a rare insight into the career path of a high official, but if one should understand the years given as successive, this gives Bakenkhons a career length of 95 years starting from the age of perhaps five or six to the time of the statue's execution, which seems unrealistic. As Jansen-Winkel has suggested, his time as a trainee stablemaster and lower-level temple personnel (wab-priest and god's father) could have been served concurrently.¹²⁵² This would shorten his career by more than a decade, which still implies that Bakenkhons lived to a good old age. The statue Munich Gl. WAF 38 has the cartouches of Ramesses II inscribed on its shoulders, while the text on the dorsal pillar states that Bakenkhons was a youth and trainee stablemaster during the reign of Seti I, at which time he must have begun his career. If it is assumed that he died sometime during the very last years of Ramesses II's 67 year-long reign and the statues were made not too long before that, it is possible that he was appointed high priest sometime during the third decade of Ramesses II's reign.¹²⁵³ Jansen-Winkel states further that families of high priests belonged to the social elite.¹²⁵⁴ As such, it may have been common practice for sons of such elite families to begin training for a career in high official office at a very young age. This would presumably also have been the case for Paser as well as other individuals from the military and courtly sphere.¹²⁵⁵

In all, the lack of information about Paser's family makes it difficult to conclude how he would have been awarded the office of southern vizier, as well as how he became a trusted employee close to the king. The fact that his father was high priest of Amun does, however, place his family among the elite, and his biographical texts from TT 106 in combination with his use of titles, such as overseer of chamberlains, shows that he held a significant position at the royal court prior to his appointment.

¹²⁵¹ *KRI III* (1980), 298.

¹²⁵² As these lower priestly ranks may not have been "full time," Jansen-Winkel, "Career of the Egyptian High Priest," *JNES* 52 (1993), 223.

¹²⁵³ Frood states that Bakenkhons was "probably" appointed to high priest of Amun in the third decade of Ramesses II's reign, Frood, *Biographical Texts* (2007), 39; Dalino places his appointment between regnal year 27-30 and his death between year 54-60, Dalino, *Grands Prêtres* (2021), 24; see also, Jansen-Winkel, "Career of the Egyptian High Priest," *JNES* 52 (1993), 222.

¹²⁵⁴ Jansen-Winkel, "Career of the Egyptian High Priest," *JNES* 52 (1993), 224.

¹²⁵⁵ Franke, "Ursprung und Bedeutung," *Fs Helck* (1984), 115.

12.4. Summary: Early Ramesside Administration

The Amarna Period had consequences for the administrative strategy that followed it. The instability of the late 18th dynasty and the following early Ramesside Period caused the first kings of the 19th dynasty to follow the example of kingship of the mid-18th dynasty, a tendency which had already begun under the rule of Tutankhamun.

While the idealized hierarchy of the top administration during the Ramesside Period is visible in the *Onomasticon*, the factual internal hierarchy is more difficult to discern. The use of ranking titles related to the favor of the king was for the most part quite similar among the high officials, but Paser sticks out in this regard. As the only early Ramesside vizier, he used the title *smr tp.y n ḥ/hm=f* – *first companion of the palace/his Person* in TT 106 and the *khenu* of Ramesses II in Deir el-Medina,¹²⁵⁶ where the other viziers used the common title *smr wḥt.y* – *sole companion* instead. This along with the significantly longer list of sources related to Paser than any other vizier of the 18th and 19th dynasties, strongly suggests that he held an extraordinary position during the reigns of the first kings of the 19th dynasty.

According to the *Onomasticon*, the vizier figured in the hierarchy just below the king and his heir (the *r-pḥt*), with the high priests forming part of the *ḥnb.t ʿ3.t* – *great council*, which was under the jurisdiction of the vizier,¹²⁵⁷ meaning the clergy were subordinate to him. However, the *Trauer Relief* shows the heir (*r-pḥt*) Horemheb, who was also the *imy-r mšḥ.w wr* – *great overseer of the army*, a position which according to the *Onomasticon* was also subordinate to the vizier, in a more prominent location.¹²⁵⁸ The high priests are still, though, shown at the back of the procession in the *Trauer Relief*, which indicates that they were generally speaking viewed as subordinate to the viziers depicted at the front of the procession and slightly separated from the group following them. Thus, the general (ideal) hierarchy of the New Kingdom saw the high priests as subordinate to the viziers, though their economic power in reality placed them at the front in administrative importance. Hence, returning to the question of whether Paser left vizierial office to become high priest of Amun, whether he held both positions at the same time or whether he received the titles of high priest as an honorific position, this remains difficult to determine. It is, however, clear that a man of his status, who was held in high regard by the king throughout his lifetime, would not have been downgraded in rank just because of his advancing age.

When it comes to the mobility of the royal court and who followed the king on his journeys on the Nile, it has been shown above that the vizier formed part of his entourage on some important occasions, such as the burial rituals of the Apis bull at the Serapeum at Saqqara north. The evidence for this provides details of one of the duties performed by the vizier. It also shows that Paser enjoyed special privileges not known to have been given to anyone else during such an event. With the deposits of precious funerary goods in the tomb chamber of the Apis bull

¹²⁵⁶ Biographical text from the reign of Seti I, column B in broad hall, *KRI I* (1975), 299; Architectural element Louvre E 16329, *KRI III* (1980), 27.

¹²⁵⁷ Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 131.

¹²⁵⁸ Grandet, “Chapter on Hierarchy,” *Ramesside Period* (2018), 130.

buried in regnal year 16 of Ramesses II, Paser stands out from other important high officials as someone who was at the side of the king, not just figuratively but in person.

13. CONCLUSION

Throughout the above chapters it has been shown that the rich source material of the early Ramesside vizier Paser provides new insights into both the life of this influential individual and the functions of the vizierial office of this period. The microhistorical study of the use of titles of the early Ramesside viziers in combination with the monuments they were inscribed on, and further contemporary sources used as context, has shown that several functions of the viziers can be revealed through this evidence. It has also been shown that the vizier Paser was a unique individual. Not only due to the unusual long list of sources that survive today which makes him the best attested non-royal individual from ancient Egypt, but also what these sources reveal about his life and career.

The pinnacle of the vizier Paser's self-presentation, his tomb TT 106, shows both his personal interest in being associated with the viziers of the mid-18th dynasty and User(-Amun) in particular, as well as an emphasis on his position as vizier. In addition, the lack of any evidence of a burial in this tomb and the extremely rare omission of a wife in the tomb chapel, suggests that a second tomb was constructed elsewhere. TT 106 is also the main source of information about Paser's family. Inscriptions of their names and titles indicate that the grandparents were likely to have been foreigners, while the father, Nebnetjeru, became high priest of Amun, and his children held other prestigious offices. In conclusion, while the family had roots in both Memphis and in foreign lands, it became part of the elite through Nebnetjeru and his position as high priest at Karnak. Paser therefore came from a family that had gained influence in Egyptian society, while he himself at an early age was employed at the royal court and rose to the very top of the royal administration, as his biographical texts state and his other main monuments confirm. In addition, through the social network of Paser, it has been demonstrated that he was particularly active in the tomb builders' village Deir el-Medina through his partnership with the tomb scribe Ramose. This shows that during the earliest part of the 19th dynasty, the administration of the king felt a need to exercise additional control over the population, which indicates that control had otherwise diminished.

The titles used by the early Ramesside viziers have throughout this study been utilized in the analysis of the viziers' functions. As was stated in the beginning of this paper, the ancient Egyptians did not use a set system for when and how to apply specific titles to an individual. However, it has been shown that patterns of title usage did exist. In addition, for many titles there can be established a link between actual usage and the monumental text *The Duties*, as well as tomb and temple texts and reliefs describing actions directly related to titles used. It has also been exhibited that several functions of the vizier can be indicated through title usage in context with administrative texts, personal monuments and monumental reliefs.

As a source, the vizier Paser has proven to be invaluable in furthering the understanding of the functions of the vizierial office during the early Ramesside Period. Through the activities

of this individual, it has been demonstrated that the viziers of Ramesses II played major roles in the peace treaty negotiations with the Hittites, both through (Pa-)Rahotep's title use and Paser's letter to Hattusili III. It has also been illustrated how the latter vizier was involved in the design process of the king's monuments, evidenced by his inscription in the tomb of Khety, TT 311. The similarity between the decorations in this tomb and in the temple of Seti I in Abydos indicates that the reason for Paser's visit was not only restoration, but also to seek inspiration for the king's monumental building projects. In addition, the presence of Paser and his colleagues Khay, Neferrenpet and Panehsy, as well as the king's son Khaemwaset and the monumental stelae of the kings, at Gebel el-Silsila which was called the *place of the pure water*, shows that this was a site of cultic importance for the inundation during the New Kingdom. This location together with Sehel Island and the fortress of Buhen in the south, Pi-Ramesses in the north and the many sites along the Nile in between were the viziers, and Paser in particular, had monuments erected, showcase the activities of the early Ramesside viziers.

