

**The development and decline of provincial rule
from the Old to the Middle Kingdom:
an analysis of the tombs and titles
of the senior officials of Upper Egypt**

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy**

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**THE DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF PROVINCIAL RULE
FROM THE OLD TO THE MIDDLE KINGDOM:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE TOMBS AND TITLES
OF THE SENIOR OFFICIALS OF UPPER EGYPT**

Declaration

I, Neil Sinclair, hereby declare that work presented here has not been submitted either in whole or in part for a higher degree at any other university or institution. This thesis is an original piece of research and the work of others has been duly acknowledged in the text.

Dated this 27th day of September 2013

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Neil Sinclair', written over a horizontal line.

Neil Sinclair

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers aspects of the bureaucracy of Ancient Egypt from its beginning in the Old Kingdom (OK) through the First Intermediate Period (FIP) to its finish late in the Middle Kingdom (MK) with the aim of advancing our understanding and knowledge of the inner administrative workings of Ancient Egypt.

Through an analysis of historical records and a detailed investigation of the relationship between local rulers' tomb size and the wealth of a province, as well as tomb size and the power of the central authority, this work will initially attempt to identify how tomb size may be an indication of political power.

Next, this thesis will consider whether variations in data between the OK, FIP and MK reveal differences in the power of the central administrations, and whether the development of provincial rule and changes to it are policies of decentralisation, centralisation or a lack of control. In addition, this study explores what changes to titles may indicate about the levels of central and local control, and whether changes to tomb data and titles, in conjunction with historical records, can supply evidence for the decline and cessation of provincial rule.

Finally, the features of administration that were applied from the OK through the MK are analysed as a way of further developing our understanding of provincial administration in Ancient Egypt.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

Periods

OK	Old Kingdom
FIP	First Intermediate Period
MK	Middle Kingdom
SIP	Second Intermediate Period
NK	New Kingdom

Senior officials

N	Nomarch
PA	Provincial administrator
V	Vizier

Tomb size

m ²	Square metres
----------------	---------------

Other

na	Not available
nk	Not known

ABBREVIATIONS

JOURNALS AND FREQUENTLY CITED PUBLICATIONS

AAE	Baines, J. and Málek J., <i>Atlas of Ancient Egypt</i> (Oxford, 1980).
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> .
BACE	<i>The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> .
BARE	Breasted J. H., <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> , vol. I (Chicago, reprint 1962).
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale</i> .
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> (London, 2009).
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> .
DEN	Fischer H. G., <i>Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt</i> (New York, 1968).
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i> .
EEF	<i>Egypt Exploration Fund</i> .
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JEA	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> .
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap</i> , 'Ex Oriente Lux'.
LÄ	Helck, W., Otto, E. and Westendorf, W. (eds) <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 vols (Wiesbaden, 1975-1986).
PM IV	Porter B. and Moss R.L.B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and Paintings</i> , IV: <i>Lower and Middle Egypt</i> (Oxford, 1968).
PM V	Porter B. and Moss R.L.B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and Paintings</i> , V: <i>Upper Egypt: Sites</i> (Oxford, 1968).

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CHRONOLOGY (SELECTED REIGNS)

Source: Jürgen von Beckerath (1997) *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein, pp. 187-190.

Period, Dynasty and Pharaoh	Ranges of dates (BC)	Length of reign(s)/periods (approx. no. of years)
Old Kingdom		
Third Dynasty	2707/2657 – 2639/2589	68
Djoser (Dj)	2690/2640 – 2670/2620	20
Fourth Dynasty	2639/2589 – 2504/2454	135
Snefru (Sn)	2639/2589 – 2604/2554	35
Khufu (Khu)	2604/2554 – 2581/2531	23
Djedefre ^c (Djd)	2581/2531 – 2572/2522	9
Khafre ^c (Kh)	2572/2522 – 2546/2496	26
Menkaure ^c (Men)	2539/2489 – 2511/2461	28
Fifth Dynasty	2504/2454 – 2347/2446	157
Userkaf (U)	2504/2454 – 2496/2446	8
Sahure ^c (Sa)	2496/2446 – 2483/2433	13
Neferirkare ^c	2483/2433 – 2463/2413	20
Neuserre ^c (N)	2445/2395 – 2414/2364	31
Djedkare ^c Isesi (Djk)	2405/2355 – 2367/2317	38
Unas (Un)	2367/2317 – 2347/2297	20
Sixth Dynasty	2347/2297 – 2216/2166	131
Teti (T)	2347/2297 – 2337/2287	10
Userkare ^c (Us)	2337/2287 – 2335/2285	2
Pepy I (P I)	2335/2285 – 2285/2235	50
Merenre ^c (M)	2285/2235 – 2279/2229	6
Pepy II (P II)	2279/2229 – 2219/2169	60
Seventh Dynasty (Manetho) 70 days; 75 days		-
Eighth Dynasty	2216/2166 – 2170/2120	46
First Intermediate Period	2150 – 2045	105
Ninth and Tenth Dynasties	2150 – 2024	126
Eleventh Dynasty (in Thebes)	2119 – 2046	73
Mentuhotep I (Men I)	2119 –	
Inyotef I (In I)	– 2103	16
Inyotef II (In II)	2103 – 2054	49
Inyotef III (In III)	2054 – 2046	8
Middle Kingdom	2046 – 1805	240
Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)	2046 – 1976	70
Nebhepetre ^c Mentuhotep II (Men II)	2046 – 1995	51
S ^c ankhare ^c Mentuhotep III (Men III)	1995 – 1983	12
Nebtawyre ^c Mentuhotep IV (Men IV)	1983 – 1976	7
Twelfth Dynasty (to end of Amenemhet III)	1976 – 1806	170
Amenemhet I (A I)	1976 – 1947	29
Senwosret I (S I)	1956 – 1911/10	45 – 46
Amenemhet II (A II)	1914 – 1879/76	35 – 38
Senwosret II (S II)	1882 – 1872	10

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Twelfth Dynasty (continued)		
Senwosret III (S III)	1872 – 1853/52	19 – 20
Amenemhet III (A III)	1853 – 1806/05	47 – 48
Amenemhet IV (A IV)	1807/06 – 1798/97	9
Second Intermediate Period		
Thirteenth Dynasty	1794/93 – 1648/45	146 – 148
50 (?) kings		
Fourteenth Dynasty	(?) – 1648/45	(?)
Small number of kings in Lower Egypt		
Fifteenth Dynasty (Hyksos Period)	1648/45 – 1539/36	109
Sixteenth Dynasty (parallel with Hyksos Period)	1648/45 – 1539/36	109
Seventeenth Dynasty (in Thebes, about the same period as the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties)	approx. 1645 – 1550	approx. 95
New Kingdom		
Eighteenth Dynasty	1550 – 1292	208
Nineteenth Dynasty	1292 – 1186/85	106 – 107
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Neil Sinclair

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this study

Ancient Egypt, in the time under discussion, was organised by a large administrative bureaucracy, as evidenced by the number of titles and epithets: at least 3,761 for the OK alone.¹ Provinces administered by senior officials, whose authority was delegated by the palace, were an important feature of Ancient Egypt from the OK through to the MK. This administration accounts for many of the large tombs of the time, which are an important source of data for the history of Ancient Egypt. To date, few studies have been presented on some of the aspects of provincial rule dealt with here, especially for its duration. Examining provincial rule over this era was deemed the best way to obtain an understanding of the features and changes which took place in this period of history.

In a study published in 1977, Naguib Kanawati suggested that tombs were a reliable indication of a local ruler's wealth,² but not everyone has agreed with this interpretation, notably Nigel Strudwick.³ One of the aims of this thesis is to test Kanawati's model. Analysis of tomb size, it is suggested, provides a method of adding to our knowledge of the economic wealth of particular regions on a historical basis. It is argued here that by comparing average tomb size on a synchronous time scale for the different districts, we can determine differences in the relative wealth of such regions. If this can be shown to have been the case, and accepting that economic power can have a reciprocal effect on political events, understanding the development and fluctuation of tomb size should assist in understanding the background and effects of historical changes. Also, if there is any correlation between tomb size and the power of the central authority, assessing such a relationship may lead to an understanding of the connection between power and control between the levels of government.

¹ Dilwyn Jones (2000) *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols, Oxford.

² Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster, p. 2.

³ Nigel Strudwick (1985) *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders*, London, pp. 5-6.

Despite the research done on the OK, only in recent years has much attention been given to the development of provincial rule, especially beyond this time into the MK. The extent to which provincial rule was an adjunct to the efficient running of a centrally controlled government is a question that warrants investigation. This, however, raises further issues; if such a system was effective, when and why did it decline? Until recently, the decrease in and cessation of provincial rule has not been a matter of much argument among Egyptologists. Detlef Franke, who claims that the ‘decline of the nomarchs’ was a ‘socio-political process’ which happened because nomarchs were ‘living fossils’ whose time had passed and who were no longer relevant, has opened the debate.⁴ My argument is that deliberately reducing the power and influence of local senior officials by the kings is a more likely explanation for its decline. Franke’s arguments and my responses to them are given in Chapters 3 and 6.6.

Another phenomenon that warrants exploration is the award of titles. The Ancient Egyptians were proud of the awards of titles, if their invariable presence in the tombs of senior officials and elsewhere is an accurate indication. Titles and the implications of these in the OK have been studied by a number of scholars. As this level of study of titles has not been done for the FIP and MK, the value of such an analysis is believed to be a worthwhile exercise.

1.2 Purpose of the thesis

Bureaucracy was an important part of life in Ancient Egypt, well-known for the OK⁵ and aspects of it in this time have been studied by a number of Egyptologists. These have included Klaus Baer,⁶ Nigel Strudwick,⁷ Eva Martin-Pardey⁸ and Naguib Kanawati.⁹

⁴ Detlef Franke (1991) ‘The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called “decline of the Nomarchs”’ in Stephen Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey, pp. 51-67.

⁵ Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, p. 106.

⁶ Klaus Baer (1973) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago.

⁷ Nigel Strudwick (1985) *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders*, London.

⁸ Eva Martin-Pardey (1976) *Untersuchungen zur Ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, Hildesheim.

⁹ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster); (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster); (2004) ‘The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty’, in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62; (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. 1, *The Northern Cliff* and (2007) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. II, *The Southern Cliff*.

Cyril Aldred, Dieter Arnold, Henry George Fischer, Wolfgang Helck and others have written articles covering aspects of tomb design and construction, titles and aspects of administration that cover the time of the OK through to the MK, and in several instances beyond, in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.¹⁰

Bureaucracy beyond the OK into the FIP and the MK has not been researched to the same extent, although this has changed somewhat in recent years. Amongst those who have studied this period of Egyptian history are Wolfram Grajetzki, who deals with the history and aspects of the society, including senior state officialdom, of the MK;¹¹ Stephen Quirke, who has translated, edited and written material on MK studies and administration;¹² Janet Richards, who has edited and written on socio-economic matters and hierarchy in the period;¹³ and Harco Willems, who has edited and written on aspects of administration and history at that time.¹⁴ More recently, there has been material on aspects of tombs and social status by Nicole Alexanian,¹⁵ Louise Gestermann has written on political and cultural changes during the reign of Senwosret III,¹⁶ and Christopher Eyre has written on the inefficiency of the Egyptian archival system in its ancient bureaucracy.¹⁷ Articles by some of these authors, along with others, are reviewed in Chapter 3.

¹⁰ Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto and Wolhart Westendorf (eds) (1975-1992) *LÄ I-VII*, Wiesbaden.

¹¹ Wolfram Grajetzki (2006) *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, London; (2009) *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom*, London.

¹² Stephen Quirke (1990) *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, Surrey; (1991) (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey.

¹³ Janet Richards (2000) 'Modified order, responsive legitimacy, redistributed wealth: Egypt, 2260-1650 BC' in Janet Richards and Mary Van Buren (eds) *Order, Legitimacy and Wealth in Ancient States*, Cambridge, pp. 36-45.

¹⁴ Harco Willems (2007) *Dayr al-Barshā*, vol. I, Paris; (1981) 'The nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in Simpson, W. K. and Davis W. M., (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

¹⁵ Nicole Alexanian (2006) 'Tomb and social status. The textual evidence' in Miroslav Bárta (ed.) *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of an international conference held in Prague, May 31-June 4 2004*, Prague, pp. 1-8.

¹⁶ Louise Gestermann (1995) 'Der Politische und Kulturelle Wandel unter Sesostri III – Ein Entwurf' in Louise Gestermann and Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi (eds) *Per aspera ad astra. Wolfgang Schenkel um neunundfünfzigsten Geburtstag*, Kassel, pp. 31-50.

¹⁷ Christopher Eyre (2009) 'On the inefficiency of bureaucracy' in Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo (eds) *Egyptian Archives, Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives/Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9-10, 15-30*, Milan, pp. 15-30.

According to Sir Alan Gardiner, the OK had ‘one of the best organised civilisations that the world has ever seen’.¹⁸ The extent to which this is true will also be examined. Egyptian administrative organisation is suggested as being a major facilitator of the large-scale building construction, technical achievements, literary works, religious and other art production, including the tombs discussed, and agricultural and land-works development.

An aim of this thesis is to determine whether Gardiner’s appraisal of the state organisation can be applied beyond that age, through to and including most of the MK. Several issues concerning officialdom at the provincial level and the central administration in its relations with the provinces and their rulers in Upper Egypt will be discussed. Unfortunately, there is insufficient information on the provinces of Lower Egypt for this type of study to be made.¹⁹ Excavations have been carried out in recent years at several Lower Egyptian sites, in particular Athribis, Buto, Mendes and Tell Basta, as well as other sites. The earliest finds at Athribis date to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.²⁰ At Mendes, graves from the OK and finds from the Late MK and later have been discovered.²¹ At Buto much of the material published to date is from the Roman Period,²² and there has been ongoing excavation there, largely of the Roman Period and later.²³ In a discussion of the site, Peter French mentions the lack of published material on the Delta region.²⁴ At Tell Basta some objects date from the Early Dynastic Period through to the New Kingdom, mainly in the latter period,²⁵ and also the Thirtieth Dynasty.²⁶ A false door of a tomb of a ‘nomarch’ of the Thirteenth Nome of Lower Egypt, dated to the late Eleventh-early Twelfth Dynasties, has been found at Heliopolis.²⁷ However, such finds, to date, are rare. To my knowledge, no tombs and only a few artefacts of the types discussed in this thesis have been discovered at any Lower Egyptian sites. Consequently, this thesis mainly deals with Upper Egypt.

¹⁸ Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, p. 106.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

²⁰ Farouk Gomaà and El-Sayed Hegazy (2001) *Die Neuntdeckte Nekropole von Athribis*, Wiesbaden, *passim*.

²¹ A. J. Spencer (1986) Review of Ahmad el-Sawi (1979) ‘Excavations at Tell Basta: Report of the Seasons 1967-71 and Catalogue of Finds’ in *JEA* 72, p. 207.

²² Donald B. Redford (2004) *Excavations at Mendes*, Leiden, *passim*.

²³ Peter French (1996) ‘Buto’ in *JEA* 82, pp. 14-15.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

²⁶ Daniela Rosenow (2008) ‘The Naos of “Bastet, Lady of the Shrine” from Bubastis’ in *JEA* 94, pp. 247-266.

²⁷ Harco Willems (2006) *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la Démocratie: Éléments d’une histoire culturelle du Moyen Empire égyptien*, Paris, p. 54.

By analysing data on the local rulers' tombs and from historical records, the aim of this thesis is to add to our knowledge of Ancient Egypt by investigating the following aspects:

- (a) Whether there is a relationship between average tomb size and the wealth of a province.
- (b) Whether there is a correlation between average tomb size and the power of the central authority.
- (c) Whether variations in data between the OK, FIP and MK reveal differences in the power of the central administrations.
- (d) Whether the development of provincial rule and variations in the numbers of locally ruled provinces are central administration policies of centralisation or decentralisation or rather indicate a lack of overall control.
- (e) What the introduction of administrative and other titles indicate about regional and central control.
- (f) Whether, in the light of historical records, variations in tomb size, titles and numbers of titles can reveal evidence for the decline of provincial rule.
- (g) Whether features of the bureaucracy of the OK continue through to the MK, and whether there any other distinctive features of the administration of the provinces that can be identified.

When investigating the provincial administration, a number of questions are worth exploring. How long and to what extent was such administration maintained? Were fluctuations of such rule in line with the authority of the central administrations? And do changes in provincial rule confirm or change perceptions of central control? The bureaucratic changes made to deal with issues such as taxation are also considered.

1.3 Compiling the information

This thesis is based on archaeological sources (relating to tomb location, excavation and recording) and inscriptional sources (from the texts on false doors, statues, tomb and

quarry and other rock walls, temple walls and blocks of stone, stelae, sarcophagi, papyri, scarabs and other artefacts).

Calculations of tomb sizes were made from archaeological publications which deal with the tombs and are listed in tables and shown in graphs, firstly by provinces and then by reigns or periods, followed by analysis and commentary.

1.4 Format of the thesis

The next chapter gives definitions of the terms used, and lists the titles awarded to determine whether a senior official of a province was a 'provincial administrator' or held a title meaning an even more senior position, that of 'nomarch'. This is followed by a review of literature relevant to the themes of the project.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of tombs and titles, commencing with those of the senior officials whose tombs are near the early capital Memphis. Although in Lower Egypt, this region is dealt with first as it has the tombs of the earliest local rulers and enables the early development of provincial rule to be followed. The provinces are then discussed in numerical order, commencing with the southern-most province, the First Nome at Aswan, then moving sequentially northwards to the last, the Twenty-second Nome of Upper Egypt. For each nome the cemeteries are named, and plans and photographs of the cemetery sites are analysed to see if the tombs of provincial leaders and other officials are separate from those of lower-ranked people. After this, there is a table which contains information on the tombs and their owners, including: name of owner, date of tomb, total titles and tomb size. This is followed by comment on the wealth of the province, the tombs, tomb size and total titles, the individual titles, and concludes with general observations.

Chapter 5 contains an investigation of and commentary on the tomb and title data in chronological sequence, starting with the first known provincial ruler through to the last, and deals with the information relating to the OK, FIP and MK. Where possible, the information is integrated with the dates of the reigning monarchs, and where information for individual reigns is not known or the tomb dates do not neatly fit into reigns, into periods or spans of reigns. Column graphs are used to indicate tomb sizes for the reign or period.

Chapter 6 deals initially with an analysis of the data to see if there is a correlation between average tomb size and the wealth of a province. Next there is an analysis of the data to find out if there is a correlation of average tomb size and the power of the central authority. Correlation is carried out for every reign or period and conclusions are drawn on the overall results. The methods of correlations are explained.

Then a comparative analysis of the OK, FIP and MK data is presented to assess any variations in local rule and to determine if they elucidate differences in the power of the central administrations. Following this, comments on locally-ruled provincial rule development are given, and the numbers of locally ruled provinces in different reigns and periods and what these mean in terms of centralisation or decentralisation (or, rather, a lack of central control) are discussed.

Titles, particularly those which are administrative, agricultural, and religious, and certain other titles, have possible reasons for variations to them discussed, along with the introduction of new titles. Ramifications of these changes for provincial and central control and other implications are reviewed, and conclusions drawn.

This is followed by an analysis of MK data on the number and trend of numbers of provincially-ruled nomes, tomb sizes and titles, in conjunction with tomb records. These are all used to obtain reasons for the decline and termination of provincial rule. Local rule subsequent to the end of provincial rule is also examined.

The final part of this chapter discusses whether features of OK bureaucracy continue through to the MK, as well as other features of administration revealed through the research, and their possible implications for the society.

Chapter 7 summarises the conclusions drawn followed by concluding remarks.

The Appendix contains a prosopography which gives a reference number for every senior official of a province, states whether they were a nomarch or provincial administrator, their titles, total titles, the date of their tomb, their nome, tomb number and location, tomb size, name of father, and a bibliography. Following this, there is an assessment of the land capability of the provinces and estimates of the relative wealth of the central administrations on a dynastic basis. This is succeeded by lists of the titles and their

translations for every senior official by their province. Lastly, charts on tomb size for every senior official in a time sequence are presented.

1.5 Determining factors

The investigation conducted in this thesis is based upon the following assumptions:

(a) A person, granted the authority shown by their titles, expended as much of their wealth as they could afford in the construction of a tomb. Claim has been made, with which I agree from the evidence presented in this thesis, that a tomb was more than a burial place but was also an indication of the owner's affluence, and that variation from average size at the same time is minimal.²⁸ As will be shown, the superior location of the senior officials' tombs is but one indication that their construction was taken seriously. The official *Dꜥw*, who was buried in the same tomb as his father, explains in his biography that the reason for sharing a tomb was to be with his father, not from any lack of means.²⁹ The cost of the tomb, with only a few exceptions, was born by the owner.³⁰ The advantageous location of the senior officials' tombs is used to argue that they were reserved for these officials at the prerogative of the king. It is suggested here that the expression: 'A boon which the king gives', referring to the offerings made to the deceased,³¹ may also be a reference to the understood permission for the tomb to be built. Gardiner concedes 'a boon' may refer to, among other things, rank and title.³²

(b) Titles were awarded by the central administration. The afore-mentioned official *Dꜥw* requested the king grant a senior title posthumously to his father, which was done.³³ As senior officials at a province usually had prior palace duties, the selection of a likely candidate for such important and responsible duties was also most likely by the palace. Presumably, diligent supervision of the provinces was expected; one senior official, *H.w*, of the Second Nome, was removed, possibly for incompetence.³⁴

²⁸ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster, p. 2.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

³¹ Sir Alan Gardiner (1957) *Egyptian Grammar*, London, pp. 170-173.

³² Ibid., p. 172.

³³ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster, p. 71.

³⁴ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 109.

(c) The tombs were excavated, where possible, in the limestone cliffs which range along the Nile Valley through most of Upper Egypt. The excavation of a tomb, while presumably expensive, would only have required a reasonably competent workforce. Because the tombs were cut into the limestone cliffs, there was probably little variation in such cost from region to region. But other aspects and complexities of building a tomb may have been determined by the availability of skilled workers to decorate it. The tomb entrance and interior sculptures and paintings would have required persons versed in the necessary skills and writing. Tomb goods, especially sarcophagi, must have been costly items. And building tombs at remote sites, as many were, would have been an additional cost.

Other variable costs would have been incurred through the necessity to construct tombs in the form of free-standing mastabas where no suitable cliffs were in reasonable proximity. And, as a consequence of a tomb being larger, additional decoration, sculpture, and construction material would have been needed, and hence the greater the cost.

The location, dimensions and decoration of a senior official's tomb are taken as being an indication of the wealth and standing of that person in the society. This seems a reasonable proposition: a person of power and wealth would presumably spend as much as they could on their house of eternity, and a poor person would, by definition, have insufficient resources for a large tomb.

(d) Basic laws of economics apply, in particular those of supply and demand, to what must have been a largely agricultural society, albeit in many ways an advanced one through its secondary industry and bureaucratic administration. In this regard, the wealth of a province is considered to be a consequence of a number of the indicators discussed in Chapter 1.6, as are the factors used in assessing the wealth of a reign or period. Economic problems such as famine caused by low Niles, and the need for raw materials, and how the authorities dealt with them, are examined and discussed.

1.6 Method

The following methods apply to the individual purposes of this thesis:

(a) Titles listed in Chapter 2 are the main determinants as to which is the tomb of a senior official of a province. To establish whether differences in tomb sizes of the same time-periods indicate anything about the relative wealth of the provinces, tomb sizes for

the individual nomes are aggregated and averaged. To estimate the relative wealth of a province, estimates of likely population, area and quality of land and food production, access to minerals, centres of trade and trade routes, food storage and distribution points are used. Assessments of land capability are taken from Table A2, and, when the level or overall assessment is given, any unstated but implied reference is to this table. When all these factors have been taken into account, assessment is made of the relative wealth of the province. It should be noted that the assessment is not a total of wealth, but simply an assessment of relative wealth. The average tomb sizes for the provinces are then ranked to compare with the estimates of the relative wealth of the provinces.

(b) To establish whether average tomb size has any correlation with the power of the central authority, tomb sizes are compared with wealth assessments of the relevant reigns or period. The estimates of central power are based on determinants such as pyramid construction, ship-building, temples, trade, evidence of gold and mineral exploration and mining, historical records and so on, and are listed in Table A3. Other impacts such as civil war and famine are also taken into account.

(c) To identify any variations in data between the OK, FIP, and the MK, and whether they reveal divergences in the power of the central administrations, tomb sizes, numbers of titles, estimates of relative wealth and other data are grouped for each of the three periods. Comparisons of the different measures are made to gauge any differences between the three periods, and conclusions drawn from such investigation.

(d) To determine whether any variation in the numbers of nomes with tombs of senior officials can be regarded as reflecting policies implemented by the central administration of centralisation or decentralisation or as indicating its lack of control, nomes with senior officials are enumerated for the reigns or periods. Factors such as the development, distribution, and decline of such-ruled provinces are then examined, in conjunction with historical records, to determine what they might indicate about central administration directive or lack thereof.

(e) Titles that undergo changes (particularly those related to administrative, agricultural and religious duties) and new ones are appraised to determine what their implications are for regional, local and central control.

(f) To explicate if variations in tomb sizes and numbers of titles per senior official combined with historical records can supply evidence on the decline and cessation of provincial rule, tables and charts on tomb sizes and titles in the MK are examined in association with texts from the tombs of the final senior officials. Possible reasons for the termination of local provincial rule are examined and a suggested likelihood is presented. The aftermath of local provincial rule is then discussed.

(g) Lastly, other facets of the administration of the provinces shown throughout this thesis are discussed. These include aspects of the bureaucracy through the whole period, and finishes with a summary of salient points as to why the administration was so effective over such a long time period. Concluding remarks on various aspects of the system of provincial governance are then given.

1.7 Potential problems and difficulties facing the thesis and their resolution

The conclusions reached in this dissertation rely on accurate tomb dating, accurate size measurements, and the records of as many of the titles that originally existed as possible. In several cases, the absence of tomb dating has meant the exclusion of such tombs from further analysis. Where tomb size areas are given here, they are, in most cases, verifiable. Calculation of tomb size has proved not to be possible in some cases as plans are either not available or dimensions are not given. Where this happens, it is stated. A problem that arises in the use of dimensions is decay or damage to the tombs, and later enlargement of some. Mostly it proved possible to account for this, as publications invariably indicate such factors. Loss of titles due to tomb damage is, of course, a problem. In some instances, other sources of titles are temple and artefact records and quarry texts. Cases where there is a probable loss of titles are acknowledged and taken into consideration throughout this thesis.

Another issue is the accuracy of tomb dates. Several dates given by excavators and other authorities are general, and these are particularly noticeable with some FIP and MK tombs. However, by using tomb construction sequences, locations, and family relationships, in many cases more precise estimates of several dates have been made, for which the reasons are given.

Several problems can be envisaged concerning the cost of tomb construction. As I have used similar prime sources such as tomb size and titles as used by Naguib Kanawati³⁵ although for different purposes, some criticisms of his work could be seen as criticisms of basic features of this thesis. These will now be responded to. In a review of this work by Kanawati, Eva Martin-Pardey³⁶ asks whether a tomb can be used as an economic measure of the owner. If so, was it a constant economic measure over time?³⁷ The answers are that tomb owners went to great effort to ensure preservation of their bodies for the after-life. By no means could everyone afford a tomb, only a class which had high wealth who were unlikely as much as anyone to waste money not considered essential. A general high correlation of tomb size and provincial wealth is consistent through time and place, as is shown in this thesis (Chapter 6.1).

Another criticism levelled by Martin-Pardey is her doubt that the grave owners were always responsible for their cost, although she concedes in many cases they were, even if at Giza some tombs were gifts of the king to certain officials and were a reflection of the political power of the tomb-possessor.³⁸ Kanawati has given a defence of these points, including the matter of the gifts of the Giza tombs, and whilst the costs may not have been to the owner, there would have been costs to the state.³⁹ The recipients made no secret of the granting of the tombs to them; acknowledging such, evidently proudly.⁴⁰ However, this thesis mainly deals with tombs at the provinces, where such gifts were rare, and are mentioned when known.

Another problem mentioned in Martin-Pardey's review is that of the expenditure of tomb-goods not being included in the stated costs of tomb construction,⁴¹ a charge which could be levelled against this work. However, without tangible records of these, no estimates of any expenditure can be made. Tomb-goods were presumably all placed in the

³⁵ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster.

³⁶ Eva Martin-Pardey (1983) Review of 'The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline' by Naguib Kanawati in *JEA* 69, pp. 168-170.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³⁹ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster, 1-2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁴¹ Eva Martin (1983) Review of 'The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline' by Naguib Kanawati in *JEA* 69, p. 168.

underground burial-chamber. Suffice to say that as most people had far more humble burial places, the cost of a decorated tomb and burial chamber, a sarcophagus and other interred items, must have been high.

1.8 Time frame

The dates referred to in this study are those by Jürgen von Beckerath.⁴²

The time frame is from the middle of Djoser's reign, the suggested date of the first local ruler, to the conclusion of Amenemhet III's reign, the reign suggested as having been the probable ending of provincial rule by local officials.

The mid-point of Djoser's reign (the estimated date of the first senior official) is 2650 BC and the conclusion of the OK is averaged as 2150 BC, a period of 500 years. The FIP is estimated as lasting 105 years (2151 BC to 2046 BC). Data tables and graphs for the FIP will include those of tombs dated to the end of the reign of Inyotef III of the Eleventh Dynasty. For the purposes of this thesis, the MK period of provincial rule therefore starts with the commencement of the reign of Mentuhotep II, 2046 BC, and estimated to finish in the last year of the reign of Amenemhet III, 1806 BC, a total of 240 years.

1.9 The titles and the tombs

The titles

The translations of titles presented here are mainly those by Dilwyn Jones,⁴³ William A. Ward,⁴⁴ Henry George Fischer,⁴⁵ and Raymond O. Faulkner.⁴⁶ Also used are those given in excavation reports and studies. Translations of all titles are given in the tables on the nomes in the Appendix. Table and graph numbers in the Appendix have the

⁴² Jürgen von Beckerath (1997) *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein, pp. 187-188.

⁴³ Dilwyn Jones (2000) *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols, Oxford.

⁴⁴ William A. Ward (1982) *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a glossary of words and phrases*, Beirut.

⁴⁵ Henry George Fischer (1985) *Egyptian titles of the Middle Kingdom : a supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*, New York.

⁴⁶ Raymond O. Faulkner (1964) *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford.

prefix 'A'. References to titles are to attested ones. This also applies to titles in tables and graphs.

The tombs

In most cases the tombs are rock-cut tombs unless otherwise stated. Exceptions include the mastaba tombs at Dendera, Edfu, Giza, Saqqara and Dahshur. For comparison of tomb sizes, adjustment is made for mastabas. This adjustment is catered for by calculating ten per cent of the mastaba area and using this area for comparison purposes. In every case, actual measurements are also given. Where such calculations are made, there is a footnote to each relevant table. Details of large tombs, whether finished or unfinished, which are devoid of titles, are not included in the thesis analysis. This is not expected to influence any results as such tombs are also not included in any totals, and tomb publication reports seen do not indicate any preponderance of such tombs at the provinces. Details of tombs which have relevant titles, but have not been dated, are included in tomb totals but not in any analysis. As is the case for titles, references to tombs are to attested ones. This also applies to tombs mentioned in tables and graphs.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITIONS

2.1 Locations

Bureaucracy

By this is meant ‘a government by central administration’,⁴⁷ which is extended here to mean in association with provincial administrations.

The capital

‘Residence’ or ‘central administration’ refers to the relevant location of the capital for the time concerned. This was, in historical sequence, on occasion overlapping, Memphis, Herakleopolis, Thebes, el Lisht and Thebes again. Herakleopolis is little dealt with because of the lack of records from there. Tomb and title data of senior officials at the capitals are only discussed when they make no claim to national rule. This applies particularly to Memphis and Thebes.

The Residence

The Residence was the palace of the reigning king, which is thought to be located in the capital of the period in question. The term ‘central administration’ refers to the administration centre of the king, assumed to be – and also referred to as – the palace.

Nome

A nome was a district or province into which Ancient Egypt was divided for administrative purposes.⁴⁸ The word ‘nome’ from the Greek word ‘νομός’ which is the Greek version of the Egyptian word for province or administrative district, is written in Egyptian as

𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛, 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛, 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛, and 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛, transliterated as *sp3.t*.⁴⁹ The terms ‘nome’ and ‘province’ are used interchangeably. Where either designation is mentioned, it means a region in Upper

⁴⁷ Bruce Moore (ed.) (1998) *The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary, Third Edition*, Melbourne, p. 171.

⁴⁸ Wolfgang Helck (1977) ‘Gäue’ in *LÄ II*, Wiesbaden, cols. 385-408.

⁴⁹ Raymond O. Faulkner (1964) *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, p. 222.

Egypt, unless otherwise stated. Oases are not dealt with, as they are considered to be outside the mainstream of local provincial rule in the system of government.

2.2 Titles and positions

Vizier

The titles designating a vizier were *ḥy.ty* ‘he of the curtain’, and *ḥy.ty s3b ḥy.ty* ‘he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier’. Such a person was not classified as a nomarch unless he also had the title defining him so. Conclusions drawn about viziers relate only to those whose tombs are at the provinces.

Nomarchs, provincial administrators and other officials

The chief administrative officer of a province, on the basis of their titles, was either a nomarch or a provincial administrator. A nomarch was a senior official with a specific title indicating status above that of a provincial administrator. In this thesis, the term ‘senior official’ is used to refer to either a nomarch or a provincial administrator of Upper Egypt, and never to a senior official at the Residence.

Administrative staff who did not have titles sufficient to be classified as a senior official are classified as an official, with a minimum of one title sufficing to be so classified.

Where a person is categorised in one of these groups, it is, in nearly all cases, based on their titles, or, where these are missing, on assessments advanced by scholars based on facts such as name and tomb location, size and decoration.

Where a senior official was responsible for more than one nome, their details are always given in the chapter on the nome which contains their burial site, but in several cases, for comparative purposes, titles may be given elsewhere as well. In tables of titles in the Appendix, those that indicate similar duties are grouped together, where possible those at the Residence first. The senior officials’ title sequences listed here do not imply ranking or importance.

Nomarch

A nomarch was the most senior administrative ruler of a nome, formally recognised by the titles he held, including particular titles which changed during the period under

discussion.⁵⁰ Simply being the head of a leading local family does not, in the terms used here, warrant a person being called a nomarch. As a working basis, the following criteria for defining whether a person, invariably a male, was a nomarch or not, have been used.

The earliest titles referring to persons classified as nomarchs were those of *sšm-t3* ‘leader of the land’ and *ḥk3 [sp3.t]* ‘ruler of the nome’, both often followed by the name of the province.

For the Fourth Dynasty, the titles that designate a person as a nomarch, adapted from Henry G. Fischer, were *sšm-t3* and *ḥk3 [sp3.t]*⁵¹ and are so used here.

For the Fifth Dynasty, titles considered here to be typical of a senior official are those suggested by Karl Baer⁵² and include *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* ‘overseer of commissions’; *im.y-r3 ḥ.w*, ‘overseer of palaces’; *im.y-r3 nswt.yw*, ‘overseer of the king’s people’ and *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3.wt*, ‘overseer of the new settlements’. Fischer accepts this interpretation of the significance of these titles,⁵³ but adds the titles *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw* ‘guardian of the affairs of the king’ and *ḥk3 ḥ3w.t 3.t* ‘ruler (‘manager’ used here) of the great estate’ to the group,⁵⁴ accepted here. Not every senior official who is classified here as a nomarch had every one of these titles and many had more, but the title regarded as necessary for a person to be a nomarch is still *sšm-t3*.⁵⁵ A person who does not have this title, but has some of the others, is classified as a provincial administrator.

During the Sixth Dynasty some of the Fifth Dynasty titles were phased out and replaced by others. The title *sšm-t3* was replaced by *ḥr.y-tp 3* ‘great overlord’⁵⁶ plus the name of the nome or the Egyptian word for nome ‘*sp3.t*’. According to Hans Goedicke, only the title *ḥr.y-tp 3* should be translated as ‘nomarch’,⁵⁷ and this is taken as ‘generally accepted’ by Franke.⁵⁸ This is also my basis, including the earlier title *sšm-t3*, which continued

⁵⁰ Henry George Fischer (1977) ‘Gaufürst’ in *LÄ II*, Wiesbaden, cols. 408-417.

⁵¹ *DEN*, p. 9.

⁵² Karl Baer (1973) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago, p. 275.

⁵³ *DEN*, p. 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵⁷ Hans Goedicke (1967) *Königliche Dokumente aus dem alten Reich*, Wiesbaden, p. 104.

⁵⁸ Detlef Franke (1991) ‘The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called “decline of the nomarchs”’ in Stephen Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey, p. 51.

well into the Sixth Dynasty. There was no sudden replacement of it by *ḥr.y-tp* ʕ3 but rather, as is shown in this thesis, it was gradually introduced over time. The latter title continued in use through subsequent dynasties until the reign of Senwosret III of the Twelfth Dynasty. Other titles typical of a senior official in the Sixth Dynasty were: *ḥk3 ḥw.t* ‘estate manager’, *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw* ‘guardian of the affairs of the king’, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* ‘overseer of commissions’, *im.y-r3 nswt.yw* ‘overseer of the king’s people’, *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3.wt* ‘overseer of the new settlements’, *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w* ‘count’, *ḥrp-ns.ty* ‘controller of the two seats’, *ir.y pʕ.t* ‘hereditary prince’, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty* ‘seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt’, *ḥry-ḥb.t* ‘lector priest’, *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* ‘overseer of priests’ and *smr wʕt.y* ‘sole companion’. Lack of the title *sšm-t3* for the Fourth Dynasty through to and including part of the Sixth Dynasty, or lack of the title *ḥr.y-tp* ʕ3 in various parts of the Sixth Dynasty onwards, whilst possessing other senior titles such as those listed here, means a senior official is classified as a provincial administrator.

From the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties through the MK, some of the more important titles indicating that a person was a senior official were: *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *smr wʕt.y*, *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w*, *ir.y pʕ.t*, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥry-ḥb.t*, *ḥrp-ns.ty*, and *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr.w*. The title *ḥr.y-tp* ʕ3 continues to be mandatory for a senior official to be a nomarch.

Whilst these are the most frequently awarded titles, many other titles were often also granted.

Provincial administrator

This is the senior-most official of a province who did not have a specific title designating him as a nomarch: *sšm-t3*, *ḥk3 sp3.t* or *ḥr.y-tp* ʕ3, but who held the other titles held by a nomarch, and regarded as being in charge of a nome.

Titles signifying that a person was a nomarch or a provincial administrator are summarised in Table 2.1 below. Possession of one of the titles marked (a), (b) or (c) is required for a senior official to be classified as a nomarch. Otherwise, no ranking of importance is implied in the table.

Third Dynasty		Fourth Dynasty		Fifth Dynasty	
Transliteration	Translation	Transliteration	Translation	Transliteration	Translation
<i>sšm-t3</i> (a)	leader of the land	<i>sšm-t3</i> (a)	leader of the land	<i>sšm-t3</i> (a)	leader of the land
<i>ḥk3</i> [Nome](b)	ruler of the nome	<i>ḥk3</i> [Nome](b)	ruler of the nome	<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions
		<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions	<i>ir.y-ḥ.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king
				<i>ḥk3 ḥw.t</i>	estate manager
				<i>ḥk3 ḥw.t ʕ3.t</i>	manager of the great estate
				<i>im.y-r3 ʕḥ.w</i>	overseer of palaces
				<i>im.y-r3 nswt.yw</i>	overseer of the king's people
				<i>im.y-r3 niw.wt m3.wt</i>	overseer of the new settlements

Sixth to Eighth Dynasties		FIP to MK	
Transliteration	Translation	Transliteration	Translation
<i>sšm-t3</i> (a)	leader of the land	<i>ḥr.y-tp ʕ3</i> (c)	great overlord
<i>ḥr.y-tp ʕ3</i> (c)	great overlord	<i>ir.y-ḥ.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king
<i>ir.y-ḥ.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king	<i>smr wʕt.y</i>	sole companion
<i>smr wʕt.y</i>	sole companion	<i>ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w</i>	count
<i>ḥk3 ḥw.t</i>	estate manager	<i>ir.y pʕ.t</i>	hereditary noble
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions	<i>ḥtm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt
<i>im.y-r3 nswt.yw</i>	overseer of the king's people	<i>ḥrp-ns.ty</i>	controller of the two seats
<i>im.y-r3 niw.wt m3.wt</i>	overseer of the new settlements	<i>im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests
<i>ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w</i>	count	<i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>	lector priest
<i>ḥrp-ns.ty</i>	controller of the two seats		
<i>ir.y pʕ.t</i>	hereditary noble		
<i>ḥtm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt		
<i>im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests		
<i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>	lector priest		

Table 2.1 Summary: titles classified as designating ‘senior officials’

Official

This is a person who is the holder of any title or titles, irrespective of number, but who does not have the titles believed sufficient to warrant being either a nomarch or a provincial administrator. Officials and their titles are discussed only to the extent considered necessary.

Lower-ranked person

‘Lower-ranked person’, or ‘lesser-ranked person’ means someone who has no titles confirming them as an official of any sort, and who can be assumed to be a lower socially-ranked person on the basis of the size and quality of their tomb. In the cases where lower-ranked people do have a burial-place, the burial-places are invariably small and without decoration. Sometimes lower-ranked people were interred in communal tombs, but beyond mention of these, such tombs are not dealt with here. The term ‘lower-ranked person’ is used in preference to ‘commoner’ as this word implies a level of social stratification that may not be warranted. Probably the ordinary people have not been dealt with in the literature as much as they should have been. I agree with the statement that until recently much Egyptological work has had an ‘elitist’ basis, that it has tended to deal more with the ruling class than with the ordinary people.⁵⁹ The lot of the ordinary people in Ancient Egypt has probably been continually changing and been better at some times than at others. Stephan J. Seidlmayer, who has also written on the FIP, mentions that the lot of the ordinary people improved at that time.⁶⁰

2.3 Tombs and names

*Tomb area, graphs of tomb areas and other data**Tomb area*

This is the total surface area in square metres of all chambers, commencing at the entrance doorway, but does not include burial chambers below floor level. Forecourt areas have not been included in the calculations of the total surface areas. There has been argument

⁵⁹ Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer (2007) ‘People at Beni Hasan: contributions to a model of Ancient Egyptian rural society’ in Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards (eds) *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honour of David B. O’Connor*, Cairo, p. 365

⁶⁰ Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer (2000) ‘The First Intermediate Period (c. 2160-2055 BC)’ in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, pp. 118-147.

elsewhere that the total floor-space area should include the forecourt area.⁶¹ These areas are not included in this thesis for reason of consistency of comparison. In some plans of tombs, forecourts appear to be negligible in size and dimensions are not given.⁶² At some sites, ‘forecourts’ appear to be nothing more than excavated tomb faces, the ground area again of negligible size, to allow tomb entrances to be constructed.⁶³ In others the fronts of the tombs are too badly damaged to allow measurement.⁶⁴

Graphs of tomb areas and other data

Graphs are shown in column form. To enable comparison of average tomb size by reigns or periods, they are also shown in chronological sequence in the Appendix. Comparative graphs are drawn to scale.

In some graphs, the names of several senior officials, because of their length, are abbreviated, but are in every case unmistakable.

Names

Names, except for the kings’ names and in most cases those of the gods’ names, are in Egyptian transliterated form. In several cases, identical names of senior officials are differentiated by a letter: ‘(A)’, ‘(B)’ or ‘(C)’. Names are given in full in the tables and text.

⁶¹ Nicole Alexanian (2006) ‘Tomb and social status. The textual evidence’ in Miroslav Bárta (ed.) *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of an international conference held in Prague, May 31-June 4, 2004*, Prague, pp. 5-6

⁶² Norman de Garis-Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London, pls. III, XVIII, XXIII, XXVII, XII and XXXIV.

⁶³ Francis Llewelyn Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London, pls. XII and XX.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. IV and X.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Studies of the literature that is considered most relevant to the theme of this thesis are presented in chronological order of publication as this is considered the best presentation method for the ongoing development of relevant research. In addition, books that bear on some of the historical records used in the research are also reviewed.

Klaus Baer (1960)

Rank and title in the Old Kingdom: the structure of the Egyptian administration in the fifth and sixth dynasties, Chicago.

It is perhaps fitting that the first book in this chapter was probably in its time one of the most important works in its field, although Egyptological knowledge has moved on a lot since then. The book might be daunting for the general reader, much of it consisting of transliterated titles (without translations), as well as an extensive list of sources used, including the dating and brief details of more than 600 tombs, the title sequences, and conclusions.

The work initially discusses strings of titles which are usually listed in tombs of senior officialdom. They were inscribed on tomb walls, tomb furniture, sarcophagi and scarabs. In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties strings of titles were often the only texts in tombs, apart from those which describe scenes of domestic activity. This changed in the MK when historical records were presented in the tombs and elsewhere as well as strings of titles.

The work by Baer establishes the ranking sequences of titles in use in the OK, and draws some historical conclusions from them. According to him, each title had a specific rank, by which is meant a sequence position in a list of titles possessed by officials. This position in a string of titles did not necessarily reflect its importance or authority. He suggests that titles of women were excluded by the ancient Egyptians in order to limit a system that was fast increasing beyond reasonable bounds, and the amount of material he deals with is very large (he estimated 2,000 titles which, as already stated in this thesis, is now known to have been much larger). This theory concerning limiting titles for women might be correct, but I suggest it was more likely to have been because they were seldom in the bureaucratic work-force. A distinction is also made by Baer between epithets and titles; a title indicating

a specific office or function, and an epithet a general statement applicable to a person irrespective of social position. Epithets are generally excluded by Baer from his analysis, although where there is doubt about the distinction he says they are included by him.

As a rule, he says, the order of elements in a line of text is: title, epithet, and name. Any of the three could be omitted. Exceptions to the title sequences are quite possible, but he considers these to be rare. The procedure he used was to examine all the strings of titles from a large tomb and if possible conflate them. This process was used for all tombs available that contained more than isolated titles. Records from 603 tombs were used. Baer says he soon established that in the early Fourth Dynasty strings were not always consistent, but later on in that time and into the Fifth Dynasty they generally were. The standard title sequences are then presented by him, followed by the variable ones.

Baer says that analysis shows that Neferirkare^c (the third king of the Fifth Dynasty) issued the first standardised system, instead of the haphazard system used before. Administrative changes that occur in the reigns after that until the end of the Sixth Dynasty are then given.

Something of an idea has been given of the amount of effort that has gone into this work. His work is used and referred to in this thesis. The one or two minor disagreements I have had with his work take nothing from what is a milestone of Egyptology.

Naguib Kanawati (1977)

The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline, Warminster.

This book is an important research work, an aim of it being to examine the wealth of the OK officials through the costliness of their tombs. Naguib Kanawati discusses the possible extent of the (central) administration in the 'so-called economic decline' considered to have been a major cause of the collapse of the OK.⁶⁵ He argues that the cost of tomb construction was met by the official concerned, and this is probably correct, although he acknowledges several such officials were given their tombs by the king and several others that we know of received items from the king for their tombs.

⁶⁵ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster, p. 1.

Just as Kanawati uses tomb size to statistically obtain data on the trends in the wealth of OK officials, along with the use of titles, so have tomb size data and titles been used in this thesis as measures of the wealth of senior officials at the provinces from the OK to the MK.

In order to allow the examination of the relevant wealth expended by the officials on their tombs, Kanawati lists the major OK tombs by location, owner's name, titles held, and dimensions of the tomb chapels, shafts, serdabs, tomb chambers, type of decoration and date. The officials in the capital are subdivided into four groups: viziers, and high, middle and lower officials. According to Kanawati's analysis of their tomb data, the cost of tombs of these groups of officials declined at different rates from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty to the conclusion of the Sixth. He says the biggest decline occurred among viziers and higher officials in the reign of Khufu if not Snefru. The author also discusses the sequences and trends of wealth of the officials in the provinces; each province is dealt with separately and comparisons are made with development in the capital.

Kanawati argues that the generally held belief that the officials' tombs showed they were gaining in wealth and power during the latter part of the OK is no longer tenable. This is confirmed by Table 5.20 and Chapter 5.1.5 in this thesis. Kanawati also reasons against the theory that a move towards decentralisation of provincial rule impoverished the central administration. For him, the administration of the land in the Sixth Dynasty was inadequate because the officials were dissatisfied and disinterested. This was not the sole cause of the collapse of the OK, but, he claims, it resulted in a weak government unable to deal with interior and exterior problems. While Kanawati's explanations are part of the story, other factors are considered to be involved, and this thesis further explores these issues in Chapters 5 and 6.

Nigel Strudwick (1985)

The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders, London.

The initial part of the book deals with chronology and dating criteria, and it also has criticism of Naguib Kanawati's *The Egyptian Administration of the Old Kingdom*, which Nigel Strudwick claims, is based on the flawed premise that people of a similar time would have had tombs broadly similar in size, and therefore everyone who could afford to do so

would have put the same effort into their tomb. For Strudwick, preparation for death may have had varying importance for different people. However, in this thesis, analysis of tombs: their size, decoration and architecture, shows consistent and widespread variations at different times that are beyond mere individual responses. The changes over time are too consistent and widespread. The tables in the thesis and the charts in the Appendix of this thesis also show this. That said, it is useful to have criticism of methodologies such as those used by Kanawati, and used here, which help to allow evaluation and assessment and use thereof or otherwise.

Strudwick says that dating of officials and their tombs still has problems, and details some of them.⁶⁶ This is not as severe an issue as he would have us believe; tomb-dating techniques have steadily improved over the years and we can now reach reasonably definitive conclusions for tomb dates which reduce, if not completely remove, general estimates. A chapter in his book deals with false doors and chapel types and how changes in these can of themselves be used for comparative dating purposes.

As to tombs and their construction, and his question of when did an official construct his tomb, Strudwick says that an official probably waited a long time before building his tomb, perhaps until he felt he had reached the apogee of his career, but one ‘cannot imagine it was particularly early.’⁶⁷ While this sounds reasonable, it is difficult to prove one way or the other. Further titles could still be obtained after high authority was attained, perhaps even the highest office, as evidenced by the award of what would have been an important title, that of *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mnḥ.t Ḥwi=f-wi niw.t* ‘count of the city of Menat-Khufu’ given to the nomarch Khnumhotep I (possibly, at least in part, for his services to the king in war).⁶⁸ This must have been made after Khnumhotep I had become a nomarch. Advancements in the career of the nomarch *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II (who held 29 titles) through the reigns of at least three kings are known, and he held the senior title *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw* ‘guardian of the affairs of the king’ early on in his career.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Nigel Strudwick (1985) *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders*, London, pp. 3-6.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶⁸ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London, pl. XLIV, line 7.

⁶⁹ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *El Bersheh*, part I, pl. XIV, line 1.

Strudwick's book has a prosopography of particular OK officials who held specific titles, listing their titles and useful references, but only dealing with officials whose tombs are at the cemeteries of Memphis. He also discusses the holders of six important administrative titles: the overseers of the great mansions, the overseers of the scribes of the king's documents, the overseers of works, the overseers of the granaries, the overseers of the treasuries, and the viziers. It is a thorough start on a huge field of information.

Wolfgang Helck (1986)

'Titel und Titulaturen', *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, Wiesbaden, cols. 596-601.

Wolfgang Helck deals with the subjects in three sections: certain titles and their meanings, their sequences, and specific aspects of title development from the early Dynastic Period to the Twentieth Dynasty. He says that from the First Dynasty, a complicated palace administration was in place. And from as early as the Second Dynasty, certain titles assigned a person's status without reference to their duties. Examples are, he says, 'king's son' and 'king's daughter'. He details how titles continually changed and developed over time. Titles associated with priestly duties developed from the basic *hm.w-ntr* 'priest' and evolved into a large array of titles specifically associated with different gods. At certain times title changes are very apparent. Helck mentions how in the Fifth Dynasty, between the reigns of Neuserre^c to Unas, titles changed in parallel with religious developments. He also discusses how major title changes occurred after the OK, with some titles disappearing and others replacing them, but unfortunately he pays scant attention to new ones being established.

According to Helck, lists of titles show the status of a person at the moment of their recording, never the stages of their career development. Indeed, he maintains that it is not possible to establish such development. On a point of minor disagreement, it is possible to trace in general terms a person's career, certainly in the case of senior officials at the provinces. Early in their careers most senior officials had palace duties or duties involving the king's responsibilities, and some had pyramid duties, often if not mainly of a religious nature, before progressing to the high office of a senior official of a province. These can be seen in the Appendix tables on the titles in the current work.

Helck discusses how, in the MK, particular titles are placed as closely as possible to a person's name in their tomb.⁷⁰ However, and while I tend to agree with him, I think this aspect also needs further analysis. What is certain is that one can conclude from this article how important titles were in Egyptian bureaucracy

Detlef Franke (1991)

'The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called "decline of the nomarchs"' in Stephen Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey, pp. 51-67.

According to Detlef Franke, there was neither a powerful political group of nomarchs in the Twelfth Dynasty nor a deliberate effort by Senwosret III to eliminate any such group. The 'decline of the nomarchs' was a 'socio-political process' in which power and wealth finally became centralised at the central administration.⁷¹ Franke deals with Khnumhotep III, whose career from junior officialdom at Beni Hasan to palace courtier is representative of how the termination of local provincial rule was manipulated.

For Franke, the disappearance of the title 'nomarch' and the disappearance of rock-cut tombs are not necessarily related.⁷² The major tombs at the provinces were invariably owned by senior officials. That both disappear simultaneously without cause and effect of one on the other is possible but seems unlikely. The kings had good reason to want to be rid of the nomarchs: their potential threat to the kings' authority. The senior officials' power is acknowledged in several reviews in this chapter and elsewhere in the thesis. Franke also claims that the ability to build a great tomb was not dependent on a specific title. Titles, he says, are important indicators of a person's wealth and authority, and this is likewise agreed with. An attempt has been made in this thesis to show that the ability to build a large tomb depended on a person's administrative power and wealth, which was related to the wealth of the province, the prosperity and strength of the central administrations and the country as a whole.

⁷⁰ Wolfgang Helck (1986) 'Titel und Titulaturen' in *LÄ VI*, Wiesbaden, col. 600.

⁷¹ Detlef Franke (1991) 'The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called "decline of the nomarchs"' in Stephen Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey, p. 65.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Franke says there are officials with the title ‘nomarch’ from the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, and that most of them were recorded no later than the time of Amenemhet II.⁷³ The first claim is correct to the extent that there were nomarchs from the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, but also far earlier; the second claim is correct to the limited extent that there were seven senior officials after Amenemhet II, of whom the last known nomarch was in the reign of Senwosret III. Franke’s arguments are discussed further in Chapter 6.6 of the present work. To his credit, Franke somewhat bravely challenges the generally accepted wisdom of a century of Egyptological agreement on the matter. In doing this he reveals academic rigour in acknowledging aspects of late provincial rule which do not necessarily support his arguments.

Louise Gestermann (1995)

‘Der Politische und Kulturelle Wandel unter Sesostri III – Ein Entwurf’ in Louise Gestermann and Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi (eds) *Per aspera ad astra. Wolfgang Schenkel um neunundfünfzigsten Geburtstag*, Kassel, pp. 31-50.

This goal of this article by Louise Gestermann is not only, she tells us, to discuss the political and cultural changes that happened during the reign of Sesostri III (in this thesis referred to as Senwosret III, also referred to elsewhere as Senusert III) but also to discuss them in the context of changes which commenced in the reign of Senwosret II and continued through into the reign of Amenemhet III.

According to her account, Senwosret III made numerous changes and dealt with many areas. He made departures from earlier Twelfth Dynasty construction for his pyramid complex and copied several features from the pyramid complex of Djoser. Without elaborating, she says the burial of the queen in Senwosret III’s pyramid was trend-setting.

Gestermann discusses how the government of Senwosret III is now largely known through Egyptian activities in Nubia, which she says, surpassed other activities of his government and also those of his predecessors and successors. The southern border was established at the Second Cataract of the Nile at Semna, reinforced by the construction or expansion of fortifications and boundary stelae along that region. His reputation became so enhanced,

⁷³ Ibid., p. 53.

she says, that documents have been found concerning his local deification, and in the NK he was considered a protective god of the region.

Major internal administrative changes within Egypt were also made. The nation was divided into three administrative divisions, no longer ruled, she says, by senior officials at the provinces. Provincial administration ended during Senwosret III's reign; the large tombs for local senior officials were no longer built.

Gestermann accepts the work of Detlef Franke who has argued that the ending of local provincial rule was because they were 'living fossils', a term, she says, coined by him and whose work has already been commented on in this thesis and which is discussed further in Chapter 6.6 here. I shall not repeat aspects of the argument here, suffice to say that I disagree with Franke's arguments, although I think they are becoming more widely held and discussed.

Also mentioned are changes to grave goods: the custom of placing wooden models of servants in tombs ended after the reign of Senwosret II. However, models of other items, including boats, continued to be placed in tombs for some time.

New depictions of the kings came into vogue at this time. Changes to the king's representation, which changed initially in the reign of Senwosret II, became more apparent. The depictions of Senwosret III have a marked contrast with the style of those of earlier kings. He is represented as having protruding eyes with bags under them, narrow lips, and protruding ears. He is also usually depicted without a beard, a development followed by his successor.

Gestermann concludes her article on the reign of Senwosret III by saying that it led to a centralised state structure with the concentration of power and wealth at the Residence accompanied by a decline of these at the provinces, and what she terms a transformed relationship between the king and the people. I might add that in his reign local provincial rule most likely ended.

Barry J. Kemp (1995)

‘How religious were the Ancient Egyptians?’ in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5:1, pp. 25-54.

This article by Barry Kemp on the Ancient Egyptians’ attitude towards religion also deals with the rationale of large-tomb construction for the provincial leaders of the OK through to the MK, one of the core aspects of this thesis.

Kemp recognises that while practical provision for survival after life was important, in saying which he could hardly do otherwise, he also says that a quest for spiritual enlightenment through knowledge of the divine does not seem to have been a part of the Ancient Egyptians’ way of life. In the opening section he refers to a religious census carried out in Great Britain in 1851 which showed that in several major cities ninety per cent of the population did not actually attend either a church or chapel. For Kemp, this particular example can be seen as a model of religion in society, in which a national belief system is only weakly supported by most of the population. From this claimed model he proceeds to argue that the model is applicable to Ancient Egypt. He concludes by claiming that the Ancient Egyptians arranged their lives to live in what was, in practical terms, a secular society which did not require ongoing religious observance.

Religion, he says, has three aspects: a set of beliefs which require textual sources, ‘works’: cult buildings and ‘pious’ donations, and a ‘profile of faith’ in a population. He acknowledges the latter is something difficult to understand in living communities let alone long-dead ones, but it is something he says that should be attempted.

In dealing with this goal, the sections most relevant to this thesis are ‘the level of provision of community shrines’, ‘the gods as benefactors’, ‘religion and the community...’, ‘the pull of funerary religion’ and a conclusion. He concludes, among other things, that the wealthy and powerful manipulated the ‘simple basis of divinity and cult’ to include themselves. Based on numerous religious artefacts: finger-rings, statuettes, scarabs and so on discovered at Amarna,⁷⁴ I think the religious beliefs of the ‘common people’, at least in

⁷⁴ Anna Stevens (2006) *Private Religion at Amarna: the material evidence*, Oxford, *passim*.

this period, were stronger than implied, although in fairness to Kemp these do seem to have waned towards the end of the Amarna Period.⁷⁵ That such artefacts were discovered could either imply that Akhenaten's alleged proscription of the gods was not as severe as often claimed, or that religious belief was ongoing, if waning, at an unusual period of time. On the other hand, the number and range of titles in the Appendix in this thesis create an impression of an increasing number of religious cult-duties during the Twelfth Dynasty. Admittedly not representative of personal beliefs, but at the state level they suggest more formal or ritual activity at this time at least. Periodic service at the temples seems to have been a regular duty for many people. Mortuary practices for the after-life, long part of Egyptian religious rituals, remained until the third and fourth centuries A.D., and even then only slowly fading away.⁷⁶ These aspects at least seem to have been deeply engrained in the peoples' beliefs.

Eva Martin-Pardey (1999)

'Administrative Archaeology' in Kathryn A. Bard (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London, pp. 129-133.

Eva Martin-Pardey commences the article with a discussion on the administrative bureaucracy being a major characteristic feature of the civilisation of Ancient Egypt. For her, the importance of the bureaucracy is emphasised by the fact that most of the individuals known to us were bureaucrats, at least as far as the period of the OK to the MK is concerned, and this is not argued with here.

She claims that the administration is known mainly from the officials' titles, which I agree with. However, she also claims that the value of this large volume of data is restricted, an assertion with which I disagree, as evidenced by the research presented in this chapter and elsewhere in this thesis. She informs us that titles reflect the organisational structure of the administration, the level which the titles holder has achieved within the organisation, and their position in society.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 327.

⁷⁶ David Frankfurter (1998) *Religion in Roman Egypt: assimilation and resistance*, Princeton, pp. 23–30.

Despite her claims, however, senior bureaucrats rarely take responsibility for a nome by rising through the ranks of a particular profession or trade. The titles in the Appendix here show this. More likely, I suggest, such a person reached their position as a result of inheritance from their father and the king's judgement; future senior officials virtually all served initially at the Residence because of their father's position and would, one assumes from their titles there, have been known to the king. A senior bureaucrat, as seen in the Appendix tables, could have a wide range of titles which might refer to pyramid duties (possibly including religious functions), other religious duties, supervision of building works and other construction, agricultural supervision, and other administrative tasks.

Martin-Pardey mentions the role of temples as administrative institutions, and religious duties as inevitable for the senior officials. As she states, tomb and other records show that officials took part in ritual service. She mentions the lack of distinction between those responsible for military activities and those for non-military duties. I agree; an example is the title *im.y-r3 mšc*. Faulkner translates it as 'general' and 'foreman of gang' whilst Jones translates it as 'expedition leader'.⁷⁷ The matter might partly be resolved as Faulkner is generally giving Middle Egyptian translations and Jones OK translations; mining expeditions and possibly war became more frequent with the passage of time as shown in this thesis. Alternatively the context should be the decider, or perhaps the term included both responsibilities.

She concludes that the principles of Egyptian bureaucracy were established in the OK (if not before) and continued with little major change for two thousand years; a testimony to their effectiveness. This is only partly correct. There were substantial changes over this time-period, including changes to titles, and the system changed radically after the MK. But it is true that the system of bureaucracy was effective, as far as can be gauged, until the virtual end of the MK. To what extent it was effective is examined in this thesis.

⁷⁷ Dilwyn Jones (2000) *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, vol. I, p. 142.

David O' Connor (2000)

'Society and individual in Ancient Egypt' in Janet Richards and Mary Van Buren (eds) *Order, Legitimacy and Wealth in Ancient States*, Cambridge, pp. 21-35.

This is one of 11 articles dealing with aspects of civilisations in ancient societies in the book, and considers the relationships between the 'elites' and broader society in early Egypt, specifically the OK, which David O'Connor classifies as being the Third to Sixth Dynasties. For him, it is necessary to move beyond the royal and elite cemeteries at Memphis to the larger society. Due to the loss of documents of societal and economic interaction, the best evidence of this relationship, he says, should be archaeological. But as settlement sites were typically on flood plains and hence difficult to locate and excavate, the evidence is peripheral and of doubtful significance. Temples should be an important source of information, he claims, but are seldom excavated and little appreciated. Cemeteries are the best source of data, but he says that only one set of cemeteries, Thinis, has proved suitable for research. While that claim may be true, this thesis shows that other sites have excellent potential for further research concerning different levels of wealth at different times. As discussed later in this thesis, regions such as the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Nomes, have tomb sites that date from the OK and finish in the MK. As shown by the cemeteries at Thinis (Eighth Nome), he says, society of the time and place was complex – it had an elite component, and the graves there can be graded into a hierarchy of size and comparative wealth. From an examination of other cemetery sites, O'Connor concludes that elites and the broader society were not sharply differentiated, but shared important customs.

O' Connor deals extensively with the 'elite' tomb of Pepyankh. In pictorial terms, he says, Pepyankh's tomb shows its owner's wealth with his funerary estates, manufactured items, tomb goods, and heaped offering tables. The tomb also shows the organisation and disbursement of wealth in the setting up of funerary estates, as well as paying, supporting and rewarding those responsible for the tomb and its cult. O'Connor sees the tomb and chapel as having a 'cosmological dimension' in which factors such as ritual, architecture and art guarantee a successful afterlife.⁷⁸ Only the elite had the power, he suggests, as

⁷⁸ David O' Connor (2000) 'Society and individual in early Egypt' in Janet Richards and Mary Van Buren (eds) *Order, Legitimacy and Wealth in Ancient States*, Cambridge, p. 29.

epitomized by the religious symbolism of the tomb and its structure to vanquish the chaos which could undermine a unified state. Other tombs, such as those discussed in the present work, also have pictorial representations and texts showing the gulf between them and the lower classes. His point about the importance of research on entire cemeteries and his claim that where cemeteries have tombs of the elite, tombs of the lower-ranked people are separate, are agreed with here. Emerging from this position, not stated by O'Connor but implicit in his article, is that whilst the (provincial) elites' tombs were at the local cemeteries, they also had the best sites and residences for the after-life, as shown in this thesis. That said, O'Connor's article is a valuable contribution to study of aspects of the so-called 'elite' level of society and other levels of society and changing burial customs.

Nicole Alexanian (2003)

'Social dimensions of Old Kingdom Mastaba Architecture' in Zahi Hawass (ed.) *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, vol. 2, *History, Religion*, New York, pp. 88-96.

This article by Nicole Alexanian is a discussion of her endeavour to establish a relationship between the size of an Egyptian tomb and the status of its owner. To this end she examined the data from the cemetery of Naga-el-Deir 500-900; the data from 396 individual mastabas throughout Egypt, and data from 313 tombs at the Memphite region. The tomb data size was found to mainly lie within three groups: small (1-5m²), medium (10-30 m²) and large tombs (90-570m²).

Alexanian's graphs' analysis shows similarity of distribution of tomb size of the three groups, but differences in average sizes. In Naga-ed-Deir, approximately 50 % were small, 25% medium, and 25% large. For the provinces, 30% were small, 40% medium, and 30% large. At Memphis, 20% were small, 40 % medium, and 40% large. These results are not unexpected. Memphis, being the region of the central government for the OK, might be expected to have had larger tombs. But on the subject of data, I would prefer to take numbers from a data table than extract them from a graph, for most of which no accompanying data tables are given by Alexanian, although she does give a summary table.

Using titles from 374 tombs, she next shows how rank-titles are related to tomb size for the Old Kingdom. She concludes that four of the main rank-title owners who held the titles *ir.y p^c.t* (hereditary noble), *h3.ty-^c.w* (count), *htm.w-bi.ty* (seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt), and *smr w^c.ty* (sole companion), were usually buried in large tombs; holders of the titles *ir.y ht nsw* (guardian of the affairs of the king) and *šps nsw* (noble of the king) were buried in medium-sized tombs, and those with no rank or other titles were buried in small tombs.

In a commentary on the results, Alexanian concludes that the size of a tomb reflects the status of the owner. From further analysis of the data, she also concludes that there was a large and growing group in the Fifth Dynasty of what are termed ‘dependent-specialists’, the owners of medium-sized tombs, and that as the administrative system became more complex it became necessary to employ more lower-ranking officials than this group. She concludes by saying how the results of this type of analysis yield valuable insights into the development and structure of OK society. And with this, I quite agree.

Naguib Kanawati (2004)

‘The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty’ in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62.

For Naguib Kanawati, the recent discovery of the tomb of *In-k3=f/Ini* at Saqqara raises once more what he perceives as the problem of provincial officials being buried at the capital during the Sixth Dynasty. For him, this is rare and curious. On the contrary, I do not regard this as being unusual; rather, it is a continuation of a tendency begun from the earliest appointment of senior officials. Kanawati concludes that their burial at the capital was a deliberate policy by the central government to ensure better control over the distant parts of the country. This may be correct, but the slowness in the increase of local rule indicates, to me at least, a reluctance by the kings to let go of control, and the fact is that the first local rulers had their tombs near the Residence, the later ones at their provinces. This is, I suggest, looks more like initial tentativeness by the central administration in allowing local control.

Kanawati deals at some length with the tomb of *In-k3=f/Ini* and possible repercussions of its discovery. He suggests that men from the provinces, in this case Akhmim (the Ninth Nome), were selected for particular tasks and resided at Memphis, although in fact, after

the time of the nomarch *Nfr-nsw* in the reign of Userkaf, senior officials were usually buried at a province for which they were responsible (Chapter 5.1.3 here).

Kanawati's article goes on to deal with the family relationships of the Sixth Dynasty kings, Pepy I and Pepy II in particular, whose reigns saw a large increase in provincial rule. Kanawati's knowledge of these relationships is extensive, and is essential reading for anyone interested in how a bureaucracy can expand, and how one can collapse as quickly as the bureaucracy of the Sixth Dynasty did.

Nicole Alexanian (2006)

'Tomb and social status. The textual evidence' in Miroslav Bárta (ed.) *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of an international conference held in Prague, May 31-June 4, 2004*, Prague, pp. 1-8.

This article deals with some of the core issues with which this thesis is concerned. These are how Ancient Egyptian tombs can contain indicators for the social status of the tomb owner as indicated by the tomb position in a cemetery, the area it occupies, architectural lay-out, decoration, equipment and the burial ceremony. According to Nicole Alexanian, direct correlation between tomb-size and titles of the owner has been questioned, as well as have the indicators. As, she says, recent research has modified this view, the author decided to examine the textual records for any further information.

The first point discussed is the assertion that tombs may have been built to show the status of the living persons who built the tomb rather than that of the deceased person. Numerous examples of text indicate the tomb owner built the tomb in his lifetime, although there were exceptions. The author also concludes that the builders seemed to have spared no expense to build the tombs, and even if a son built the tomb he was concerned about representing the status of his father.

The next point discussed is whether regulations concerning tombs existed. This did happen, and she gives examples, but I would like to have seen more. There is also evidence, she says, that the size of a tomb was important in the society. One example suggests façade measurements were taken into account, but no evidence is presented that this was a general rule. Alexanian next looks into any correlation between tomb size and social status, an aspect of relevance to this thesis. Two examples that are given concern

tomb-builders who felt it necessary to explain their small tombs despite their social positions. These defensive explanations certainly imply the importance of having a tomb appropriate to one's social position.

According to Alexanian, a fixed idea existed as to how a member of a social group should be buried. She refers to what is a textual support of her article 'Social dimensions of Old Kingdom Mastaba Architecture' reviewed above, in which an official Sabni (*S3bni*) says that his father, 'only a *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w*' (count) was buried the same way as was common for a higher-ranked *ir.y pḥ.t* (hereditary noble). Comparing this case with that of another official, Meru (*Mrw*), Alexanian concludes rank title determined the size of burial complex a person was allowed to have. Tomb-size, she concludes, was an indication of a person's achievements in their lifetime.

In her summary, she says that a fixed system existed regulating tomb type and funeral requirements. This for her is corroborated by direct correlation between tomb-size, equipment and lay-out of the tomb and titles of the owner; and the texts supply information about which social status is represented by a tomb. All this is additional evidence I was looking for, and obviously such written records can help with issues on the society of the time.

Harco Willems (2006)

'La Culture nomarcale: dimensions politiques, administratives, sociales et religieux' in *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la Démocratie: Éléments d'une histoire culturelle du Moyen Empire égyptien*, Paris, pp. 5-65.

Harco Willems commences by saying the title of 'nomarch' goes back to Graeco-Roman times and translated literally means 'head of a nome or province' although it did not have the same sense then of the words usually used by Egyptologists to designate the highest rank of administrators. The word as now used, he says, is an Egyptological invention.

He says the establishment of the first nomes is still debatable because of a lack of records. The oldest mention of a nome was found on a pottery sherd in a corridor under Djoser's pyramid, and Willems accepts this as the date, or a little before, for the beginning of nomes. As it so happens, such evidence has been used in this thesis.

Willems sees an evolving system of provincial administration in which religious functions of a nomarch became enmeshed with civil duties. However, the Appendix tables here show that religious functions always were a responsibility of the senior officials. A temple of Senwosret I at Karnak gives information on the nomes such as details of their size. He suggests all this shows a link between the civil administration and the temple. From the beginning, different types of senior officialdom are evident through strings of titles, and he concludes it is difficult to say which, if any, designated an individual as ruling a province. However, several titles did signify a person being a nomarch and are detailed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

During the Fourth Dynasty the principles of regional administration were widely established but significant changes were to occur in the Fifth Dynasty. Until then, he says, senior officials had been members of the royal family. Now what he terms ‘professional administrators’ were usually in charge of a nome, evidenced by the strings of titles they held. The numerous titles held by a person not designated a nomarch, but designated in this thesis as provincial administrators, means any difference in their overall responsibilities was minimal. Also at this time, local temples had acquired more importance, not only on a theological level, but economically, through land and staff attached to the temples, and this link, he says, was important in the provincial system.

The central administration of the nation was comprised of five departments, one of which: justice, reported directly to the vizier. These departments were, as a group, he says, responsible for local administration in their different aspects. This changed in the Sixth Dynasty. The regional administration from this time on, as modelled by Willems, was nomarchs (with full powers) in charge of nomes who reported to a merged central administration, comprising the same five departments, reporting to and under the overall control of the vizier.

The collapse of the OK resulted in a marked change of provincial administration during the FIP and provincial rule in the southern part of the country seemed to disintegrate. There was a re-emergence of nomarchship near the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. In the south of Egypt nomarchal rule was largely non-existent from the Eleventh Dynasty onwards but it occurs at the First Nome administered by *S3-rnpwt* I (in the reign of Senwosret I).

Nomarchship certainly continued in the MK, and at this time there was a growth in the rule of large towns administered by mayors.

Willems claims that through much of the nomarchal period there were two principles, partly counter-productive: traditionalism and dynamism. It is considered necessary, he says, to accept the nomarchal system as mainly a dynamic one, involving formal and informal elements.

Mayors replaced nomarchal rule in the Thirteenth Dynasty, but they were, he says, of a different social status, much lower, to that of the nomarchs. From the large size of the tombs of some of the last nomarchs he concludes that these were a reflection of their social positions, confirmed by this thesis, but suggested in this thesis as having always been the case.

Juan Carlos Moreno García (2007)

‘The state and the organisation of the rural landscape in 3rd millennium BC pharaonic Egypt’ in Michael Bollig, Olaf Bubbenzer, Ralf Vogelsang and Hans-Peter Wotzka (eds) *Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa; Proceedings of an International ACACIA Conference held at Königswinter, Germany, October 1-3, 2003*, Cologne, pp. 313-330.

In this article Juan Garcia discusses ancient agriculture and its forms of organisation which he sees as important for current research. Technical approaches such as the interaction and integration of villages and cities, the study of ancient field and irrigation systems and pastoral and agricultural activities, must he says, be complemented by a sociological approach to understand the stratification of the ancient rural societies. He sees pharaonic agriculture and its specific forms of rural landscape organisation as the result of two different forces: the ‘domestic’, by which he means agricultural workers not directly controlled by state institutions, and ‘institutional’, by which he means the workers of organisations attached to the state: crown land, temple properties, and fields granted to the ‘palatial elite’. Garcia restricts further comment to the latter classification. He next discusses how new discoveries from particular sites are helping supply information on the origins of the pharaonic state.

The economic organisation of the ‘proto-state’ of Abydos, whose rulers became the first pharaohs of a united Egypt just prior to the fourth millennium BC, has, he says, been

recognised from numerous labels. Originally attached to offerings and other items, they have been discovered in the tombs of the predynastic rulers and the kings of the First and Second Dynasties. These labels reveal information on senior administrators of the state, their departments, their products and the workers they levied, proving that the beginning of the economic system goes back to the Archaic Period.

The next section dealt with is the Fourth Dynasty and the importance of the pharaoh Snefru, who, Garcia says, had a long-lasting influence on regional organisation and rural society. From his reign have come the best sources of information on these aspects during the Dynasty. In this king's reign in the royal annals is a record of the establishment of 35 rural establishments (*ḥw.t-ʿ3* or, he says, perhaps *ḥw.t*). The whole nation, he says, must have been affected by these changes.

The royal annals of the Fifth Dynasty and an increased number of inscriptions provide information on what Garcia regards as the two most important supports of the state in the countryside: the temples and the agricultural centres of the crown. For the first time temples became an important part of the rural scene, although they were not insignificant before this. At this time provincial power was being taken over by 'governors', who I have termed 'senior officials', and which he incorrectly says, see Appendix tables here, were buried at the provinces they had supervised, although most were. And again incorrectly, he implies there was no senior officials of the Eighth Nome, also see Appendix tables here, and apart from which I am not convinced of his claim of these officials limiting the power of the crown in some way.⁷⁹

There is a brief discussion about local administration of Lower Egypt which Garcia concludes was exercised in a centralised manner and that there has been no evidence there of holders of the title *ḥr.y-tp ʿ3* 'great overlord'. However, this is evidently not correct; see Chapter 1.2 here. Lower Egypt, he says, was sparsely occupied, and absence of tombs there may mean that local administrators there preferred to be buried at Memphis.

⁷⁹ Juan Carlos Moreno García (2007) 'The state and the organisation of the rural landscape in 3rd millennium BC pharaonic Egypt' in Michael Bollig, Olaf Bubenzner, Ralf Vogelsang and Hans-Peter Wotzka (eds) *Aridity, Change and Conflict in Africa; Proceedings of an International ACACIA Conference held at Königswinter, Germany, October 1-3, 2003*, p. 323.

Garcia concludes by saying how the crisis of the state at the end of the third millennium was accompanied by changes to the organisation of the 'rural landscape'. The reunification of the country at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty meant that new centres arose to meet the needs of the re-established monarchy. For the first time, he concludes, provincial temples began to be decorated, were made of more expensive materials, were constructed on a large scale, and became a common feature of the land.

This article has a different approach to provincial rule to the one of this thesis. I do not see the difference as great as this might imply; it is a useful contribution to the role of the state in the social organisation of the time.

Stephan Johannes Seidlmayer (2007)

'People at Beni Hasan: contributions to a model of Ancient Egyptian rural society' in Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards (eds) *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honour of David B. O'Connor*, Cairo, pp. 365-380.

The author's aim of this study was to review the evidence from one site and one period: the necropolis of Beni Hasan during the MK, in order to obtain data that might help construct a fuller picture of Ancient Egyptian rural society. The first step carried out by Stephan Seidlmayer was to establish a nexus between a necropolis of nearly 900 shaft tombs and the adjoining rock-cut tombs on the hill-side of Beni-Hasan. Despite inadequate documentation of the archaeological contents in the shaft tombs, he was able to establish their dating to the period of Mentuhotep II until Senwosret II, with several later burials. Analysis of the data from the inscribed coffins of the shaft tombs showed the main groups of occupation were 'management of property', 'temple administration', 'military and police', 'specialists', 'male rank titles' and 'female titles'. Analysis of the tomb contents showed no correlation between the objects and the profession of the tomb owner concerned. Even the contents of a tomb of a physician, carefully analysed by the excavator, John Garstang, showed nothing which could relate specifically to his profession.

Next Seidlmayer discusses the rock tombs, dated to the same general period as the tomb shafts, which show a development from simple, large square chambers to tombs with columned porticoes, axial structures, and separate shrines for the mortuary cult. Preliminary analysis of these tombs showed that later tombs, numbers 2 and 3, had more complete labelling of the tomb scenes, and these were considered more suitable for

detailed analysis of the occupations of the persons depicted. Analysis of occupations depicted showed exactly the same occupations as those of the tomb shafts lower down. Combining the data for the national and regional levels gave an overall structure of king>central administration> regional rulers>lesser members of the ruling elite>subordinate officials.

Further analysis of other scene groupings was then done. The data in Seidlmayer's Table 9, give the titles of persons shown in wall-scene contexts which show or imply particular closeness to the tomb owner. The percentages of the occupations of the tomb shafts was closest to the respective percentages of this group. From this, he concluded that the occupants of the shaft tombs mainly fall within the group of officials which occupy, in iconography, positions of particular closeness to the local rulers.

Seidlmayer queried whether all this was a comprehensive model of rural Egyptian society and comes back with a definite 'no'. The reason for this is the theme of the tomb decoration: the depiction of the tomb owners' households, rather than segments of regional administration. Also obvious is the lack of depiction of women and children, the latter's absence even more obvious. Despite this, he says the depictions should not be discounted for their value, and he sees no reason to doubt that the scenes depicted show reality. He concludes that fitting the archaeological record to the iconographic evidence gives an opportunity to reach a more realistic sociological and anthropological reconstruction of what was by far the largest group of people in Ancient Egypt, or in any society for that matter.

The value of work such as that done by Seidlmayer is clear. It is probably true that many Egyptologists have tended to deal with archaeology of the ruling classes; after all they were the ones who left the most beautiful tombs. And there is the problem that flood plain archaeology has problems not encountered in mortuary archaeology. But this limitation of research to the ruling elite is probably not as true as it once was; fields of research such as the one just discussed have considerably expanded in recent years.

Christopher Eyre (2009)

‘On the inefficiency of bureaucracy’ in Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo (eds) *Egyptian Archives: Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress, Egyptian Archives/Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9-10, 2008*, Milan, pp. 15-30.

Christopher Eyre acknowledges that his approach to the subject of aspects of the Ancient Egyptian bureaucracy is ‘deliberately sceptical’ in order to redress what he sees as a lack of balance in dealing with their use of written records.⁸⁰ He says that archival use for reference was limited in early periods, and inaccurate and inefficient throughout Egyptian history.⁸¹ Only in the later periods, the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, were village scribes required to submit full written reports to the provincial and central administration, a system not used earlier.⁸²

The importance of writing in the history of Egypt is discussed, but Eyre specifies that he will not be dealing with literary aspects but instead focus on administrative writing. What would have caused problems for the bureaucracy, he says, was the use of scrolls, the invariable manner of writing and making records. Storage and retrieval of information from them must have been extremely difficult. Eyre quotes a legal case concerning disputed land involving a certain Mose. The vizier deciding the case despaired at the documents provided to him, they being contradictory. On appeal, personal testimony from village people decided in Mose’s family favour. This account is enlightening for the forgery and/or corruption it reveals. The system was clearly open to abuse.

Eyre writes about the impracticality of using documents not stored in an accessible manner, the absence of procedures for referencing documents, and the need to construct a theory of bureaucracy that does not imply an efficient information retrieval system. For him, the most optimistic scenario one can have of an ancient bureaucratic room is scrolls stored in pots, in boxes or heaped up, possibly by theme or contents and with the name of

⁸⁰ Christopher Eyre (2009 ‘On the inefficiency of bureaucracy’ in Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo (eds) *Egyptian Archives: Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress, Egyptian Archives/Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9-10, 2008*, Milan, pp. 15-30.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁸² Ibid., p. 27.

the scribe, but which must have been difficult to retrieve. This is a salutary article for those of us perhaps too enthusiastic in our affection for and appreciation of Ancient Egypt. But I would like to have seen some discussion of texts in ‘offices of writing’, on places of legal registration, or on ‘guardians of writings’ which he acknowledges existed.⁸³

Marcel Zitman (2010)

The Necropolis of Assiut, two vols, Leuven

This two-volume set of books by Marcel Zitman is a systematic account of the burial site of Assiut, frequently referred to as Asyut and so used here, which has not received the attention it deserves. Part I presents the text and Part 2 includes maps, plans of tombs, illustrations, tables and lists. The work deals with late OK tombs through to the late MK Period and contains detailed analyses of the pottery and coffins, including a typology of the Asyutian style of coffin decoration. There is a full account of the archaeological excavations at the site and a comprehensive analysis of the artefacts.

I received this book with high expectation, as the site of Asyut contains interesting tombs and texts which need more work and publication. Whilst valuable in the work it presents, and Zitman has presented a lot of data and carried out a lot of analysis, it was somewhat disappointing, especially in relation to the texts, little dealt with by him.