As for the functions of the vizier during the New Kingdom, *The Duties* is clear about their responsibilities regarding jurisdiction and taxation. These functions are confirmed by both the tomb decorations of TT 100, belonging to the 18th dynasty vizier Rekhmire, and legal documents involving the viziers, as well as titles and epithets used by them. Furthermore, Paser used several titles as treasurer, which are confirmed as a function by the scene in TT 106 showing him as responsible for the royal workshops and treasuries, and his biographical texts stating that the king made him responsible for the latter. Another function of the early Ramesside vizier was patronage. This may not have been an official assignment, but rather, it was a societal system that existed for all levels of leadership. For Paser, patronage is clearly expressed by his presence in the tomb builders' village of Deir el-Medina, where many stelae and tomb reliefs show him interceding before the gods on behalf of his subordinates.

Regarding the early Ramesside viziers and their use of titles related to the position of high priest of Amun or Ptah, it has been demonstrated that both Paser, (Pa-)Rahotep, Khay, and Neferrenpet, all during the reign of Ramesses II received those titles after they had become viziers. It remains unclear, however, if they in practice were the heads of the temples or held the position honorifically only. The lack of evidence of any other high priests of Amun and Ptah while these individuals were active does, though, speak in favor of an active function. In any case, Ramesses II's decision to place such titles on the viziers, the representatives of the king, is a demonstration of the control he wished to exercise over the temples' wealth and power.

In all, the large number of sources related to Paser in comparison to any other vizier of the 18th and 19th dynasties, demonstrates how the increased building activities of the early Ramesside kings influenced the building activities of this vizier. Both Seti I and Ramesses II were very productive in having monumental building works created, but the short reign of Seti I meant that many projects were finished, and often usurped, by Ramesses II. As shown by the diagram in chapter 11 (table 14), there is no doubt that the sources related to the viziers, peak during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Thus, during the most active years of Ramesses II, which was also when Paser was in office, the vizier did, like the king, produce most of his monuments.

Finally, in chapter 12, the structure of the early Ramesside administration was discussed. It has been conveyed that while the royal ideology, as described in *The King as Sun Priest*, placed the king as responsible for all economic, judicial, and political matters, in reality there was a large group of officials employed to handle these, with the viziers in front. The hierarchy of the state as described in the *Onomasticon* and as visualized by the funeral procession scenes in the *Trauer Relief* and in Tutankhamun's tomb KV 62, confirm that the viziers were the deputies of the king and third in command after the king and his heir. This places the viziers of the early Ramesside Period at the top of society with administrative power over important aspects of the economy, had direct contact with the people who petitioned him and in his function as judge, while the southern vizier at the same time was responsible for the workforce of Deir el-Medina. The king therefore needed to have people in the vizierial offices who were loyal to him. At the same time, the viziers were dependent on the favor of the king in order to maintain their position, both socially and professionally. Paser in particular showed the favor he enjoyed from the king through his use of titles and his monuments. His presence at the Apis bull burial in regnal 16 of Ramesses II, illustrates that he was given preference above others, since he was the only high official other than the king's son, Khaemwaset, to place valuable objects inside the burial chamber. The very top of ancient Egyptian society was therefore just as reliant on the system of patronage as the rest of it.

Thus, the case study of the vizier Paser has shown that the use of titles by high officials can illustrate some of their functions, the events they took part in, and their movements across the country. The microhistorical study of the early Ramesside viziers can furthermore be placed in the macrohistorical events of their time, since it has been illustrated how these high officials' functions and *ad hoc* assignments were affected by both national and international politics and interests. Paser is a unique example when it comes to understanding the functions of the early Ramesside viziers, but smaller studies on other individuals, or even further studies on some of the officials included in this study, can be of further use for broader understanding of the ancient Egyptian society. Therefore, while this project has provided an extensive study on the vizier Paser, research on the other early Ramesside viziers has not been exhausted and further case studies can still be made.

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CATALOGUE OF THE VIZIER PASER'S SOURCES

Listed according to provenance from north to south.¹²⁵⁹**Delta region**

	Provenance	Description	Current location	Cat.no.	Publication
1	Qantir	Door-lintel Limestone	Cairo	Egyptian Museum?	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 10.3-10.7 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 312
2	Qantir	Stelophor Diorite	Louvre	Louvre E.25980	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 10.10-11.1 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 318
3	Qantir	Jamb, fragment Limestone	Qantir, storage unit	Reg.nr. 99/0002	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 341
4	Tanis (?)	Amulet (stela- form) Sandstone	Antwerpen (?)	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 11.4-11.7 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 333
5	Tell el-Ruba (Mendes)	Statue Diorite	Copenhagen	AEIN 50	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 21.3-21.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 318
6	Delta/Qantir/ Memphis?	Stelophor Diorite	Paris	Louvre E. 25980	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 10.10-11.1 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 318

Lower Egypt

	Provenance	Description	Current location	Cat.no.	Publication
7	Memphis (Temple of Ptah)	Standing statue Green schist	Cairo	CGC 630	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 11.13-13.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 321
8	Memphis (Temple of Ptah)	Statue Black granite	Durham	Oriental Museum N 511	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 407.12-407.15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 319
9	Saqqara (north)	Cuboid statuette Faience	Cairo	EM TN 1/12/81/1	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.2-408.3 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 320
10	Saqqara (Sera- peum)	22 (?) ushabtis Faience / steatite Apis bull burial regnal year 16 of Ramesses II	Paris	Louvre N.772 (2 figures) and N.773 (5 figures)	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 330-331

¹²⁵⁹ The publications listed most often refer to Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), since she has provided an extensive list of available publications. In addition, if there is a text publication, this is also stated. Sources missing from Raedler's list have separate publications if the artefact has been published, otherwise the museum website is cited. Further catalogues of viziers of both the 18th and 19th dynasties are available in Auenmüller, *Territorialität der ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 815-867.

10a	Saqqara (Sera-peum)	Pectoral Gold, lapis lazuli Apis bull burial regnal year 16 of Ramesses II	Paris	Louvre E.68- N.762	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
10b	Saqqara (Sera-peum)	Pectoral Gold, semipre- cious stones Apis bull burial regnal year 16 of Ramesses II	Paris	Louvre E.69- N.763	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 366.9-367.3 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
10c	Saqqara (Sera-peum)	Wadj-amulet Gold, amazonite Found on mummy of Apis bull	Paris	Louvre E.75- N.760	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 333
10d	Saqqara (Sera-peum)	Amulet, scarab Gold, amazonite Apis bull burial regnal year 16 of Ramesses II	Paris	Louvre E.70- N.725	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
10e	Saqqara (Sera-peum)	Olive-shaped bead Carneol Apis bull burial regnal year 16 of Ramesses II	Paris	Louvre E.71- AF.2434	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 35.2 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 335
11	Saqqara	Canopic jar Duamutef Alabaster	Cairo	CGC 4325	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 35.15-36.1 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 337
12	Saqqara	Canopic jar Kebehsenuuf Alabaster	Cairo	CGC 4326	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 35.16-36.2 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 337

Sinai

	Provenance	Description	Current lo- cation	Cat.no.	Publication
13	Serabit el-Khadem (Sinai)	Stela Sandstone Severely frag- mented	Serabit el-Khadem	Block Nr. 255	<i>KRI II</i> (1979), 341.13-341.15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 317

Upper Egypt

	Provenance	Description	Current lo- cation	Cat.no.	Publication
14	Abydos	Pen case (?) Ivory Found in tomb D44	Liverpool	City Museum 24.9.00.92	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 14.4-14.6 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 337

15	Abydos	5 stamped mud-bricks Not on other lists	Philadelphia	Penn Museum UM 69-29-912, 914, 915, 919	Simpson and O'Connor, <i>Inscribed Material</i> (1995), 79
16	Abydos	Ushabti Faience Not on other lists	Philadelphia	Penn Museum UM E12968	Ouda, "Three Shabtis" <i>JARCE</i> 52 (2016), 308, fig. 8
17	Abydos	Ushabti Limestone Found in tomb D51	Glasgow	Art Gallery & Museum Kel- singrove 1900.126bk	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 341
18	Medamud	Seated statue Black granite	London	BM EA 954	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 14.10-15.4 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 320
19	Karnak	Genealogy graffito of Horakhbit Sandstone	Karnak	-	Vittmann, "Priesterstammbaum," <i>SAK</i> 30 (2002)
20	Karnak (Cachette)	Block statue Granodiorite	Cairo	JdE 38062	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 15.6-16.11 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 321
21	Karnak (Cachette)	Kneeling statue Black granite	Cairo	CGC 42164	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 16.13-17.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 319
22	Karnak (Cachette)	Block statue Black granite	Cairo	CGC 42156	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 292.13-293.6 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 320
23	Thebes	Relief, section Sandstone Not on other lists	Edinburgh	National Museum of Scotland A.1967.507	Maitland, <i>The Tomb: Ancient Egyptian Burial</i> (Edinburgh, 2017), 22-23.
24	Ramesseum	Ushabti	Unknown	-	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 331
25	Deir el-Bahri	Ushabti Faience Not on other lists	Cairo	FAI.LL.00904	https://www.virtual-egyptian-museum.org/Collection/FullVisit/Collection.FullVisit-JFR.html?..Content/FAI.LL.00904.html&0 in: The Virtual Egyptian Museum (accessed: 24/7 2024)
26	Deir el-Bahri (Mentuhotep II temple)	Statue, large Sandstone w. pigment	Philadelphia & Frankfurt	Penn Museum E.534A + Frankfurt Liebieghaus 271 (top)	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 17.10-18.11 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 322
27	Deir el-Bahri (Mentuhotep II temple)	Statue, smaller Sandstone	London	BM EA 687	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 18.14-19.12 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 322

28	Deir el-Bahri (Hatshepsut)	Double statue, Pa- ser & mother (broken in two)	Cairo + Deir el-Bahri	CGC 561 + Polish mission inv. nr. F 6349	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 19.15-20.15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 339
29	Western Thebes (Wadiyein)	Rock-graffito	Western Thebes	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 22.4-22.6 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 326
30	Western Thebes (Wadiyein)	Rock-graffito	Western Thebes	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 22.9-22.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 326
31	Western Thebes	Graffito, TT 311 Year 18 under Ramesses II	New York	MMA 23.3.26	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 23.3-23.4 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 326
32	Western Thebes	Votive stela Limestone	Private collec- tion	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 23.7-23.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 313
33	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela fragment Sandstone	Copenhagen	AEIN 1553	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 23.12-23.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 316
34	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela, fragment Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 25.13-25.15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 313
35	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela, fragment Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 24.4-24.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 313
36	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela, fragment Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 24.8-24.13 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 313
37	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela, fragment Limestone	Turin	50095 (supl. 6189+6193)	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 25.4-25.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 313
38	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela, fragment Limestone	Turin	50116 (supl. 6022)	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 25.9 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 313
39	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela, fragment Limestone	Turin	50149 (Supl. 6032)	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 25.10 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 314
40	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela(?) fragment Chapel of tomb scribe Bukentef	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 26.4-26.6 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 314
41	Deir el-Me- dina	Stela fragment	Unknown	-	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 341
42	Deir el-Me- dina	Ka-statue From <i>khenu</i> of Ramesses II	Cairo	Egyptian Mu- seum JE 72000	<i>KRI II</i> (1979), 363.2-363.7 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 342
42a	Deir el-Me- dina	Lintel Limestone From <i>khenu</i> of Ramesses II	Paris	Louvre E. 16329	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 27.13-27.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 315

42b	Deir el-Medina	Jamb From <i>khenu</i> of Ramesses II	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 630.6-630.12 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 315
43	Deir el-Medina	Lintel (stela?), fragment	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 26.9-26.10 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 315
44	Deir el-Medina	Stela Limestone	Boston	MFA 09.287	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 26.13-26.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 314
45	Deir el-Medina	Ex voto Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 27.8-27.9 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 316
46	Deir el-Medina	Jamb Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 27.16-28.4 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 315
47	Deir el-Medina	Corniche, frag- ment	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 28.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 315
48	Deir el-Medina	3 base fragments Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 28.9-28.10 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 316
49	Deir el-Medina	Statue, broken Limestone	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 27.4-27.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 323
50	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon	Oxford	Ashmolean Mu- seum O. Gardiner 79	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 28.13-28.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 328
51	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon	Los Angeles	O. Michaelides 66 (LA County Museum M.80.203.198)	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 29.2-29.3 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 328
52	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon		O. Michaelides 62	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 29.5-29.7 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 328
53	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon Limestone	Oxford	Asmolean Mu- seum O. Gardiner 13	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 29.9-30.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 327
54	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon Limestone	Oxford	Ashmolean Mu- seum O. Gardiner 71	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 30.10-31.2 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 327

55	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon Limestone	Toronto	O. Toronto A11	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 31.5-31.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 328
56	Deir el-Medina	Ostrakon Limestone	Berlin	Staatliche Museen ÄM 11238	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 161.7-161.15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 328
57	Deir el-Medina	Relief, tomb of Qen	TT 4	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 678.6-678.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 324
58	Deir el-Medina	Relief, tomb of Ramose	TT 7	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 613.8-613.10 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 324
59	Deir el-Medina	Relief, tomb of Penbuy and Kasa	TT 10	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 738.16-739.11 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 325
60	Deir el-Medina	Stela of Khawy from <i>khenu</i> Limestone	Cairo	JdE 72021	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 699.3-699.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 325
61	Deir el-Medina	Stela of Karu (TT 330) Limestone	London	BM 328	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 826.5-826.12 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 325
62	Deir el-Medina	Stela of Kaha (TT 360) Limestone From the fore- court of TT 360	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 609.3-609.10 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 325
63	Deir el-Medina	Statue of Ramose	Unknown	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 630.14-630.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 326
64	Deir el-Medina	Relief from temple	Cairo	JE 43591	<i>KRI I</i> (1975), 403.7-403.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 324
65	Deir el-Medina	Relief Limestone	Chicago	FMNH A. 31684	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 312
66	Deir el-Medina	Stela Limestone From temple of Hathor (time of Seti I)	Turin	Museo Egizio 50090	<i>KRI I</i> (1975), 226.3-226.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 340
67	Deir el-Medina	Stela fragment Limestone Ptah-Meret-Seger chapel	Unknown	-	Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger</i> (1930), pl. 11 nr. 6
68	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Tomb of Paser	TT 106	-	<i>KRI I</i> (1975), 285-301, <i>KRI III</i> (1980), 1-19 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 310-312
68a	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Statuette fragment from courtyard of TT 106	Unknown	-	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.14 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 322

68b	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Stamped brick from TT 106	Florence	Museo Archaeologico 2641	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
68c	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Stamped brick From TT 106	New York	MMA 14.1.422	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 322
68d	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Stamped brick From TT 106	New York	MMA 14.1.421	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 322
68e	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Stamped brick From TT 106, re-used in Cyriacus monastery	New York	MMA 14.1.426	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 9.15-9.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
68f	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Stamped brick From TT 106, re-used in Cyriacus monastery	New York	MMA 14.1.427	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 9.15-9.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 337
69	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Graffito in tomb of Kenamun	TT 93	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 22.15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 327
70	Armant	Bead, ovale Faience	London	BM 14559	Unpublished, mentioned by TGH James <i>BM stelae</i> 9.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 339

South Boarder Region

	Provenance	Description	Current location	Cat.no.	Publication
71	West Silsila	Chapel Sandstone	West Silsila	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 32.4-32.6 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 312
72	Aswan	Graffito	Sehel Island	-	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 32.9-32.11 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 327
73	Buhen	Jamb, fragment Sandstone Name Paser not preserved	Buhen, temple of Amun	-	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 340

Outside Egypt

	Provenance	Description	Current location	Cat.no.	Publication
74	Hattusha	Cuneiform letter Clay From rubble at Temple I	Ankara	Letter B2	Edel, <i>Ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz</i> (1997), 32-35 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 339

Unknown Provenance

	Provenance	Description	Current location	Cat.no.	Publication
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75	Unknown	Stela, miniature Faience	Berlin	ÄM 17276	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 34.6 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 317
76	Unknown	Stela, miniature Limestone	Paris	Louvre N. 522	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 342
77	Unknown	Stela Glazed composite (ground quartz)	London	BM EA 35628	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 107.14-107-16 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 317
78	Unknown	Stela, miniature Faience	Paris	Louvre E.10816	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004),
79	Unknown	Stela, fragment Limestone	The Vatican	Museo Grego- riano Egizio	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 32.14-32.15 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 317
80	Unknown	Statue Black granite	London	BM 122	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 342
81	Unknown	Statue, fragment Black granite	Sct. Petersburg	Hermitage 1811	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 322
82	Unknown	Cuboid statue Black granodio- rite	London	BM EA 510	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 21.3-21.14 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 323
83	Unknown	Block-statnette Glazed steatite	Moscow	Pushkin Mu- seum of Art I.I.a.1295	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 323
84	Unknown (TT106)	Stelophor frag- ment	Private collection	Formerly Varille Collec- tion (sold So- theby's New York in 1989), on auction Jan. '22 at Charles Ede	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 33.3-33.11 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 323
85	Unknown	Vessel Faience	Baltimore	Walters Art Gallery 48.4571	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 329
86	Unknown	Vessel Faience Lost during WWII	Berlin	Staatliche Mu- seen ÄM 19742	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 35.5-35.11 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 329
87	Unknown	Vessel Faience	Paris	Louvre E.5344	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 35.6-35-12 Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 329
88	Unknown	Vessel, <i>šn</i> -rings Faience	Leiden	Rijkmuseum van Oudheden I.223 (AD 23)	Raedler, “Wesire Ramesses II,” Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 329