Other criticisms of the book are that while plans of tombs are presented, nearly half have no dimensions, and some are known, as the author concedes, to be inaccurate. None show the orientation of the tombs or state the name of the tomb owner. The plan references are no further help; therefore they could not be used here. In fairness to Zitman, he is aware of problems with the plans, and lists other issues concerning them, but was unable to visit the site of Asyut. Other negating points are that he lists the tombs owners’ titles in transliteration but without translation, and the titles, given in strings, are sometimes punctuated, sometimes not. That said, *The Necropolis of Assiut* will provide for some a badly-needed corpus on aspects of its subject. But it is a site that needs more work and publication.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

CHAPTER 4

THE NOMES AND THEIR SENIOR OFFICIALS

4.1 The capital of Upper and Lower Egypt: Memphis

The capital of Upper and Lower Egypt for much of the time under discussion, known in Early Dynastic period but not afterwards as ‘White Walls’, was Memphis. According to Manetho, kings as early as the Third Dynasty reigned at Memphis,⁸⁴ at the juncture of Upper and Lower Egypt in the First Nome of Lower Egypt.

4.1.1 Individual sites

These are areas of Saqqara, Dahshur and Giza. Tombs of senior officials from these sites are discussed in this chapter and elsewhere. Near Memphis are the burial sites of Helwan, Meidum, Abusir and Abu Roash. Helwan has tombs dated to the First Dynasty;⁸⁵ no other tombs are mentioned there by Porter and Moss.⁸⁶ The burial sites of Meidum are discussed in Chapter 4:22 dealing with the Twenty-first Nome. Abusir is the site of some of the Fifth Dynasty pyramids, but apart from these and other antiquities of the Fifth Dynasty, including that of a vizier, no tombs of senior officials of the provinces are stated to be there.⁸⁷ The site of Abu Roash, also known as Abu Rawash, has antiquities dated to the First Dynasty and also to the Graeco-Roman Period, but apart from the pyramid of Djedefre^c, the site was not important after this king, and no other antiquities are said to be there.⁸⁸

4.1.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was in Lower Egypt and being the site of the capital of Upper and Lower Egypt, its wealth is not relevant to this thesis.

⁸⁴ William Gillian Waddell (tr.) (1997) *Manetho*, London, p. 41.

⁸⁵ *AAE*, p. 234.

⁸⁶ *PM IV*, p. 73.

⁸⁷ *AAE*, pp. 140-141, 152-153.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

(b) The tombs

In addition to two tombs at different cemeteries within the province, the nomarch *Ggi* also had a tomb at Abydos. His tomb at Saqqara was probably that of his actual burial as it details titles almost certainly granted later in life.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

The following summary table gives the total titles concerning administrative rulers of the provinces who had a tomb at the capital. The totals of titles given relate overwhelmingly to the capital and Upper Egypt although the few titles relating to Lower Egypt are also included.

Period	Old Kingdom									
Name	<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Mtn</i>	<i>Ntr-ḥpr=f</i>	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Nfr-nsw</i>	<i>Nfr-mḥ.t</i>	<i>In-k3=f/Ini</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw-b3.w</i>
Ref. number	[086]	[062]	[078]	[016]	[069]	[067]	[011]	[013]	[132]	[096]
N or PA	N	N	PA	N	N	PA	PA	N	N	N
Date	Djoser	Snefru-Khufu	Snefru-Khufu	Late D4, Ea D5	Userkaf-Sahure ^c	Neuserre ^c	Pepy I	Pepy I-Merenre ^c	Pepy I-Merenre ^c	Early Pepy II
Tomb site	Saqqara	Saqqara	Dahshur	Saqqara	Giza	Dahshur	Saqqara	Saqqara	Saqqara and Abydos	Saqqara
Total titles	2	6	9	9	11	7	12	5	11	7
Tomb size	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk

Table 4.2 Senior officials with tombs at Memphis

(d) The titles

The titles *ḥk3 sp3.t* ‘ruler of the nome’ and *sšm-t3* ‘leader of the land’ are not seen at the capital after the reigns of Snefru-Khufu. The title *ḥk3 sp3.t* was not used anywhere after the time of *Mtn* during the reigns of Snefru-Khufu, however the title *sšm-t3* continued through the Sixth Dynasty, finishing with the nomarch *K3-wḥm* during the middle-late reign of Pepy II in the Sixteenth Nome. The titles *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw* ‘guardian of the affairs of the king’, *smr wḥ.t.y* ‘sole companion’ and *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* ‘count’ were first seen at the capital in the time of the provincial administrator *Nfr-mḥ.t* in the reign of Neuserre^c, and are three of the most enduring titles, lasting virtually until the closing stages of provincial rule. *Mtn*, who ruled two nomes, the East Sixth and Seventeenth Nomes, had identical titles for each nome.

Isi did not have responsibility for any specific province, but was a *sšm-t3 sp3.wt Šmḥ.w* ‘leader of the land of the nomes of Upper Egypt’ and also a *sws.w(?) m sp3.wt T3-mḥ.w*

‘overseer/leader’ in the nomes of Lower Egypt’, that is, he had responsibilities for all the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt, which would have made him – to all intents and purposes – vizier of the nation.

The nomarch *Nfr-nsw*, who had responsibility for three nomes, the Thirteenth of Lower Egypt and the Eighth and Tenth of Upper Egypt in the reigns of Userkaf-Sahure^c, also had early ties with the Residence, being an *im.y-r3* ‘h’ ‘overseer of the palace’ and *ir.y-h.t nsw* ‘guardian of the affairs of the king’.

General comments

The last known senior official of a nome buried at the capital was *Hw-b3.w*, in the early reign of Pepy II.

The reign of Pepy II can be seen as a turning point in the development of provincial rule.

After the reign of Pepy II, known senior officials of a nome were invariably buried in the nome for which they were responsible, or, where they were responsible for more than one nome, at one of them.

4.2 The First Nome: ‘Land of the Bow’

The capital of the province, probably from the beginning of the Dynastic Period, was Elephantine.⁸⁹

4.2.1 Individual sites

The main burial site for senior officials of the First Nome in the OK and MK was Qubbet el-Hawa, on the west side of the Nile, several hundred metres north of Elephantine Island. Both rock-cut tombs and mastabas were built at this site, but the latter tombs, in a separate cemetery at Qubbet el-Hawa and also at Elephantine Island, have only survived in a ruined state.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ AAE, p. 72.

⁹⁰ Michael R. Jenkins (2000) ‘Notes on the tomb of Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan’, in *BACE* 11, p. 67.

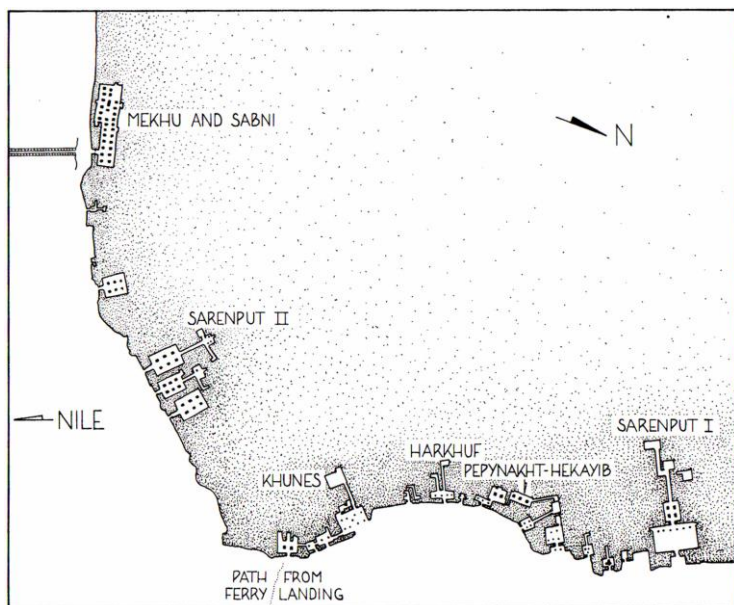


Fig. 4.1 Tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa

4.2.2. Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The First Nome soil has been classified as the lowest quality soil of all Upper Egypt (Table A2). Note that the issue of soil productivity in Upper Egypt has been discussed by Kanawati.⁹¹ The land is ‘forbidding, infertile’, ‘dominated by the desert’, but rich in minerals.⁹² The region possibly prospered in the times of trade incursions in the reigns of Merenre^c and Pepy II, after which it probably declined, then rising again in the reigns of Mentuhotep II and the Twelfth Dynasty.⁹³ A chain of forts was built along the Nile south of the province in the region of the Second Cataract, mostly commencing in the reign of Senwosret I,⁹⁴ and the influx of workers, soldiers and traders, plus the import of gold, copper and other goods must have been contributory factors to the region’s wealth at varying times. The First Nome is therefore assessed as intermittently wealthy.

⁹¹ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, pp. 6-8.

⁹² AAE, p. 70.

⁹³ Walter B. Emery (1965) *Egypt in Nubia*, London, pp. 139-155.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 143.

(b) The tombs

The senior officials' tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, separate from the tombs of lower-ranked people, are all rock-cut into cliff-side walls. There is a lack of correlation between the size of several of the tombs and the extent of their decoration; the size of several being very large and yet having limited numbers of titles, especially by comparison with other provinces, and the decoration is described by William S. Smith as of poor quality.⁹⁵ The tombs indicate that their owners generally had the wealth to build large tombs but lacked the skilled draftsmen to decorate them accordingly.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom								OK/FIP	Middle Kingdom	
Name	<i>Hwi</i>	<i>Tti</i>	<i>Hr-hw=f</i>	<i>Init=f/Mh.w</i>	<i>S3bni</i>	<i>Hwn-Hnm.w</i>	<i>Ppy-Nh.t/Hk3-ib</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>Sti-k3</i>	<i>S3-rnpwt I</i>	<i>S3-rnpwt II</i>
Ref. number	[094]	[141]	[092]	[010]	[113]	[098]	[051]	[100]	[121]	[114]	[115]
N or PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	N	PA
Date	M-ea PII	Ea PII	Yrs 1-34 PII	Late PII	Late PII-D8	D8	D8	D8	Late OK or early FIP	Senwosret I	Amenemhet II
Tomb number	A5	B3	A8	A1	A1	B2	A9	A6	110	PM 36	PM 31
Total titles	5	4	9	4	6	7	7	4	4	9	8
Tomb size (m ²)	57.0	36.0	34.0	159.9	122.0 +	43.0	15.0	90.0	166.0	105.5	129.0

Table 4.3 Senior officials of the First Nome

⁹⁵ William S. Smith (1946) *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, London, pp. 226-227.

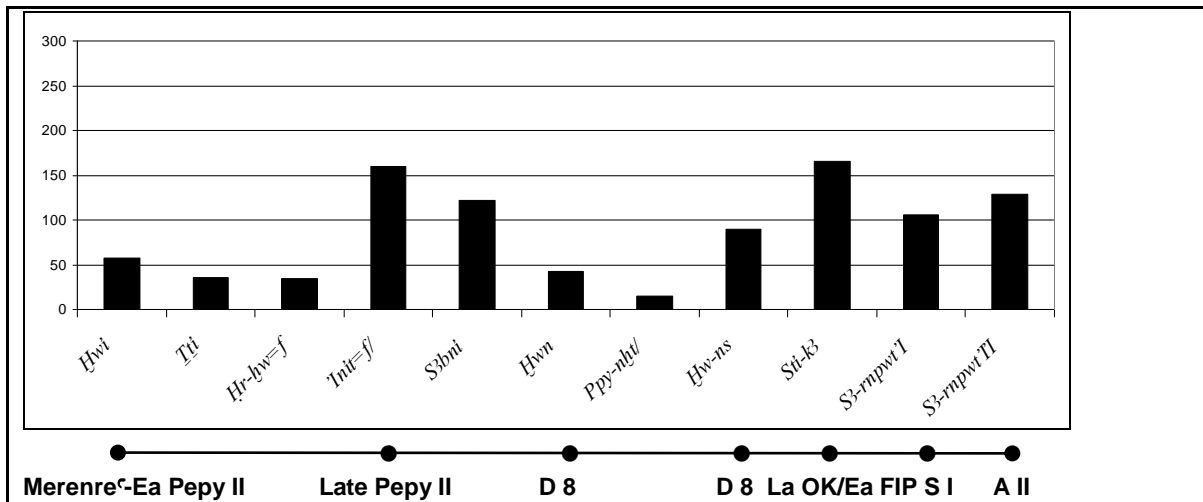


Fig. 4.2 First Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials

(d) The titles

Titles introduced and held by senior officials at this nome reveal its importance as a strategic and trade location. The title *im.y-r3 h3s.wt nb.t n.(w)t tp-Šm^c.w* ‘overseer of all foreign lands of the head of the South’ was held by four officials of the First Nome: *Hr-hw=f*, *S3bni*, *Hwn-Hnm.w* and *Ppy-nht./Hk3-ib*, all in the reign of Pepy II. This designation is fairly similar to the title *im.y-r3 3 h3s.wt m h3s.wt Šm^c.w* ‘overseer of the gate of the desert-lands in the hill-countries of Upper Egypt’ which was held by *Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r* of the Second Nome in the reign of Merenre^c, the immediate predecessor of Pepy II.

Other titles introduced for *Hr-hw=f* were the titles *im.y-r3 3(w)* ‘overseer of Egyptianised Nubians’ and *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’. The title *im.y-r3 h3s.wt nb.t n.(w)t tp-Šm^c.w* was most likely replaced in the FIP by *im.y-r3 h3s.wt* ‘overseer of foreign lands’ (the latter comes in shortly after the last use of the former).

Expeditions to Sinai and Nubia continued unabated in the reign of Senwosret I’s successor, Amenemhet II, with gold a major target. A palace official of Amenemhet II, *S3-Mntw*, records that he forced (Nubian) chiefs to search for gold.⁹⁶ It is not surprising that

⁹⁶ *BARE*, p. 274.

S3-rnpwt I's nephew⁹⁷ and successor, *S3-rnpwt* II, has the title *im.y-r mš* 'expedition leader'.

General comments

The First Nome was an important strategic point for defence and trade. Commerce with Nubia takes place in the reigns of Merenre^c, Pepy II, Mentuhutep II and the Twelfth Dynasty kings. Therefore, these periods were probably times of increased wealth of the region. The province is considered as poor initially, then average in wealth from the time of Merenre^c to the first half of Pepy II's reign, and intermittently wealthy thereafter. Trade must have been an important economic boost to an otherwise barren region.

The introduction of certain titles shows how they evolved to suit conditions at the province, particularly the development of trade with the lands to the south, and the importance of this region to Egypt's economy.

Mention has just been made of a senior official *S3bni* who had responsibility for the southern region. As it so happens, *S3bni* may, only alleged, have been a corrupt official. An article by Paul C. Smither,⁹⁸ details one of few letters to have survived from the OK. It is a complaint by a general of the army (or overseer of an expedition), *Mr-r^c-nh.t (?)*, to a senior official of an un-named king against a count *S3bni*. *Mr-r^c-nh.t (?)* complains about *S3bni* for his 'continual crookedness' and alleges he has committed robbery. Smither suggests he is the same *S3bni* who brought the body of his father *Init=f/Mhw* back from *W3w3.t* 'Wawat' and *Wtt* 'Wetheth' to Egypt.

The allegation against *S3bni* might come as a surprise to those aware that he may have been held in high esteem by many of his compatriots for the reason just mentioned, and he was an important senior official. Included in his titles are several that indicate he was known to the king, and he was also an *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w* 'overseer of Upper Egypt' as well as being an *im.y-r3 h3sw.t nb n.y tp-Šm^c.w* (Table A6). *S3bni* was one of only two known senior officials to hold both titles. In *S3bni*'s defence as far as the allegations are concerned, it should also be said that he claims that he presented everything his father had

⁹⁷ William Kelly Simpson (1984) 'Sarenput I' in *LÄ* V, Wiesbaden, col. 430.

⁹⁸ Paul C. Smither (1942) 'An old kingdom letter concerning the crimes of Count Sabni' in *JEA* 28, pp. 16-19.

brought from the (southern) countries to the king.⁹⁹ This shows the value in finding both sides of a story; all too seldom possible. But establishing the facts behind the allegations is another matter.

4.3 The Second Nome: ‘Throne of Horus’

The major city was Edfu, at the south of the nome and on the west side of the Nile.

4.3.1 Individual sites

Located near Edfu, the main burial site has extended regions on either side for poorer tombs. The cemetery contains mud-brick mastabas from the OK as well as later tombs which are outside the period under discussion. The Edfu cemetery dealt with covers the area to the west of the great Temple of Horus.¹⁰⁰

4.3.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The province was one of the smallest of Upper Egypt.¹⁰¹ The soil of the nome has been classified as the second lowest of five classes in productive capacity (Table A2). Accordingly, its overall population was probably one of the lowest in Upper Egypt. All of which, along with defeat in battle (the province was defeated in the provincial rule of *H.ww* by the nomarch *ḥnh.ty=fy* of the Third Nome),¹⁰² probably accounts for the termination of its provincial rule in the Eighth Dynasty. The nome is therefore considered relatively poor and unimportant.

(b) The tombs

According to the details of the ‘Mastaba-Field’,¹⁰³ there are three mud-brick mastabas, one of which has no inscriptions while the other two are of the Fifth to Sixth Dynasties. The two inscribed mastabas are those of the nomarchs *Isi* and *Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r*, in that time

⁹⁹ *BARE*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁰ *AAE*, p. 76.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰² Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 110.

¹⁰³ PM V, pp. 200-201.

sequence.¹⁰⁴ The next senior official of whom there is a record is the nomarch *H.ww*, the sole record referring to him being a door jamb, re-used in a house of a later period.¹⁰⁵

The tomb of *Isi*, a mastaba, is much smaller than the later mastaba tombs of the Sixth Nome, the first known tombs of senior officials there being built in the reign of Pepy II.

Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r's tomb, also a mastaba, is smaller than *Isi*'s tomb, but there are insufficient tomb details elsewhere to compare with at this time (the reign of Merenre^c).

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom		
Name	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r</i>	<i>H.ww</i>
Reference number	[017]	[055]	[095]
Nomarch or provincial administrator	N (also vizier)	N	N
Date	Pepy I	Merenre ^c	Eighth Dynasty
Total titles	16	15	5
Tomb size (m ²)	158.0	103.0	Tomb destroyed
Tomb size (m ²) (10%)	15.8	10.3	-

Table 4.4 Nomarchs of the Second Nome

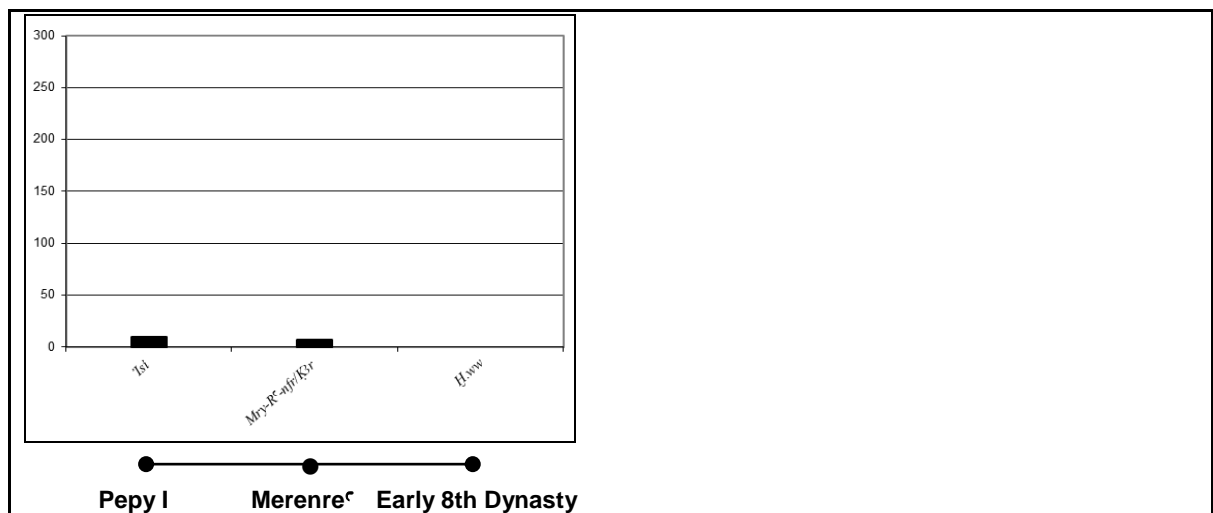


Fig. 4.3 Second Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs (10% of actual size)

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 200-201.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 202.

(d) The titles

The title *hr.y-tp ʿ3 sp3.t* did not occur after the time of Merenre^c at this nome and was replaced by *hr.y-tp ʿ3* [Nome] in the nomarchship of *H.ww*. However, *hr.y-tp ʿ3 sp3.t* occurred elsewhere (the Fourth, Sixth and Eighth Nomes) as late as the Eighth Dynasty.

Mry-Rʿ-nfr/K3r, the son of *Isi*,¹⁰⁶ had the title *im.y-r3 ʿ3 h3s.wt m h3s.wt Šmʿ.w* ‘overseer of the gate of the desert-lands in the hill-countries of Upper Egypt’ which, as previously mentioned, is similar to that of *im.y-r3 h3s.wt nb.t n.t tp-Šmʿ.w* ‘overseer of all foreign lands of the head of the South’ which was not held in the First Nome until the time of the provincial administrator *Hr-hw=f* in the early-middle reign of Pepy II. The latter title continued at the First Nome but *im.y-r3 ʿ3 h3s.wt m h3s.wt Šmʿ.w* did not recur at the Second Nome. Therefore, responsibility for the southern lands moved to the southernmost nome, the First Nome, which is where it would be expected to be, but this may have been a reform forced on the central administration by the defeat of *H.ww*.

That so few titles are recorded for *H.ww* results from the fact that his tomb is now destroyed, possibly by *ʿnh.ty=fy* of the Third Nome who captured the nome, and who in turn was defeated by the Fourth Nome.¹⁰⁷ After the nomarchship of *H.ww* there is no evidence of any more local rulers at the Second Nome, and after *ʿnh.ty=fy* it was, presumably, subordinate to the Fourth Nome.

General observations

Why so important an official as *Isi*, a vizier, should have been sent to such a remote outpost as Edfu is intriguing, as none of his titles are of any particular relevance to the region. He was a son-in-law of Teti,¹⁰⁸ and the wide distribution of the viziers in Pepy I’s reign may have either been a desire to ensure widespread authority of the king or, as Kanawati suggests, to prevent any one family becoming too powerful and a threat to central control.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Maurice Alliot (1937-1938) ‘Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l’Égypte ancienne’ in *BIFAO* 37, p. 93.

¹⁰⁷ Nicolas Grimal (1994) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 143.

¹⁰⁸ Naguib Kanawati (2004) in *BACE* 15, pp. 52-53.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

The nome ceased to be of any political importance after the defeat of the nomarch *H.w* in the Eighth Dynasty, and no further local provincial rulers are known there.

After provincial rule at the province, most titles related to the lands south of Egypt were held by senior officials of the First Nome, a practical response by the central administration.

4.4 The Third Nome: 'Shrine'

The main towns of this province were Hierakonpolis (Kom el-Ahmar, Nekhen), Esna (Iunyt, (Ta)senet, Latopolis) on the west side of the Nile and el-Kab (Nekheb, Eleithyiaspolis) on the east side.

4.4.1 Individual sites

There are burial sites at all of the above towns as well as the more remote site of el-Mo'alla. In this section, the title details of a nomarch whose tomb is at Gebelein are also discussed. Claim has been made that from the end of the OK to the beginning of the MK, Gebelein was in the sphere of influence of the Third Nome,¹¹⁰ and this is accepted.

Hierakonpolis

Hierakonpolis was of prime importance in the Pre- and Early Dynastic Periods.¹¹¹ It has tombs dated to the Fourth Dynasty¹¹² and has tombs further to the west dating to the MK and the NK.¹¹³ Excavations at the site have been published, but quite inadequately.¹¹⁴

There is no plan of the site available apart from a plan of the temple site in Adams' *Ancient Hierakonpolis*¹¹⁵ and consequently analysis of this particular site has not been done here.

Esna

Situated north of Hierakonpolis, the burial site is at Hagar Esna, 4 kilometres north-west of the town of Esna.¹¹⁶ The only description given by John Garstang (who worked there) is

¹¹⁰ A. M. Donadoni Rovieri (1990) 'Gebelein', in Gaye Robins (ed.) *Beyond the Pyramids: Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin*, Atlanta, p. 22.

¹¹¹ AAE, p. 78.

¹¹² Barbara Adams (1977) 'Hierakonpolis' in *LÄ II*, Wiesbaden, col. 1182.

¹¹³ AAE, p. 78.

¹¹⁴ H. S. Smith 'Preface' in Barbara Adams (1974) *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, Warminster p. viii ff.

¹¹⁵ Barbara Adams (1974) *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, Warminster, frontispiece.

¹¹⁶ Dorothy Downes (1974) *The Excavations at Esna*, Warminster, p. vii.

that these tombs consisted of a shaft varying between two to four metres deep at the bottom of which were chambers three to five metres square and usually having two or three narrow burial chambers leading from them.¹¹⁷ As there is no evidence on the map published by Downes of further tomb differentiation in size,¹¹⁸ it is concluded that this was a mass-burial site for lower-ranked people only.

El-Kab

The tombs at this site are located under the sand outside the town wall, to the north of the north wall. There are the remains of four mastabas, one owned by a *Nfr-šmm*, the other by a *K3-mn*, both dated to the reigns of Khufu-Khafre^c,¹¹⁹ whilst the names and titles of the other owners are unknown. The titles of *Nfr-šmm* and *K3-mn* indicate cult activities but are insufficient for either to be classified as a senior official.

El-Moʿalla

The burial site of el-Moʿalla is also on the east side of the Nile, opposite the site of Gebelein on the other side of the Nile.

There are two recorded tombs at el-Moʿalla: *ʿnh.ty=fy* and *Sbk-ḥtp*.¹²⁰ *ʿnh.ty=fy* was a nomarch, and *Sbk-ḥtp* an official, having insufficient titles to be classified even as a provincial administrator. Information on *Sbk-ḥtp* comes from his own tomb, which is near that of *ʿnh.ty=fy*, but it is a far less imposing structure than the latter's. There was another nomarch, *Ḥtp*, whose tomb location is unknown so his information has been taken from a biographical inscription of *ʿnh.ty=fy* in *ʿnh.ty=fy*'s tomb.¹²¹

The tomb of *ʿnh.ty=fy* is in the centre-middle of the natural hillock at el-Moʿalla.¹²² As far as can be established, there is separation of his tomb from those of lower-ranked people. *ʿnh.ty=fy*'s tomb has the best location, is easily accessible, and has a view of the Nile valley below.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., map, cover interior.

¹¹⁹ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*, Warminster, p. 46.

¹²⁰ Jacques Vandier (1950) *Moʿalla: La Tombe d'Ankhtifi et la Tombe de Sébekhotep*, Cairo, *passim*.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 186.

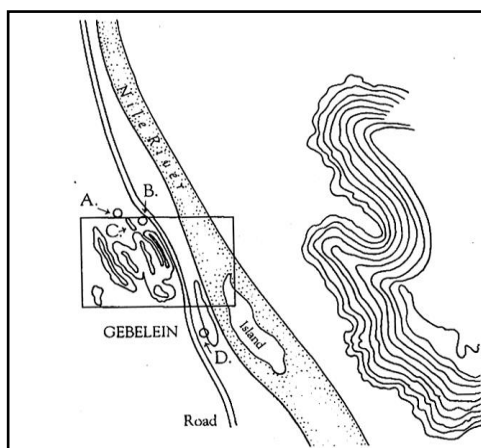
¹²² *AAE*, p. 82.



Fig 4.4 The tomb, left of small building centre-right, of the nomarch *ḥnh.ty=fy* at el-Moʿalla

Gebelein

The town of Gebelein is 5 kilometres from el-Moʿalla.



Sketch maps of the site of Gebelein

Directly above

- A. El-Gherira north
- B. Abu Hummas
- C. Tomb of Iti
- D. El-Gherira south

Right

- △ Turin Museum excavations
- Cemetery of 'Pan-graves'
- ▼ Fortress and Temple of Hathor
- Presumed location of Pathyris

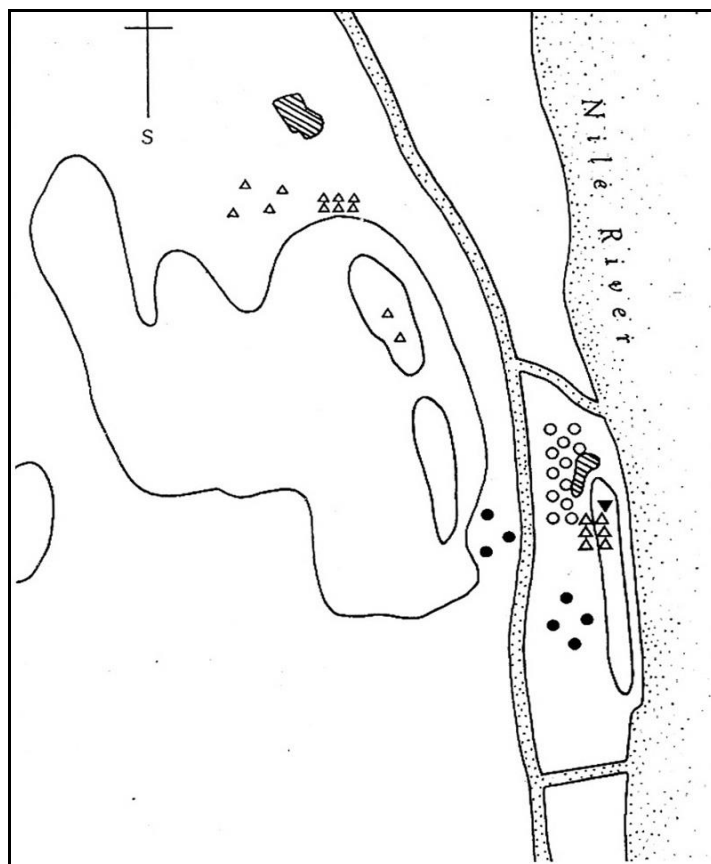


Fig. 4.5 Location of Gebelein (general area)

Fig. 4.6 Site of Gebelein (enlarged)

4.4.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was one of the largest of Upper Egypt.¹²³ The soil has been classified as poor to average in quality (Table A2). From early times the region had important religious centres.¹²⁴ El-Kab was near mineral exploitation sites via the Wadis Abbad and Mia. The widespread nature of the religious centres may have denigrated their importance, and the petering out of nearby gold resources prior to the MK must have diminished its economic importance. These, combined with poor agricultural resources, means that, overall, the province would not have been a wealthy one. Domination by its northern neighbour, Thebes,¹²⁵ would also have diminished its importance. The nome is therefore assessed as below average in wealth.

(b) The tombs

The four main burial sites of this nome all show differentiation based on class. Only two sites have tombs of senior officials (three tombs), all markedly separate to the tombs of lower-ranked people.

The tomb size, at 77.5 m², of *ḥn.ty=fy* was, unsurprisingly, well above the average of 55.4 m² for the other tombs in the Eighth Dynasty (Table 5.14), because of this nomarch's dominion over two provinces. Later, the weakened economic state of the nome is evidenced by the tomb of a successor, *Ini*, which is 19.0 m² – well below the average size of 76.1 m² of the other tombs in the FIP (Table 5.15). The diminutive size of *Ini*'s tomb may be a consequence of the evident defeat of *ḥn.ty=fy* by Inyotef I of the Fourth Nome.¹²⁶

¹²³ Ibid., p. 16.

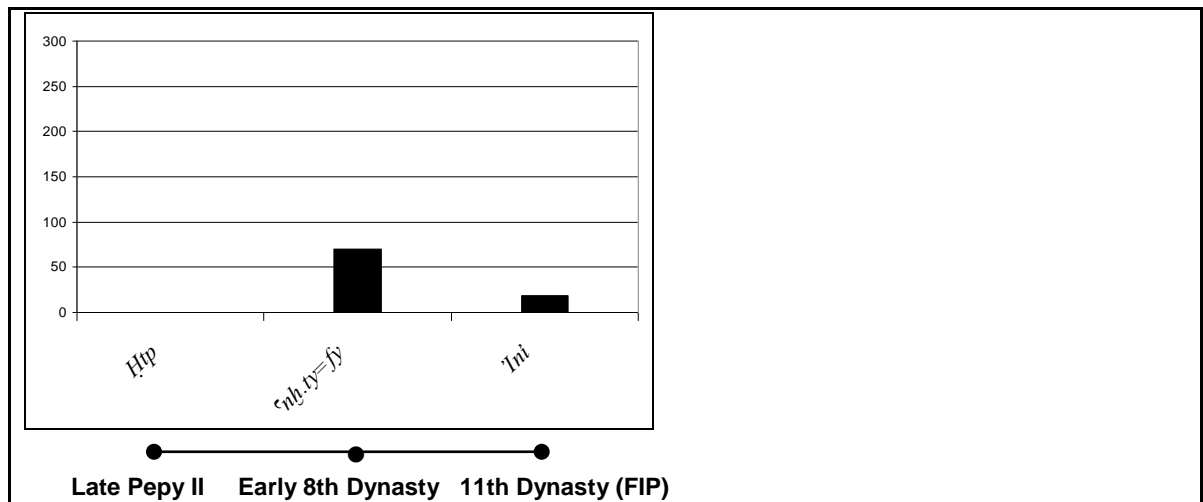
¹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 78-82.

¹²⁵ Nicolas Grimal (1994) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 143.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 143.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom		FIP
Name	<i>Htp</i>	<i>ḥn.ty=fy</i>	<i>Ini</i>
Reference number	[093]	[028]	[006]
Date	Late Pepy II	Early Eighth Dynasty	11 th Dynasty
Burial site	El-Moʿalla	El-Moʿalla	Gebelein
Total titles	3	10	4
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	77.5	19.0

Table 4.5 Nomarchs of the Third Nome**Fig. 4.7** Third Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs

(d) The titles

Htp had only three titles for the reasons discussed. *ḥn.ty=fy* had the title of overlord of both the provinces of Edfu and Hierakonpolis. His titles of *im.y-r3 mšc* ‘expedition leader’, *im.y-r3 c.w* ‘caravan leader’ and *im.y-r3 h3s.wt* ‘overseer of the hill-countries’ indicate his importance in supervision of the region. Evidently the king asked him to take over the Second Nome.¹²⁷

Ini had the title ‘overseer of the priests of the temple of Sobek, lord of Sumenu’ and as this indicates service for a local provincial god, it supports the date proposed, the early

¹²⁷ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 109.

Eleventh Dynasty, as such titles did not come into use until after the OK. That he is classified in the present work as a nomarch is based solely on A. M. Donadoni Rovieri.¹²⁸

General comments

The below average size of the tomb of the last nomarch, *Inī*, is probably a result of weakened economic strength of the nome after the military defeat of his predecessor *ḥnh.ty=fy* by a Theban ruler. The increasing power of the Fourth Nome, Thebes, would have been a deterrent to any future independence.

4.5 The Fourth Nome: ‘Sceptre’

The nome was called *W3s.t*, which was also the name of its major city Thebes.¹²⁹ Other cities within the nome were Rizeiqat, Tod, Nagʿ el-Medamud and Gebelein.¹³⁰

4.5.1 Individual sites

The site of Rizeiqat has a tomb dated to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty and miscellaneous antiquities largely dated from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Dynasties;¹³¹ the site of Tod has remains of a temple of Mentuhotep III;¹³² and the site of Nagʿ el-Medamud has antiquities dating from the time of Senwosret III through to the Graeco-Roman period.¹³³ As there are no records of any earlier tombs for the period dealt with in the present study,¹³⁴ the sites of Rizeiqat, Tod and Nagʿ el-Medamud are not discussed further. Gebelein has been included in the Third Nome. The burial site discussed is that of el-Khokha, opposite Thebes. El-Khokha is 3 kilometres west of the Nile and became a burial site in the Sixth Dynasty.¹³⁵

¹²⁸ A. M. Donadoni Rovieri (1990) ‘Gebelein’, in Gaye Robins (ed.) *Beyond the Pyramids: Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio, Turin*, Atlanta, p. 26.

¹²⁹ Raymond O. Faulkner (1964) *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, p. 54.

¹³⁰ *AAE*, p. 71.

¹³¹ PM V, pp. 161-162.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 167-169.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 137-139.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-150.

¹³⁵ Herbert E. Winlock (1947) *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, p. 1.

4.5.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The province has been suggested as owing its importance to its geographical position:

(1) close to Nubia, (2) adjoining the eastern desert with valuable minerals and trade routes, and (3) distant from the ‘restricting power centers’ to the north,¹³⁶ but did not rise to national political importance until the Eleventh Dynasty.¹³⁷ The soil has been classified as Classes 2 and 4 which means above and below average, and the land area is average.¹³⁸ Consequently, in the time under consideration, the province was probably average in wealth.

(b) The tombs

Five OK tombs have been found at el-Khokha. They include those of three senior officials of the Sixth Dynasty: *Ihy*, *Hnti* and *Wnis-ꜥnh*,¹³⁹ that of a senior official, *Sni-ikr* (whose date is not known for certain, although possibly the FIP or later),¹⁴⁰ and that of an official *Hn.w(?)* (the date of whose tomb is also not known).¹⁴¹ Most recently, the suggested sequence of the three senior officials is 1. *Ihy*; 2. *Hnti*; and 3. *Wnis-ꜥnh*.¹⁴² The information for two later nomarchs, *Ini-it=f* and *Ini-it=f*ꜥ, comes from stelae; their tomb sites are not known.

¹³⁶ AAE, p. 84.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 84.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

¹³⁹ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 142.

¹⁴⁰ Mohamed Saleh (1977) *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 10 – 11.

¹⁴² Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 134.

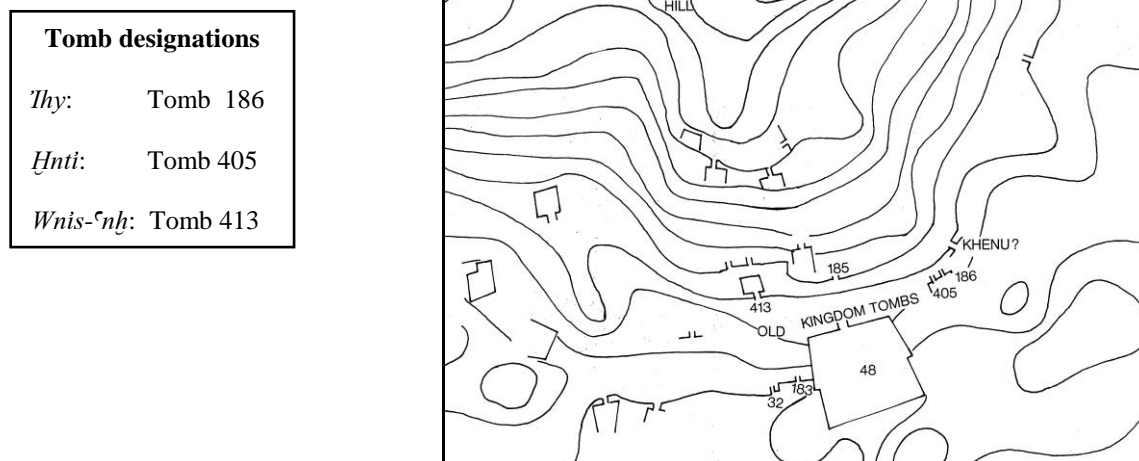


Fig. 4.8 The tombs of three nomarchs at el-Khokha

The map shows the locations of the three nomarchs: *Ihy*, *Hnti* and *Wnis-ḥnh*, in the time of Merenre/Pepy II to late Pepy II/early Eighth Dynasty. No plan showing the tombs of *Ini-it=f* and *Ini-it=f*³ is available, but they may have been at el-Khokha, as the adjoining region of Draʿ Abu el-Nagaʿ has tombs dated to the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁴³ There are no indicated tombs of lower-ranked people in this whole area.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ AAE, p. 99; Herbert E. Winlock (1947) *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, pl. 46.

¹⁴⁴ Herbert E. Winlock (1947) *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, pl. 46.

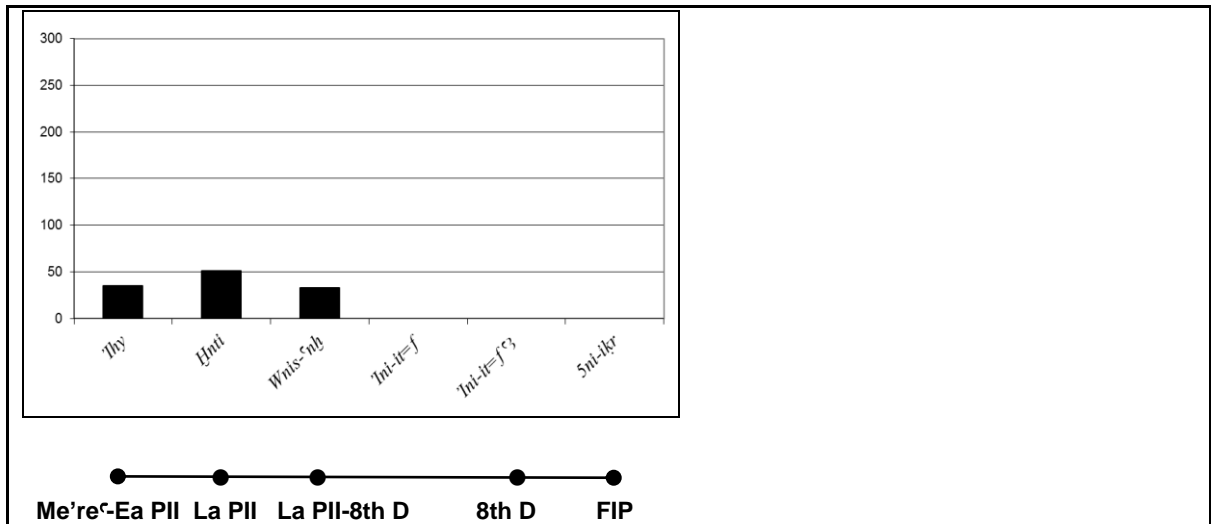
(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom					FIP
Name	<i>Thy</i> (a)	<i>Hnti</i> (a)	<i>Wnis-ḥnh</i> (b)	<i>Ini-it=f</i>	<i>Ini-it=f</i> ³	<i>Sni-ikr</i>
Reference number	[014]	[102]	[033]	[008]	[009]	[117]
N or PA	N	N	N	N	N	PA
Date	M-PII	La PII	La PII- Eighth Dynasty	Eighth Dynasty	Eighth Dynasty	FIP
Total titles	12	6	5	5	2	3
Tomb size (m²)	35.2	50.8	32.5	Not available	Not available	Not available

Table 4.6 Senior officials of the Fourth Nome

Note: (a) In view of damage to this tomb, it is now larger than when built.¹⁴⁵ This has been taken into account.