89	Unknown	Statuette, mum-miform Diorite	Paris	Louvre A.75	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
90	Unknown	Ushabti Faience	Berlin	Staatliche Mu- seen ÄM 367	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 36.4-36.5 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 331
91	Unknown	2 ushabtis Faience	London	UCL 38725, 39726,	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 36.7-36.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 331-332
92	Unknown	2 ushabtis Faience	London	UCL 39702, 39703	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 293.7-293.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
93	Unknown	Ushabti Faience	New York	MMA 22.2.29	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
94	Unknown	Ushabti Faience Not on other lists	Atlanta	Carlos Mu- seum 2018.010.346	https://collections.car- los.emory.edu/ob- jects/37726/shabti-of-the-vizier- pa- ser?ctx=f9fcf7128b0c72d3efb207 4e34705b6246fad9c7&idx=0 in: Michael C. Carlos Museum (ac- cessed: 24/7 2024)
95	Unknown	Amulet, stela- form Steatite	Paris	Louvre N.2269- AF.2576	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
96	Unknown	Plaque Glazed steatite	Berlin	Staatliche Mu- seen ÄM 15389	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.12 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 332
97	Unknown	Plaque Faience	London	BM 53064	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.10 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 334
98	Unknown	Plaque Glazed steatite	London	UCL 12798	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 34.15-34.16 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 335
99	Unknown	Plaque Glazed steatite	New York	MMA 10.130.322	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 335 (Q_4.108 text mistaken for Q_4.113)
100	Unknown	Plaque Glazed steatite	New York	MMA 05.3.274	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 34.10-34.11 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
101	Unknown	Plaque Glazed steatite	Paris	Louvre E.5193	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 34.9 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
102	Unknown	Plaque Faience	Turin	Museo Egizio 1650	<i>KRI III</i> (1980), 34.13 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
103	Unknown	Bead Blue-green glazed ware	London	UCL 12799	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.12 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336

104	Unknown	Bead	Private collection	Formerly Hilton-Price Collection	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.12 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
105	Unknown	Chest Ebony Lost during WWII	Berlin	Staatliche Museen ÄM 6768	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 338
106	Unknown	Statuette-base Faience, polychrome glaze	Swansea	Wellcome Museum W.232	<i>KRI VII</i> (1989), 408.6-408.8 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 336
107	Unknown	Plaque Glazed steatite	Manchester	Macclesfield Collection 85	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 339
108	Unknown	Heart scarab Green basalt	Moscow	Pushkin Museum 3863	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 340
109	Unknown	Scarab Glazed steatite	Paris	Louvre N.552	Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 341
110	Unknown	Piece of foundation deposit Faience	London	UCL 45212	Unpublished <i>KRI III</i> (1980), 19.15-20,15 Raedler, "Wesire Ramesses II," Ägyptische Königtum (2004), 341

Sources with no name identifiers¹²⁶⁰

111	Abydos	Relief, temple of Ramesses II	Abydos	-	<i>PM VI</i> (1991), 41, nr (86)
112	Luxor, Ramesseum, Abu Simbel	Relief in 3 temples, Battle of Kadesh	Luxor, Ramesseum, Abu Simbel	-	<i>KRI II</i> (1979), 117. 1, 133.5
113	Beit el-Wali	2 reliefs, temple of Ramesses II	Beit el-Wali		Ricke et al., <i>Beit el Wali</i> (1967), 12, 16-17, pl. 7, 9, 10, 15

¹²⁶⁰ Sources dated to the reign of Ramesses II depicting a vizier. Added to the Paser source list by Auenmüller, *Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n)* (2013), 841.

INDEX 1: TITLES OF THE VIZIER PASER

Function titles	Translation	Source
<i>imy-r niwt ꜥty</i>	Overseer of the City and vizier	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i>, 10:6, 12, 14; 11:1; Q_4.133, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 341. Tanis: <i>KRI III</i>, 11:4, 5, 7. Mendes: <i>KRI III</i>, 21:5, 8, 10. Memphis: <i>KRI III</i>, 12:1, 13, 16; 13:6, 11. Saqqara: <i>KRI II</i>, 366:8, 9; 367:1; <i>KRI III</i>, 36:1, 2, 4; <i>KRI VII</i>, 408:2,3; Q_4.43, Q_4.69-Q_4.81-90, Q_4.100, Q_4.102-Q_4.104, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 323, 330-331, 333, 334. Abydos: <i>KRI III</i>, 14:4, 6; Ouda, "Three Shabtis" <i>JARCE</i> 52 (2016), 305; Simpson and O'Connor, <i>Inscribed Material</i> (1995), 79. Medamud: <i>KRI III</i>, 14:11, 15; 15:3. Karnak: <i>KRI III</i>, 15:8, 12, 14; 16:3, 9, 13; 17:5. Ramesseum: Q_4.91, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 331. Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i>, 17:10; 18:10, 15; 19:2, 15, 16; 20:2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13 Wadiyein: <i>KRI III</i>, 22:6, 11, 15; https://www.virtual-egyptian-museum.org/Collection/FullVisit/Collection.FullVisit-JFR.html?../Content/FAILL.00904.html&0 in: The Virtual Egyptian Museum (accessed: 24/7 2024) Western Thebes: Ragazzoli, “Secondary Epigraphy,” <i>PAM</i> 30 (2021), 218; <i>KRI III</i>, 22:15; 23:7, 13. Thebes: Maitland, <i>The Tomb: Ancient Egyptian Burial</i> (Edinburgh, 2017), 22-23. Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI I</i>, 226:4; <i>KRI II</i>, 363:6; <i>KRI III</i>, 24:8, 15; 25:5, 10; 26:5, 15; 27:4, 8, 14; 28:4, 9, 10, 13; 29:2, 6, 10; 30:11; 31:7; 161:10; 609:3; 613:9; 678:6; 699:4; 739:1 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i>, 285:9; 286:2, 11; 287:5, 12, 16; 288:8; 290:4; 292:3, 6; 293:6, 11; 294:8; 295:15; 297:5; 298:11, 14; 299:2, 11, 13; 300:8, 16; 301:11; <i>KRI III</i>, 1:14; 2:5, 7, 10; 3:1, 2, 4, 7; 4:9, 11, 13; 5:7; 6:3, 12; 7:1, 12; 9:1, 13, 15; <i>KRI VII</i>, 408:14. Armant: Q_4.126, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 339. West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i>, 32:4, 5, 6. Schel Island: <i>KRI III</i>, 32:11. Buhen: No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen II</i> (1976), 133. Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i>, 32:15; 33:3, 8, 9, 13; 34:2, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16; 35:2, 5, 6, 11, 12; <i>KRI VII</i>, 407:13, 15; 408:2, 3, 6, 10, 12; Q_4.65, Q_4.67, Q_4.97, Q_4.98, Q_4.113, Q_4.115-Q_4.117, Q_4.123, Q_4.127, Q_4.129, Q_4.135, Q_4.136, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 329, 332, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341; https://collections.carlos.emory.edu/objects/37726/shabti-ser?ctx=f9fcf7128b0c72d3efb2074e34705b6246fad9c7&idx=0 in: Michael C. Carlos Museum (accessed: 24/7 2024)
<i>ꜥty</i>	Vizier	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i>, 13:3, 4, 9 Saqqara: <i>KRI II</i>, 366:10, 14, 16. Serabit el-Khadim: <i>KRI II</i>, 341:14 Abydos: Ouda, "Three Shabtis" <i>JARCE</i> 52 (2016), 304, 305. Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i>, 20:15. Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i>, 26:10. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i>, 294:3 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i>, 36:7; <i>KRI VII</i>, 408:3
<i>ꜥty wp M3ꜥt</i>	Vizier who judges Maat	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI III</i> , 7:12; 299:11.
<i>ꜥty 3ḥ m ib</i>	Beneficial vizier	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4.
<i>ꜥty n niwt</i>	Vizier of the City	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 19:9.