(b) This tomb is now also damaged; part of one wall is completely destroyed. Consequently titles may well be missing.

**Fig. 4.9** Fourth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials

(d) The titles

Sni-ikr, whose tomb was not available for excavation or recording by Saleh,¹⁴⁶ had titles sufficient to show that he was most likely at least a provincial administrator and at which level he is classified, although were a full examination of his tomb possible, there might be proof of a higher rank. The sole recorded title for *Hn.w(?)* is *im.y-r s3.w sp3.t* ‘overseer of

¹⁴⁵ Mohamed Saleh (1977) *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 18.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

the phyles of the nome', which is the same title as one of those held by *Ihy*, but as no other titles of *Hn.w(?)* are known, he is classified as an official.

With the coming of *Ini-it=f*, dated to the Eighth Dynasty, three particular titles: *ir.y p^c.t* 'hereditary noble', *h3.ty-^c.w* 'count' and *im.y-r3 hm(.w) ntr* 'overseer of priests' are introduced to the nome; all these titles had been introduced earlier elsewhere. The title *hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr* 'priest of Hathor' was held here but is not specific to this nome alone; it also occurs at the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Nomes.

General comments

The lack of senior officials from the Eleventh Dynasty on does not mean a decline in power of the nome. The senior officials from then on were firstly rulers of a substantial part of the land and later on pharaohs, who by definition are not dealt with here.

The first use of certain titles at this nome, at dates after their introduction elsewhere, possibly indicates that titles were not issued to any strict time guidelines but as a new local ruler took up his duties at a nome.

4.6 The Fifth Nome: 'Two Falcons'

The main city of this nome was Qift (Gebtu, Coptos, Koptos) on the east bank of the Nile.

4.6.1 Individual sites

The nome had several burial sites, including Zawayda, Qift, Qus, Naga Kom Bilal, Naga Kom el-Kuffar, Tukh, el-Ballas, Deir el-Ballas, Ombos and Naqada.¹⁴⁷ None of the tombs found at any of these sites have titles indicating they were those of senior officials in the time concerned. From the records of the inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, there were two nomarchs in the period from the Tenth Dynasty through to the early 11th Dynasty: *Wsr* and *T3wti*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Henry George Fischer (1964) *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, Rome, pp. 2-4.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 2-4.

4.6.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The soil has been classified as average or below average in quality and the area slightly smaller than average.¹⁴⁹ The nome may have been of some importance because the town of Qus lies at the first easternmost curve of the Nile and from there mining expeditions headed into the eastern desert.¹⁵⁰ It is regarded here as being average in wealth.

(b) The tombs

Records of tombs are not known. Such records as are available are from stelae.¹⁵¹

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	OK		FIP	MK
Name	<i>Šm3i</i>	<i>Idy</i>	<i>Wsr</i>	<i>T3wti</i>
Reference number	[122]	[021]	[039]	[137]
N, PA, V	PA/V	PA/V	N	N
Date	Neferkauhor (8 th Dynasty)	Demdj-ib-tawy (8 th Dynasty)	10 th Dynasty	Early 11th Dynasty
Total titles	12	6	9	5
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	nk	nk	nk

Table 4.7 Senior officials of the Fifth Nome

(d) The titles

That one known senior official of this province, *Šm3i*, had more titles (12) than the average for the other senior officials in the Eighth Dynasty (7.1) is not surprising (Table 5.14). *Šm3i* had important titles, including that of *t3yt.y s3b t3.ty* ‘vizier’ and he was an *it-ntr* ‘father of the god’, that is, he was the son-in-law of the king, Neferkauhor, being married to his eldest daughter, *Nt*.¹⁵²

Wsr’s nine titles are marginally above the average of 6.1 for the other senior officials in the FIP (Table 5.14) are not unexpected because of his family relationship with the royal

¹⁴⁹ AAE, p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁵¹ Porter and Moss, V, pp. 123-130.

¹⁵² William C. Hayes (1946) ‘Royal decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptos’ in *JEA* 32, p. 14.

family, as well as being a *it-ntr* he was a *s3 wr nsw n.y h.t=f* ‘king’s eldest son of his body’. Based on the numbers of titles in Table 4.7 above, the general trend in titles at this nome is a slight decrease. Why *I3wti* had so few titles may be because some are lost, or it may mean the Fifth Nome was being overshadowed by Thebes, as he was the last local ruler of the Fifth Nome.

General comments

Two senior officials of this nome may have owed their positions, at least in part, to being related to the king. Neither of the viziers was also a nomarch.

The end of provincial rule at this nome may have been because of the power of Thebes.

4.7 The Sixth Nome: ‘Crocodile’

The nome was located at the major bend of the Nile, where the river flows west-south-west for some 20 kilometres. Its main city is Dendera, 55 kilometres north of Thebes.

4.7.1 Individual sites

Two cemeteries within the Sixth Nome are those of Dendera and Nag^c el-Gaziriya (Gozeriya).¹⁵³ Nag^c el-Gaziriya is 5 kilometres west of Qena where there are tombs of several officials but none of senior officials.¹⁵⁴ All of the known senior officials of the Sixth Nome are thought to have their tombs at Dendera, with the exception of *Mtn*, whose tomb is at Saqqara,¹⁵⁵ and whose details are given in Chapter 4.1.

Dendera

A short distance west of Dendera is the Temple of Hathor. Tombs from the Fourth to the Eleventh Dynasty are in a cemetery immediately to the south of this temple, the cemetery having an area of about 40 hectares.¹⁵⁶ Within this area there are 50 small mastabas as well as ‘six to eight large mastabas of brick’, ‘eighteen or twenty large mastabas denuded down to the ground’ and ‘many dozens of tomb-pits’.¹⁵⁷ The above-ground tombs at this site are

¹⁵³ *DEN*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-194.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

¹⁵⁶ William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1900) *Denderah*, London, pl. XXVII.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

all mastabas. The map below (Fig. 4.10) shows the locations of the tombs of senior officials of this nome. It is based on Fischer's grid¹⁵⁸ and uses the same reference numbers extrapolated over Petrie's plan of the cemetery. The main extant temple, dated to the Roman period, was probably built at or near the site of a temple of Pepy I.¹⁵⁹

4.7.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

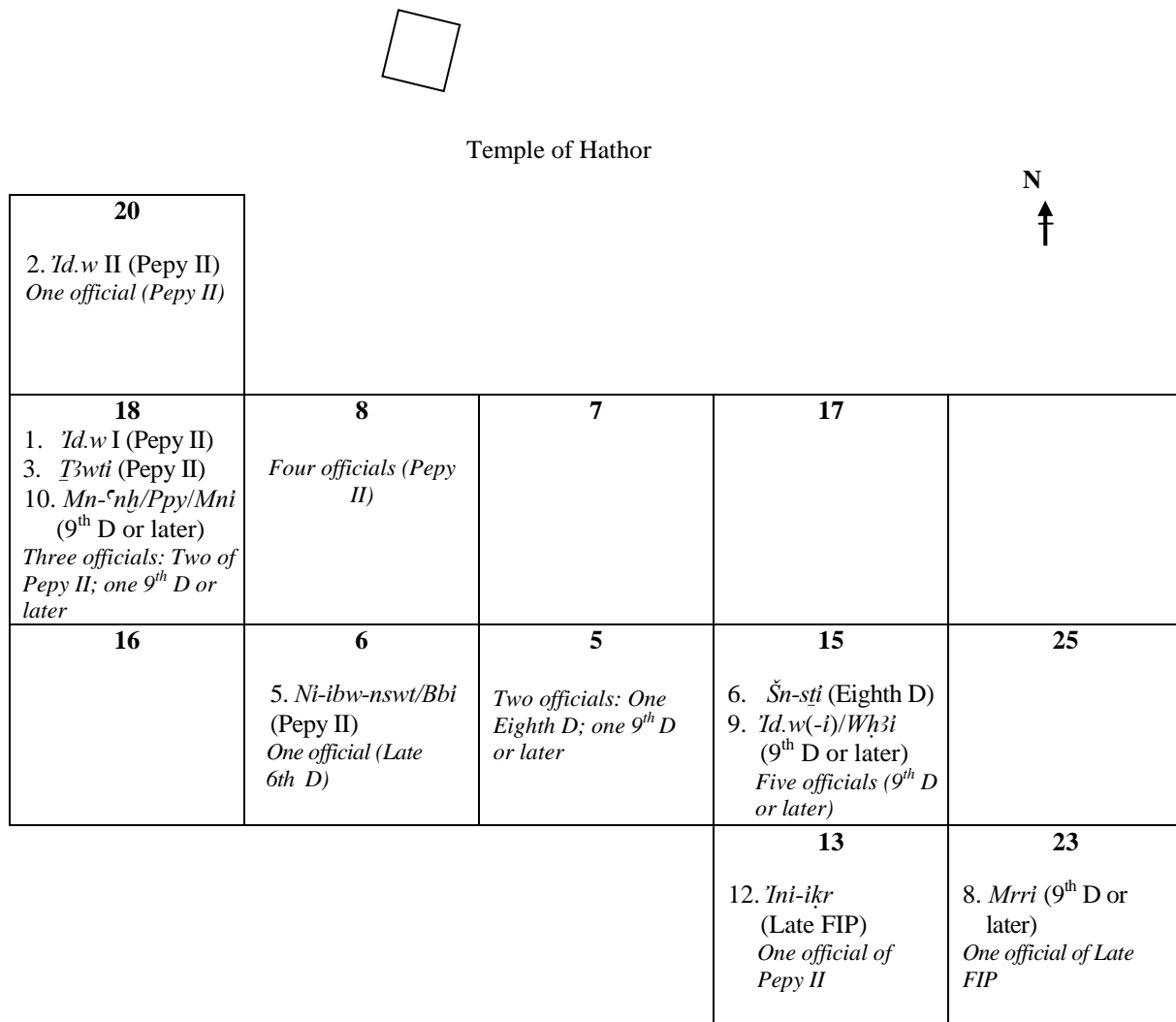
On the basis of the titles of the senior officials (Table A11), the region was a religious centre and also a cattle-raising and agricultural-product region. The soil, therefore, may have been marginally better than it is now so classified, which is slightly below average (Table A2). The province is suggested to have been a borderline wealthy one.

(b) The tombs

The following plan shows the location of the tombs near the Temple of Hathor, showing by sector the sequence of burials of the senior officials.

¹⁵⁸ *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery (last two pages).

¹⁵⁹ *AAE*, p. 112.

**Fig. 4.10** Dendera cemetery

Note: (i) The temple perimeter is not shown.

(ii) The map is not to scale.

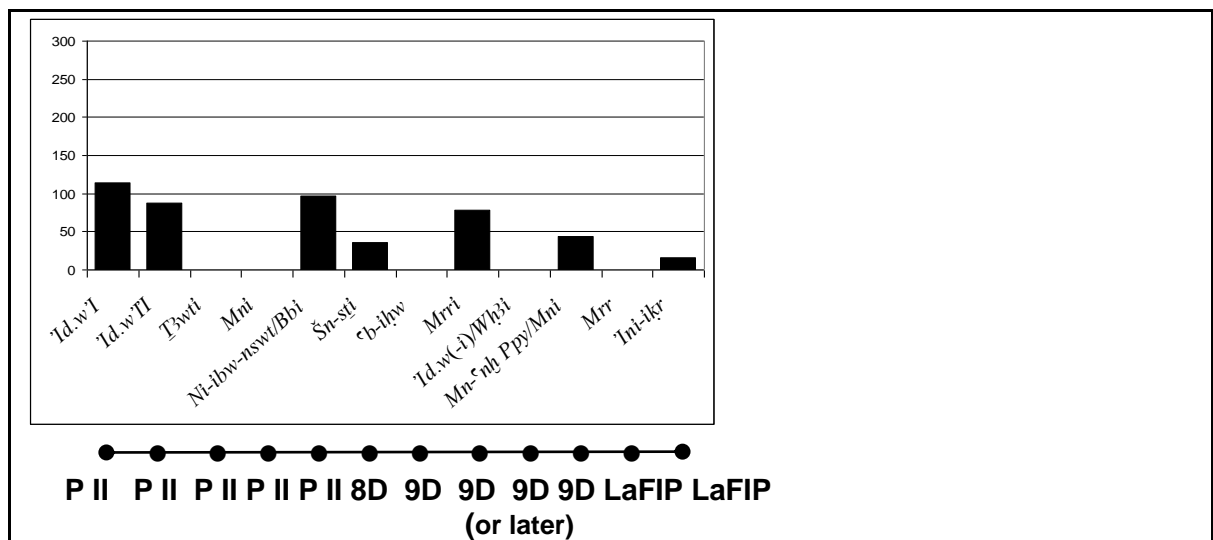
Twelve senior officials are believed to have had their tombs at the site as near as possible to the earlier temple, with the locations of nine of those tombs known. There were congregations of senior officials' and other officials' tombs together and a separate area for the lower-ranked people.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom						First Intermediate Period					
Name	<i>Id.w I</i>	<i>Id.w II</i>	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Mni</i>	<i>Ni-ib.w-nswt/Bbi</i>	<i>Šn-sti</i>	<i>ʿb-ih.w</i>	<i>Mrrr</i>	<i>Id.w(-i)/Wh3i</i>	<i>Mn-ʿnh Ppy/Mni</i>	<i>Mrr</i>	<i>Ini-ikr</i>
Ref. no.	[022]	[023]	[136]	[053]	[063]	[123]	[026]	[060]	[024]	[054]	[059]	[007]
Date	Pepy II (years 35-55)	Pepy II	Pepy II	Pepy II	Pepy II	8 D	9 D	9 D or later	9 D or later	9 D or later	Late FIP (?)	Late FIP (?)
Tomb sector	18	20	18	-	6	15	-	23	15	18	-	13
N, PA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA
Total titles	20	7	6	2	14	5	6	10	6	12	5	2
Tomb size (m ²)	1147	882	Size not known	Location not known	972	360	Location not known	787	Size not known	435	Location not known	160
10% of tomb size	114.7	88.2	-	-	97.2	36.0	-	78.7	-	43.5	-	16.0

Table 4.8 Senior officials of the Sixth Nome with tombs at the nome

Note: For comparative purposes with other provinces, the tomb sizes are reduced to 10% of their actual size.

**Fig. 4.11** Sixth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) (10% of actual size) of senior officials with tombs at the nome

(d) The titles

There is a dichotomy of rule on a time basis between nomarchs and provincial administrators. The first seven known senior officials were nomarchs, six having the title

hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t ‘great overlord of the nome’. Note that the nome was not named, but this seems a matter of local preference. The seventh nomarch, *ʕb-iḥw*, was ‘great overlord of the Eighth, Seventh and Sixth Nomes’. The location of his tomb is not known, but was probably at Dendera, as a false-door of his tomb is recorded as coming from Dendera.¹⁶⁰ All the known senior officials at the nome after him were provincial administrators, such rule finishing there in the FIP. The last provincial administrator, *ʕni-iḥr*, did not have the titles *smr wʕt.y* ‘sole companion’ or *ḥtm.w-bi.ty* ‘seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt’, both held by all except one of the other senior officials, possibly evidence of a decline in political significance of the province at this stage.

General comments

The importance of the earlier temple of Dendera is shown through the endeavours of the senior officials to have their tombs as close to it as they possibly could. The burial sites were segregated on the basis of class, but even the lower-ranked people were buried in reasonably close proximity to the temple.

The nome did not have its first senior official until the time of Pepy II, when there was a large increase in Upper Egypt of officials with this type of duty. That there was no more attested provincial rule there after the FIP was part of an ongoing trend of fewer southern provinces ruled in such a way. There was a decline in tomb size after the provincial administrator *Mrrr* of the Ninth Dynasty, but insufficient evidence exists for conclusions to be drawn concerning tomb size and the two levels of senior officials: nomarchs and provincial administrators.

4.8 The Seventh Nome: ‘Sistrum’

The capital city of the nome was Hiw.

4.8.1 Individual sites

The two burial locations discussed in this study are el-Qasr wa el-Saiyad (Qasr el-Saiyad) and the region of Hiw.¹⁶¹ About 16 kilometres from Hiw are the burial sites of Abadiyeh

¹⁶⁰ *DEN*, p. 203.

¹⁶¹ *AAE*, p. 16.

and Semaineh.¹⁶² The tombs at these cemeteries date from predynastic times to the Roman Period through to the adjoining Coptic cemetery and modern times. There are four cemeteries at these two sites which have tombs dating mainly to the Sixth to the Twelfth Dynasties: ‘D’, ‘N’, ‘W’ and ‘Y’.¹⁶³

The cemeteries of Hiw

The tombs of Abadiyeh and Hiw are nearly all shallow graves or pit-tombs, the only known tomb of significance at Abadiyeh being a shaft with a chamber. The sole cemetery which has mastaba-type tombs is the isolated ‘Cemetery D’. The graves of lower-ranked people have been located at the cemeteries Y, W and to a lesser extent N. There are no known tombs of senior officials.

El-Qasr wa el-Saiyad

Three tombs in the time being discussed are listed at this site by Porter and Moss: those of *T3wti*, *Id.w/Snni* and *Nfriti*.¹⁶⁴ *T3wti* and *Id.w/Snni* were nomarchs but *Nfriti* only had the titles of ‘unique royal favourite’ and ‘prophetess of Hathor’,¹⁶⁵ and so is classified as an official. The nomarchs buried at El-Qasr wa el-Saiyad are the only known ones buried within the nome.

4.8.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The Seventh Nome was one of the smaller nomes¹⁶⁶ and its soil has been classified as slightly above average (Table A2). It had no particular trade or religious significance. No temples for the time have been discovered there; the local god Bat was assimilated into that of the cult of Hathor of Denderah by the time of the NK.¹⁶⁷ The province had little if any known economic or religious importance and is deemed to have been poor.

¹⁶² William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1901) *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu*, London, p. 31.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁶⁴ PM V, pp. 119-122.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁶⁶ AAE, p. 14.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

(b) The tombs

In addition to the tombs of the nomarchs within the province, there were tombs elsewhere of two local rulers whose duties also included those of other nomes. One, *Ntr-ḥpr=f*, whose tomb is at Dahshur, was the provincial administrator of the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Nomes. His details are given in the chapter on the capital. The other nomarch, *ḥb-ih.w*, whose tomb was at Dendera¹⁶⁸ and who was the nomarch of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Nomes, has his details given in the Sixth Nome.

The size of *Id.w/Snni*'s tomb fits in with those elsewhere at this time and in a general decline in tomb size at the finish of Pepy II's reign.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom			FIP
Name	<i>Ntr-ḥpr=f</i>	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Id.w/Snni</i>	<i>ḥb-ih.w</i>
Ref. number	[078]	[135]	[025]	[026]
Date	Fourth Dynasty	Merenre ^c - Pepy II (years 35-54)	Pepy II (years 55-60)	Ninth Dynasty or later
Location of tomb	Dahshur	El-Qasr wa el-Saiyad	El-Qasr wa el-Saiyad	Dendera
Nomes ruled	Coptos (No. 5), Hiw (No. 7) and Dendera (No. 6)	Hiw (No. 7)	Hiw (No. 7)	This (No. 8), Hiw (No.7), and Dendera (No. 6)
Total titles		11	7	
Tomb size (m ²)		88.8	27.1	

Table 4.9 Nomarchs of the Seventh Nome

¹⁶⁸ DEN, p. 203.

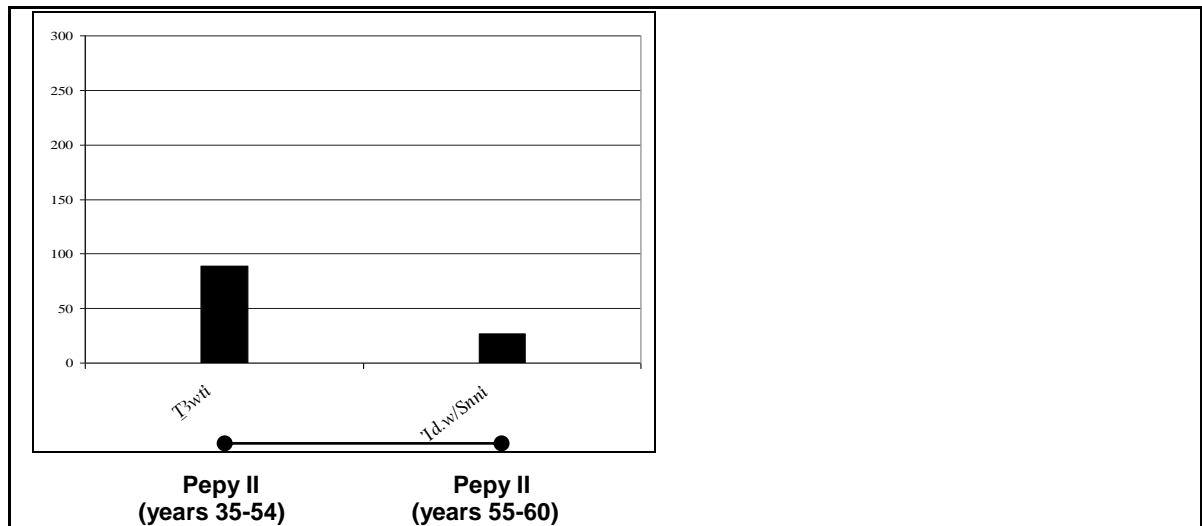


Fig. 4.12 Seventh Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs with tombs at the nome

(d) The titles

The titles indicate even further the short-lived importance of the province, mainly in the reign of Pepy II. The nomarch *T3wti*, had two titles indicating control of the southern region: *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ and *im.y-r3 ʿ3 ḥ3s.wt Šmꜥ.w ʿnd* ‘overseer of the gate of the lands of the Southern region’. The titles also show that two other nomarchs of this province also had responsibility for other provinces, and had their tombs elsewhere.

4.9 The Eighth Nome: ‘Great Land’

The Eighth Nome, commonly referred to as the Thinite Nome,¹⁶⁹ was centred on its ancient capital of Tjeny (This), possibly at the site of modern Girga¹⁷⁰ on the west side of the Nile.

4.9.1 Individual sites

The burial sites of this nome which have tombs of senior officials discussed here, are Abydos, and Cemetery 100 and Cemetery 500-900 at Nagꜥ el-Deir (Naga ed-Dêr).¹⁷¹ As

¹⁶⁹ Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. I, Chicago, p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ AAE, p. 114.

¹⁷¹ Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. I, Chicago, p. 6.

shown on the map in Fig. 4.13 below, the site of el-Hagarsa is within the Eighth Nome border, however, it is more likely that el-Hagarsa was a part of the Ninth Nome¹⁷² and so is included there. Abydos is in the south of the nome; Nagꜥ el-Deir is a modern village on the east side of the Nile opposite the city of Girga.¹⁷³ The Nagꜥ el-Deir burial site is a large one, consisting of a series of cemeteries dating from the Predynastic Period to the MK.¹⁷⁴ Items discovered at Abydos relevant to the present study are those of an anonymous nomarch ‘NN son of *Id*’, the sole records of him being three fragments of a large false door discovered at Abydos.¹⁷⁵

4.9.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The region was probably slightly larger than average in area and its soil has been classified as average (Table A2). As gauged by some of the titles held by its senior officials, it was an agricultural and cattle producing region (see Para. (d) below).

There was ample limestone for building purposes adjoining the site of Abydos. Abydos was an important religious centre in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, and the local god Khentamentiū ‘Foremost of the Westerners’ became identified with the earlier Lower Egyptian god Osiris, so that by the time of the MK, Abydos was the most important religious centre of Egypt.¹⁷⁶ The ritual enactment and resurrection of Osiris attracted pilgrims from all over Egypt and could have been a valuable economic driver. It was probably a wealthy province.

(b) The tombs

Nagꜥ el-Deir Cemetery 500-900

The tombs of the nomarchs *Tmrry* and *H3gi* are the only known ones in this sector.

¹⁷² Naguib Kanawati (1993) *The Tombs of el-Hagarsa I*, Sydney, preface.

¹⁷³ *AAE*, p. 109.

¹⁷⁴ Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. I, Chicago, p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1902-1904) *Abydos*, part 1, London, pl. 54.

¹⁷⁶ *AAE*, p. 114.

Nag^ε el-Deir Cemetery 100

In the plan below, Fig. 4.14, the tombs in the cliffs of Cemetery 100 are a continuation of Cemeteries 500-700, south-east on the plan (Fig. 4.14), and Cemetery 900, according to Edward Brovarski.¹⁷⁷ The tombs of two senior officials (*Ggi* and *Tmrry*) occupy advantageous positions between the upper and lower cliffs of Cemetery 100.¹⁷⁸

Nag^ε el-Deir Cemetery 3500

The tomb of *Mr.w Ty-3w* is situated on the upper part of the slope of the cemetery¹⁷⁹ and is the only recorded tomb of a senior official at this site.

Nomarchs whose tombs are elsewhere

The first known nomarch of this nome, *Nfr-nsu*, is dated to the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁸⁰ He had three provinces under his control: the Eighth and Tenth Nomes of Upper Egypt and the Thirteenth Nome of Lower Egypt. As his tomb is at the capital, his titles are given in the chapter on this (Chapter 4.1). He was succeeded by his son *Nfr-m3^ε.t*¹⁸¹ who was responsible for only one nome: the Eighth Nome. There were no other nomarchs or provincial administrators of the nome until the Sixth Dynasty, and most of them have their tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi, the burial site at this time for the Twelfth Nome.¹⁸² As well as his tomb at Nag^ε el-Deir (N90), the nomarch *Ggi* had another one at Saqqara.¹⁸³ Another nomarch of the Eighth Nome, *Hw-b3.w*, also had his tomb at Saqqara.¹⁸⁴

The first known senior official of the Eighth Nome with the title *hr.y-tp 3* was *Ibi*, buried at Deir el-Gebrawi. Local rule of the Eighth Nome then passed to *Ibi*'s son *D^ε.w/Šm3i* and then to the latter's son *D^ε.w*,¹⁸⁵ all having their tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi. These senior

¹⁷⁷ Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. I, Chicago, p. 6.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁸¹ Henry George Fischer (1954) 'Four provincial administrators at the Memphite cemeteries', in *JAOS* 74, number 1, p. 27.

¹⁸² Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. I, Chicago, p. 8.

¹⁸³ Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London, p. 18.

¹⁸⁴ Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. I, Chicago, p. 135.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 124.

officials are discussed under the Twelfth Nome senior officials. The tomb of a later, Ninth Dynasty nomarch, *ḥb-Ihw*, ruler of the Eighth Nome (as well as the Sixth and Seventh Nomes) was at Dendera, and his titles are discussed in the chapter on the Sixth Nome. The senior officials' tombs which are at the nome are in every case at sites separate from those of lesser-ranked people.

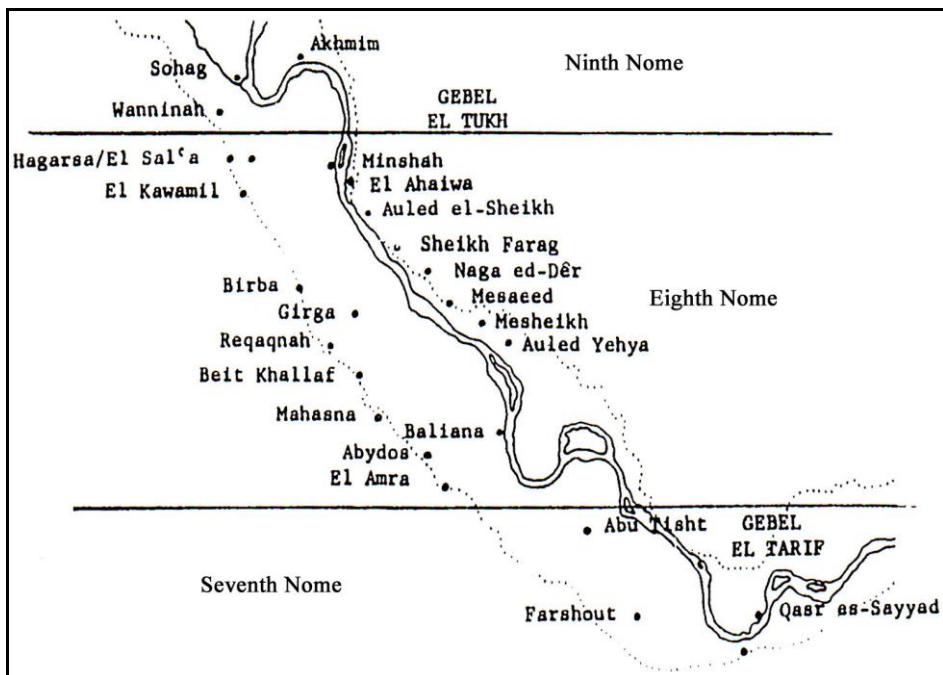


Fig. 4.13 Eighth Nome and adjoining nomes

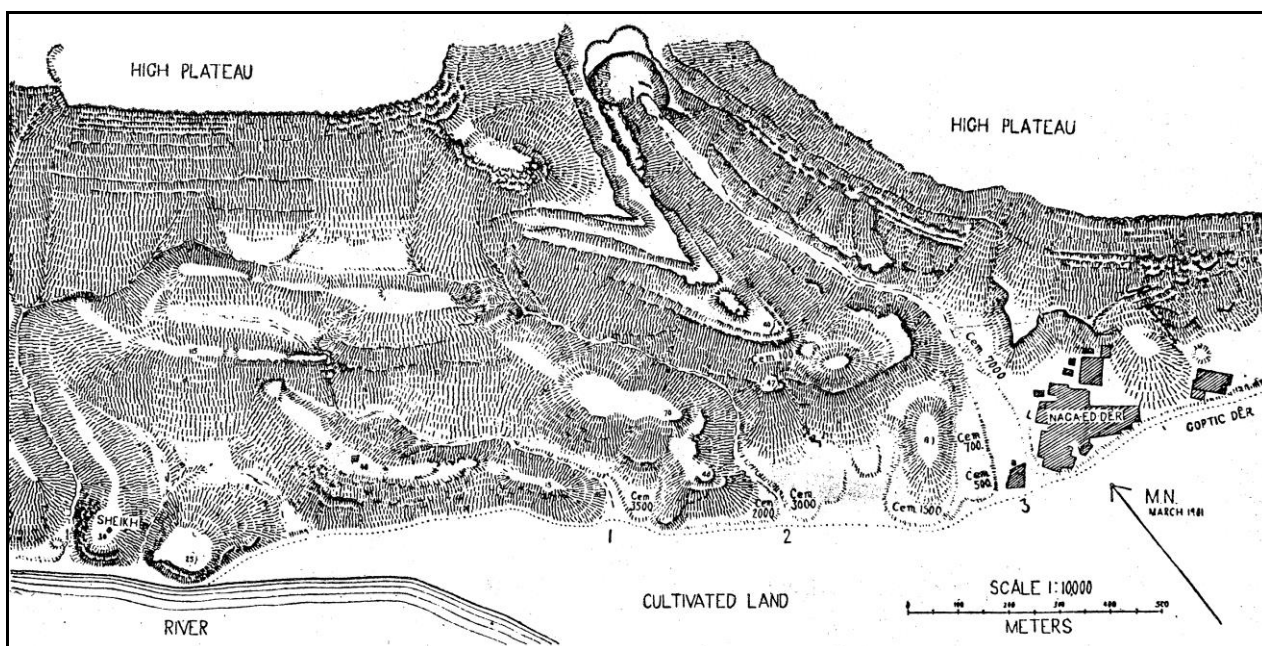


Fig. 4.14 Cemeteries of Nag el-Deir

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom						First Intermediate Period			MK	
Name	<i>Nfr-m3^c.t</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw-b3.w</i>	<i>Tw3.w</i>	<i>Hnwy</i>	<i>Tmrry</i>	<i>H3gi</i>	<i>Sip.t</i>	NN son of <i>Id</i>	<i>Hni</i>	<i>Mr.w/Iy 3w</i>
Reference number	[067]	[133]	[096]	[138]	[091]	[139]	[084]	[116]	[072]	[089]	[057]
N or PA	PA	N	N	PA	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA
Date	Neuser- ^c	Meren- ^c	Early Pepy II	Early D8	D8	End of D8	D9	D9	D9 (or 10)	D9 (or 10)	DII
Burial site	Dahshur	ND 500-900 and Saqqara	Saqqara	ND 100	SF	ND 100	ND 500-900	SF	Abydos	ND 100	ND3500
Total titles	7	11	7	8	4	10	10	6	12	10	6
Tomb size	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk

Table 4.10 Senior officials of the Eighth Nome

Note: Some senior officials of the Eighth Nome are not listed in this table, but are listed in the chapters and Appendix tables on the provinces where their tomb is.

(d) The titles

Supporting the suggestion that the region was suitable for agriculture, Para. (a) above, the following titles were held by various officials: *im.y-r3 3h(.)t* ‘overseer of fields’, *im.y-r3 šn-t3* ‘overseer of vegetables’, *mni.w n.y km.t* ‘herdsman of the (sacred) black cattle’, *im.y-r3 km.t hnr.w* ‘overseer of the black cattle of the musical performers’, and *mni.w n.y km.t* ‘overseer of the slaughter house’.

The provincial administrator *Tmrry* in the Eighth Dynasty had the title *im.y-r3 n.y sp3.t* ‘overseer of the province’ – an unusual title only held by him. On the definition of nomarch used here he is not technically considered a nomarch, but as the practical effect is identical, he is classified as such. Also, on a time basis, the known senior officials on either side of him are nomarchs.

Three of the known senior officials in the Ninth or Tenth and the Eleventh Dynasties: NN son of *Id*, *Hni* and *Mr.w/Iy 3w* have the title *im.y-r3 hnty-š pr.w-3* ‘overseer of the palace guards’, indicative of the trust in them by the king, but only the first two became nomarchs.

General comments

The nome is one of which the kings did not let go of direct control until the early Eighth Dynasty, the first three known local rulers having their tombs at the capital.

4.10 The Ninth Nome: ‘Min’

The main city of the Ninth Nome was *Hnt-Mn*; its modern name is Akhmim.¹⁸⁶

4.10.1 Individual sites

The major known burial site of this nome, which has tombs dating from the OK, is that of el-Hawawish. The site of el-Hagarsa, which is on the border of the Eighth and Ninth Nomes, but more exactly within the Eighth Nome, has been included here for the reasons discussed in the chapter on the Eighth Nome. A minor burial site in the nome is Gohaina, which has no tombs of senior officials.¹⁸⁷

4.10.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The province was above average in size and its soil has been classified as Class 1 (Table A2). The titles, given below, Para. (d), indicate the province was a grain-producing area, and it was most likely a wealthy one.

(b) The tombs

El-Hawawish

Plans and photos of the site show that the tombs of the senior officials and other officials are generally in semi-isolated positions or with others of similar rank.¹⁸⁸ Most of the tombs of the senior officials of this nome are at this site, unless otherwise indicated, and shown in Table 4.11 below.

El-Hagarsa

The cliffs of the western desert at El-Hagarsa have a large group of rock-tombs, about 80 in total. Most are small recesses, only a metre or so square, that descend to a pit, and some have a chamber about 1.5 metres wide.¹⁸⁹ The tombs at this site are dated from the Fifth to

¹⁸⁶ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. I, Sydney, p. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Yahia el-Masry (2004) ‘Two Old Kingdom rock-tombs at Gohaina’, in *BACE* 15, p. 89.

¹⁸⁸ Naguib Kanawati (1992) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. X, Sydney, pls. 6-9, figs. 12-21.

¹⁸⁹ William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1908) *Athribis*, London, p. 2.

the Eighth Dynasties.¹⁹⁰ The tombs of the senior officials are much larger and congregated together.¹⁹¹

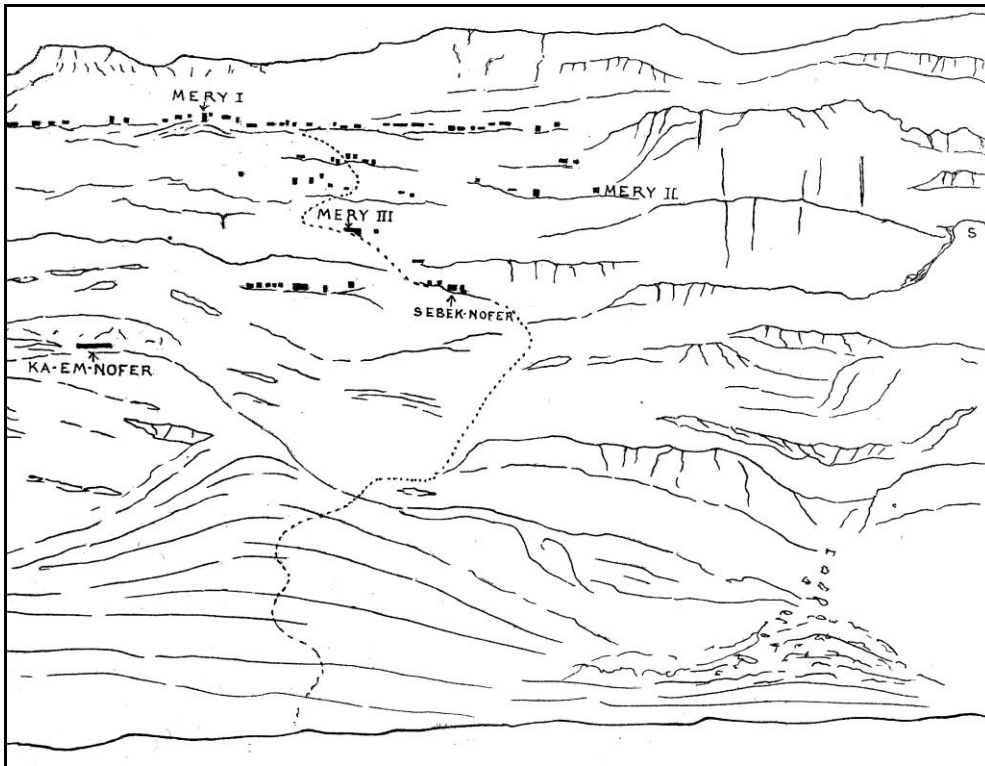


Fig. 4.15 Site of el-Hagarsa

At each of the two cemeteries there is separation of the burial sites based on class. The tombs of the senior officials have the best viewpoints and pre-eminent positions for ease of access.

¹⁹⁰ Naguib Kanawati (1993) *The Tombs of el-Hagarsa*, vol. I, Sydney, p. 7.

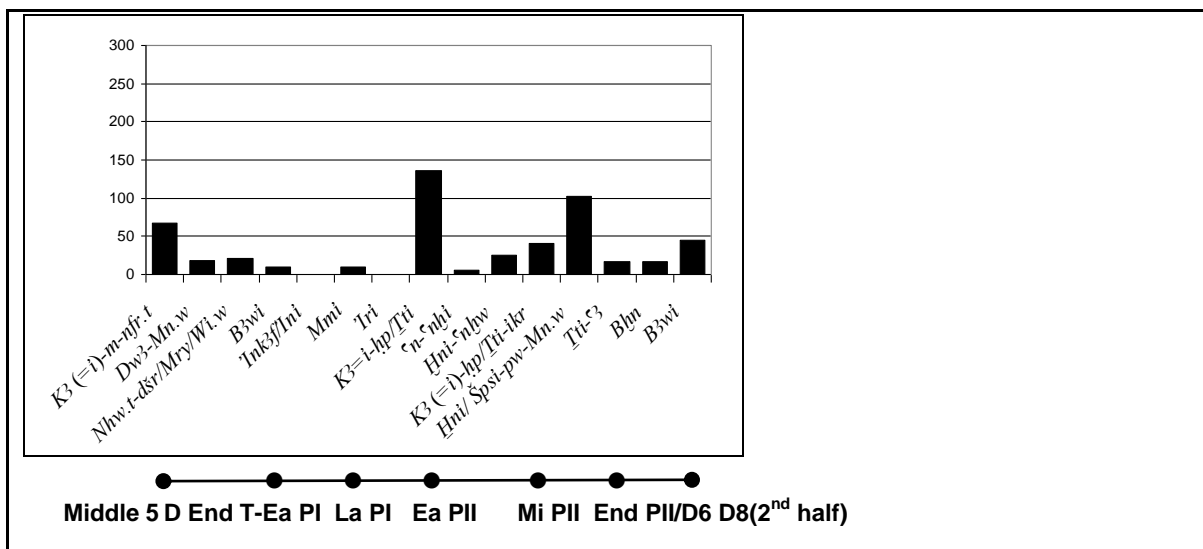
¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7, pl. 1.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom														
Name	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>m-nfr.t</i> (A3)	<i>Dw3-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Nhw.t</i> <i>-dšr/</i> <i>Mry/</i> <i>Wl.w</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (CA1)	<i>Ink3f/</i> <i>Tni</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>K3=i</i> <i>-hp/</i> <i>Tti</i>	<i>‘n-‘nhi</i>	<i>Hni-</i> <i>‘nh.w</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>hp/</i> <i>Tti-ikr</i>	<i>Hni/</i> <i>Špsi-pw-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Tti-‘3</i>	<i>Bhn</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (B7 and B6)
Ref. number	[125]	[142]	[073]	[040]	[011]	[052]	[013]	[126]	[027]	[101]	[127]	[103]	[140]	[045]	[041]
N, PA, V	PA	PA	N	PA/V	PA	PA	N	N	PA	PA	N	N	N	N	PA/V
Date	Middle D5 or later	N, or a little earlier	End T-beg PI	Ea-mi PI	PI	La PI	La PI/ M	Ea P II	Ea/mi P II	Ea/ m. P II	Mi P II	La PII	End PII - end D6	D 8	D8 (2 nd half)
Tomb site sector	A3 El-Hag	L6	G95	CA1	Saqqā -ra	B12	Saqqā -ra	M8	B13 El-Hag	H15	H26	H24	H41	C3	B6+B7
Total titles	4 (a)	6	7	10	12	5	5	40	6	6	13	23	11	11	12
Tomb size (m ²)	67.6	18.2	21.2	9.6	nk	10.3	nk	135.7	6.1	25.4	40.0	102.2	16.3	17.5	45.2

Table 4.11 Senior officials of the Ninth Nome

Note: (a) The titles of *K3(=i)-m-nfr.t* (A3) are incomplete.¹⁹²

**Fig. 4.16** Ninth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials with tombs at the nome

The graph brings attention to *K3=i-hp/Tti* 's large tomb (early Pepy II) and also that of *Hni/Špsi-pw-Mnw* (second half of Pepy II's reign), both senior officials having had large numbers of titles (40 and 23 respectively).