<i>imy-r imyw-ḥnt n nb t3wy</i>	Overseer of the chamberlains of the lord of the Two Lands	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:10; <i>KRI III</i> , 9:6 Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:11 Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:6 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:5 Medamud: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:15 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:3 Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:14
<i>imy-r imyw-ḥnt n ḥm=f</i>	Overseer of the chamberlains of his Person	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 630:6
<i>imy-r ʕ3 imyw-ḥnt n nb t3.wy</i>	Great overseer of chamberlains of the lord of the Two Lands	Unknown: Q 4.98, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 332.
<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy n Imn</i>	High priest of Amun	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 293:3, 4 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 293:8; Q 4.41, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 323.
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n nṯrw nbw</i>	Overseer of the prophets of all the gods	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 31:7; 293:4 Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 19:9
<i>imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw nbw t3-šmw</i>	Overseer of all prophets of the Southern Land	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 31:7 Buhen (partial): No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen II</i> (1976), 133.
<i>imy-r ḥm-nṯrw n nṯrw nbw šm3 mḥw</i>	Overseer of prophets of all the gods of the South and North	West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:6

Daily/other tasks	Translation	Source
<i>w3b ikr</i>	Excellent pure priest	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:8 Buhen (partial): No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen II</i> (1976), 133.
<i>wpp M3t</i>	He who judges maat	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 19:9
<i>wpp ḥrp r snn.w=f</i>	He who divides a property from its neighbor	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:13 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4
<i>imy-r imy.w-r nw idb.wy</i>	Overseer of the overseers of the Two Riverbanks	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 24:5
<i>imy-r imy.w-r ḥmw.wt nb.wt n(.t) nswt</i>	Overseer of overseers of every workshop of the King	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:13
<i>imy-r is.wt m st-m3t</i>	Overseer of workforce in the Place of Truth	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 26:9; 31:6; 630:7
<i>imy-r is.wt nb(.wt) m st-m3t</i>	Overseer of every workforce in the Place of Truth	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:8
<i>imy-r pr-nbw</i>	Overseer of the gold house	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:9
<i>imy-r pr-ḥw.t (Ḥr?)</i>	Overseer of the temple (of Hathor?)	Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 34:16
<i>imy-r pr.wy-ḥd</i>	Overseer of the silver houses	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:8 Buhen: No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen</i> (1976), 133.
<i>imy-r pr.wy-ḥd n nb t3.wy</i>	Overseer of the silver house of the lord of the Two Lands	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 26:9; 27:8
<i>imy-r pr.wy-ḥd nbw</i>	Overseer of the silver and gold house	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:9
<i>imy-r pr.wy-ḥd pr-nbw</i>	Overseer of the Silver house and the gold house	Thebes west: <i>KRI III</i> , 22:11
<i>imy-r ḥwt nbw m ms ssm.w nṯr.w</i>	Overseer of the mansion of gold in fashioning the images of the gods	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:9
<i>imy-r ḥtm.w</i>	Overseer of sealed items	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 31:7
<i>imy-r ḥtm.w nb.w n nswt</i>	Overseer of all sealed items of the king	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:14
<i>imy-r k3.wt m mnw wr.w</i>	Overseer of works for great monuments	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:13 Sehel Island (partial): <i>KRI III</i> , 32:11

<i>wn ḡsr.w</i>	Opener of what is holy	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:14
<i>wts psḡ.t</i>	Uplifter of the Ennead	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:14
<i>ḥ3tyw n wrw m ḥ</i>	The one in front of the Great Ones of the palace	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:7
<i>ḥm-nṯr i3ḥ nb.w</i>	Prophet of he who illuminates everyone (?)	Memphis: <i>KRI VII</i> , 407:12 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:3 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:9; 16:14
<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥr(-p3)-ḥrd</i>	Prophet of Horus the Child	Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:3
<i>ḥm-nṯr šr.t s3b</i>	Prophet of he who presides over the dignitaries (?)	Memphis: <i>KRI VII</i> , 407:12 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:9
<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy nty wr(ty) ḥḳ3w</i>	First prophet of Great-of-Magic	Sheikh Abd el Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:12; <i>KRI III</i> , 9:4 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:5 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:8; 16:7 Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:9; 20:14
<i>ḥry-ḥbt ḥr.y-tp</i>	First lector priest	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:8
<i>ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp Ḥr(-p3)-ḥrd</i>	Chief lector-priest for Horus the Child	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:13
<i>ḥry-s3t3 m ḥwt-Nt</i>	Master of secrets in the temple of Neith	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:11 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:6 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16: 6 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 33:10; <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:8
<i>ḥry-s3t3 m 3ḥ.t nḥḥ</i>	Master of secrets in the Eternal Horizon	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 33:9
<i>ḥry-s3t3 n w3ḡtwy</i>	Master of secrets of the Two Cobra goddesses	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:8
<i>ḥry-s3t3 n pr-nswt</i>	Master of secrets in the royal house	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:2
<i>ḥry-s3t3 n mdw.t-nṯr</i>	Master of secrets of the word of the god	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:14
<i>ḥr n t3 r-ḡr=f</i>	The one on top of the entire land	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:2
<i>ḥsb.w b3k(.t n) ḥ3s.wt nb.(wt)</i>	He who reckons the tax (of) every foreign land	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:6 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:9
<i>ḥrp šndw.t nb (.wt)</i>	Controller of every kilt	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:4 Saqqara (?): <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:2; Q 4.43, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 323.
<i>sm</i>	Sem priest	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:4, 5 Saqqara(?): <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:2; Q 4.43, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 323. Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:2
<i>sm m pr-nswt</i>	Sem priest in the royal house	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:6
<i>smn(.w) is.wt t3š.w</i>	He who establishes the boundary-markers	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:13 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4
<i>shn.tiw i3.wt</i>	He who promotes the offices	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4
<i>didī hpw</i>	He who does the laws	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4

Ranking titles	Translation	Source
<i>it-nṯr mry-nṯr</i>	God's Father, beloved of the god	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:4, 5, 16 Saqqara(?): Q 4.43, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 323 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:7 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:8; 17:2; <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:2 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:10; 22:15 West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:5 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 33:8, 9; 34:11; 35:5, 6; <i>KRI VII</i> , 107:16; 408:7; Q 4.104, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 334

<i>r Nhn</i>	Mouth of Nekhen	Memphis: <i>KRI VII</i> , 407:15 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:7 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:4 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:8; 16:3, 16 Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 19:15 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:2, 10; 292:3; 293:6; 295:15; 297:4; 299:2; 300:8; <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:14 West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:5.
<i>r-p^ct</i>	Hereditary noble	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10: 5, 11, 14, 16 Delta: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:11, 14 Tanis(?): <i>KRI III</i> , 11:4 Memphis: <i>KRI VII</i> , 407:15 Saqqara (?): <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:2; Q_4.43, Q_4.104, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königium</i> (2004), 323, 334 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:7 Medamud: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:11, 15 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:8; 17:2, 3; 292:4 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:10; 18:14; 22:15, 613:9 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 23:12; 24:4; 27:13; 28:5 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna: <i>KRI I</i> , 286:2, 10; 292:2,6; 299:2; 300:7; 301:11; <i>KRI III</i> , 8:16; 9:15; Q_4.113, Q_4.115, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königium</i> (2004), 336 Armant: Q_4.126, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königium</i> (2004), 339. West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:4, 5 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:15; 33:8; 34:11; 35:9, 10; Q_4.65, Q_4.67, Q_4.98, Q_4.123, Q_4.136, Q_4.135, Q_4.137, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königium</i> (2004), 329, 332, 338, 339, 341, 342
<i>r-p^ct m wsh-Gb</i>	Hereditary noble in the barge of Geb	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 287:10
<i>r-p^ct m hwt Gb</i>	Hereditary noble in the Geb temple	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:6
<i>r-p^ct m s.t-Gb</i>	Hereditary noble in the Seat of Geb	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:8
<i>r hwt Gb</i>	Mouth of the Geb temple	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:3
<i>r shrr m t3 r-dr=f</i>	Speaker, who makes peace in the entire Land	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:10 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:3 Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:10
<i>hk3 B3.t m hwt-Shm.t</i>	Ruler of the <i>Bat</i> -sceptre in the Temple of Sakhmet	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:14
<i>htmy-bity</i>	Royal sealbearer	Delta region: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:11 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 24:5; 28:5; 613:9 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 297:2; <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:14 Unknown provenance: Q_4.123, Q_4.137, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königium</i> (2004), 338, 342
<i>s3b</i>	Dignitary	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:12, 14 Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:13; 13:11 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:5 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:4 Medamud: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:3 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:12; 16:3, 12; 17:3 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:14; 22:15 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:2, 10, 11; 288:10; 292:2; 295:15; 297:4; 299:2; 300:16; 301:11; <i>KRI III</i> , 8:16; <i>KRI VII</i> , 107:14, 15; 408:14 West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:4 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 34:9
<i>s3b 3h m ib</i>	Dignitary who is beneficial	Tanis: <i>KRI III</i> , 11:5 Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:11 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:5 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> , 35:9; <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:7

<i>s3b n W3d.ty</i>	Dignitary of the Two Cobra goddesses	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 301:11
<i>s3b n nb t3wy</i>	Dignitary of the Lord of the Two Lands	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:6
<i>smr-w^cty</i>	Sole companion	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:11
<i>smr tpy n hm=f</i>	First companion of his Person	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:13
<i>smr tpy n Ch</i>	First companion of the Palace	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:10
<i>sš-nswt</i>	Royal scribe	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI I</i> , 403:14; <i>KRI III</i> , 24:15; 25:10; 678:6
<i>sš-nswt m3ct</i>	True royal scribe	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:12 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:9; 739:11 Buhen: No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen</i> (1976), 133
<i>mr=f</i>	His beloved	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:12 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:9, 239:11 Buhen: No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen</i> (1976), 133
<i>t3yty</i>	Chief justice	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:12, 14 Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:13; 13:11 Saqqara: <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:2 Medamud: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:3 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:5 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:4 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 15:12 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 23:12 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106), <i>KRI I</i> , 286:10; 293:6; 295:15; 297:4; <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:14 West Silsila: <i>KRI III</i> , 32:4 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI VII</i> , 107:14, 15; 408:12
<i>t3yty n nb t3wy</i>	Chief justice of the lord of the Two Lands	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:6 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:7; 17:5
<i>tp m šny.t</i>	Leader of the courtiers	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:7
<i>t3y hwy hr wnmy n nswt</i>	Fanbearer on the Right Side of the King	Serabit el-Khadim: <i>KRI II</i> , 341:14 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 19:8; 22:11 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 24:15; 26:15; 27:4; 28:10, 13; 29:5, 9; 30:10; 31:5 Sheikh Ad el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:11; 297:5; 298:1
<i>h3w.ty n wr.w m Ch</i>	The One in front of the Great Ones of the Palace	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:7

Epithets	Translation	Source
<i>3h n nswt</i>	Beneficial for the king	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:10
<i>3 m pr-nswt</i>	Great one in the Palace	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 297:2
<i>3 m s3h n sr m-h3.t rh.tyt</i>	Great in dignity of the magistrate in front of the commoners	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:13
<i>Ch.wy n bi.ty</i>	The ears of the southern ruler	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:7 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 293:15
<i>Ch.wy n nswt m Ch=f</i>	Ears of the king in his palace	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:8
<i>kr p.t r m33 imi=s</i>	He who enters the sky to see what is in it	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:7
<i>imy.w-ib n nfr-nfr</i>	He who is in the heart of the good god	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 25:5
<i>imy-ir.ty n rh.yt</i>	He who is in the eyes of the commoners	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 12:13 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4
<i>imy-r hwt-wr.t</i>	Overseer of the Great Court	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 35:6
<i>imy-r hwt-wrw.t srsu</i>	Overseer of the 6 Courts	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 20:13 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:10

<i>iny nṯr r šbw=f</i>	One who brings the god to his offerings	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:8
<i>ir.ty n nswt</i>	Eyes of the king	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:7 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 293:16
<i>ir.ty nswt m t3 r-ḏr=f</i>	Eyes of the king in the entire land	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:8
<i>w^c.w iḫr</i>	The Unique One	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 295:14
<i>w^cb ^c.wy</i>	Pure of hands	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:8 Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 295:14
<i>w^cb ḥ^c.w</i>	Pure of limbs	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:8
<i>w^c mnḥ</i>	Uniquely effective	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:7
<i>wr m i3w.t=f</i>	Great in his Office	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:13
<i>wḏn=f imnt.t W3s.t iw=f m ḥ.t n mwt=f</i>	He to whom western Thebes was assigned, while he was (still) in his mother's womb	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:10
<i>rḥ s.t r=f</i>	One who knows the place of his speech	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:9
<i>rs-tp t3 ḥr ir.t 3ḥ.w n nb=f</i>	Vigilante of the land upon doing what is useful for his lord	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:6 Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:9
<i>ḥ3p ḥ.t ḥr šhr.w ḥ</i>	One who keeps silent about the palace business	Tanis: <i>KRI III</i> , 11:5 Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:10 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:5
<i>ḥr.tw ḥr pr.y n r=f</i>	One being pleased with what comes from his mouth	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:10
<i>ḥsi.w</i>	The favored one	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 296:13 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 27:9
<i>ḥsi.w 3 n nṯr nfr</i>	Great favored one of the good god	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:12 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 26:9
<i>ḥsi n nṯr im=s</i>	Favored of the god who is in it	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 292:3; 297:5
<i>ḥsi.w n ḥm=f</i>	Favored of his Person	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 24:5
<i>mnḥ n bity</i>	Effective one for the southern ruler	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:10
<i>mḥ ʿnḥ.wy Ḥr m M3^c.t</i>	He who fills the ears of Horus with Maat	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:10
<i>mḥ-ib mnḥ n iti</i>	Trusted and effective one for the Sovereign	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI III</i> , 2:5
<i>[mḥ-ib] mnḥ n nb=f</i>	[Trusted] and effective for his lord	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 293:16
<i>mḥ-ib Ḥr [m M3^c.t]</i>	One who contents Horus [with Maat]	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:5
<i>mḥ-ib mnḥ n nswt m t3 r-ḏr=f</i>	Trusted and effective one for the king in the entire land	Delta region: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:16 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:6
<i>mty m3^c bwt=f grg</i>	Precise and true for he abominates lies	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:14
<i>mty m3^c mi Dḥwty</i>	Precise and true like Thoth	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:4
<i>nḏm-ḥrw ḥr wḏn ḥt</i>	Sweet of voice at making offerings	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:8
<i>sp.ty n nṯr nfr</i>	Lips of the good god	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 106): <i>KRI I</i> , 286:11
<i>s n M3^c.t ḥn.ty t3.wy</i>	Man of truth before the Two Lands	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 17:3
<i>shrr-ib t3.wy n Ḥr=f</i>	One who makes content the Two Lands for his Horus	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:8
<i>shkr.w bik=f</i>	One who decorates his falcon (master?)	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:7
<i>shkr(.w) nswt m tit=f ḏsr</i>	One who decorates the King in his holy image	Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 13:10 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 14:6 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:5; 17:5

		Unknown provenance: <i>KRI VII</i> , 408:7
<i>shkr.w Hr=f r^c nb</i>	One who decorates his Horus (master?) every day	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 10:12
<i>twr qb^c.w</i>	Clean of fingers	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 16:8
<i><...> r=f wsh^h-ib m st št³</i>	<...> to him wide of heart in the Hidden Place	Buhen: No. 1643, Smith, <i>Fortress of Buhen</i> (1976), 133

<i>Ad hoc</i>	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r niwt tšty nw šm³w mh^w</i>	Overseer of the City and vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt	Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 22:11
<i>imy-r šm^c mh^w</i>	Overseer of the South and North	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 29:2
<i>wpw.ty-nswt n mh^{yt}</i>	King's envoy of the North wind	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:10
<i>whm.w-nswt</i>	Royal herald	Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:9
<i>whm.w-nswt n tš r-qr^{=f}</i>	Royal herald in the entire land	Mendes: <i>KRI III</i> , 21:9
<i>sšm hb n Imn</i>	Leader of the festival for Amun	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT106): <i>KRI I</i> , 299:13 Deir el-Bahri: <i>KRI III</i> , 18:10

INDEX 2: TITLES OF THE VIZIER (PA-)RAHOTEP

Function Titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	Overseer of the City and vizier	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:6 Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:11, 15; 54:5, 8; 55:1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16; 56:3, 5, 7, 10, 13 Memphis: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:12, 13; 67:4; Q_5.16, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 360 Fayum: <i>KRI VII</i> , 101:1 Herakleopolis: Q_5.4, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 356. Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 58:8, 13, 14, 15; 59:3, 9, 12, 16; 60:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15; 61:2, 4; 62:9, 10, 12 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 52:4; 63:7; 64:15; 450:2; 451:11; 452:2; 454:5; <i>KRI VII</i> , 439:14; Q_5.18, Q_5.40-45, Q_5.48, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 360, 368, 369 Unknown provenance: <i>KRI III</i> (1980), 52:9; 57:4; 65:4, 8, 9, 13; 66:2, 3, 4, 5; 453:3; <i>KRI VII</i> , 109:11; 409:2; Q_5.14, Q_5.15, Q_5.26, Q_5.49, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 360, 364, 369.
<i>imy-r niwt</i>	Overseer of the City	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 58:5, 12
<i>t3ty</i>	Vizier	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 58:2, 3, 6, 7, 12; 61:10 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 64:2, 7
<i>t3.ty wpp t3.wy</i>	Vizier who judges the Two Lands	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:14
<i>t3.ty wdꜥ m3ꜥt</i>	Vizier who judges maat	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 60:6
<i>t3ty n rh.yt</i>	Vizier of the commoners	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:15
<i>imy-r hm.w-ntr</i>	Overseer of prophets	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:12
<i>imy-r hm.w-ntr ntr.w nb.w</i>	Overseer of the prophets of all the gods	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 60:8 Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 65:13
<i>it-ntr m hwt-Pth</i>	God's father in the House of Ptah	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 62:9
<i>it-ntr n Pth</i>	Prophet of Ptah	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 62:11
<i>wr hrp hmw.w</i>	Great one who controls works	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:12
<i>wr hrp hmw.w m pr-d3.t (?)</i>	Great one who controls works in the Per-Djat (?)	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:3
<i>s(t)m n Pth</i>	Sem-priest of Ptah	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:12