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 12.

(d) The titles

Titles held by senior officials of the province indicating it was a grain growing one and/or grain distribution area are: *im.y-r3 iti Šm^c.w (m sp3.wt)* ‘overseer of Upper Egyptian grain (in the provinces)’, *im.y-r3 iti Šm^c.w* ‘overseer of Upper Egyptian grain’ and *im.y r3 šnw.ty n.y htp.t-ntr* ‘overseer of the two granaries of the divine offerings’ (Table A14).

General comments

From the Fifth Dynasty until the conclusion of the Eighth Dynasty, the Ninth Nome had the highest number of known senior officials – seven nomarchs and eight provincial administrators – of any province in Upper Egypt. The lack of local rule after the Eighth Dynasty might be a consequence of the rise of Thebes.

4.11 The Tenth Nome: ‘Cobra’

The Tenth Nome had its southern border to the north of and including the town of Qaw el-Kebir, Antaeopolis of the Graeco-Roman Period.

4.11.1 Individual sites

The nome’s OK cemetery was at an area immediately to the north of the modern village of el-Hammamiya.



Fig. 4.17 Cemetery of el-Hammamiya
(Sectors A, B and C)

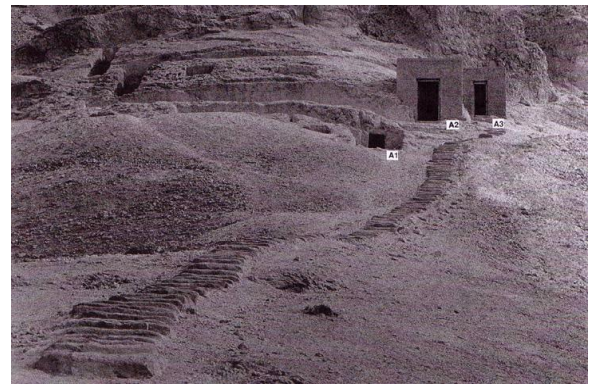


Fig. 4.18 Cemetery of el-Hammamiya
(Sector A)

The tombs are classified as being in three areas: ‘A’, ‘B’ and ‘C’. The tomb areas of the senior officials and other officials of the nome are congregated together.

4.11.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The Tenth Nome is one of the smallest in size,¹⁹³ and its soil has been classified as good and average (Table A2). None of the titles of its senior officials indicate any agricultural activities and there is no evidence of any other economic activity. The province is therefore assessed as having been a poor one.

(b) The tombs

The average size of tombs is relatively small, but typical of other Fifth Dynasty tombs. The style of art in the tombs of el-Hammamiya is not of a high quality, due in part to the inferior quality of the rock.¹⁹⁴

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom				
Name	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (A3)	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (A2)	<i>R^c-htp</i> (a)	<i>K3(=i)-m-nfr.t</i> (C4)	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (C6)(b)
Reference number	[128]	[129]	[080]	[124]	[130]
Nomarch or provincial administrator	N	N	N	N	PA
Date	Beginning D5 (Userkaf)	Early D5 (Sahure ^c)	Early- middle D5 (Neferirkare ^c)	Early-middle D5	Middle D5
Total titles	10	12+?	4 +?	4	1
Tomb size (m ²)	26.6	18.6	5.5	6.9	14.8

Table 4.12 Senior officials of the Tenth Nome

Note: (a) Many scenes and texts in this tomb are now missing.¹⁹⁵

(b) Virtually all decoration in this tomb is now missing.¹⁹⁶

(i) The senior officials at this nome have the tomb number in parentheses after their name to differentiate them.

(ii) *Nfr-nsw*, a nomarch of the Tenth Nome as well as the Eighth Nome and the Thirteenth Nome of Lower Egypt, in the reign of Userkaf, has his details included in the chapter and Appendix table on the capital.

¹⁹³ AAE, p. 16.

¹⁹⁴ Ali el-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney, p. 11.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 74-75.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

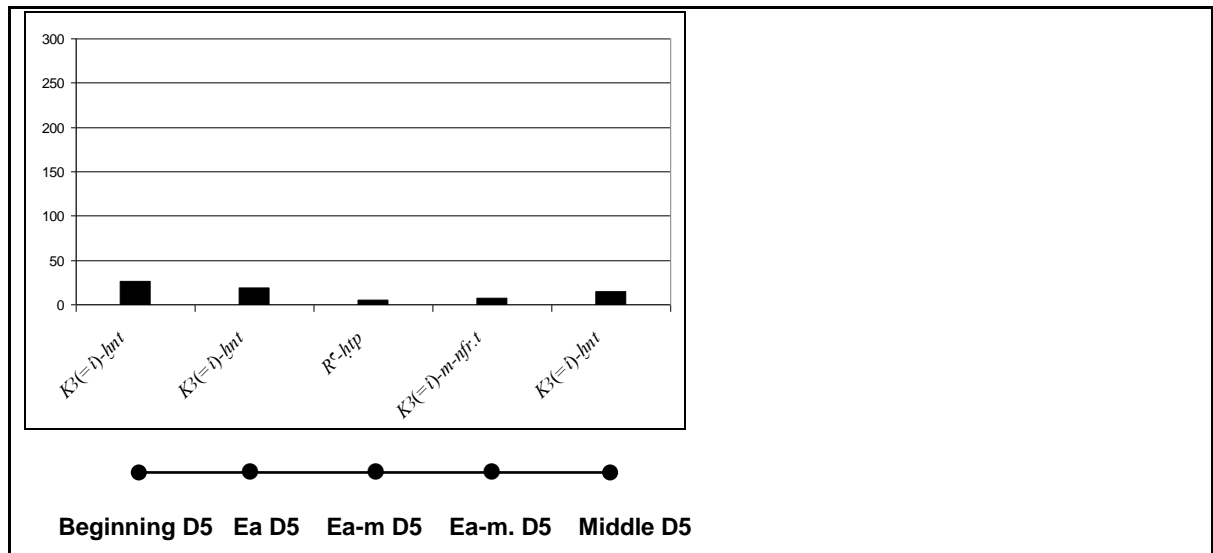


Fig. 4.19 Tenth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials

Note: The first *K3(=i)-hnt* is that of tomb A3, the second *K3(=i)-hnt* of tomb A2, and the third *K3(=i)-hnt* of tomb C6.

(d) The titles

K3(=i)-hnt (C6) is classified as a provincial administrator on the basis of his sole title *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* ‘overseer of commissions’, which is typical of provincial administration at this time,¹⁹⁷ but insufficient for him to be classified any higher.

Bearing tomb damage in mind, the total titles for the senior officials falls after *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2) in the reign of Sahure^c. This may signify a decline in the importance of the province.

General comments

There are senior officials continually at this province until the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. The province features prominently in the development of early local provincial rule.

That there is only one title for *K3(=i)-hnt* (C6) is almost certainly a result of tomb damage. Rarely did the owner of a tomb of this size have only one title.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

4.12 The Eleventh Nome: 'Set'

The eleventh Nome is centred on the town of Shutb, on the west side of the Nile.

4.12.1 Individual sites

The main cemetery was Deir Rifa (Rifa, Dayr Rifah), 5 kilometres from Shutb, and has tombs dated from the MK to the NK.¹⁹⁸ The principal tombs of Deir Rifa are on one terrace of the hillside.¹⁹⁹

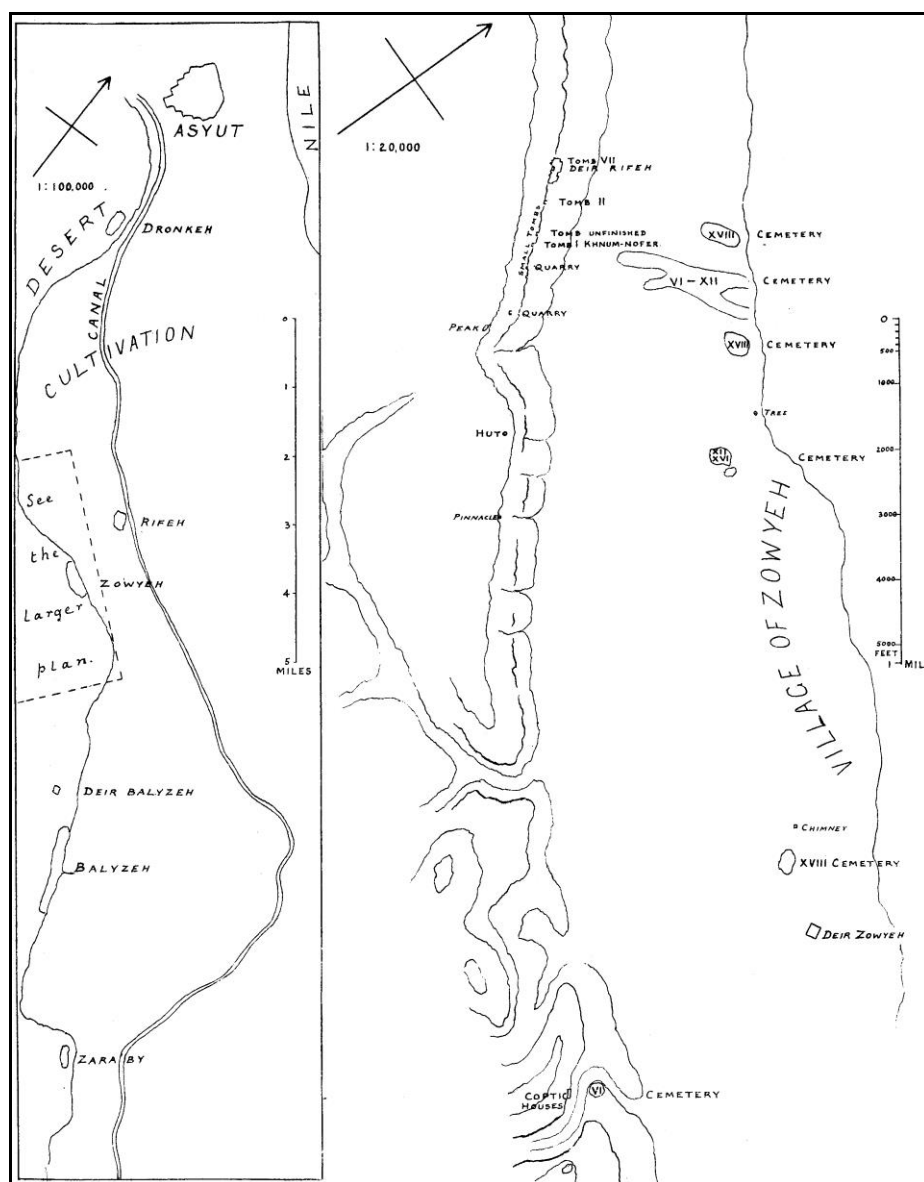


Fig. 4.20 Cemetery site of Deir Rifa

¹⁹⁸ PM V, pp. 1-3.

¹⁹⁹ Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London, p. 11.

4.12.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome has soil classified as Class 1 (Table A2), but had the smallest amount of arable land of all 22 provinces of Upper Egypt,²⁰⁰ and was one of only several provinces on only one side of the Nile. The district was without easy access to trade routes or minerals and was probably poor.

(b) The tombs

As shown on the above map, Fig. 4.20, and the description of the location of the site by Griffith, the MK nomarchs' tombs: Tombs I and VII, are separate from other cemetery areas which have Sixth to Twelfth Dynasty tombs and Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.²⁰¹ The tombs of the two nomarchs: *Nh.t-ḥnh.w* and *Nfr-Ḥnm.w*, are close together, but quite separate from the tombs of the lower-ranked people, and have the most advantageous positions.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Middle Kingdom	
Name	<i>Nh.t-ḥnh.w</i>	<i>Nfr-Ḥnm.w</i>
Reference number	[077]	[070]
Tomb number	VII (Griffith)	I (Griffith)
Date	Late Senwosret I	Amenemhet II
Total titles	3	7
Tomb size	nk	nk

Table 4.13 Nomarchs of the Eleventh Nome

Damage to the tombs should be borne in mind when examining the titles therein, and *Nh.t-ḥnh.w* may well have held most of the titles or even more, of those held by his successor. The numbers of titles held by the known nomarchs of this province, three and seven, are below the averages of the other nomes in the respective reigns of Senwosret I (16.0) and Amenemhet II (7.9).

²⁰⁰ AAE, p. 16.

²⁰¹ William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1907) *Giza and Deir Rifa*, Warminster, pl. VIII.

(d) The titles

Senior officials may have been sent to the province for regional supervision reasons. The nomarch *Nḥ.t-ḥ.w* had the title *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w mi ḳd=f* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt to its entirety’ and his successor *Nfr-Ḥnm.w* had the title *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’. The total number of titles for each nomarch is low, bearing in mind possible tomb damage. Neither of these two officials had titles signifying agricultural, mineral or trade responsibilities.

General comments

Compared to other nomes, senior officials were not present at this nome until much later than elsewhere, presumably because this nome was not previously considered an important one by the central administrations.

There are only two known senior officials, both nomarchs, the first of whom may have had palace duties, but the second definitely did. Evidence such as that available from the nomarchs’ titles mentioned above indicates a reason they may have been sent there by the kings was for regional supervision, one possible explanation for this being the nome’s central location in Upper Egypt.

4.13 The Twelfth Nome: ‘Viper Mountain’

4.13.1 Individual sites

The Sixth Dynasty tombs of this nome are in two groups of rock-cut tombs near the modern village of Deir el-Gebrawi, on the east bank of the Nile. The tombs there are referred to as the Northern Group and the Southern Group. If the dates of the senior officials’ tombs are extrapolated to the other tombs within the same groups, the tombs of the Northern Group would have been built before those of the Southern Group, as Davies suggested,²⁰² a conclusion with which Kanawati agrees.²⁰³

²⁰² Norman de Garis Davies (1902) *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, vol. I, London, p. 3.

²⁰³ Naguib Kanawati (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. I, *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford, p. 19.

4.13.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was below average in size,²⁰⁴ but its soil has been evaluated as Classes 1 and 2 (Table A2). Titles commented on below, Para. (d), indicate the region might have been an agricultural one, but more likely, because of its location, it was a grain storage and distribution centre (Table A17). It was probably average/wealthy.

(b) The tombs

The northern tombs

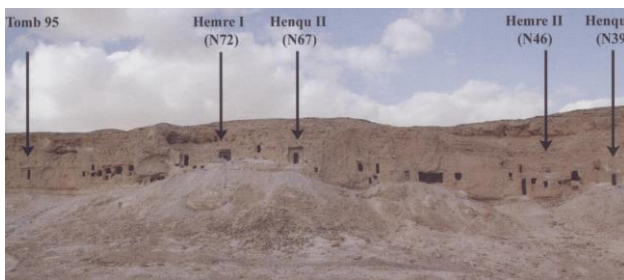


Fig. 4.21 Deir el-Gebrawi northern tombs
(west section)

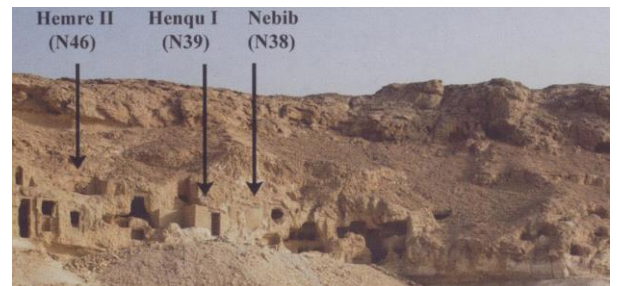


Fig. 4.22 Deir el-Gebrawi northern tombs
(east section)

All the tombs of the senior officials of the west section of the northern range at Deir el-Gebrawi are those of nomarchs. These are tombs N39, N46, N67, N72 and N95; tomb N95 is that of an official. The photos above show that the nomarchs' tombs are congregated much closer together than the enumeration shown in the map of Deir el-Gebrawi, below, might suggest.

²⁰⁴ AAE, p. 16.

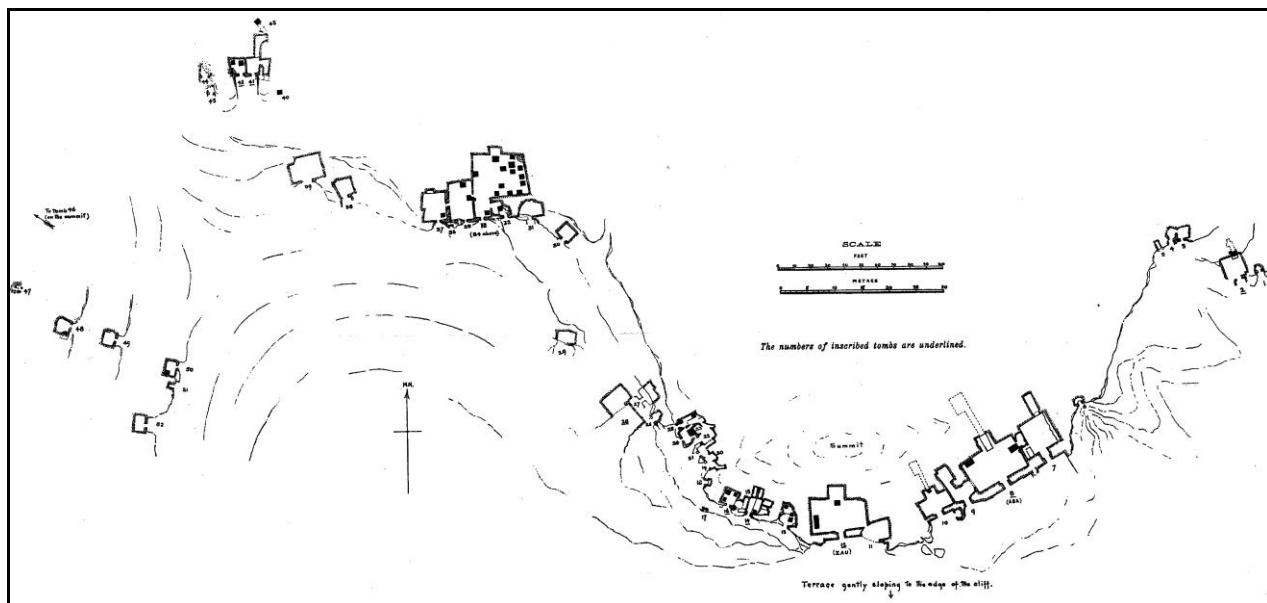


Fig. 4.23 Site of Deir el-Gebrawi

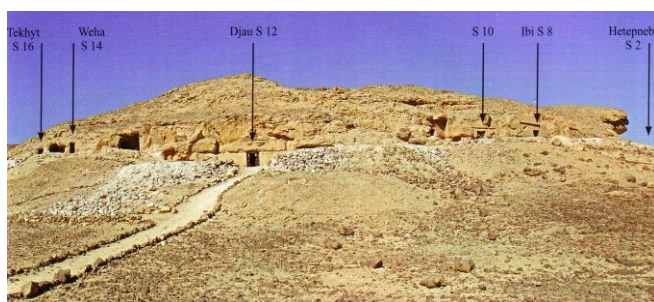


Fig. 4.24 Deir el-Gebrawi southern tombs (east section)

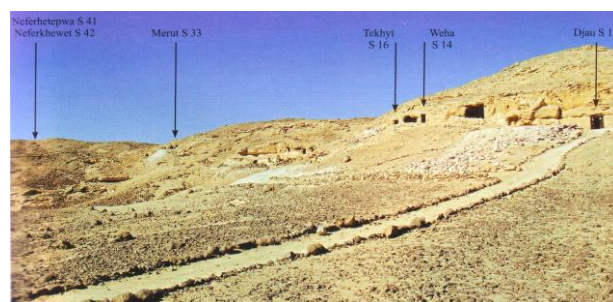
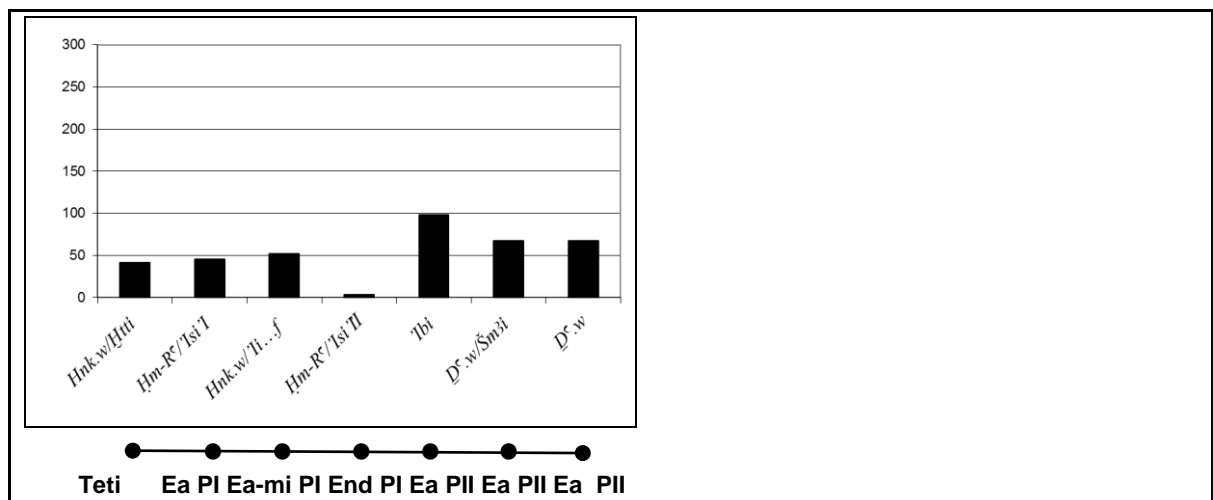


Fig. 4.25 Deir el-Gebrawi southern tombs (west section)

The tombs of *Ibi* (S8) and that of *D^c.w/Šm3i* and *D^c.w* (S12) (the latter two were buried in the same tomb) are those of nomarchs whilst the tombs of *Htp-nb(.i)* (S2), *Wh3* (S14), *Thit* (S16), *Nfr-tp-w3(?)* (S41) and *Nfr-hw.t* (S42) are those of officials. Like the tombs of the northern group, these tombs are grouped together more closely than their enumeration might indicate.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom						
Name	<i>Hnk.w/Htt</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Isi I</i>	<i>Hnk.w/Ti...f</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Isi II</i>	<i>Tbi</i>	<i>D^c.w/Šm3i</i>	<i>D^c.w</i>
Reference number	[083]	[087]	[082]	[088]	[002]	[144]	[143]
Tomb number	N39	N72	N67	N46	S 8	S 12	S 12
N, V	N	N/V	N/V	N	N	N	N
Date	Teti-possibly late	Early Pepy I	Early-middle Pepy I	End of Pepy I	Early Pepy II years 1-34	Later Pepy II years 1-34	Later Pepy II years 1-34
Total titles	13	25	12	5	50	27	24
Tomb size (m ²)	41.2	45.7	52.2	3.3	97.8	67.0	67.0

Table 4.14 Nomarchs of the Twelfth Nome**Fig. 4.26** Twelfth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs

For *Hm-R^c/Isi II*, the small number of his titles (5) and the diminutive size of his tomb, 3.3 m², are unexpected, considering he was a nomarch. The fact that his tomb was built at the closing stages of Pepy I's reign might have had something to do with this, as tomb size declined elsewhere at that time (Table 5.10).

(d) The titles

The two senior officials *Tbi* and *D^c.w/Šm3i* had the title *im.y-r3 šnw.ty* 'overseer of the two granaries', and both also had the title *im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd* 'overseer of the two treasuries'.

The nomarch *Tbi* had the highest number of titles (50) of any known senior official. He, like the next known two senior officials who also have high numbers of titles: *Tti/K3=i-ḥp* of the Ninth Nome (40) and *Ppy-ᵑḥ-ḥr.y-ib/Nfr-k3/Hni* of the Fourteenth Nome (40), are all dated to the early-middle reign of Pepy II.

General comments

Every known senior official of this province was a nomarch, and each had carried out palace duties.

The tombs of the two viziers are larger than the average of all the other tombs in the reign of Pepy I, but this is insufficient evidence to suggest that they were given privileges in this direction by the king.

The small size of the nomarch *Hm-R^c/Isi* II's tomb at the finish of Pepy I's reign is typical of those elsewhere at the same time and may be an indication of economic and/or other troubles in Upper Egypt.

The province was a storage zone in early Pepy II for grain, probably for taxation purposes.

4.14 The Thirteenth Nome: 'Upper Sycamore and Viper'

The capital of the nome was at Asyut, from early times a station for caravan routes to the el-Kharga oasis and further south.²⁰⁵

4.14.1 Individual sites

The two known main burial sites in this nome are those of Asyut (Assiut, Lykopolis, Zawty), on the west side of the Nile, west of the modern town of Asyut, and Deir Durunka, 4 kilometres south of Asyut. Only two tombs are listed at Deir Durunka, one of which is dated to Dynasty 18 or 19, the other is not dated, but neither is that of a senior official.²⁰⁶

4.14.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was slightly smaller than average but the soil has been classified as Class 1 (Table A2). Restoration of the temple of Wepwawet by *Hty* II²⁰⁷ may have been impressive, as his successor, *Df3=i-H^cpy* I, had the title *im.y-r3 h^w.t-ntr Šm^c.w* 'overseer of the temple of Upper Egypt'. *Df3=i-H^cpy* I must have been a wealthy man, bequeathing

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 122.

²⁰⁶ PM IV, p. 269.

²⁰⁷ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 145.

‘fields, with people, with cattle, with gardens [and] with everything’.²⁰⁸ Despite this, no recorded titles indicate agricultural duties (Table A18), and taking into account the lack of local rule prior to the Eleventh Dynasty, the region was probably average in wealth.

(b) The tombs

The tombs of senior officials of this nome are congregated together.

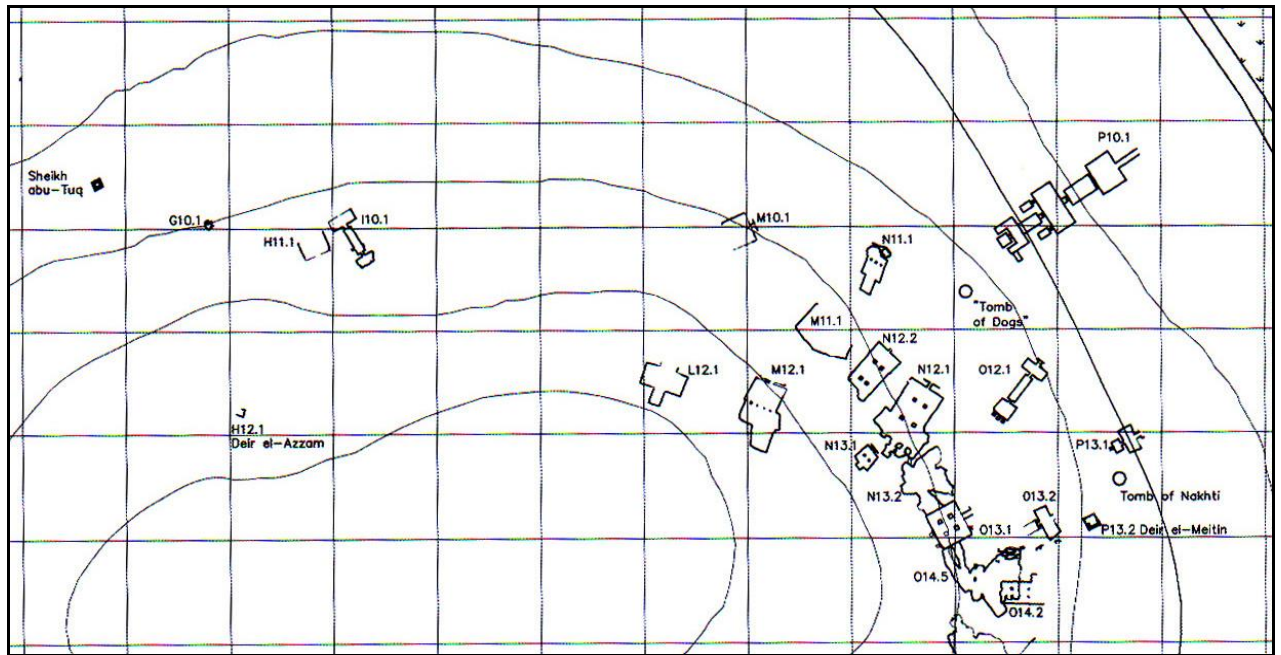


Fig. 4.27 Tombs at Asyut

²⁰⁸ *BARE*, p. 260.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	FIP		Middle Kingdom							
Name	<i>Hty</i> I	<i>It-ib</i> I	<i>Hty</i> II	<i>It-ib</i> II	<i>Mshṭi</i>	<i>Hty</i> III	<i>Df̣=i-Ḥpy</i> I	<i>Df̣=i-Ḥpy</i> II	<i>Df̣=i-Ḥpy</i> III	<i>Hty</i> IV
Reference number	[108]	[018]	[109]	[019]	[061]	[110]	[145]	[146]	[147]	[111]
N or PA	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	N	N	N	PA
Date	Inyotef I	Inyotef II	Mentu-hotep II	Mentu-hotep III	Mentu-hotep IV	Amenem-het I	Senwos-ret I	S I-A II	Amenem-het II	Semwos-ret III
Tomb no. (Zitman)	V	III	IV	XVII	Hogarth Tomb 3	XIV	I	II	VII	XII
PM IV El-Khadragy	PM 5 M11.1	PM 3 N12.1	PM 4 N12.2				PM 1	PM 2	P10.1	
Total titles	9	6	8	9	10	2	33	14	4	2
Tomb size	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk

Table 4.15 Senior officials of the Thirteenth Nome

(d) The titles

Most known senior officials had a small number of rank-titles as well as those indicating responsibilities at the nome.

Of a total of 46 different titles known at this province, at least 21 had religious functions. Five of the known senior officials had titles indicating religious duties for the local god, Wepwawet. The second-last senior official, *Df̣=i-Ḥpy* III, probably did also, but it is not possible to say so about the last, *Hty* IV. Service to Osiris and Anubis are also mentioned, virtually to the same extent, but not to any other local god(s) of other provinces.

Only one of the titles had a possible agricultural connotation, that of *md.w Ḥp* ‘herdsman of Apis’ (Table A18), but this may have been more of a religious function than an animal husbandry one.

General comments

Local provincial rule commenced late at this nome, in the Eleventh Dynasty (FIP). A reason for the introduction of such rule may have been religious requirements at the province.

4.15 The Fourteenth Nome: ‘Lower Sycamore and Viper’

The capital of the nome was Qis, modern el-Qusiya, also known as Cusae, on the west side of the Nile.

4.15.1 Individual sites

The nome in the Sixth Dynasty had two known burial sites: Quseir el-Amarna (Quseir) and Meir, 12 kilometres apart, on either side of modern el-Qusiya.²⁰⁹ The burial site of Quseir is on the east side of the Nile, 5 kilometres east of el-Qusiya; the village of Meir is on the west side of the Nile, 7 kilometres west of el-Qusiya. The earlier known senior officials of the province were buried at Quseir and the later ones at Meir.²¹⁰

4.15.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was below average in size, and the soil has been classified as slightly better than average. It had one of the longest spans of senior officialdom, second only to the Fifteenth Nome, and these two, along with the sixteenth Nome, are where such rule terminates. Three known consecutive senior officials were responsible for grain storage. Control of cattle is also mentioned in the titles (Table A19). Some beautiful tomb paintings dated to the Twelfth Dynasty were created at Meir.²¹¹ The nome was almost certainly wealthy.

(b) The tombs

Quseir

The tombs of only two senior officials are known there.²¹² No plan or photo of the site is available.

²⁰⁹ AAE, p. 122.

²¹⁰ Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney, p. 11.

²¹¹ AAE, p. 122.

²¹² Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney, p. 11.

Meir

The burial site of Meir is near a low slope leading to the desert plateau, and halfway up the slope are the tomb-chapels of nomarchs and provincial administrators.²¹³ Photos of the site indicate the tombs are in groups separated by wadis.²¹⁴ All of the known tombs there are those of nomarchs, provincial administrators and other officials. Two of the known provincial administrators were also viziers. The graves of the lower-ranked people are in the plain below.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom							Middle Kingdom					
Name	<i>Hw.n-wh/Tti</i>	<i>Ppy-^{snh}-wr</i>	<i>Ppy-^{snh}-hr.i-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii</i>	<i>Ni-^{snh}-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-htp/Hpy-km</i>	<i>Ppy-^{snh}/Hny-km/Hni.t-km</i>	<i>Hni/Hmny.t/Nfr-K3.w (a)</i>	<i>Hpi(-km?)</i>	<i>Snbi (I)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (I)</i>	<i>Snbi (II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (III)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (IV)</i>
Ref. no.	[097]	[047]	[049]	[065]	[048]	[090]	[085]	[118]	[035]	[119]	[036]	[037]	[038]
N/PA	PA	PA	PA, V	PA	PA, V	N	PA	PA	N	PA	PA	PA	PA
Date	Possibly late P I	Early Pepy II	Middle Pepy II	Third quarter Pepy II	End Pepy II	End Pepy II or later	End Pepy II or later	A I	S I	SI-AII	SI-AII	A II	S II
Tomb site	Quseir T. 2	Quseir T. 1	Meir D2	Meir A1	Meir A2	Not known	Meir A4	Meir B1	Meir B2	Meir B3	Meir A3	Meir B4	Meir C1
Total titles	25	8	40	23	26	2	5	6	19	4	2	22	8
Tomb size (m ²)	17.5	103.7	74.8	242.3	290.5	nk	nk (b)	60.7	76.8	91.1	12.0	28.6	26.2

Table 4.16 Senior officials of the Fourteenth Nome

Note: (a) Information on *Hni/Hmny.t/Nfr-K3.w* comes from the tomb of his father, *Ppy-^{snh}/Hny-km/Hnit-km* (Meir A2).

(b) The tomb was not excavated by Aylward Blackman.

²¹³ Aylward M. Blackman (1914) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part I, London, p. 5.

²¹⁴ Ibid., pl. XII, 1 and 2.

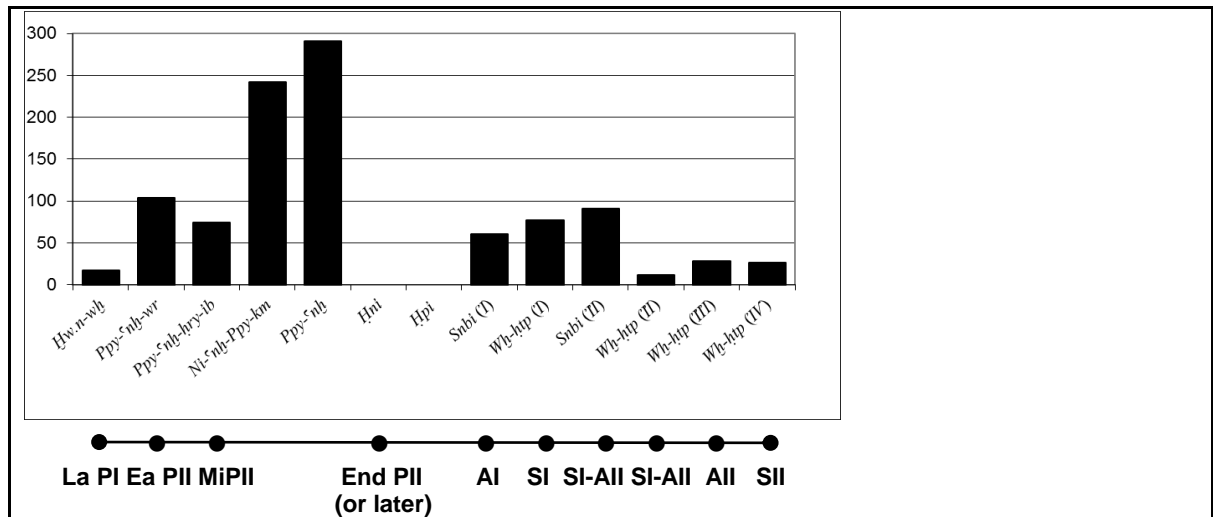


Fig. 4.28 Fourteenth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials

There are several very large tomb sizes at this nome; two in the middle to late reign of Pepy II are more than triple the average size for the other tombs at the time and are two of the largest known tombs from any period.

(d) The titles

The provincial administrator *Ppy-*nh*-wr* of the reign of Pepy II had only two titles in common with his predecessor, *Hw.n-wh/Tti*, of the reign of late Pepy I, indicative of the policy developments concerning titles introduced by Pepy II.

Two senior officials were also viziers: *Ppy-*nh*-hr.y-ib/Nfr-k3/Hny* and *Ppy-*nh*/Hny-km/Hni.t-km*, but neither of these viziers was also a nomarch. Results elsewhere show this was not an uncommon arrangement.

Three known provincial administrators had the title *im.y-r3 šnw.ty* ‘overseer of the two granaries’, again in Pepy II’s reign.

Titles held show that the nome was a cult centre for several deities, including Isis and Horus, but mainly Hathor, who was the nome goddess. The titles also show that priestly duties increase during the MK.

General comments

There is a large time gap of about 200 years between the tomb of the provincial administrator *Hpi(-km?)*, dated to the reign of Pepy II ‘or later’,²¹⁵ and the tomb of the next known provincial administrator, *Snbi* (I), in the time of Amenemhet I. This gap is larger than that for the other two long locally-ruled provinces, the Fifteenth and Sixteenth, and is possibly a consequence of political problems with the central administrations.

That *Ppy-ꜥnh-wr* was a senior official is no surprise as his wife’s name was *Sš-sš.t*, the implication of this being that it was a name held exclusively by the pharaoh Teti’s wife and daughters, which means *Ppy-ꜥnh-wr* was a son-in-law of Teti and thus a brother-in-law of Pepy I.²¹⁶ It also means *Ppy-ꜥnh-wr* was the brother-in-law of the wife of *Isi*, ruler of the Second Nome around the same time, although *Ppy-ꜥnh-wr* was most likely a little later.

As two of the provincial administrators were also viziers, being a nomarch was not necessary for viziership.

Of the 13 known senior officials at this nome, only two were nomarchs. This is in contrast with the province’s immediate neighbours to the south and north: the Thirteenth Nome, where six of the ten known senior officials were nomarchs; the Fifteenth Nome, where 12 of the 22 known senior officials were nomarchs; and the Sixteenth Nome, where 11 of the 16 known senior officials were nomarchs. This, combined with a lack of senior officialdom for two centuries, may mean the nome was not as politically or economically important, or perhaps its leadership was not as politically adroit or powerful, as its two immediate neighbours to the north.

²¹⁵ Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney, p. 26.

²¹⁶ Naguib Kanawati (2004) ‘The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty’, in *BACE* 15, p. 52.

4.16 The Fifteenth Nome: 'Hare'

The nome had its capital on the west bank of the Nile at the general area of the town of el-Ashmunein,²¹⁷ called Hermopolis by the Greeks after Hermes whom they identified with Thoth (*Dḥw.ty*), the chief local god.

4.16.1 Individual sites

Opposite Hermopolis on the other side of the Nile was the town of Deir el-Bersha, near the site of what were to become the two main early burial-sites of the nome: el-Sheikh Saʿid and Deir el-Bersha.

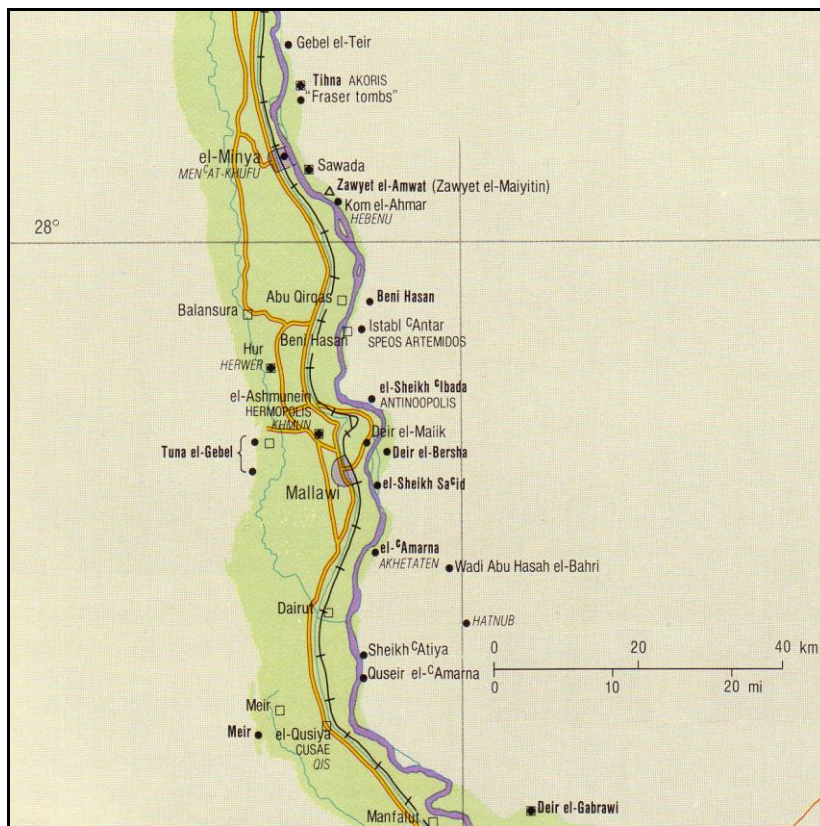


Fig. 4.29 Fifteenth Nome and its environs

²¹⁷ Francis Llewelyn Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London, p. 27.