Other/Daily Tasks	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r 3 imiw-hnt n nb t3.wy m wsh.t hb-sd</i>	Great overseer of chamberlains of the Lord of the Two Lands in Festival Hall	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:13
<i>imy-r hp.w n ntr nfr m sh n wdꜥ m3ꜥt</i>	Overseer of the laws of the good god in the hall of judging maat	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:14
<i>imy-r k3.wt</i>	Overseer of works	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:14
<i>wr m3(.w) n Rꜥ-Itm</i>	Great One of the Seers of Ra-Atum	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:12
<i>whm.w n bity</i>	Herald of the ruler	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:14; 55:11
<i>h3w.ty m-h3t rh.yt</i>	Leader before the commoners	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:15
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n pr-nswt</i>	Master of secrets in the House of the king	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:6, 15
<i>hr.y-sšt3 m hw.t-bi.ty</i>	Master of secrets in the temple of the ruler	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:5
<i>hr.y-sšt3 m hw.t-Pth</i>	Master of secrets in the temple of Ptah	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:5
<i>hr.y-sšt3 m hw.t-m3ꜥt</i>	Master of secrets in the temple of Maat	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 56:12
<i>hr.y-sšt3 m hw.t-N.t</i>	Master of secrets in the temple of Neith	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:14; 55:8, 11

<i>hr.y-sšt3 m hw.t-shm.w</i>	Master of secrets in the temple of the Powerful Ones	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:16
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n mdw-ntr dsr</i>	Master of secrets of the holy sacred writings	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:15
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n st-wr.t</i>	Master of secrets in the Great Place	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:16
<i>hr.y-tp m t3 r-dr=f</i>	Chief of the entire land	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:15
<i>hr.y-tp t3.wy</i>	Chief of the Two Lands	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:11, 14, 54:5; 55:5, 8, 13; 56:5
<i>hsb.w b3k.w nb(.w) m t3 r-dr=f</i>	One who reckons all revenues of the entire land	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:15
<i>hrp wr.w</i>	Controller of the Great Ones	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:11
<i>hrp hmw.w</i>	Controller of the workforce	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:14
<i>hrp hnd.wt mh-n.t</i>	Controller of the weaving-women in the Meh-net shrine	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:5
<i>hrp sp3.wt niw.wt</i>	Controller of the provinces and cities	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:14
<i>hrp šnd.wt nb(.wt)</i>	Controller of all kilts	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:12 Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 62:9

Ranking Titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>it-ntr</i>	God's father	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:14, 15 Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:14; 55:5, 6, 8, 11, 15; 56:3; Q_5.26, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 364
<i>mr.y-ntr</i>	Beloved of the god	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:14; 55:5, 6, 8, 11, 15; Q_5.26, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 364
<i>mr(.y)=f</i>	His beloved	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:8
<i>r-p^ct</i>	Hereditary noble	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:5 Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:11, 14; 54:5, 11; 55:5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15; 56:3, 5; Q_5.26, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 364 Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 59:9, 13, 16; 60:13, 15 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 64:7
<i>r Nhn</i>	Mouth of Nekhen	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:15; 55:16; 56:11 Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 60:9, 15
<i>h3ty-^c</i>	Count	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:5 Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:6, 11, 15; 56:3; Q_5.26, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 364 Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 59:9, 13, 16; 60:13, 15 Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 64:7
<i>hm-ntr m3^ct</i>	Prophet of Maat	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:11, 16; 56:11 Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 60:9, 15
<i>hm-ntr tpy m3^ct</i>	High priest of maat	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:15, 54:12
<i>htm.ty-bity</i>	Royal Sealbearer	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:14, 16; 64:7
<i>s3b</i>	Dignitary	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:15; 55:11; 56:10 Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 65:8; 66:2; <i>KRI VII</i> , 109:11
<i>s3b hr rn nswt</i>	Dignitary in the name of the king	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 64:7
<i>s3b n rh.yt</i>	Dignitary of the commoners	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:5; 56:12
<i>sbh.t nswt</i>	Shield of the king	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:8
<i>sbh.t t3</i>	Shield of the land	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:13
<i>smr-w^cty</i>	Sole companion	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 64:7
<i>t3y.ty</i>	Chief justice	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:8; 65:8; 66:2; <i>KRI VII</i> , 109:11
<i>t3y.ty p.t</i>	Chief justice of the sky	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:13
<i>t3y.ty n hnmmt</i>	Chief justice of the people of Heliopolis	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:16
<i>t3y.ty t3</i>	Chief justice of the land	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:11
<i>t3y.ty t3.wy</i>	Chief justice of the Two Lands	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:15; 55:11

<i>tjy hwy (hr) wnmy n nswt</i>	Fanbearer on the right side of the King	Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:5 Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:15; 54:5; 55:6, 12, 16; 56:10, 13 Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 62:10
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Epithets	Translation	Provenance
<i>nh.wy n bi.ty</i>	Ears of the king of Lower Egypt	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:7
<i>imy-hy ntr</i>	Attendant of the god	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:16
<i>ir-hmw m dp.t-ntr</i>	Helmsman of the divine bark	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:5
<i>ir.ty n nswt</i>	Eyes of the king of Upper Egypt,	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:7
<i>wcb c.wy dw3=f Pth</i>	Pure of hands when he adores Ptah	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:3
<i>wr wr.w m [...]</i>	Greatest of the Great Ones in [...]	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 62:6
<i>mh-ib n Hr m 3h.t nhh</i>	Confidant of Horus in the Horizon of Eternity	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:14; 55:5
<i>mh-ib n Hr m m3ct</i>	Confidant of Horus in maat	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:7
<i>mh-ib n Hr nb t3.wy</i>	Confidant of Horus, the lord of the Two Lands	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:12
<i>nb pr.y (m) pr Pth</i>	Lord of steps in the House of Ptah	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:16
<i>nhm.w m-c hwy r</i>	One who removes (people) from robbery	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:14
<i>r n nswt</i>	Speaker of the king	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:14; 55:11 Sedment: Q_ 5.48, Raedler, "Wesire Ramses II'," <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 369
<i>r n nswt m t3 r-dr=f</i>	Speaker of the king in the entire Land	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 53:14; 55:9
<i>r n nswt hr h3s.t nb.t</i>	Speaker of the King on every horizon	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:6
<i>hm-ntr n W3d.ty Bik</i>	Prophet of the Two Cobra Goddesses of the Falcon	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:13
<i>hmw ph nty iry.n=f nb</i>	One can rely on all, which he has done	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:7
<i>hs(.ywf)</i>	His praised one	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:8
<i>hn n nswt m tit dsr</i>	One who approaches the king in his holy image	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:12
<i>(s3b) sbh.t nswt</i>	Judge and shield of the King	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:8
<i>si'r m3ct n bik=f</i>	He who offers maat to his Horus	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:15
<i>si'ci m3ct hr ch</i>	One who promotes truth in the palace	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:12
<i>sb3 t3.wy</i>	Plummet-line of the Two Lands	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:9
<i>sb3 t3.wy hnw pw wd' m3ct</i>	Plummet and line <for the Two Lands> who is a chest for judging maat	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:13
<i>sbh.t n iti</i>	Shield of the Sovereign	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:12
<i>shrr hm=f m ch šps</i>	One who contents his Person in the noble palace	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:15
<i>šmsw Dhwtj</i>	Follower of Thoth	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:15
<i>sšm n t3 r-dr=f</i>	Leader of the entire land	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:4
<i>sšm tp-rd nty nb</i>	Leader of the instructions to everyone	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:13
<i>st3-idb.wy</i>	Leader of the Two River Banks	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:8
<i>stn n mch3t t3.wy</i>	Support of the balance of the Two Lands	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:9
<i>k3i sšt3 n p3.t</i>	Secret shrine of the primordial time	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 4
<i>k3r ni.t ntr.t wr.t md.wt n 30</i>	Mighty in speech for the (council of) 30	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 55:14
<i>qi(.w) n'c.w wi3 m htp</i>	One who enables the bark to sail in peace	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 66:5
<i>dw3 Pth m št3</i>	Adorer of Ptah in hiding	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:16
<i>[...] shrr m t3 r-dr=f</i>	[...] One who contents the entire land	Sedment: <i>KRI III</i> , 62:6