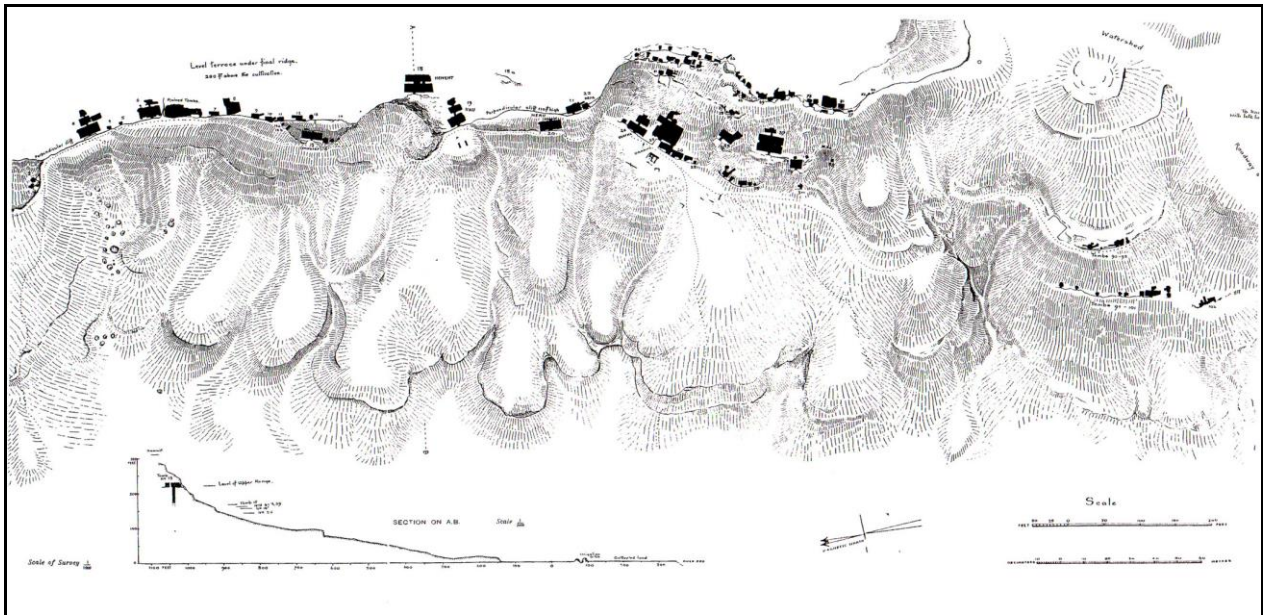


Fig. 4.30 Tombs at el-Sheikh Sa'id

Note: The senior officials' tombs are shown in black shading.



Fig. 4.31 Tombs at el-Sheikh Sa'id

Note: The photo shows some of the tombs of the Lower and Upper Ranges, the Lower Range being where the tombs of the nomarchs and provincial administrators are located.

4.16.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was about average in area, perhaps slightly larger. Its soil has been classified as Classes 1 and 2 (Table A2). Much of the present area is low-lying; the site of the ancient capital is in a broad and rich area of the Nile valley²¹⁸ and if the present agricultural conditions applied then as they do now, it would have been a substantial food-producing region. The province had alabaster deposits at three quarries at Hatnub, and the records left there show that mining expeditions frequently visited them.²¹⁹ The province was almost certainly a wealthy one.

(b) The tombs

El-Sheikh Sa'id

These tombs are in three main levels: the Lower Range, the Upper Range and the Southern Group. There is a disparity between Lower Range tomb decoration and that of the other two groups; the Lower Range tombs have the highest percentage of tombs, more advanced tomb construction, and have superior decoration, including sculptured figures.²²⁰ That the more elaborate tombs ranging from the Fifth Dynasty through to the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty all occur in the Lower Range means that tomb space there was reserved for the senior officials.

Deir el-Bersha

The funerary site of Deir el-Bersha is on the east side of the Nile near the modern village of Deir el-Bersha. The tombs sites there also have a congregation of the senior officials' tombs.

²¹⁸ AAE, p. 126.

²¹⁹ Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, *passim*.

²²⁰ Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London, *passim*.

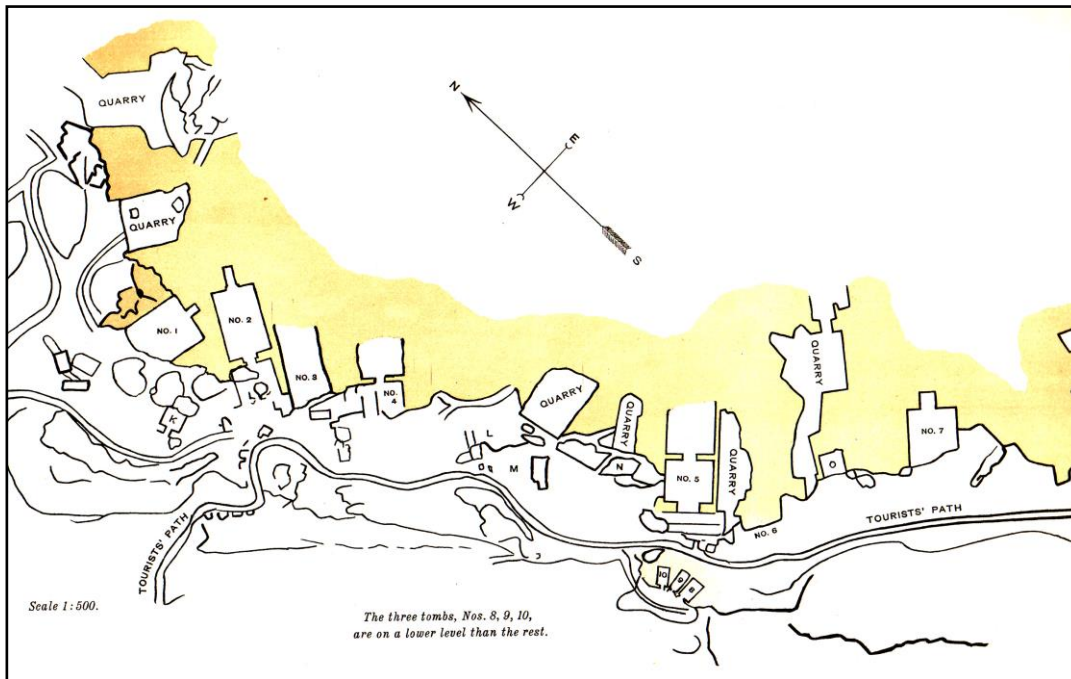


Fig. 4.32 Tombs at Deir el-Bersha

Note: The senior officials' tombs are north-east of the 'Tourists' Path' in the above map. The three tombs south of this path are those of other officials.



Fig. 4.33 Tombs at Deir el-Bersha

Note: The Deir el-Bersha tombs are at the top right side of the lower left track winding upwards, shown as the 'Tourists' Path' in the map, Fig. 4.32, above. The senior officials' tombs are at the upper-most level; the other officials' tombs are lower.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

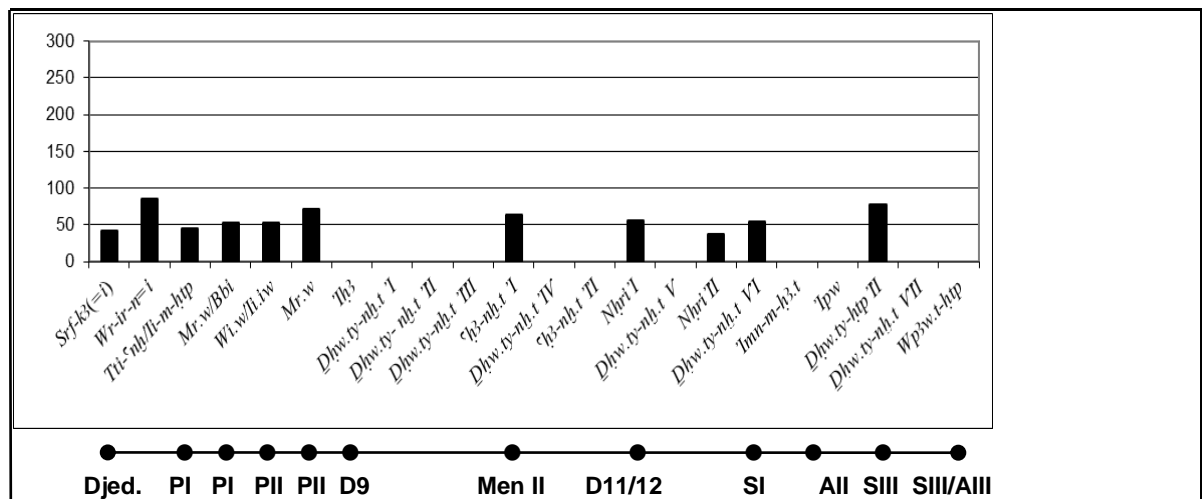
Location	El-Sheikh Saʿīd tombs						Deir el-Bersha tombs															
Period	Old Kingdom						FIP			Middle Kingdom												
Name	<i>Sṯf-k3(=t)</i>	<i>Wr-ir-n=i</i>	<i>Tt-5-nḥ/lt-m-ḥtp</i>	<i>Mr.w/Bbi</i>	<i>Wt.w/Ti.tw</i>	<i>Mr.w</i>	<i>Th3</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty- nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t III</i>	<i>ϵḥ3-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t IV</i>	<i>ϵḥ3-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Nḥri I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t V</i>	<i>Nḥri II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VI</i>	<i>Tmn-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>Ṭpw</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-ḥtp II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VII</i>	<i>Wp3w.t-ḥtp</i>
Reference number	[120]	[034]	[134]	[058]	[031]	[056]	[015]	[148]	[149]	[150]	[029]	[151]	[030]	[074]	[152]	[075]	[153]	[005]	[003]	[155]	[154]	[032]
N or PA	N	N	PA	PA	N	PA	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	N	PA	PA	N	N	PA	N	PA	PA
Date	Djk.	Djk.	Pepyl	Pepyl	Pepyl II	Pepyl II	D9	D9/10	Mery-ib-Reʿ	Men II	Men II	Men III	Men III	D11/12	A I	A I/ S I	S I	S I/ A II	A II	S III	SIII/ AIII	SIII/ AIII
Tomb no. (EEF)	24	25	15	20	19	18	-	-	-	-	5	-	N	4	-	7	1	3	-	2	6	-
Total titles	8	7	10	15	8(a)	4(a)	5	5	5	6	15	3	2	11	2	4	15	8	4	29	3	2
Tomb size (m ²)	42.5	86.2	44.8	53.7	52.7	71.0	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	63.1	(b)	(b)	56.2 (c)	(b)	36.8	55.1	(b)	(b)	78.5	(b)	(b)

Table 4.17 Senior officials of the Fifteenth Nome

Note: (a) Some titles are probably missing. The wall scenes are damaged.²²¹

(b) Tomb location either unknown or too damaged to estimate the area.

(c) Estimate, based on available plans.²²²

**Fig. 4.34** Fifteenth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials

²²¹ Nigel de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Sa'id*, London, pp. 28-29.

²²² Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London, pl. XVIII.

(d) The titles, epithets, and specific inscription dates

The titles

The extent of provincial rule at this nome enables the development and changes in titles to be seen over most of the period of such rule.

In common with the other provinces, between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties there were many changes in titles at this nome. As an example, *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II in the reign of Senwosret III had 29 titles of which 25 were unknown prior to the last part of the Sixth Dynasty.

The epithets

At several stages in the FIP and MK, four of the nome's known senior officials assumed epithets normally associated with kingship, possibly meaning difficulties were besetting the central administrations at those times.

The following details of the epithets and inscription dates are taken from the Hatnub quarry texts,²²³ and the epithets are shown in Table A20.

The epithets *ʿnh wd3 snb* 'may he live, be prosperous, and well' and *ʿnh d.t* 'may he live forever' are held by the nomarch *Ḥḥ3* in the Ninth Dynasty, that of *ʿnh wd3 snb* is held by *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t* I in the Ninth or Tenth Dynasty, those of *ʿnh wd3 snb* and *ʿnh d.t* are held by *Nḥri* I in the late Eleventh/early Twelfth Dynasties, and that of *ʿnh wd3 snb* is held by *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t* V in the reign of Amenemhet I.

Specific inscription dates

When dates are given in the Hatnub quarry texts, many give the date of the reigning king. However, in the case of *Ḥḥ3*, the dating of his text could be that of his local rule - the name of the reigning king is not given. And in the cases of some successors: *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t* I, *Nḥri* I and *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t* V, each one of these senior officials dates their texts to their own local rule.

²²³ Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, pp. 25, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 41, et al.

General comments

The Fifteenth Nome was one of the most important ones in terms of its known local rulers, having provincial rule from the time of Djedkare^c until the reign of Senwosret III or Amenemhet III. It had 12 nomarchs, two of whom were viziers, and ten provincial administrators. The total of 22 senior officials is the highest number for any province.

The records, particularly the Hatnub quarry ones, reveal astute and strong leadership by its rulers, which probably partially accounts for its long period of local rule. That some senior officials of the nome had pharaonic epithets, and dated events to their years of local rule,²²⁴ presumably not only reveals the power and authority they implied they held, but may indicate weaknesses in the authority of the relevant kings.

4.17 The Sixteenth Nome: ‘Oryx’

The nome was centred on the modern-day city of Minya or el-Minya which lies mainly on the west side of the Nile.

4.17.1 Individual sites

There are three known burial sites dating from the OK and the MK: the Fourth Dynasty tombs of Tihna (Tihna el-Gebel, Tennis, Akoris), the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Zawyet el-Amwat (el-Maiyitin),²²⁵ and those of the FIP and MK at Beni Hasan.

²²⁴ Ibid., pp. 25, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 41, et al.

²²⁵ PM IV, p. 134.

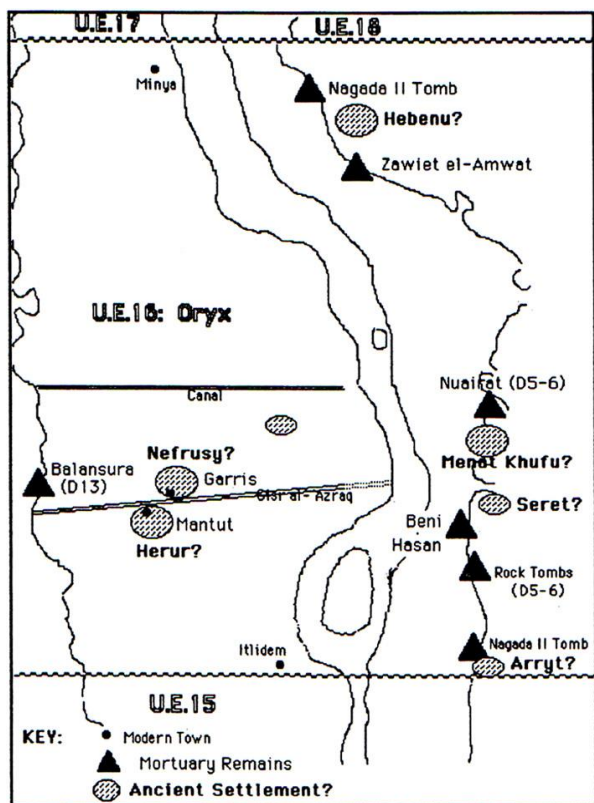


Fig. 4.35 Sixteenth Nome

4.17.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The area was slightly smaller than average but its soil is classified as Class 1 (Table A2). Agriculture is mentioned in the titles held by senior officials of the province (Table A21). There were copper deposits east of Beni Hasan and the area had reasonably easy access with the eastern desert and the other mineral deposits there as well.²²⁶ As witnessed by the titles referring to agriculture and expeditions, trade was probably an important economic factor. The province was almost certainly a wealthy one.

(b) The tombs

Tehna

The tombs under consideration are also known as the Fraser Tombs, 2 kilometres from the Graeco-Roman cemetery adjoining the ancient town immediately south of the modern

²²⁶ AAE, p. 21.

village of Tehna.²²⁷ There are known tombs of two officials and a provincial administrator, *Ny-k3-ꜥnh*. This senior official is one of the first senior officials buried at a nome for which they were responsible.

It should be noted that work on the OK tombs at Tehna has been carried out by Elizabeth Thompson of Macquarie University, and a publication is in preparation. A preliminary report on the Tehna statuary has been recently published.²²⁸ The main publication may well affect the data available to date on this site.

Zawyet el-Amwat

This site has the known tombs of two nomarchs: *Hns* and *K3-wꜥhm*, and a provincial administrator, *Ni-ꜥnh-Ppy/Hnm.w-ꜥtp-hpi*. All three date from the reign of Pepy II.

Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan was the major burial site of the Oryx Nome for the MK.

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom					Middle Kingdom										
Burial site	Saqqara	Tehna	Zawyet el-Amwat			Beni Hasan										
Name	<i>Hm.(?)w</i>	<i>Ny-k3-ꜥnh</i>	<i>Ni-ꜥnh-Ppy/Hnm.w-ꜥtp-hpi</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>K3-wꜥhm</i>	<i>B3kt I</i>	<i>B3kt II</i>	<i>Rm.w-ꜥnti</i>	<i>B3kt III</i>	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnm.w-ꜥtp I</i>	<i>Nhti</i>	<i>Tmn-m-ꜥ3.t</i>	<i>Ntr-nh.t</i>	<i>Hnm.w-ꜥtp II</i>	<i>Hnm.w-ꜥtp IV</i>
Reference no.	[086]	[066]	[064]	[099]	[131]	[042]	[043]	[081]	[044]	[107]	[104]	[076]	[004]	[079]	[105]	[106]
N or PA	N	PA	PA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA
Date	Djoser	Userkaf	Early Pepy II	Middle Pepy II	Middle-late Pepy II	11D	11D	11D	Late 11D	Late 11D	A I	S I	year 43 of S I	A II	Year 6 of S II	S III
Tomb number	NN	T13	ZM 14	ZM 2	ZM 6	BH 29	BH 33	BH 27	BH 15	BH 17	BH 14	BH 21	BH 2	BH 23	BH 3	BH4
Total titles	2	4	4	5	5	8	8	8	8	10	11	4	33	6	23	2
Tomb size (m ²)	(a)	6.6	53.0	101.0	(b)	103.1	37.0	83.4	196.8	204.2	78.2	80.2	141.3	74.1	94.0	59.6

Table 4.18 Senior officials of the Sixteenth Nome

Note: (a) The location of the tomb is not known.

(b) The tomb is too damaged to allow an estimate of its area.²²⁹

²²⁷ PM IV, pp. 128-133.

²²⁸ Elizabeth Thompson (2010) 'The engaged statues of the Old Kingdom tombs at Tehna in Middle Egypt', in *BACE* 21, pp. 123-140.

²²⁹ Naguib Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980) pp. 51-52.

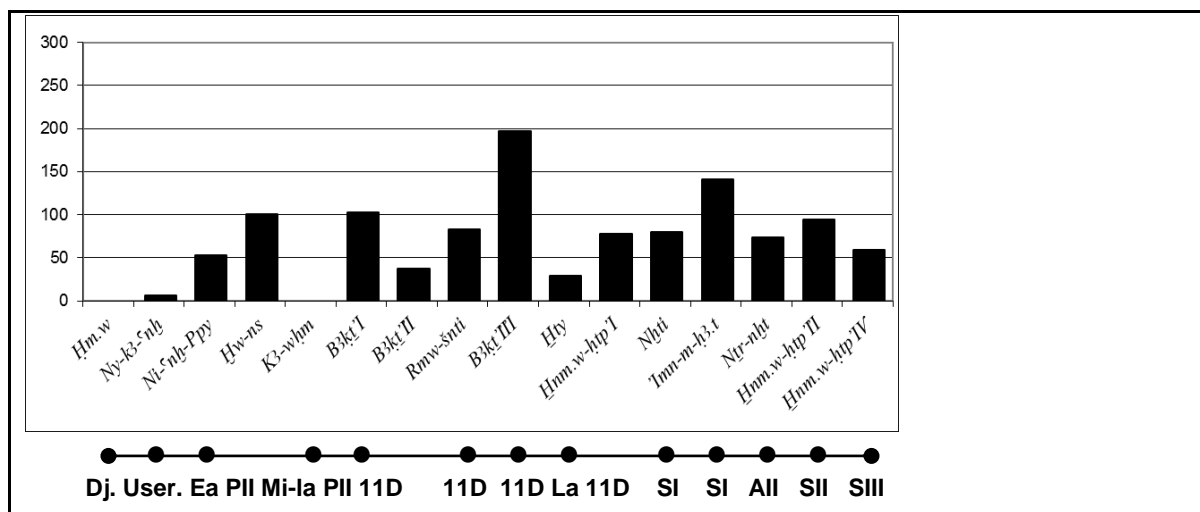


Fig. 4.36 Sixteenth Nome: tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials

(d) The titles

The title *sšm-t3* ‘leader of the land’ ends in the nomarchship of *K3-whm* of the Sixteenth Nome in the middle to late period of Pepy II’s reign, and this is the last occasion when it is known to be used anywhere in Upper Egypt. The title *hr.y-tp 3 n.y* (Sixteenth Nome) comes into usage immediately after the last usage of the title *sšm-t3* at this nome. The title *hr.y-tp 3 n.y* [Sixteenth Nome] is held by senior official at this nome from then on and ends with *Imn-m-h3.t* in the reign of Senwosret I.

The title *ir.y-h.t nsw* ‘guardian of the affairs of the king’ is the only one for this nome which covers the whole period of time from Userkaf through to Senwosret II. The title *smr w3t.y* ‘sole companion’, which is first used here in the early reign of Pepy II, also continues through to Senwosret II.

The local rule of *B3kt I* in the Eleventh Dynasty has the introduction of new titles to the nome which include *h3.ty-3.w* ‘count’ and *htm.w-bl.ty* ‘seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt’, long introduced elsewhere. Why such titles as these two were introduced so late at this province is doubtless a consequence of the lack of known local rule at this nome after the reign of Pepy II.

The importance of this province for trade and perhaps border security is shown by the fact that four of the nome’s known senior officials had the title *im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t* ‘overseer of the Eastern Desert’ and another two had the title *im.y-r3 m33* ‘expedition leader’.

General comments

From the time of Djoser until the reign of Senwosret III, 11 nomarchs and five provincial administrators are known. Based on the total number of known senior officials, it was the second-most important province after the Fifteenth Nome.

There is no known provincial rule of this nome in the Eighth Dynasty and the FIP. This absence may have been due to problems concerning it and the central administration or other political development(s) and alignment(s). From the reign of Amenemhet II onwards, the known senior officials at this nome were all provincial administrators, the beginning of a trend of few nomarchs and relatively higher numbers of provincial administrators, similar to developments elsewhere.

4.18 The Seventeenth Nome: ‘Jackal’

The main city of this nome is el-Bahnasa, earlier called Oxyrhynchus and Per-Medjed, 15 kilometres west of the Nile.

4.18.1 Individual sites

The major burial site recorded for this nome is Samalut, 28 kilometres south of el-Bahnasa. No tombs for the time concerned are known at Samalut. Only one senior official is known for this province, *Mtn*, whose tomb is at Saqqara, and which is dated to the reigns of Snefru-Khufu. *Mtn* was responsible for two nomes: the East Sixth Nome as well as the Seventeenth Nome. Details of his titles are given in the chapter on the capital. None of *Mtn*’s titles make any reference to agriculture. The lack of temples or tombs of the times means it must not have been considered as important religiously or politically in the time. Therefore the province is not of relevance to this thesis.

4.19 The Eighteenth Nome: ‘Falcon’

The nome is on the east side of the Nile and is centred on Ankyronon Polis (el-Hiba).

4.19.1 Individual sites

The burial site of the period is Sharuna, also known as Kom el-Ahmar Sawaris.

4.19.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The soil has been classified as Class 1 (Table A2), but the nome has been estimated to have had a population density of less than 100 people per sq. km. in dynastic times, and this was one of the lowest of three groups of ratios.²³⁰ About average in area,²³¹ the province was probably poor.

(b) The tombs

The only tomb which is reasonably precisely dated is that of *Ppy-ꜥnh/Hwi*.²³² The other tombs are dated to the late OK, but no more exact date is as yet available. Consequently there is no further analysis or chart presentation of any of them here. There are also tombs of officials of the Saite and Graeco-Roman periods.²³³

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom					
Name	<i>Ppy-ꜥnh/Hwi</i>	<i>Ppy-ꜥnh/Ipi-ꜥnh/Ipi</i>	<i>Twḥi</i>	<i>Nfr-nfr.t</i>	<i>Gs3/Mry</i>	<i>S3bi</i>
Prov. admin./Vizier	Prov. admin./Vizier	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA
Reference number	[050]	[046]	[001]	[068]	[132]	[112]
Date	Merenreꜥ- Ea. P II	Late OK	Late OK	Late OK	Late OK	Late OK
Total titles	21	2	3	4	8	3
Tomb size (m ²)	76.4	76.0	11.5	nk	62.5	16.1

Table 4.19 Provincial administrators of the Eighteenth Nome

(d) The titles

Most of the titles of the senior officials at this province relate to place duties.

General comments

The absence of any economic basis probably accounts for its lesser importance in the time under discussion.

²³⁰ AAE, p. 16.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 16.

²³² Yvonne Harper (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London, p. 279.

²³³ PM IV, pp. 126-128.

4.20 The Nineteenth Nome: ‘Two Sceptres’

The capital of this nome was Per-medjed, in Graeco-Roman times known as Oxyrhynchus, now modern el-Bahnasa,²³⁴ on the west side of the Nile.

4.20.1 Individual sites

The known archaeological sites are Ptolemaic and Roman.²³⁵

4.20.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The soil has been classified as Class 1 (Table A2) but the nome has been estimated to have had a population density of less than 100 people per sq. km. in dynastic times,²³⁶ one of the lower densities for all Upper Egyptian nomes. In the time concerned it was possibly poor to average in wealth, and this and the small population size probably largely explains why there was no provincial rule.

General comment

As the known ancient sites are later than the period under discussion, the nome is not of relevance to the thesis.

4.21 The Twentieth Nome: ‘Southern Sycamore’

The nome, on the west side of the Nile, has its southern border 10 kilometres south of Ihnasya el-Madina, previously called Herakleopolis Magna;²³⁷ its northern border is 10 kilometres north of el-Lahun.

²³⁴ AAE, p. 129.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 129.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

4.21.1 Individual sites

The main known burial site for the province, especially during the OK, was Deshasha,²³⁸ a large burial site situated near a village of the same name, 20 kilometres south-west of Ihnasya el-Madina.

4.21.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

Adjoining the fertile region of the Faiyum, and going by the titles referring to agricultural responsibilities, the region seems to have been of agricultural importance in the reigns of Djedkare^c and Teti, after whom provincial rule ceases. The lack of local rule afterwards may be because it was overshadowed by the earlier capitals Memphis and then el-Lisht. The nome's area was below average.²³⁹ The soil quality has been estimated to range from good to poor: Classes 1, 2 and 3 (Table A2). The region is assessed as having been average/wealthy, possibly average later as the Faiyum dried up.

(b) The tombs

The Deshasha tombs are located in seven 'spurs', ridges of a mountain range that run north north-east to south south-west, the spurs numbered from the north.²⁴⁰ The tombs of at least two of the known nomarchs, *Nn-hft-k3=i* and *Itti/Šdw*, are in isolated positions and that of the remaining nomarch, *Inti*, whilst not isolated, is one of a line of six larger tombs, probably those of officials. The officials' tombs are separate from the lower ranked peoples' tombs and hence there was separation based on class.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

²⁴⁰ William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1898) *Deshasheh*, London, p. vii.

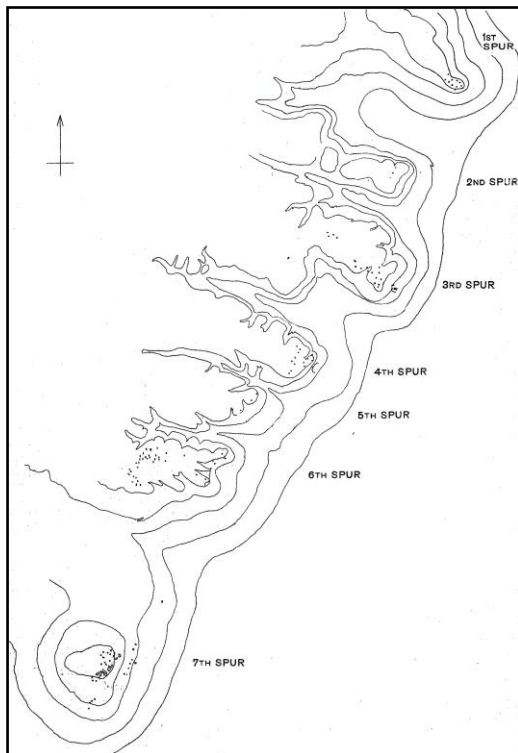


Fig 4.37 Site of Deshasha

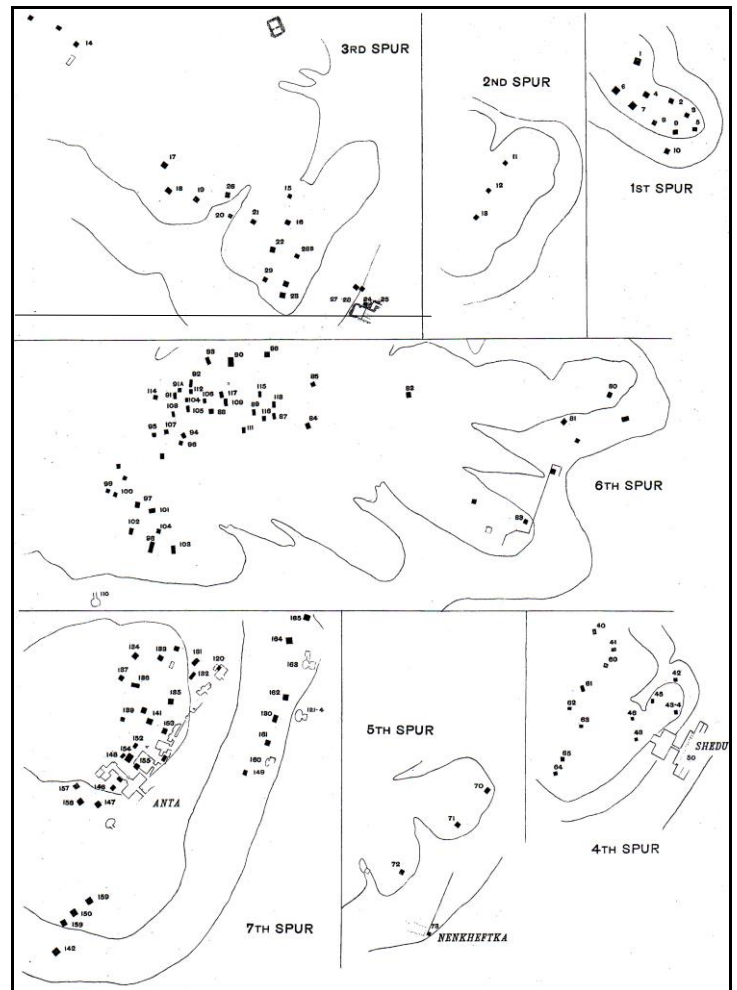


Fig. 4.38 Site of Deshasha (detailed)

(c) Tomb sizes and total titles

Period	Old Kingdom		
Name	<i>Inti</i>	<i>Nn-hft-k3=i</i>	<i>Itti/Šd.w</i>
Reference number	[012]	[071]	[020]
Date	Djedkare ^c	Teti	Teti
Total titles	7	12	9
Tomb size (m ²)	33.1	Tomb destroyed	49.0

Table 4.20 Nomarchs of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes

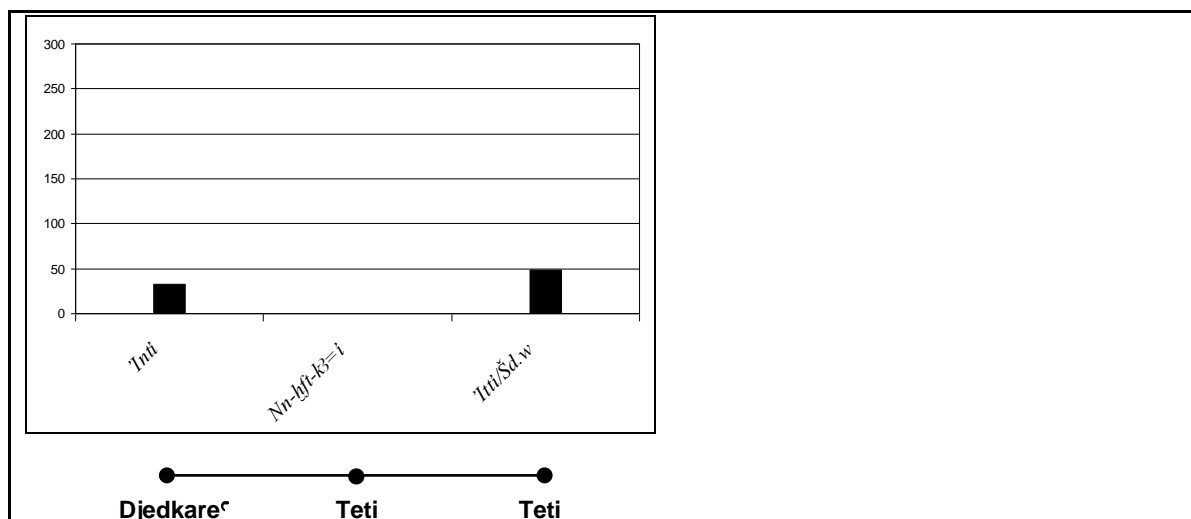


Fig. 4.39 Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes: tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs

(d) The titles

In discussing the titles of the senior officials, it should be noted that the Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes were deemed by the central administration, for administration purposes, to be one region.²⁴¹

Titles attested as being introduced in the reign of Teti I showing the region to be of agricultural importance are *im.y-r3 sš(.w) 3ḥ(.w)t* ‘overseer of the scribes of the fields’, *im.y-r3 3ḥ(.w)t* ‘overseer of the fields’ and *im.y-r3 sm nb rnp.wt* ‘overseer of all fresh vegetation’. Perhaps indicating the need to control rowdy elements among farm workers, is the title *im.y-r3 šn(.w)t*, for which the meaning ‘overseer of punishment’ has been given here, ahead of the translations ‘overseer of disputes’ and ‘overseer of police’.²⁴² The meaning of *šnt* is ‘punish crime’²⁴³ and ‘overseer of punishment’ is considered a more accurate interpretation of the title.

The titles *im.y-r3 mnw.w nsw* ‘overseer of royal fortresses’, *ḥk3 ḥw.t-3.t* ‘manager of the great estate’ and *sšm-t3* ‘leader of the land’, which were commonly held by senior officials

²⁴¹ Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane (1993) *Deshasha: The tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, Sydney, p. 12.

²⁴² Dilwyn Jones (2000) *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, vol. I, Oxford, pp. 256-257.

²⁴³ Raymond O. Faulkner (1964) *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, p. 269.

at other nomes, are no longer seen after the local rule of *Inti*, the first known senior official here in the reign of Djedkare^c.

General comments

After the reign of Teti there were no attested senior officials here, and this may be due to the province's close proximity to the capital.

4.22 The Twenty-first Nome: 'Northern Sycamore'

The Twenty-first Nome had its centre at Meidum, and was on the west side of the Nile. As mentioned, the Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes were considered, for administrative purposes, to be one region, and the provincial administration of the Twenty-first Nome is discussed under the Twentieth Nome. The two nomes shared the same god, Khnum.²⁴⁴

4.22.1 Individual sites

The main burial site was Meidum. There are several others, mainly of the Third, Fourth and Eighteenth Dynasties and later Ptolemaic and Roman times.²⁴⁵

None of the known senior officials buried within this nome have administrative duties related to a nome, but all are concerned with Residence duties.²⁴⁶

4.22.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

This was the smallest province. The soil quality has been assessed as poor: Classes 3 and 4 (Table A2). There were minerals to the north-west and copper deposits far to the east but these would not have been easy to obtain. Combining these points with the facts that no senior officials were buried in the province and the region was amalgamated with the Twentieth Nome for organisational functions means it was probably a poor one.

²⁴⁴ Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane (1993) *Deshasha: The tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, North Ryde, p. 12.

²⁴⁵ PM 1V, pp. 94-97.

²⁴⁶ William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1892) *Medum*, London, *passim*.

(b) The tombs

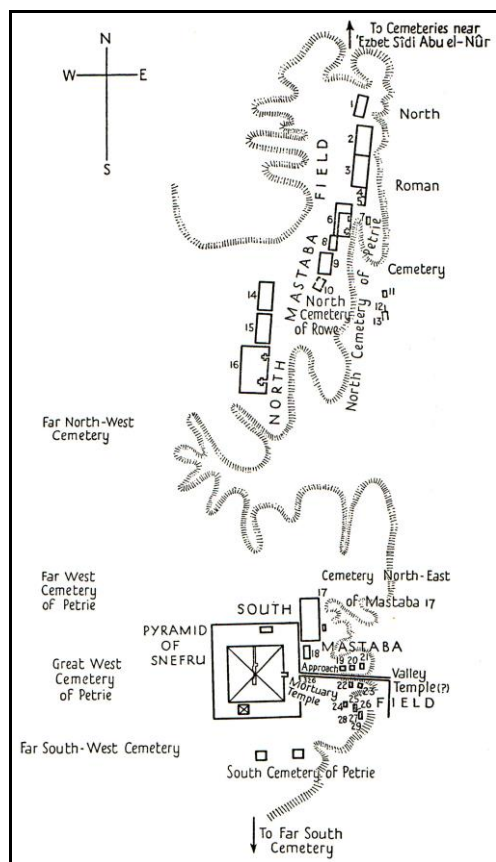


Fig. 4.40 Pyramid-field of Meidum

The overall plan of the pyramid-field and the decoration of the individual tombs shows that the complex was reserved for the pharaoh and his relatives and officials, people who may be generalised as the ruling class, with cemeteries for the other people to the west and south.

General comments

There are no known tombs of senior officials of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes at this nome. The region was a burial site for members of the royal family and officials involved with Residence duties in the Fourth Dynasty. The lack of its own senior officialdom was probably a combination of several factors: small size, poor quality soil, proximity to the capitals, and the special nature of the burial site. That this nome was amalgamated with the Twentieth Nome shows the pragmatism of the central administration(s) which evidently did not award local rule unless it was deemed warranted.

4.23 The Twenty-Second Nome: ‘Knife’

This nome, the northern-most one of Upper Egypt, was on the east side of the Nile and bordered the Twenty-first Nome of Upper Egypt and the First Nome of Lower Egypt to its west.

4.23.1 Individual sites

The main site of this nome is Atfih (Aphroditopolis). The antiquities are later than those discussed here, and mainly of the Graeco-Roman Period.²⁴⁷ No tombs for the time concerned here are mentioned by Porter and Moss.²⁴⁸

4.23.2 Observations

(a) Wealth of the nome

The nome was average in size and had no easy access to minerals. The soil has been assessed as poor: Class 3 (Table A2). Its proximity to Memphis and el-Lahun probably meant it was in their shadow politically, and was probably below average in wealth.

General comment

The nome is not of relevance to this thesis.

²⁴⁷ PM IV, pp. 75-76.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 75-76.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW: THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENT OF PROVINCIAL RULE

5.1 Provincial rule in the OK

5.1.1 The Third Dynasty

The reign of Djoser

Reference number = [086]
Tomb size (m ²) = nk
Total titles = 2
Number of nomes with senior official = 1
Nome with senior official = Sixteenth Nome
Length of king's reign (years) = 20

Table 5.1 The nomarch *Hm(?)*.w

General comments

The senior official *Hm(?)*.w had the honour of being the first attested nomarch in Upper Egypt. He is the only known nomarch from this time. The site of *Hm(?)*.w's tomb is unknown but he was most likely buried at the capital as this is where the next few senior officials were buried, and the sole records of him are from Djoser's pyramid (Table A4).²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Cecil M. Firth and J. E. Quibell (1936) *The Step Pyramid*, vol. I, Cairo, p. 137; vol. 2, pl. 106, no. 5.

5.1.2 The Fourth Dynasty

The reigns of Snefru-Khufu

Name	<i>Mtn</i>	<i>Ntr-ḥpr=f</i>
Reference numbers	[062]	[078]
Nome number	East Sixth and Seventeenth Nomes	Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Nomes
Burial site	Saqqara	Dahshur
Nomarch or provincial administrator	N	PA
Title totals	6	9
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	nk
Total all titles	15	
Average number of titles	7.5	
Average tomb size (m ²)	na	
Number of nomes with senior officials	5	
Names of nomes with senior officials	6, 17, 5	
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators	1 N, 1 PA = 2T	
Length of kings' reigns (years)	58	

Table 5.2 Senior officials of the provinces in the Fourth Dynasty

General comments

Neither of these senior officials can be dated to either the reigns of Snefru or Khufu. Both were buried in the precincts of the central administration.

Ntr-ḥpr=f was a *s3 nsw* „king's son“, a title which does not have a literal meaning but, according to Bettina Schmitz, was a title awarded from as early as the First Dynasty for an official to have the authority to carry out certain tasks.²⁵⁰ Whilst this authority for certain responsibilities changes over time, this basic authorisation remains over the time concerned at least. Consequently, where this title without any addition to it appears in this thesis, as is the case here, no kinship with the king is assumed.

Mtn and *Ntr-ḥpr=f* had dual and triple provinces respectively under their control. The contrast between their titles is strong. *Mtn*'s titles were all administrative, related to the provinces, whilst *Ntr-ḥpr=f*'s duties were mainly related to the central administration.

²⁵⁰ Bettina Schmitz (1980) „Königssohn“ in *LÄ III*, Wiesbaden, cols. 626-630.

Neither of Khufu's two sons, Djedefre and Khafre, have been shown to have provincial rulers. Khafre's son Menkaure succeeded him as king.

The reign of Menkaure

Name	<i>Isi</i>
Reference number	[016]
Number of nomes with a nomarch	Nomes of Upper Egypt and nomes of Lower Egypt (a)
Names of nomes with senior officials	All
Total titles	9
Tomb size (m ²)	nk
Length of king's reign (years)	28

Table 5.3 The nomarch *Isi* in the reign of Menkaure

Note: (a) The nomes are grouped as such in the original text, not individually.

General comments

Isi was evidently buried at a cemetery of the capital, as were his predecessors, because there is no evidence of a tomb of his being anywhere else.

As the sole attested senior official in Menkaure's reign, the nomarch *Isi*, whose titles are largely central administration duties, also had the responsibility for the nomes of Upper and lower Egypt, as well as priestly duties of a pyramid (Table A5). *Isi*'s authority must have been more akin to that of a vizier, a title he did not hold, than that of a *sšm-t3* „leader of the land“, a title he did hold.

The reign of Shepseskaf

Menkaure's successor, Shepseskaf, ruled for only five years. No senior officials at the provinces are known for his reign.

5.1.3 The Fifth Dynasty

The reign of Userkaf

Name	<i>Nfr-nsw</i>	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (A3)	<i>N.y-k3-ꜥnh</i>
Reference number	[069]	[128]	[066]
Nome number	Eighth and Tenth Nomes (Burial at precincts of Central Administration)	Tenth Nome	Sixteenth Nome
Nomarch or provincial administrator	N	N	PA
Title totals	11	10	4
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	26.6	6.6
Total of titles	25		
Total tomb size (m ²)	33.2+		
Average number of titles	8.3		
Average tomb size (m ²)	16.6		
Number of nomes with senior officials	3		
Names of nomes with senior officials	8, 10, 16		
Number of nomarchs/prov. administrators	2 N, 1 PA = 3T		
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Tenth: 26.6; Sixteenth: 6.6		
Length of king's reign (years)	8		
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Tenth Nome: 26.6; Sixteenth Nome: 6.6		

Table 5.4 Senior officials in the reign of Userkaf

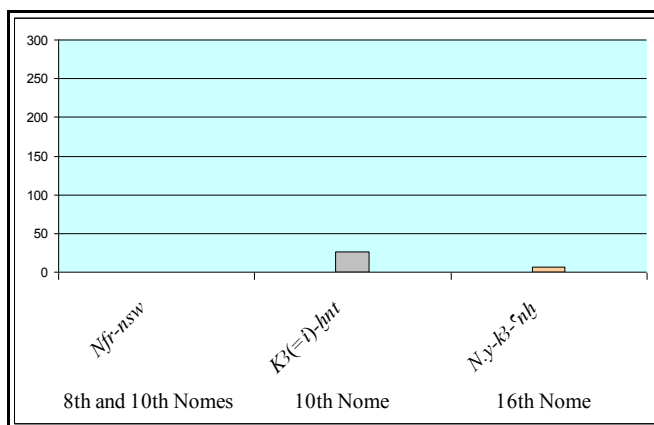


Fig. 5.1 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the reign of Userkaf

The suggested time sequence of these three known nomarchs is *Nfr-nsw* first, *K3(=i)-hnt* (A3) second and *N.y-k3-ꜥnh* third. The reason for *Nfr-nsw* being first is that he has responsibility for two nomes and this would continue a development of provincial rulers having responsibility for more than one nome. *Nfr-nsw*'s titles show that responsibility for

two provinces may have proved impractical, with the Eighth and Tenth Nomes separated by one of the larger provinces. It may have been a pragmatic decision from then on to have senior officials responsible for only one nome, although there are occasional exceptions later on. One consequence would be an increase in the number of senior officials, so growth in senior officialdom was probably inevitable.

General comments

After *Nfr-nsw*, the senior officials usually had their tomb at one of the provinces for which they were responsible. Local provincial rule controlled by the central administration was now evidently under way, initially tentatively in Userkaf's reign, but with signs of more certainty later in his reign.

That *K3(=i)-hnt* (A3) was appointed *im.y-r3 k3.t (nb.t) m sp3.wt hr.y.wt-ib Šm^c.w* „overseer of all works in Nomes Eight to Fifteen“ is understandable in a practical sense because of the central location of the Tenth Nome. Possession of this title would not have been unhelpful in his building a tomb considerably larger than that of his fellow provincial ruler *N.y-k3-^cnh*. *K3(=i)-hnt* (A3) was a nomarch, whilst *N.y-k3-^cnh* was a provincial administrator, but there is no overall evidence of nomarchs having larger tombs than provincial administrators.

Userkaf was succeeded by one of his sons, Sahure^c.

The reign of Sahure^c

Only one senior official is, with reasonable certainty, dated to Sahure^c's reign: the nomarch *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2).

Reference number = [129]
Total titles = 13
Tomb size (m ²) = 18.6
Number of nomes with senior officials = 1
Name of nome with senior official = 10
Length of king's reign (years) = 13

Table 5.5 The nomarch *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2) in the reign of Sahure^c

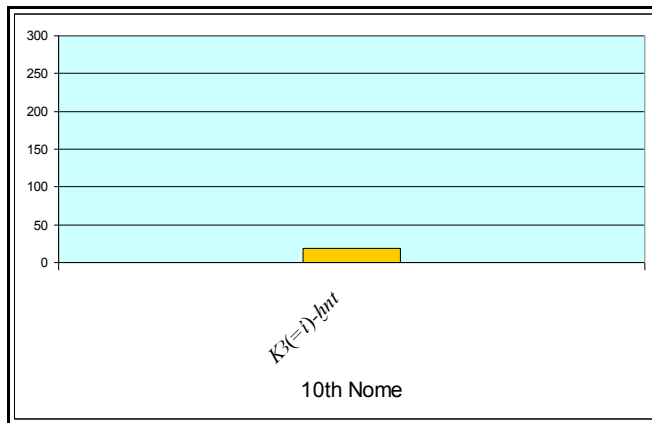


Fig. 5.2 Tomb size (m²) of the nomarch *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2) in the reign of Sahure^c

Most of *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2)'s titles were also held by his father *K3(=i)-hnt* (A3). In his tomb, *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2) records the title *s3 nsw (n.y h.t=f)* king's son (of his body), but according to Ali el-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati, careful but unsuccessful attempt has been made to remove this title, but it is still legible,²⁵¹ and as it is listed as one of his titles,²⁵² it is counted here as such.

K3(=i)-hnt (A2)'s tomb size (18.6 m²) is slightly larger than the average of his predecessors in the reign of Userkaf, part of an intermittent trend.

General comment

As *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2) also held most of his predecessor's titles, this most likely means a continuation of the policies established by Userkaf.

The reign of Neferirkare^c

Neferirkare^c continued to allow local provincial rule and granted a charter of immunity to the priesthood at Abydos,²⁵³ thereby permitting some devolution of economic power.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney, p. 27.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 27.

²⁵³ Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, pp. 92-93.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 91-92.

Name	<i>R^c-h_{tp}</i>	<i>K3(=i)-m-nfr.t (C4)</i>
Reference number	[080]	[124]
Date	Early-middle D5 (Neferirkare ^c)	Early-middle D5
Nome number	Tenth	Tenth
Title totals	4	4
Tomb size (m ²)	5.5	6.9
Total all titles	8	
Total tomb size (m ²)	12.4	
Average number of titles	4.0	
Average tomb size (m ²)	6.2	
Number of nomes with senior officials	1	
Name of nomes with senior officials	10	
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators	2 N	
Length of king's reign (years)	20	

Table 5.6 Nomarchs in the reign of Neferirkare^c

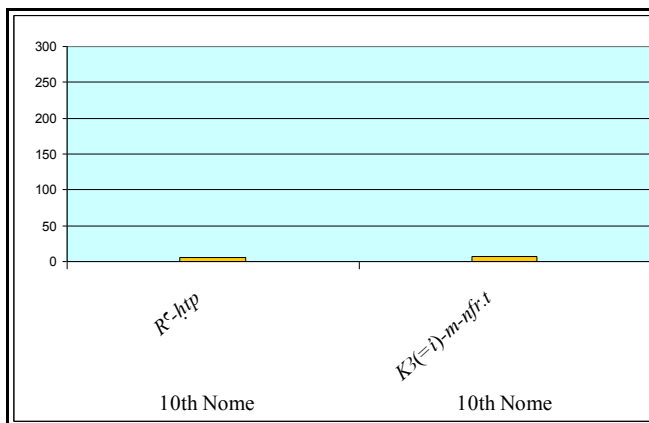


Fig. 5.3 Tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs of the Tenth Nome in the reign of Neferirkare^c

Average tomb size in the reign of Neferirkare^c at 6.2 m² was a decline from the reign of Sahure^c (18.6 m², one tomb only) and the average number of titles, 4.0, was also a decline from the 13 titles of the sole known senior official of Sahure^c's time. Just why there were reversions to aspects of earlier provincial rule warrants examination. The matter of Neferirkare^c's pyramid may hold clues. The pyramid complex was not completed, but what is unusual about the pyramid is that it was initially designed as a step-pyramid, and only later was a decision made to change it to the more common type.²⁵⁵ There were changes to the mortuary complex and there was fire damage to wooden columns, themselves

²⁵⁵ Miroslav Verner (2003) *The Pyramids*, New York, p. 296.

anachronistic, in the mortuary temple courtyard.²⁵⁶ The king's pyramid temple has been considered inferior to that of his predecessor, and the great court and forecourt were of mud-brick only,²⁵⁷ presumably for cost-saving reasons. Questions have been asked as to why, after two centuries, a decision was made to return to a tomb in the shape of a step pyramid, and whether the reasons were connected with religion, or dynastic and power politics,²⁵⁸ or perhaps there was some other explanation.

The two known nomarchs of Neferirkare's reign were both from the Tenth Nome and, for whatever reason(s), had small tombs of almost identical size.

General comment

What appear to be limitations on nomarchic power in Neferirkare's reign, combined with the issues involved concerning his pyramid complex, may have resulted from a desire to return to the past, religious reasons and/or some other cause(s).

The reigns of Shepseskare and Neferefre

These two kings who followed Neferirkare reigned seven and 11 years respectively. There are no known senior officials in their reigns.

The reign of Neuserre

Neuserre, the next king after Neferefre, was another son of Neferirkare. The drain on the nation's economy at this time through pyramid construction and service would have been significant, as Neuserre had to complete the unfinished pyramid complexes of his father, mother and elder brother, and to ensure the maintenance of their funerary cults, as well as constructing his own pyramid complex.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 293.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 293.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 297.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 311.

Name	<i>Dw3-Mn.w</i>	<i>Nfr-m3^c.t</i>	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (C6)	<i>K3(=i)-m- nfr.t</i> (A3)
Reference numbers	[142]	[067]	[130]	[125]
Nome	Ninth Nome	Eighth Nome (Burial at Dahshur)	Tenth Nome	Ninth Nome
Date	Neuserre ^c , or a little earlier	Neuserre ^c	Middle D5	Middle D5 or later
Title totals	6	7	1 (a)	4
Tomb size (m ²)	18.2	nk	14.8	67.6
Total all titles	18			
Total tomb size (m ²)	100.6			
Average number of titles	4.5			
Average tomb size (m ²)	33.5			
Number of nomes with senior officials	3			
Names of nomes with senior officials	8, 9, and 10			
Number of provincial administrators	4 PA			
Length of king's reign (years)	31			
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	First: Ninth: 42.9; Second: Tenth: 14.8: Eighth: nk			

Table 5.7 Provincial administrators in the reign of Neuserre^c

Note: (a) The number of titles given for *K3(=i)-hnt* (C6) is almost certainly too low due to tomb damage, and all subsequent calculations should be seen with this in mind.

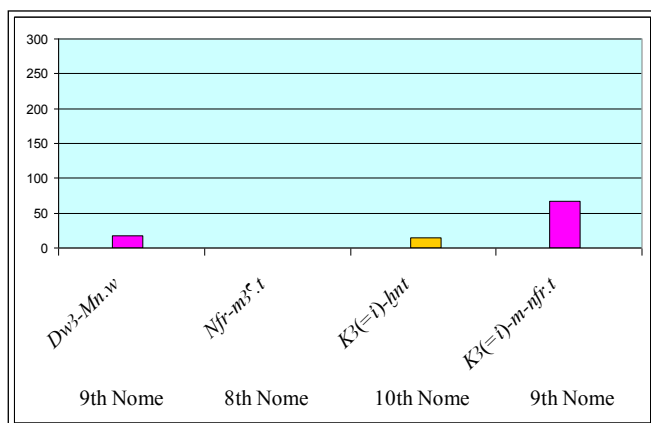


Fig. 5.4 Tomb sizes (m²) of provincial administrators in the reign of Neuserre^c

If *Dw3-Mn.w* and *K3(=i)-hnt* (C6) were provincial administrators at the same time, and they quite possibly were, this might help account for the similarity in their tomb sizes.

Nfr-m3^c.t was a *s3 nsw* „king's son“ (as discussed in Chapter 5.1.2, this was not a kinship title) and this may be why his tomb is in the the precincts of the capital, as the possessors

of such a title usually had their tomb there. The other known provincial administrators of the time had their tombs at the provinces for which they were responsible.

General comments

Provincial rule in this reign had a slight increase: three nomes had four provincial administrators. Average tomb size was larger than in earlier reigns, however, the average number of titles per senior official was lower than most of those earlier although the loss of titles in at least one tomb means this is uncertain.

Neuserre's reign gives mixed signals on the expansion of provincial rule. On the one hand there were more nomes with senior officials; on the other there are no known nomarchs, only provincial administrators. Presumably this was at the behest of the king.

The reign of Menkauhor

No senior officials are known from his reign.

The reign of Djedkare

Name	<i>Srf-k3(=i)</i>	<i>Inti</i>	<i>Wr-ir-n=i</i>
Reference number	[120]	[012]	[034]
Nome	Fifteenth Nome	Twentieth/ Twenty-first Nomes	Fifteenth Nome
Title totals	8	7	7
Tomb size (m ²)	42.5	33.1	86.2
Total all titles	22		
Total tomb size (m ²)	161.8		
Average number of titles	7.3		
Average tomb size (m ²)	53.9		
Number of nomes with senior officials	3		
Names of nomes with senior officials	15, 20/21		
Number of nomarchs	3		
Length of king's reign (years)	38		
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Fifteenth: 64.4; Twentieth/Twenty-first: 33.1		

Table 5.8 Nomarchs in the reign of Djedkare

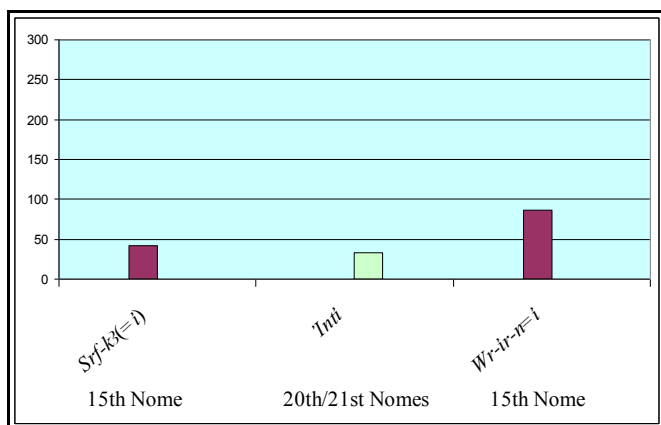


Fig. 5.5 Tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs in the reign of Djedkare

The nomarchs in the reign of Djedkare

A pattern of known senior officials being buried at the region, or one of the regions for which they were responsible, was now established.

Claim has been made that reorganisation of the pyramid complex priesthood was made through the change of the title ‘priest of the king’ to ‘priest of the pyramid’ in Djedkare’s reign.²⁶⁰ This is not correct, at least as far as senior officials at the nomes are concerned. The title *wꜥb nsw* ‘wꜥb-priest of the king’ was still in existence in the reign of Djedkare in the Fifteenth Nome and in the reign of Teti in the Twentieth/Twenty-first Nomes. The title ‘priest of the pyramid’ was not held by any senior official of a province but there was one official, *Isi* (late Fourth-early Fifth Dynasty), who had the title *ḥm(.w)-ntr ḥnt(.y) Ḥꜥ Snfrw* ‘priest of the outer chamber of (the pyramid) ‘Snefru rises in splendour’. There are titles at several provinces which refer to an ‘inspector of the priests’ of a pyramid until the reign of Pepy II.

General comments

There was little variation in average tomb size from province to province for the first two nomarchs who were probably contemporaneous. Average tomb size, although influenced by the large size of *Wr-ir-n=i*’s tomb, reached a peak not exceeded until the early to middle reign of Pepy II.

²⁶⁰ Klaus Baer (1973) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago, p. 297.

Contrary to Baer's claim,²⁶¹ Djedkare's reforms, as far as titles were concerned, were limited. Nearly all of the titles granted to his provincial rulers had previously been granted. The only new one of any importance was an overall supervisory title: *im.y-r3 sp3.wt Šmꜥ.w hr.ywt-ib* „overseer of the middle nomes of Upper Egypt“, bestowed on a nomarch of the Fifteenth Nome.

The reign of Unas

The next pharaoh, Unas, did not have any senior officials in the provinces, although he ruled for 20 years. Whilst the Pyramid Texts which first appear in his reign understandably give no indication as to why this should be so, being of a religious nature,²⁶² his pyramid complex contains a hint of trouble in his time. An inscribed scene from his pyramid causeway shows adults and children as victims of famine. They may not necessarily be Egyptians; they could be desert-fringe dwellers or, as has been suggested, Bedouin,²⁶³ that is, desert-dwellers. So there must have been famine at this time and this may have occurred in the Nile valley as well. There could have been other disruptions to the country's unity, implied by Unas's successor Teti, whose Horus name was „He who reconciled both lands“.²⁶⁴



Fig. 5.6 Emaciated people depicted on the causeway of Unas's pyramid

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 297.

²⁶² Alexandre Piankoff (1968) *The Pyramid of Unas*, Princeton, *passim*.

²⁶³ Miroslav Verner (2003) *The Pyramids*, New York, p. 337.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 340.

5.1.4 The Sixth Dynasty

The reign of Teti

If Manetho's account of Teti being murdered by his bodyguard is true,²⁶⁵ Teti's reign of ten years was terminated tragically. This matter has been discussed by Kanawati, who concluded that circumstantial and archaeological evidence tend to support Manetho's account.²⁶⁶ Be that as it may, Teti reintroduced the position of senior official, in this case nomarchs, at the Twelfth and Twentieth/Twenty-first Nomes. All nomarchs were buried at a province for which they were responsible.

Name	<i>Nn-hft-k3(=i)</i>	<i>Itti/Šd.w</i>	<i>Hnk.w/Htti</i>
Reference number	[071]	[020]	[083]
Nome	Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes	Twentieth and Twenty-first Nomes	Twelfth Nome
Title totals	12	9	13
Tomb size (m ²)	Tomb destroyed	49.0	41.2
Total all titles	34		
Total tomb size (m ²)	90.2		
Average number of titles	11.3		
Average tomb size (m ²)	45.1		
Number of nomes with senior officials	2		
Names of nomes with senior officials	20/21, 12		
Number of nomarchs	3		
Length of king's reign (years)	10		
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Twentieth and Twenty-first: 49.0; Twelfth: 41.2		

Table 5.9 Nomarchs in the reign of Teti

²⁶⁵ William Gillian Waddell (tr.) (1997) *Manetho*, London, p. 53.

²⁶⁶ Naguib Kanawati (2003) *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, London, p. 169.

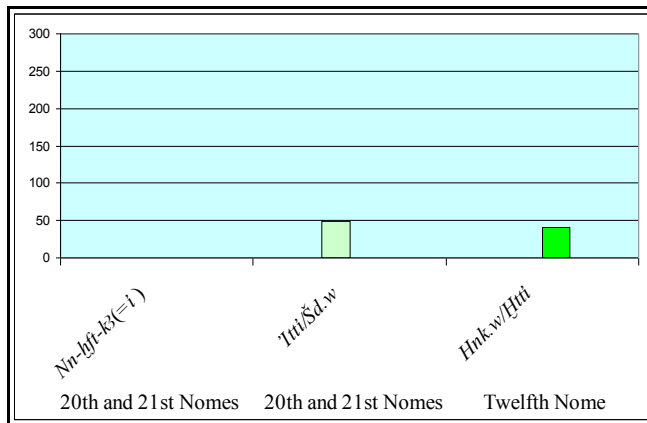


Fig. 5.7 Tomb sizes (m²) of nomarchs in the reign of Teti

Nn-hft-k3(=i) is considered to be a close contemporary of *Ttiti/Šd.w*, Kanawati dating the latter to the reign of Teti and therefore *Nn-hft-k3(=i)* is also dated here to the reign of Teti. *Nn-hft-k3(=i)* is advisedly put first.²⁶⁷ *Hnk.w/Htti* is dated to late in the reign of Teti, therefore, placing him third in the sequence is probably correct. This is confirmed by the fact that *Nn-hft-k3(=i)* and *Ttiti/Šd.w* both had the title *sšm t3* „leader of the land“ which was replaced by *hr.y-tp ʕ3* „great over-lord“, held by *Hnk.w/Htti*. The nomarch *Hnk.w/Htti* was also an *im.y-r3 Šm.w* „overseer of Upper Egypt“, the first known senior official of Upper Egypt to have this title. Claim has been made that this title was introduced by Djedkare²⁶⁸ but as just shown this is not correct so far as the senior officials of the provinces are concerned.

General comments

There was a decline in average tomb size over the previous reign, but an increase in the average number of titles.

The title *smr-wʕ.ty* „sole companion“ although seen earlier in the reign of Sahure²⁶⁷, was now one of the most consistently-held titles of the senior officials at the provinces, being held by all three nomarchs in Teti’s reign. It continued to be held by senior officials until and including the reign of Senwosret III.

²⁶⁷ Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane (1993) *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, Sydney, p. 12.

²⁶⁸ Klaus Baer (1973) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago, p. 297.

The reign of Userkare^c

There are no known senior officials at any provinces in Upper Egypt during his two-year reign. Userkare^c is regarded as a stop-gap ruler prior to Pepy I, Teti's son.²⁶⁹

The reign of Pepy I

Pepy I's reign of 50 years was one of the longest of the OK, second only to his second-next successor, Pepy II. There were extensive bureaucratic developments in Pepy I's reign, discussed next.

Name	<i>Nhwt- dšr/Mri/ Wi.w</i>	<i>Hm- R^c/ Isi I</i>	<i>Hnk.w /Ii...f</i>	<i>B3wi (CA1)</i>	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Tti- ‘nh/ Ti-m- htp</i>	<i>Mr.w/ Bbi</i>	<i>Ink3= f/Ini</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Hwn- wh/Tti</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/ Isi II</i>
Reference number	[073]	[087]	[082]	[040]	[017]	[134]	[058]	[011]	[052]	[097]	[088]
Nome	9 th Nome	12 th Nome	12 th Nome	9 th Nome	2 nd Nome	15 th Nome	15 th Nome	9 th Nome	9 th Nome	14 th Nome	12 th Nome
Nomarch/Prov. Admin/Viz.	N	N/V	N/V	PA/V	N/V	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	N
Date	End T-Ea PI	Ea P I	Ea-mi PI	Ea-mi P I	Pepy I	Pepy I	Pepy I	Pepy I	La P I	La P I	End P I
Total all titles	7	25	12	10	16	10	15	12	5	25	5
Tomb size (m ²)	21.2	45.7	52.2	9.6	15.8 (a)	44.8	53.7	nk	10.3	17.5	3.3
Total all titles	142										
Total tomb size (m ²)	274.1										
Average number of titles	12.9										
Average tomb size (m ²)	30.5										
Number of nomes with senior officials	5										
Names of nomes with senior officials	2, 9, 12, 14, 15										
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators/viziers	5N (3 V), 6 PA(1 V) = 11 (4V)										
Length of king's reign (years)	50										
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Fifteenth: 49.3; Twelfth: 33.7; Fourteenth: 17.5; Second: 15.8; Ninth: 13.7										

Table 5.10 Senior officials in the reign of Pepy I

Note: (a) This is 10% of actual size (the tomb is a mastaba).

²⁶⁹ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 81.

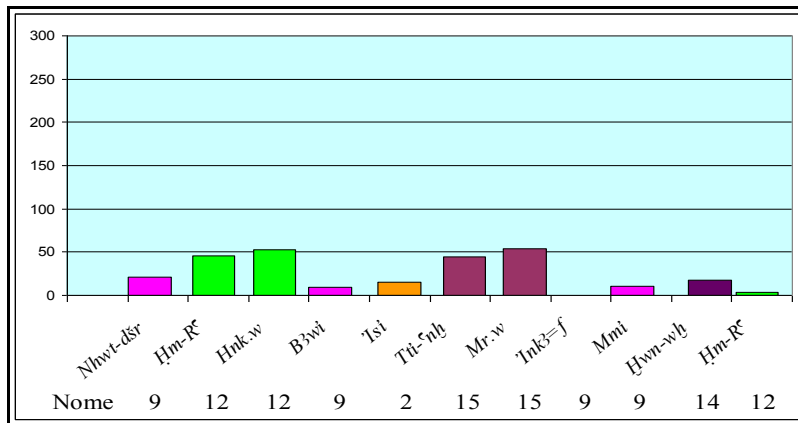


Fig. 5.8 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the reign of Pepy I

Pepy I maintained pharaonic interest in the southern lands. Inscribed on the rocks at Tumas in Lower Nubia are inscriptions dated to his reign, as there are of Teti,²⁷⁰ and earlier than him Snefru is said to have led an expedition into Nubia.²⁷¹ This interest in the south is also understandable when, apart from trade reasons, an army commanded by a high official of Pepy I, Weni, contained many Nubians.²⁷²

Only five of Pepy I's 11 senior officials were made nomarchs. From the reign of Djedkare^c until Pepy I's reign, all senior officials were nomarchs. Pepy I may have been unable to trust all his Residence officials, as the aforementioned Weni was required to investigate „litigation in private in the king's harem against the Queen“,²⁷³ a task not given to more senior officials. Suggestion has been made that the element of trust would have been very important to Pepy I, because as well as the trouble conspired by his wife as just noted, his father had evidently been assassinated.²⁷⁴

New titles introduced by Pepy I were *im.y-r3 k3.wt nb.t nsw* „overseer of all works of the king“ at the Ninth Nome, *(n.y)-ns.t hnt.t* „(he who belongs to) the foremost seat“ at the Twelfth Nome, and *s3b 'd-mr* „juridical 'd-mr official“ at the Twelfth Nome. Among several titles added, dealing with the lands(s) to the south, were *im.y-r3 rsy* „overseer of the southern region“ and *hr.y s3t3 n.y h3s.wt n.(w)t rsy* „privy to the secret of the southern lands“, both at the Ninth Nome.

²⁷⁰ Walter B. Emery (1965) *Egypt in Nubia*, p. 129.

²⁷¹ Nicolas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 67-68.

²⁷² Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, London, pp. 95-96.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 95.

²⁷⁴ Naguib Kanawati (2003) *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, London, p. 169.

General comments

Numerous administrative changes were made in Pepy I's reign. At least eight new titles involving the provincial rulers alone were awarded, indicating his administration was innovative or at least proactive to bureaucratic requirements. However, his reign was longer than the combined reigns of Djedkare^c and Teti, so in this light the pace of his developmental initiatives were, perhaps, not as remarkable as they might first appear.

The number of provinces with senior officials increased from three (two combined) in the time of Teti to five.

There was a slight increase in the number of times titles were awarded per senior official; the average number of titles increased from 11.3 in the time of Teti to 12.9.

Average tomb size declined compared with that of the reign of Teti. The decline in average tomb size at the end of Pepy I's reign is not easy to explain, but too much should not be made of this: it is mainly based on the small size of three tombs. Possibly it was one of the consequences of the Residence having to deal with repercussions from troubles in the harem and possibly some economic difficulty, not assisted by a decision such as the award of tax immunity to the temple at Dahshur.²⁷⁵

Pepy I's eldest son, Merenre^c, succeeded him.

²⁷⁵ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 84.

The reign of Merenre^c

Name	<i>Iri</i>	<i>Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r</i>	<i>Ggi</i>
Reference number	[013]	[055]	[133]
Nome	9 th Nome	2 nd Nome	8 th Nome
Date	Late Pepy I/Merenre ^c	Late Pepy I/Merenre ^c	Merenre ^c
Title totals	5	15	11
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	10.3 m ² (a)	nk
Total all titles	31		
Total tomb size (m ²)	Insufficient data for this to be calculated		
Average number of titles	10.3		
Average tomb size	Insufficient data for this to be calculated		
Number of nomes with senior officials	3		
Names of nomes with senior officials	2, 8, 9		
Number of nomarchs	3		
Length of king's reign (years)	6		
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Insufficient data for this to be calculated		

Table 5.11 Nomarchs in the reign of Merenre^c

Note: (a) This is 10% of actual size (the tomb is a mastaba).

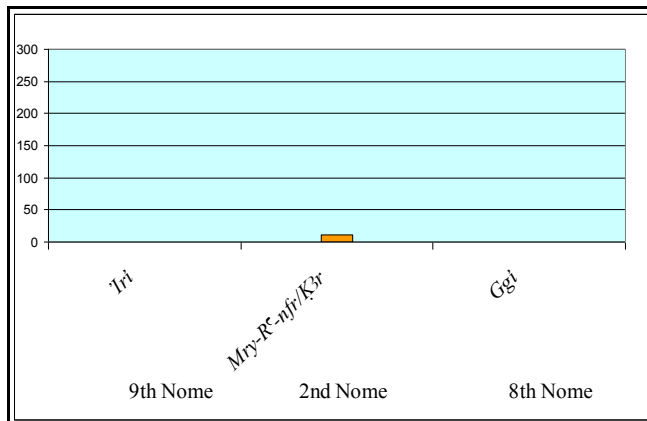


Fig. 5.9 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the reign of Merenre^c

The short duration of Merenre^c's reign, six years, is of relevance to the discussion of provincial rule during this time.

The number of nomes with senior officials drops from five to three, the total number of titles awarded drops from 142 to 31, and the average number of titles per senior official falls from 12.9 to 10.3. The brevity of Merenre^c's reign would largely explain these.

Although it was not completed, Merenre's pyramid must have been built and partly operational in a short space of time as evidenced by the fact that there was an „inspector of the priests of the pyramid „Merenre appears and is beautiful“, *Ggi*, in Merenre's reign. A suggested reign of nine years²⁷⁶ instead of six would better allow for what was done, but six years is accepted here.

In Merenre's reign the title *im.y-r3 hnt.y-s pr.w-3* „overseer of the palace guards“ was introduced for senior officials of the nomes. It was earlier held at least by Weni, not a senior official of a province, in Pepy I's reign.²⁷⁷ The nomarch *Ggi* also had the title *s3 gs-dp.t* „scribe of protection“ (as well as being a *s3 nsw* „king's son“) and was one of the last senior officials to be buried in the precincts of the Residence. He also had a tomb at the Eighth Nome, but the only mention of his title *hr.y-tp 3 n.y T3-wr* „great overlord of the Eighth Nome“, which was presumably awarded later in life, comes from his tomb at Saqqara. This, plus his title *s3 nsw*, most means that he was most likely buried there as the latter title, as previously mentioned, was usually held by a senior official who had his tomb at the capital.

General comments

The short period of Merenre's reign may well be the reason there were only three senior officials in his reign, all nomarchs. Also, the brevity of his rule is almost certainly the explanation for the drop in the total titles.

The reign of Pepy II

Merenre was succeeded by his half-brother Pepy II. The length of his reign is now believed to be 60 years, his longevity not belied by the name of his pyramid: „Pepy's life is enduring“. ²⁷⁸ For practical purposes of data collation, his reign is split into halves.

²⁷⁶ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 84.

²⁷⁷ Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, pp. 95-96.

²⁷⁸ Miroslav Verner (2003) *The Pyramids*, New York, p. 362.

Early-middle reign of Pepy II

Name	<i>Hwi</i>	<i>Ppy-nh/Hwi</i>	<i>Ihy</i>	<i>Tti</i>	<i>Hr-hw=f</i>	<i>Id.w I</i>	<i>Hw-b3.w</i>	<i>K3=i</i>	<i>Ppy-nh-wr</i>	<i>Wi.w</i>	<i>Nf-nh</i>	<i>Tbi</i>	<i>Mr.w</i>	<i>n-nhi</i>	<i>Hni-nh.w</i>	<i>Dc.w/Sm3i</i>	<i>Dc.w (a)</i>	<i>Ppy-nh-hr.y-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>
Reference number	[094]	[050]	[014]	[141]	[092]	[022]	[096]	[126]	[047]	[031]	[064]	[002]	[056]	[027]	[101]	[144]	[143]	[049]	[099]
Nome	1	18	4	1	1	6	8	9	14	15	16	12	15	9	9	12	12	14	16
N/PA/V	PA	PA	N	PA	PA	N	N	N	PA	N	PA	N	PA	PA	PA	N	N	PA/V	N
Date	M-ea P II	M-ea P II	M-P II	Ea P II	Yrs 1-34 P II	Ea P II	Ea P II	Ea P II	Ea P II	Ea P II	Ea P II	Ea P II	Ea-mi P II	Ea-mi P II	Ea-mi P II	Later P II years 1-34	Later P II years 1-34	Mi P II	Mi P II
Title totals	5	21	12	4	9	20	7	40	8	8	4	50	4	6	6	27	24	40	5
Tomb size (m ²)	57.0	76.4	35.2	36.0	34.0	114.7 (b)	nk	135.7	103.7	52.7	53.0	97.8	71.0	6.1	25.4	67.0	67.0	74.8	101.0
Total all titles	300																		
Total tomb size (m ²)	1141.5																		
Average number of titles per senior official	15.8																		
Average tomb size (m ²)	63.4																		
Number of nomes with senior officials	10																		
Names of nomes with senior officials	1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18																		
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators	9 N, 10 PA (1 V) = 19 (1 V)																		
Length of king's reign	30 years (half total of reign)																		
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Sixth: 114.7; Fourteenth: 89.3; Twelfth: 82.4; Sixteenth: 77.0; Eighteenth: 76.4 ; Fifteenth: 61.9; Ninth: 55.7; First: 42.3; Fourth: 35.2; Eighth: nk																		

Table 5.12 Senior officials in the early-middle reign of Pepy II

Note: (a) The nomarch *Dc.w* is buried in the same tomb as his father *Dc.w/Sm3=i*. Their tomb is counted once only.

(b) This is 10% of actual size (the tomb is a mastaba).

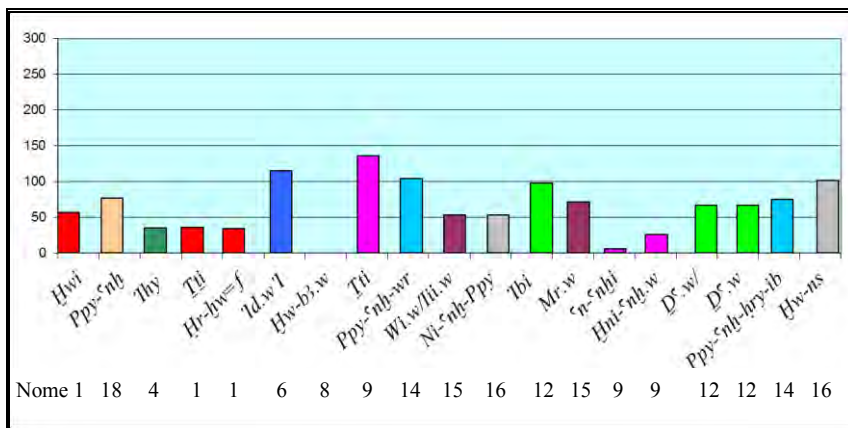


Fig. 5.10 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the early-middle reign of Pepy II

Titles come into use which show bureaucratic growth in places where we might expect it: the vizier and also provincial administrator of the Fourteenth Nome, *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥr.y-ib/Nfr-k3/Hni*, was also an *im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w m sp3.wt ḥr.ywt-ib* „overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces“. Three provinces were grain storage areas, presumably for taxation. The Fourth Nome nomarch *Thy* had the title *im.y r3 šnw.ty* „overseer of the two granaries“. The Ninth Nome nomarchs *Hw-b3.w* and *Tti/K3=i-ḥp* had the title *im.y-r3 iti Šmḥ.w* „overseer of Upper Egyptian grain“ and *Tti/K3=i-ḥp* also had the title *im.y r3 šnw.ty n(.w) ḥtp.t-ntr* „overseer of the two granaries of the divine offerings“. The Fourteenth Nome nomarch *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥr.i-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii* had the title *im.y-r3 šnw.ty* „overseer of the two granaries“.

The ongoing importance of the south is seen through the southern travels recorded by the provincial administrator *Hr-ḥw=f* of the First Nome.²⁷⁹

Another two titles held by different senior officials of this time showing increasing wealth, of the Residence at least, are: *im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd* „overseer of the two houses of silver“ and *ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y sd3w.t ntr* „privy to the secret of the god’s treasure“.

General comments

There was a large increase in the extent of provincial administration, with a doubling of the number of provincially-ruled nomes from five in the reign of Pepy I to ten in this period, and a wide spread of these locally administered provinces throughout Upper Egypt. Other aspects of provincial rule also changed: the total number of titles was more than double

²⁷⁹ Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, pp. 99-101.

that of Pepy I, the average number of titles per senior official was at its highest, and average tomb size was the largest so far.

The location points of grain storage: the Fourth, Ninth and Fourteenth Nomes, being equidistant points and covering much of Upper Egypt, probably for regional taxation collection, shows practical control by the central administration.

Nubia continued to be a region of economic importance to the Egyptian economy, being a source of gold and other valued trade goods such as incense, ivory and ebony. Titles inaugurated to deal with silver and gold indicate the wealth that was flowing into the country. As a consequence, evaluation is made that the first half of Pepy II's reign was a wealthy one.

Middle-late reign of Pepy II

Name	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>h3p</i> / <i>T3i-ikr</i>	<i>K3-w3hm</i>	<i>Init=f</i> <i>Mh.w</i>	<i>Id.w II</i>	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Mni</i>	<i>Hni/</i> <i>Špsi-</i> <i>pw-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Ni-ʕnh-</i> <i>Ppy-km/</i> <i>Hpi-km/</i> <i>Sbk-h3p/</i> <i>Hpy-km</i>	<i>Hnti</i>	<i>H3p</i>	<i>Ppy-ʕnh/</i> <i>Hny-</i> <i>km/</i> <i>Hni.t-</i> <i>km</i>	<i>Hpi</i> (-km?)	<i>Hni/</i> <i>Hnny.t/</i> <i>Nfr-k3.w</i>	<i>Id.w/</i> <i>Snni</i>	<i>Tti-ʕ3</i>
Reference number	[135]	[126]	[131]	[010]	[023]	[136]	[053]	[103]	[065]	[102]	[093]	[048]	[085]	[090]	[025]	[140]
Nome	7	9	16	1	6	6	6	9	14	4	3	14	14	14	7	9
Nomarch or Prov. Ad.	N	N	N	PA	N	N	N	N	PA	N	N	PA, V	PA	N	N	N
Date	Mi P II	Mi P II	Mi-late P II	Late P II	Late P II	Late P II	Late P II	Late P II	Third quarter P II	Late P II	Late P II	End P II	End P II or later	End P II or later	P II (years 55-60)	End P II- End D6
Totals all titles	11	13	5	4	7	6	2	23	23	6	3	26	5	2	7	11
Tomb size (m ²)	88.8	40.0	nk	159.9	88.2 (a)	nk	nk	102.2	242.3	50.8	nk	290.5	nk	nk	27.1	16.3
Total all titles	154															
Total tomb size (m ²)	1106.1															
Average number of titles per senior official	9.6															
Average tomb size (m ²)	110.6															
Number of nomes with senior officials	8															
Names of nomes with senior officials	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 16															
Number of nomarchs/ provincial administrators	12 N, 4 PA (1 V) = 16 (1 V)															
Length of period	30 years (half total of reign)															
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Fourteenth, 266.4; First, 159.9; Sixth, 88.2; Seventh, 58.0; Ninth, 52.8; Fourth, 50.8; Third, nk; Seventh, nk															

Table 5.13 Senior officials in the middle-late reign of Pepy II

Note: (a) This is 10% of actual size (the tomb is a mastaba).

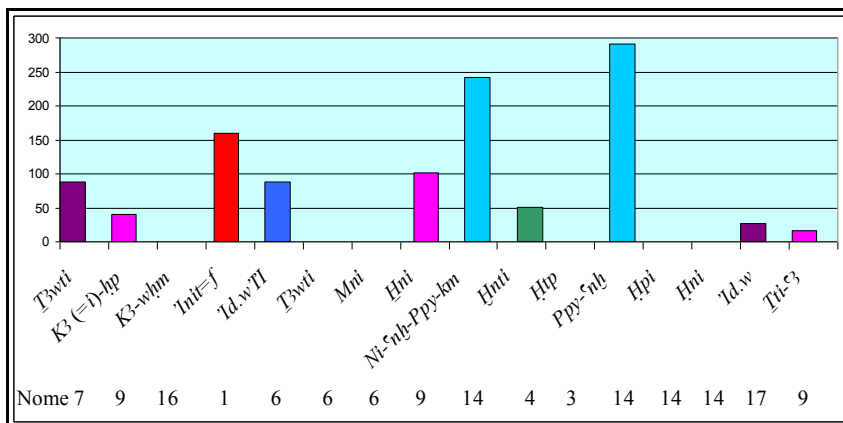


Fig. 5.11 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the middle-late reign of Pepy II

Possibly much of the second half of Pepy II's time was wealthy but prosperity seems to have declined at the end of this period. His pyramid shows signs of having being poorly

built.²⁸⁰ The increase in locally supervised nomes may have placed a corresponding burden on the central administration in ensuring there were sufficient senior officials for them. There may have been financial outlay, for example, in assisting with funerary furniture at the tombs of the senior officials at the provinces. The king supplied the nomarch *Dḥ.w* with a coffin, wood, „festival perfume“ and linen for his tomb at the request of his son in the earlier part of Pepy II's reign.²⁸¹ There may have been similar requests from some of the many provincial rulers in his long reign.