<i>Ad Hoc</i> Titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r niwt t̃ty n šm^c Mḥw</i>	Overseer of the City and vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt	Abydos: <i>KRI VII</i> , 439:14; Q_5.18, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königtum</i> (2004), 360
<i>wpw.ty-nswt r t̃ n Ḥt̃</i>	Royal envoy to the land of Hatti	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 65:9
<i>nis R^c n wp-rnp.t</i>	Summoner of Ra of the New Year	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 63:15
<i>sšm-ḥb n nb=f</i>	Festival leader of his Lord	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 65:8
<i>sšm-ḥb n(ty) rsy inb=f</i>	Festival leader of he who is south of his wall	Saqqara: <i>KRI III</i> , 54:13

INDEX 3: TITLES OF THE VIZIER NEBAMUN

Function Titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r niwt t3ty</i>	Overseer of the City and vizier	Memphis: <i>KRI I</i> , 280:7 Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:10, 13, 15; <i>KRI III</i> , 450:2 Karnak: Karnak: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:9 Theben west (Gurna): <i>KRI VI</i> , 359:10 Elkab: Q 3.7, , Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königstum</i> (2004), 305 Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 451:9

Daily tasks/Other	Translation	Provenance
<i>ḳd-mr</i>	Administrator	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:2
<i>imy-r k3.wt mnḥ m t3-dsr</i>	Overseer of works of monuments in the Red Land	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:10
<i>wpw.ty-nswt n t3w ndm</i>	King's envoy of the sweet wind	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:2
<i>whm.w-nswt hm=f ḥw</i>	Royal herald of the appearances of his Person	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:6
<i>sšm n st-nḥḥ</i>	Festival leader in the Place of Eternity	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:10

Ranking titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>r-pḥt</i>	Hereditary noble	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:9, 13, 15 Karnak: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:9 Theben west (Gurna): <i>KRI VI</i> , 359:10
<i>r-Nḥn</i>	Guardian of Nekhen	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:5
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ</i>	Count	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:9, 15 Karnak: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:9 Theben west (Gurna): <i>KRI VI</i> , 359:10
<i>hm-nṯr m3ḥt</i>	Prophet of Maat	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:6
<i>s3b</i>	Dignitary	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:15; 284:2
<i>t3yty</i>	Chief Justice	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:15
<i>t3y ḥw ḥr wnmy nswt</i>	Fanbearer on the right side of the King	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:13

Epithets	Translation	Provenance
<i>3bb ḥ3t ḥft wšb=f</i>	One whom the multitude desire when he gives answers	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:3
<i>imy.w ib n Ḥr m pr=f</i>	The one who is in the heart of Horus in his house	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:10
<i>ir.n bi3.t=f mk.t=f</i>	One who has achieved his proper station	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:4
<i>ikr=f ḥr smnḥ s.t=f</i>	He is excellent in adorning his place	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:4
<i>m3ḥ-ib</i>	True of heart	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:5
<i>mḥ(-ib) ḥ3 n nṯr-nṯr</i>	Great Trusted One of the good god	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 283:10
<i>rdi.t rh s iwt=f</i>	One who causes a man to know his (professional) order	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:6
<i>ḥ3.ty n wr(.w) ḥ m-b3ḥ nw</i>	Foremost of the Great Ones of the Palace before the (royal) presence	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:2
<i>sḥ ikr ti sw tp-t3 r hnn ḥr spw</i>	Excellent noble while he was upon earth to attend to matters	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:5
<i>smdt ḥ3 n mḥb3y.t m sšm ḥpw Ḥr=f</i>	One who is precise in the court of the Thirty in leading the law	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:3

<i>st3 wr.w r h-nswt</i>	Leader of the Great Ones to the royal palace	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:6
<i>šps nswt hr pr.y=f n=n</i>	King's noble on his travelling to "us"	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:3
<i>didi hn w m s.t 10</i>	One who gives one dictum in place of 10	Abydos: <i>KRI I</i> , 284:4

INDEX 4: TITLES OF THE VIZIER KHAY

Titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r niwt ꜥꜣty</i>	Overseer of the City and vizier	Megiddo: <i>KRI III</i> , 36:13 Qantir: <i>KRI III</i> , 36:15 Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:13, 15; 38:3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:10; 45:11 Valley of the Kings: <i>KRI II</i> , 380:7; <i>KRI III</i> , 44:9 Valley of the Queens: Q_6.22, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 382 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:14; 40:3; 41:6; 43:6; 44:9 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 380:7; 393:3, 7; 395:1, 6; <i>KRI III</i> , 46:11, 13 Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:12; Q_6.16, Q_6.18, Q_6.20, Q_6.21, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 380, 381
<i>ꜥꜣty</i>	Vizier	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:1 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 394:5 Unknown: Q_6.28, Raedler, “Wesire Ramses II’,” <i>Ägyptische Königum</i> (2004), 383
<i>imy-r pr</i>	Overseer of the House	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:14, 16; 38:4
<i>imy-r pr wr</i>	Great steward	Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:10
<i>whm.w-nswt</i>	Royal herald	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:15; 38:2 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:10
<i>whm.w-nswt [tpy] n nb ꜥꜣwy</i>	First royal herald of the Lord of the Two Lands	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:3, 8
<i>imy-r hm.w-nꜥr n nꜥr.w nb.w</i>	Overseer of the prophets of all the gods	West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 395:5

Daily tasks/other	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-r is.t m s.t-Mꜣꜥt</i>	Overseer of the workforce in the Place of Truth	Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 43:6
<i>hm-nꜥr tpy sꜣ.t R^c</i>	High priest of the daughter of Ra	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:16
<i>hr.y-sꜣtꜣ n pr-nswt</i>	Master of secrets in the Royal House	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:15

Ranking titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>it-nꜥr</i>	God's father	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:13 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>wr mr.w m pr[-ꜥꜣ] ꜥ.w.s.</i>	Great beloved one in the royal house, l.p.h.	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:11
<i>mr.y-nꜥr</i>	Beloved of the god	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:13 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>r-pꜥt</i>	Hereditary noble	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:1, 13 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>r-Nhn</i>	Mouth of Nekhen	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:2, 14 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>hꜣty-ꜥ</i>	Count	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:1, 13 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>hm-nꜥr Mꜣꜥt</i>	Prophet of Maat	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:2 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5; <i>KRI III</i> , 46:13
<i>hs(y) ꜥꜣ</i>	Greatly favored one	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:9
<i>hs(y) smn nꜥr</i>	Favored one who is firm and good	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:10
<i>sꜣb</i>	Dignitary	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:16; 38:11, 13, 14, 15 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>sꜣ-nswt</i>	Royal scribe	Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:5, 10; 45:10

		Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:12
<i>t3 ḥs(.y) in nswt</i>	The favored one of the king	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:10
<i>t3y.ty</i>	Chief justice	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:16; 38:11, 13, 14, 15 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 391:15; 393:3; 395:5
<i>t3y.ty n W3d.ty</i>	Chief justice of the Two Cobra Goddesses	Karnak: <i>KRI III</i> , 38:2
<i>t3y ḥw ḥr wnm.y n nswt</i>	Fanbearer on the right side of the King	Valley of the Kings: <i>KRI III</i> , 44:9 Deir el-Medina: <i>KRI III</i> , 43:5; 44:9 Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 45:10 West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 395:5
<i>[...] nb t3.wy</i>	[...] of the lord of the Two Lands	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:12
<i>[...] nw šmꜥ.w mḥ.y</i>	[...] of the south and north	Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:10

Epithets	Translation	Provenance
<i>imy-ir.ty n rh.yt</i>	He who is in the eyes of the commoners	Megiddo: <i>KRI III</i> , 36:13
<i>imy-r ḥw.t-wr.t 6</i>	Overseer of the 6 great mansions	West Silsila: <i>KRI II</i> , 395:6
<i>sm.y mdw.t t3.wy</i>	He who reports the words of the Two Lands	Abydos: <i>KRI III</i> , 37:8

<i>Ad Hoc</i> titles	Translation	Provenance
<i>sšm-ḥb n Imn</i>	Festival leader of Amun	Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:10
<i>t3.ty n Šmꜥ Mḥw</i>	Vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt	Western Thebes: <i>KRI III</i> , 39:5 Unknown: <i>KRI III</i> , 146:12