The king's age may not have been as adverse an issue as has been suggested inasmuch as the requirements of his position were concerned,²⁸² as recent research has concluded that the length of his reign was substantially less than Manetho's claim that he reigned until his hundredth year.²⁸³ According to Grimal, the latest known regnal-date of Pepy II is that of the thirty-third census,²⁸⁴ which he suggests means a reign of between fifty and seventy years.²⁸⁵ Von Beckerath has concluded that the length of Pepy II's reign was 60 years.²⁸⁶

Another possible factor which may have been a cause of a suggested decline of wealth at the end of Pepy II's reign is that of famine caused by low Niles. Although possibly referring to the Eighth Dynasty, Jacques Vandier²⁸⁷ and Barbara Bell,²⁸⁸ have suggested that the end of the OK was a result of a succession of low Niles which caused famine and civil unrest. On the other hand, Kanawati has disputed this theory as being untenable, and suggests instead that a weak government was unable to cope with other interior and exterior problems.²⁸⁹ Against this, the high average tomb size in this period does not suggest a disintegrating country, but this is the overall average; the data does indicate so at the end. A recent article concludes from an analysis of data related to Nile sediment fluctuations that between c. 2500 BC and 2200 BC there may have been an extended

²⁸⁰ Miroslav Verner (2003) *The Pyramids*, New York, p. 363.

²⁸¹ *BARE*, p. 172.

²⁸² Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 101.

²⁸³ William Gillian Waddell (tr.) (1997) *Manetho*, London, p. 55.

²⁸⁴ Nicolas Grimal (1992) *A History of Egypt*, Oxford, p. 89.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

²⁸⁶ Jürgen von Beckerath (1997) *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 187.

²⁸⁷ Jacques Vandier (1950) p. 239.

²⁸⁸ Barbara Bell (1971) „The dark ages in ancient history: the first dark age in Egypt“ in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 75, pp. 1-24.

²⁸⁹ Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster, p. 143.

period of low floods, and by implication the period extends beyond these dates.²⁹⁰ As the median end-point of Pepy II's reign is 2194 BC, these low Niles were a possible, if not probable, cause of famines.

Titles which referred to grain storage continued at the same provinces as in the first half of Pepy II's reign. There were two senior officials with the title *im.y r3 šnw.ty* „overseer of the two granaries“ in the Fourth Nome: *Hnty* in the late period of Pepy II and succeeding him was *Wnis-ḥnh* in this period or the Eighth Dynasty. At the Ninth Nome, the nomarch *K3 (=i)-ḥp/Tti-ikr* had the title *im.y-r3 iti Šmḥ.w* „overseer of Upper Egyptian grain“, and *Hni/Špsi-pw-Mn.w* had the title *im.y-r3 iti Šmḥ.w (m sp3.wt)* „overseer of Upper Egyptian grain (in the provinces)“. And at the Fourteenth Nome, the provincial administrator *Ni-ḥnh-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-ḥtp/Hpy-km* had the title *im.y-r3 šnw.ty* „overseer of the two granaries“. He was succeeded by the nomarch *Ppy-ḥnh/Hny-km*, who also held this title.

Among titles introduced were *im.y-r3 6 pr.w wr(.w)* „overseer of the six great houses“, *šps nsw* „noble of the king“, and *im.y-r3 ḥn.w* „overseer of the Residence“, all at the Fourteenth Nome.

General comments

The number of nomes in this part of Pepy II's reign with senior officials was eight, two fewer than in the first half of his reign. The average number of titles per senior official was 9.6, substantially smaller in than the first half of Pepy II's reign when it was 15.8. On the other hand, the average tomb size was much larger. For the last two known senior officials, the average tomb size and average number of titles were considerably smaller. Any decline of economic wealth at the end of Pepy II's reign was possibly a combination of causes such as an over-stretched administration and famine. The latter point is debatable and is discussed further.

As in the first half of Pepy II's reign, the collection points of grain were the Fourth, Ninth and Fourteenth Nomes. There has been suggestion that they were regional collection points

²⁹⁰ Michael D. Krom, J. Daniel Stanley, Robert A. Cliff and Jamie C. Woodward (2002) „Nile River sediment fluctuations over the past 7000 years and their key role in sapropel development“ in *Geology* 30, pp. 71-74.

of grain for taxation.²⁹¹ An alternative suggestion is that they may have been regional centres of grain storage and distribution as a solution to the problem of famine. However, taxation seems more likely, as famine may not have been a major problem until the end of Pepy II's reign and later. Written records of famine do not seem to be known until the Eighth Dynasty, but food shortages cannot be ruled out.

5.1.5 The Eighth Dynasty

It should be noted that the period used in this thesis for the Eighth Dynasty is that calculated by von Beckerath, 46 years,²⁹² compared with more recent calculation of 21 years for the Seventh (virtually non-existent) and Eighth Dynasties combined.²⁹³ The dates and periods given by von Beckerath are used for consistency.

Jaromír Málek sees the troubles of the time after Pepy II exacerbated by the number of potential royal successors vying for rulership.²⁹⁴ Be that as it may, civil trouble in the late Sixth Dynasty continued into the Eighth Dynasty. The nomarch *ḥn.ty=fy* of the Third Nome took over control of his southern neighbour and attempted to capture Thebes but failed because the Thebans refused to engage in warfare,²⁹⁵ although evidently his nome suffered later defeat.²⁹⁶

Famine is known to have occurred around this time. A stela from the Fifth Nome has: „I stood...handing out grain [to the inhabitants of] this entire town to support it in the painful years of famine.”²⁹⁷ And the afore mentioned *ḥn.ty=fy* recorded that: „I took care of the towns of Hefat (el-Moalla) and Hor-mer ...when everybody died of hunger on this sandbank of Apophis... All of Upper Egypt was dying of hunger and people were dying of hunger and people were eating their children, but I did not allow anybody to die of hunger in this nome...”²⁹⁸ Famines continued in the MK, as the Hatnub texts show.²⁹⁹ The

²⁹¹ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 97.

²⁹² Jürgen von Beckerath (1997) *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 187.

²⁹³ Ian Shaw (2000) „Chronology” in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 480.

²⁹⁴ Jaromír Málek (2000) „The Old Kingdom (c. 2686-2125 BC)” in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 117.

²⁹⁵ Nicolas Grimal (1992) *A History of Egypt*, Oxford, p. 142.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 143.

²⁹⁷ Stephan Seidlmayer (2000) „The First Intermediate Period (c. 2160-2055 BC)” in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 129.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

²⁹⁹ Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, plates 18, 20, 24.

growing power of Thebes must also have been becoming a threat to the central authority at Memphis, and the ensuing wars would have added to the troubles of the central administration.

Name	<i>Sbni</i>	<i>Wnis- nh</i>	<i>Ni- ib.w- nswt/ Bbi</i>	<i>nh- ty=fy</i>	<i>Tw3.w</i>	<i>Hww</i>	<i>Hmwy</i>	<i>In- it=f</i>	<i>Tni- it=f</i>	<i>Hwn- nm.w</i>	<i>Ppy- nh.t/ Hk3- ib</i>	<i>Hw- ns</i>	<i>Sm3i</i>	<i>Idy</i>	<i>Sn-sti</i>	<i>Bln</i>	<i>Tmrry</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (B7 and B6)
Reference number	[113]	[033]	[063]	[028]	[138]	[095]	[091]	[008]	[009]	[098]	[051]	[100]	[122]	[021]	[123]	[045]	[139]	[041]
Nome	1	4	6	3	8	2	8	4	4	1	1	1	5	5	6	9	8	9
Nomarch/provincial administrator/vizier	PA	N	N	N	PA	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	V/PA	V/PA	N	N	N	V/PA
Date	Late P II- D8	La P II- D8	La P II- D8	Ea 8D	Ea D8	Ea D8	D8	D8	D8	D8	D8	D8	Nefer- kau- hor (D8)	Demed- -ib- tow (D8)	D8	D8	D8	D8 (2 nd half)
Totals all titles	6	5	14	10	8	5	4	5	2	7	7	4	12	6	5	11	10	12
Tomb size (m ²)	122.0	32.5	97.2(a)	77.5	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	43.0	15.0	90.0	nk	nk	360(a)	17.5	nk	45.2
Total all titles	133																	
Total tomb size (m ²)	575.9																	
Average number of titles	7.4																	
Average tomb size (m ²)	57.6																	
Number of nomes with senior officials	8																	
Names of nomes with senior officials	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9																	
Number of nomarchs/prov. administrators/v	10 N, 8 PA(3V) = 18 (3V)																	
Length of period (years)	46																	
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Third: 77.5; First: 67.5; Sixth: 66.6; Fourth: 32.5; Ninth: 31.4; Second: nk; Fifth: nk; Eighth: nk																	

Table 5.14 Senior officials in the Eighth Dynasty

Note: (a) The tomb size given is 10% of its actual size, the tomb being a mastaba.

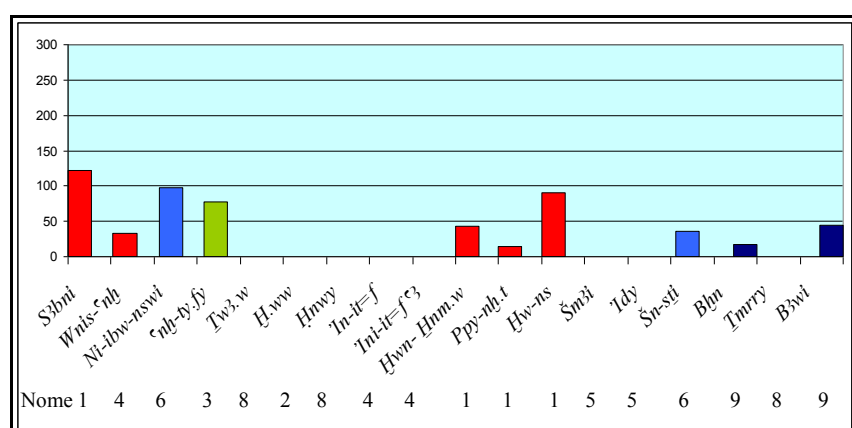


Fig. 5.12 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the Eighth Dynasty

All locally-supervised provinces were in the southern part of Upper Egypt, as though there was a break in contact between the central administration and the nomes north of the Ninth Nome.

The ratio of nomarchs to provincial advisers is again lower. Perhaps there were fewer senior officials well-known to the kings; few of the senior officials show little more than limited service at the Residence.

New titles granted that refer to the south and possibly other regions are: *im.y-r3 ʕ.w* „caravan leader“ and *im.y-r3 h3s.wt* „overseer of the hill-countries“ at the Third Nome, and *mḥ-ib n.y nsw m r3-ʕ3* ‘confidant of the king in the narrow southern doorway’ in the Fourth Nome. Grain storage continued at several strategic locations: the title *im.y r3 šnw.ty* „overseer of the two granaries“ was held at the Fourth Nome and the title *im.y-r3 iti šmʕ.w* „overseer of Upper Egyptian grain“ was held at the Ninth Nome.

General comments

Compared with the second half of Pepy II’s reign, in this period there were declines in average number of titles and average tomb size. The average size of tombs is the lowest since the time of Pepy I, and never again falls to such a small size. These changes may be due to overall economic decline because of civil war and lesser agricultural production caused by famine and social disruption,³⁰⁰ and reduced regional control of the provinces.

If the number of provinces with senior officials is an accurate guide, there was non-existent Resident control over the nomes north of the Ninth. Continued interest in the land(s) to the south is evident through the introduction of several new titles.

Titles related to grain storage continued to be held at the Fourth and Ninth Nomes. Titles referring to grain storage may mean the success of these centrally-located grain-storage locations for taxation purposes. The lack of any mention of grain storage at the Fourteenth Nome, as was previously done, would probably be accounted for by the breakdown of central control over much of Upper Egypt. But, on balance, given the known accounts of famine and lack of overall central control, the storage centres may have been more likely for protection against famine than for taxation.

³⁰⁰ Sir Alan Gardiner (1972) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 111.

As indicated by the titles, there were no religious duties at the pyramids performed by any senior officials of the nomes. Of course the absence of records of locally administered provinces north of the Ninth Nome has to be taken into account. However, titles involving supervision at pyramid towns continued until the conclusion of this dynasty and then they too disappear.

Whilst there were three senior officials of this nome who were viziers, all were provincial administrators.

5.2 Provincial rule in the FIP

Manetho says of the first king of the Ninth Dynasty, whom he calls Achthoês/Achthôês/Ochthôis³⁰¹, presumably versions of (King) Khety, that he „wrought woes for the people of all Egypt“.³⁰² This may reflect a later view on war between regions of the north and south,³⁰³ and suggestion has been made that there were succession problems to the throne of Egypt.³⁰⁴

During this period there were changes to funerary customs in provincial burials such as the use of cartonnage on the heads of mummified bodies, new object items for tombs, and more craft specialization manufacture of funerary objects.³⁰⁵

Details of senior officials in the FIP are shown in the following table.

³⁰¹ William Gillian Waddell (tr.) (1997) *Manetho*, London, p. 61.

³⁰² Ibid., p. 61.

³⁰³ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 145.

³⁰⁴ Stephan Seidlmayer (2000) „The First Intermediate Period (c. 2160-2055 BC)“ in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 120.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 122-125.

**CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW: THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENT OF PROVINCIAL
RULE**

Name	<i>Sti-k3</i>	<i>H3gi</i>	<i>Sip.t</i>	<i>Th3</i>	<i>ḥb-ih.w</i>	<i>Mrrr</i>	<i>Idw(-y) Wh3i</i>	<i>Mn-ḥnh-Ppy/Mni</i>	NN son of <i>Id</i>	<i>Hni</i>	<i>Dhw.ty-nh.t I</i>	<i>Dhw.ty-nh.t II</i>	<i>Wsr</i>	<i>Mrr</i>	<i>In-ikr</i>	<i>Sni-ikr</i>	<i>Hty I</i>	<i>It-ib I</i>	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Tni</i>	<i>Mr.w/ Ty 3.w</i>
Reference number	[121]	[084]	[116]	[015]	[026]	[060]	[024]	[054]	[072]	[089]	[148]	[149]	[039]	[059]	[007]	[117]	[108]	[018]	[137]	[006]	[057]
Nome	1	8	8	15	6	6	6	6	8	8	15	15	5	6	6	4	13	13	5	3	8
Nomarch or provincial admin.	PA	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	N	N	N	N	PA
Date	Early FIP	D9	D9	D9	D9 or later	D9 or later	D9 or later	D9 or later	D9 or 10	D9 or 10	D9 or 10	D9/10 (Mery-ib-re ^c)	D10	Late FIP	Late FIP	Late FIP	Inyot-ef I	Inyot-ef II	Early D11	D 11	D 11
Title totals	4	10	6	5	6	10	6	12	12	10	5	8	9	5	2	3	9	6	5	4	6
Tomb size (m ²)	166.0	nk	nk	nk	nk	78.7(a)	nk	43.5(a)	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	nk	16.0(a)	nk	nk	nk	nk	19.0	nk
Total all titles	143																				
Total tomb size (m ²) (b)	323.2																				
Average number of titles	6.8																				
Ave. tomb size (m ²) (b)	64.6																				
Number of nomes with senior officials	8																				
Names of nomes with senior officials	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15																				
Number of nomarchs/ provincial administrators	13 N, 8 PA = 21																				
Length of period (years)	105																				
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at the nomes	First: 166.0; Sixth: 46.1; Third: 19.0; Fourth: nk; Fifth: nk; Sixth: nil; Eighth: nk; Fifteenth: nk																				

Table 5.15 Senior officials in the FIP

Notes: (a) This is 10% of actual size (the tomb is a mastaba).

(b) This is based on a relatively small number of tombs for which there are measurements.

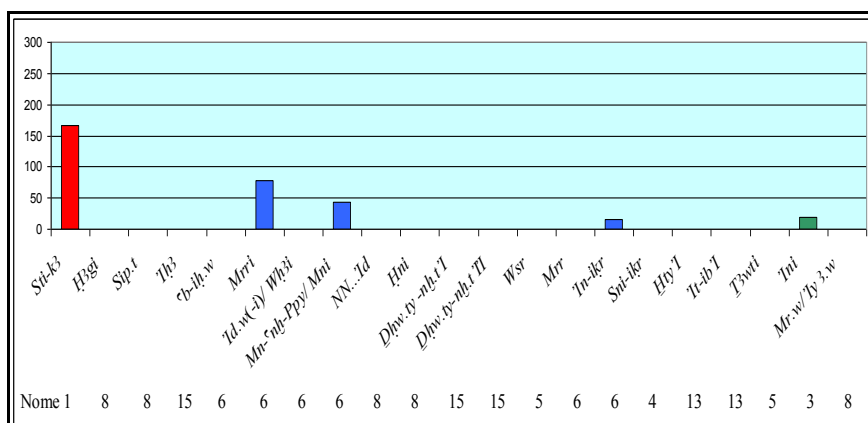


Fig. 5.13 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the FIP

The lack of data for many tombs is due to the lack of their recording. This means the derived data for this period is based on a small sample.

The average tomb size shows an increase compared with that for the Eighth Dynasty. On the other hand, the average number of titles per senior official shows a decline from the same period. These variations are not large.

Nomes Four and Nine, which previously had officials with titles related to grain storage, no longer have senior officials with such titles, nor do any other provinces.

General comments

Two districts noticeably without provincial rule were the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Nomes, possibly a consequence of political dispute and civil war.³⁰⁶

That there were no longer administrative positions to deal with grain storage is possibly a consequence of a lack of Residence directive because of the problems just stated.³⁰⁷

The average number of titles is now slightly less than it was in the Eighth Dynasty, although average tomb size is larger than earlier (but heavily weighted by one large tomb). If these are accurate economic indicators, any improvement in the nation's economy since the Eighth Dynasty seems marginal.

5.3 Provincial rule in the MK

The second half of the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) and the remainder of the MK until the close of the reign of Amenemhet III are now discussed.

5.3.1 The Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)

As stated in Chapter 1.8, for the whole of Egypt, the MK has been suggested as starting with the reign of Mentuhotep II,³⁰⁸ the fourth king of the Eleventh Dynasty. The date adopted here for his accession is that suggested by von Beckerath, 2046 BC, and the period of time for this part of the Eleventh Dynasty is 70 years.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Nicolas Grimal (1992) *A History of Egypt*, Oxford, pp. 144-145.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 144-145.

³⁰⁸ Gae Callender (2000) „The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c. 2055-1650 BC)“ in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, pp. 149-150.

³⁰⁹ Jürgen von Beckerath (1997) *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 188.

Mentuhotep II's domain was from the First to the Tenth Nome, curtailed to the north by Asyut.³¹⁰ He captured Asyut, passed through the Fifteenth Nome without resistance, and eventually pacified the whole land.³¹¹ A claim that Mentuhotep II rewarded the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Nomes by allowing provincial rule³¹² there may be correct, and, for whatever reason(s) allowing such rule at the Thirteenth Nome also, as shown in Table 5.16 below. There was trouble at the end of this Dynasty³¹³ and early in the next, as records from the Hatnub quarries show,³¹⁴ and other information also reveals.³¹⁵

This part of the Eleventh Dynasty, following the unification of the nation under Mentuhotep II, seems to have been a period of increasing prosperity.³¹⁶

Details of the known senior officials in the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty are shown in the following table.

³¹⁰ Nicolas Grimal (1992) *A History of Egypt*, Oxford, p. 155.

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 155.

³¹² Ibid., p. 155.

³¹³ Richard A. J. Tidyman (1995) „Further evidence of a coup d'état at the end of Dynasty 11?" in *BACE* 6, pp. 103-110.

³¹⁴ Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, pp. 36-59.

³¹⁵ Nicolas Grimal (1992) *A History of Egypt*, Oxford, p. 157.

³¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 156-158.

Name	<i>Hty</i> II	<i>B3kt</i> I	<i>B3kt</i> II	<i>Rm.w- šnti</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty- nh.t</i> III	<i>ḥ3-nḥ.t</i> I	<i>Dḥw.ty- nh.t</i> IV	<i>Tt-ib</i> II	<i>ḥ3-nḥ.t</i> II	<i>B3kt</i> III	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Mšḥti</i>
Reference number	[109]	[042]	[043]	[081]	[150]	[029]	[151]	[019]	[030]	[044]	[107]	[061]
Nome	13	16	16	16	15	15	15	13	15	16	16	13
Nomarch or prov. admin.	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	N	N	PA
Date	M II	D 11	D 11	D 11	M II	M II	M III	M III	M III	Late D 11	Late D 11	M IV
Totals titles	8	8	8	8	6	15	3	9	2	8	10	10
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	103.1	37.0	83.4	nk	63.1	nk	nk	nk	196.8	204.2	nk
Total all titles	95											
Total tomb size (m ²)	687.6											
Average number of titles	7.9											
Average tomb size (m ²)	114.6											
Number of nomes with senior officials	3											
Names of nomes with senior officials	13, 15, 16											
Number of nomarchs/ provincial administrators	8 N, 4 PA = 12											
Length of period (years)	70 years											
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at the nomes	Sixteenth: 124.9; Fifteenth: 63.1; Thirteenth: nk											

Table 5.16 Senior officials in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)

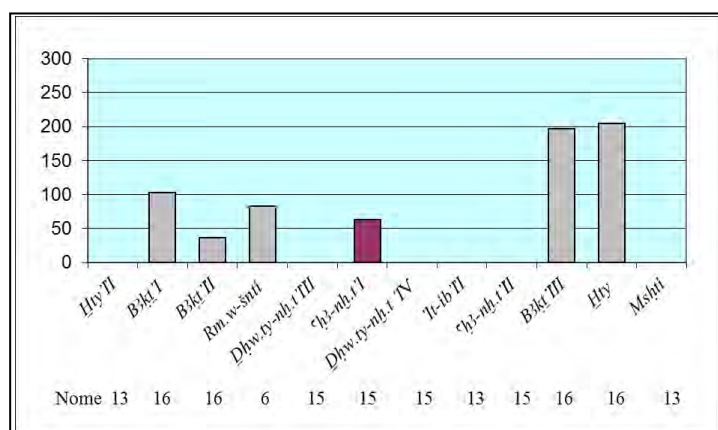


Fig. 5.14 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)

The average tomb size, bearing in mind there were few tombs in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) on which to base such analysis, was the highest for all periods at 114.6 m². Two of the last tombs, those of *B3kt* III and *Hty*, are the largest known ones of the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) and indeed two of the largest known provincial tombs ever built from

the OK through to and including the MK. They were possibly built in the reign of Mentuhotep III, but the reign of Mentuhotep IV cannot be ruled out. *B3kt* III and *Hty* may even have been assisted to build such large tombs by a king as reward for their presumed loyalty, and several of their titles would be some evidence of this.

Both *B3kt* III and *Hty* had titles indicating strong links with the Residence, and were the first senior officials to have the title *ir.y-h.t m3^c nsw* ‘true guardian of the affairs of the king’. Other titles introduced in this period were *hr.y-tp 3 n.y t3 Šm^c.w* ‘great overlord of the land of Upper Egypt’ at the Thirteenth Nome, *im.y-r3 smy.t imn.t* ‘overseer of the Western Desert’ at the Fifteenth Nome, and *im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t* ‘overseer of the Eastern Desert’ at the Sixteenth Nome.

General comments

The number of provinces with senior officials was three, the smallest number for any reign or period since the reign Merenre^c in the Sixth Dynasty. The average number of titles awarded was 7.9, a slight increase since the FIP, when there was an average of 6.8.

Control of the western and eastern deserts was split between senior officialdom of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Nomes. When control of these regions was granted, the supervision of the Western Desert was given to *h3-nh.t* I, a nomarch of the Fifteenth Nome in the reign of Mentuhotep II. The first supervision of the Eastern Desert was given to *Hty*, a nomarch of the Sixteenth Nome dated to late in the Eleventh Dynasty. If such titles were granted simultaneously by Mentuhotep II, which would seem likely, the date of *Hty* would also be that of Mentuhotep II, and not later, as hitherto surmised.

The cost of the large size of the tombs at the conclusion of this dynasty might have been subsidised or otherwise assisted as a reward to their owners from the Residence for political or other assistance. The overall data seem to show increasing stability in this part of the Eleventh Dynasty (although not without occasional trouble), which ties in with the reunification of the country.

5.3.2 The Twelfth Dynasty

According to a recent work, many scholars are persuaded to accept that the MK properly begins with the Twelfth Dynasty, an argument being the ‘much greater sophistication’ in

the Twelfth Dynasty.³¹⁷ However, this is not considered here as being sufficient for change, so the MK is accepted here as being a continuation from the Eleventh Dynasty, commencing with the reign of Mentuhotep II. Continuing on from this dynasty and through the Twelfth Dynasty there were further administrative, cultural, religious and funerary developments, and different literary forms flourished in a time which has been called the „classical“ period of literature.³¹⁸

A significant move by the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhet I, was the transfer of the capital from Thebes to Amenemhet-itj-tawy, suggested as being near the el-Lisht necropolis,³¹⁹ and this was the capital for the remainder of the period under discussion.³²⁰

The reigns of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I

Name	<i>Nḥri</i> I	<i>Hty</i> III	<i>Snbi</i> (I)	<i>Hnm.w</i> - <i>ḥtp</i> I	<i>Dḥw.ty</i> - <i>nḥ.t</i> V	<i>Nḥri</i> II	<i>Nḥti</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty</i> - <i>nḥ.t</i> VI	<i>Sz-mpwt</i> I	<i>Df3=i-Ḥpy</i> I	<i>Wḥ-ḥtp</i> (I)	<i>Imn-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>Nḥ.t-nḥ.w</i>
Reference number	[074]	[110]	[118]	[104]	[152]	[075]	[076]	[153]	[114]	[145]	[035]	[004]	[077]
Nome	15	13	14	16	15	15	16	15	1	13	14	16	11
Nomarch/prov'ial administrator/v	V/N	PA	PA	N	PA	PA	N	V/N	N	N	N	N	N
Date	D11/ D12	A I	A I	A I	A I	A I/S I	S I	S I	S I	S I	S I	year 43 of S I	Late S I
Title totals	11	2	6	11	2	4	4	15	9	33	19	33	3
Tomb size (m ²)	56.2	nk	60.7	78.2	nk	36.8	80.2	55.1	105.5	nk	76.8	141.3	nk
Total all titles	152												
Total tomb size (m ²)	690.8												
Average number of titles	11.7												
Average tomb size (m ²)	76.8												
Number of nomes with senior officials	6												
Names of nomes with senior officials	1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16												
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators	9 N(2 V), 4 PA = 13												
Length of period (years)	65												
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	First: 105.5, Sixteenth: 99.9, Fourteenth: 68.8; Fifteenth: 49.4; Eleventh: nk; Thirteenth: nk												

Table 5.17 Senior officials in the reigns of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I

³¹⁷ Gae Callender (2000) „The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c. 2055-1650 BC)“ in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 158.

³¹⁸ Ibid., p. 183.

³¹⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

³²⁰ Janine Bourriau (2000) „The Second Intermediate Period“ in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 185.

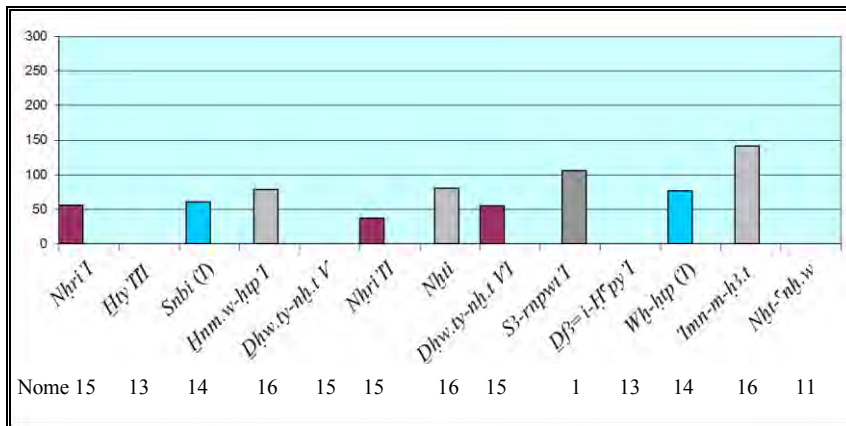


Fig. 5.15 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the reigns of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I

The average tomb size fell to 76.8 m², a steep decline after the average size of 114.6 m² of the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt).

There were famines either shortly before or at the start of the Twelfth Dynasty. A nomarch at that time, *Nḥri* I of the Fifteenth Nome, says: „One (*Nḥri* I) who brings Upper Egyptian grain, mooring it and providing for it in excess for the years of drought...³²¹ There was also a civil war, he informs us.³²² Epithets used by him and another senior official of the Fifteenth Nome, *Dhwti-nḥ.t* V, also imply troubled national leadership at that time.

There was a large increase in the number of titles awarded in this part of the Twelfth Dynasty: 152 titles were awarded in the 65 years of this period, compared with 95 titles in the 70 years of the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt). The average number of titles (11.7) per senior official was likewise a big increase over the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) (7.9), and was the highest since the early to middle reign of Pepy II.

In the reign of Amenemhet I there were senior officials in only four nomes of Upper Egypt: Nomes 13, 14, 15 and 16, all in the northern half of Upper Egypt. The king apparently saw the regions to the north and east of Egypt as a threat, possibly evidenced in the document *The Prophecies of Neferti*,³²³ a text which can be seen as glorifying the king but also wanting the king to concern himself with those regions. The problems to the east

³²¹ Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, p. 43.

³²² Ibid., p. 36.

³²³ Miriam Lichtheim (1975) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. I: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley, pp. 139-145.

and north (Amenemhet I sent a son, the later Senwosret I, to deal with Libyans³²⁴) were possibly enough for Amenemhet I to deal with before he could turn his attention to the south, a situation taken over by his successor. Amenemhet I's involvement with the north may help to account for the fact that there were no senior officials at the First Nome in his time.

The only new title introduced by Amenemhet I was *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w n.y Mnḫ.t Ḥwfw* „count of the city of Menat Khufu“, granted to a nomarch of the Sixteenth Nome. Many new titles were introduced by Senwosret I that cover a range of fields and include *ḥr.y sšt3 n.y ḥm(.w)-ntr* „privy to the secret of the priests“ at the First Nome, *im.y-r3 Šmḫ.w mi ḳd=f* „overseer of Upper Egypt to its entirety“ at the Thirteenth Nome, *ḥrp nbw* „controller of gold“ and *ir.y-ḥt nsw m3ḫ mri=f* „king's true acquaintance whom he loves“ in the Fourteenth Nome. New religious titles, including those specific to local gods, were also introduced to Nomes One, Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen. The long-established title *ḥr.y-tp ʕ3* „great overlord“ was introduced to Nome Eleven and finally to Nome One.

General comments

Provincial rule was returned to the First Nome in the reign of Senwosret I, probably indicating the king's requirement for defence and trade at the southernmost part of Egypt. This nome would have been an important administrative centre in his reign, because of his involvement in Nubia, Egypt controlling the Second to the Third Cataract, and his building the fort of Buhen. There was also trade with Kerma.³²⁵

As the dynasty progressed, there was a general increase in tomb size and a similar increase in the number of titles per senior official.

Amenemhet I introduced only one title. By contrast, Senwosret I introduced numerous new titles, many involving religious duties.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 224.

³²⁵ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 164.

The reign of Amenemhet II

Name	<i>Dfβ=i- Hꜥpy</i> II	<i>Imn-m- h3.t</i>	<i>Snbi</i> (II)	<i>Wh-htp</i> (II)	<i>Ip.w</i>	<i>Ntr- nh.t</i>	<i>Dfβ=i- Hꜥpy</i> III	<i>S3- rnpwt</i> II	<i>Nfr- Hnm.w</i>	<i>Wh-htp</i> (III)
Reference number	[146]	[005]	[119]	[036]	[003]	[079]	[147]	[115]	[070]	[037]
Nome number	13	15	14	14	15	16	13	1	11	14
Nomarch or prov. administrator	N	N	PA	PA	PA	PA	N	PA	N	PA
Date	S I-A II	SI-AII	S I-A II	SI-AII	A II	A II	A II	A II	A II	A II
Title totals	14	8	4	2	4	6	4	8	7	21
Tomb size (m ²)	nk	nk	60.7	12.0	nk	74.1	nk	129.0	nk	28.6
Total all titles	78									
Total tomb size (m ²)	304.4									
Average number of titles	7.8									
Average tomb size (m ²)	60.9									
Number of nomes with senior officials	6									
Names of nomes with senior officials	1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16									
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators	4N + 6 PA = 10									
Length of king's reign (years)	35									
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	First: 129.0; Sixteenth: 74.1; Fourteenth: 33.8; Eleventh: nk; Thirteenth: nk; Fifteenth: nk									

Table 5.18 Senior officials in the reign of Amenemhet II

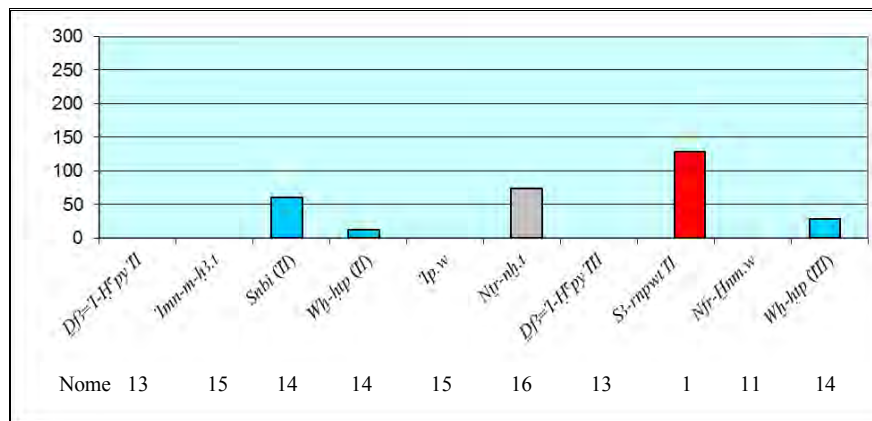


Fig. 5.16 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the reign of Amenemhet II

The ratio of nomarchs to provincial administrators declined in this period. There were four nomarchs to six provincial administrators, a ratio of 2:3, compared to nine nomarchs and four provincial administrators in the reigns of Amenemhet I and Senwosret I, a ratio of more than 2:1. A decline in the average number of titles continued in this reign, and there was a similar decline in average tomb size, meaning either less economic prosperity, for which there is no evidence, or, more likely, a deliberate reduction of provincial authority.

The only recorded event of a possible war-like nature, more accurately a defence action, is the inspection of a fortress in Wawat by one of Amenemhet II's officials.³²⁶

New titles included *hrp kni hr(.wt) nsw ḥss=f m hr.t hr.w n.t rꜥ nb* „valiant administrator of the affairs of the king whom he praises daily“, *hr.y-tp sšt3 n.y m33.t wꜥ* „chief of the secret of that which one sees alone“ and *hr.y-tp wr.w šmꜥ.w* „chief of the great ones of Upper Egypt“.

General comments

The nomes with senior officials were the same ones as in the reigns of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I. Which means that there was a continuation of so-ruled provinces, still skewed to the northern ones. At a time of peaceful conditions and a unified country, it might be thought that the king would have increased the number of locally controlled provinces, but did not do so.

For the first time since the first half of Pepy II's reign, there were fewer nomarchs compared to provincial administrators.

The average number of titles per senior official declined. The new titles introduced were mainly concerned with duties for the king. A lessening of authority of higher senior officials and a corresponding increase in the authority of the central administration is considered to have been underway.

³²⁶ Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 165.

The reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III

Name	<i>Hnm.w-ḥtp</i> II	<i>Wḥ-ḥtp</i> (IV)	<i>Dḥw.ty-ḥtp</i> II	<i>Hty</i> IV	<i>Hnm.w-ḥtp</i> IV	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t</i> VII	<i>Wp3w.t-ḥtp</i>
Reference number	[105]	[038]	[155]	[111]	[106]	[154]	[032]
Nome number	16	14	15	13	16	15	15
Nomarch or provincial administrator	PA	PA	N	PA	PA	PA	PA
Date	Year 6 of S II	S II	S III	S III	S III	S III/A III	S III/A III
Title totals	23	8	29	2 (a)	2 (a)	3 (a)	2 (a)
Tomb size (m ²)	94.0	26.2	78.5	nk	71.5	nk	nk
Total all titles	69						
Total tomb size (m ²)	270.2						
Average number of titles	20.0						
Average tomb size (m ²)	67.6						
Number of nomes with senior officials	4						
Names of nomes with senior officials	13, 14, 15, 16						
Number of nomarchs/provincial administrators	1N + 6 PA = 7						
Length of period (years)	70						
Sequence of average size of tombs (m ²) at nomes	Sixteenth: 82.8; Fifteenth: 78.5; Fourteenth 26.2; Thirteenth: nk						

Table 5.19 Senior officials in the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III

Note: (a) As this data is considered to be incomplete, these figures have not been included in calculations.

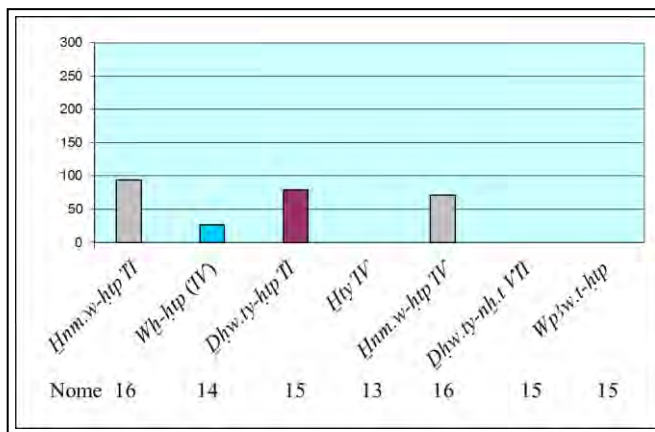


Fig. 5.17 Tomb sizes (m²) of senior officials in the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III

Compared with the reign of Amenemhet II, there was now a higher average tomb size (67.6 m²) and higher average number of titles per senior official (20.0), both mainly due to

the senior officials *Hnm.w-htp* II and *Dhw.ty-htp* II (however, see also the note to Table 5.19 above).

New titles were all at the Fifteenth Nome, mainly for the nomarch *Dhw.ty-htp* II in the reign of Senwosret III. They were both secular and religious titles and included *wr pr.w m pr.wy* „greatest of the house in the two houses“, *hr.y-tp sp3.wt Šm^c.w* „chief of the nomes of Upper Egypt“, *hr.y-tp i3.wt hnt* „chief of the foremost offices“ and *hrp-m-ntr.w* „one who has power from the gods“.

General comments

There was only one nomarch compared to six provincial administrators in this period. That there was only one nomarch I consider to be a consequence of a determination by the kings to eliminate nomarchic rule. Certainly local provincial rule was not encouraged in the reign of Senwosret II, when there were only two senior officials. Provincial rule finished in Nomes Fifteen and Sixteen, which had the longest semi-continuous periods of such rule. The end of provincial rule was in the reign of either Senwosret III or Amenemhet III, probably the former king.

Despite the decline of provincial rule, new titles were introduced until near the end.

Table 5.20 below summarises the statistical data for the whole period under discussion.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW: THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENT OF PROVINCIAL RULE

Period	Old Kingdom														FIP	Middle Kingdom				T o t a l s / A v e r a g e s
Dynasty	3 rd D	4 th D	Fifth Dynasty						Sixth Dynasty					8 th D	FIP	11 th D	Twelfth Dynasty			
Reigns/Periods	Djoser	Snefru-Khufu	Menkaure ^c	Userkaf	Sahure ^c	Neferirkare ^c	Neuserre ^c	Djedkare ^c	Teti	Pepy I	Merenre ^c	Early-middle Pepy II	Middle-late Pepy II	Eighth Dynasty	FIP	Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)	Amenemhet I to Senwosret I	Amenemhet II	Senwosret II to Amenemhet III	
Est. of wealth	Med	High	Med	Med	High	Med	Med	High	Med	High	Med	High	High	Low	Low	High	High	High	High	
Length of reigns /periods (years)	20	48	28	8	13	20	31	38	10	50	6	30	30	46	105	70	65	35	70	
Name (number) of nomes with senior officials	16	5, 6, 7, 17	All (a)	8/10, 16	10	10	8, 9, 10	15, 20/21	12, 20/21	2, 9, 12, 14, 15	2, 8, 9	1,4,6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18	1,3,4, 6,7,9, 14, 16	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15	13,15, 16	1,11, 13,14, 15,16	1,11, 13,14, 15,16	13,14, 15,16	
Number of nomes with senior officials	1	4	All (a)	3	1	1	3	3	3	5	3	10	8	8	8	3	6	6	4	
Numbers of nomarchs	1	1	1	2	1	2	-	3	3	5 (3V)	3	9	12	10	13	8	9 (2V)	4	1	88 (5V)
Number of provincial administrators	-	1	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	6 (1V)	-	10 (1V)	4 (1V)	8 (3V)	8	4	4	6	6	62 (b) (6V)
Total senior officials	1	2	1	3	1	2	4	3	3	11 (4V)	3	19 (1V)	16 (1V)	18 (3V)	21	12	13 (2V)	10	7	150 (b) (11V)
Total number of times titles awarded	2	15	9	25	13	8	18	22	34	142	31	300	154	133	143	95	152	78	69	1443 (a)
Average number of titles per senior official	2.0	7.5	9.0	8.3	13.0	4.0	4.5	7.3	11.3	12.9	10.3	15.8	9.6	7.4	6.8	7.9	11.7	7.8	20.0 (b)	9.6
Total tomb size (m ²)	nk	nk	nk	33.2+	18.6	12.4	100.6	161.8	90.2	274.1	nk	1141.5	1106.1	575.9	323.2	687.6	690.8	304.4	270.2	5790.6
Average tomb size (m ²)	nk	nk	nk	16.6	18.6	6.2	33.5	53.9	45.1	30.5	nk	63.4	110.6	57.6	64.6	114.6	76.8	60.9	67.6	61.4

Table 5.20 Summary of the data on local provincial rule from the Third Dynasty to the Twelfth Dynasty

Note: (a) This number excludes the data of senior officials who had five tombs at the Eighteenth Nome, their dates being unknown.

(b) Only data for three senior officials is used to calculate this figure, because of incomplete data for four senior officials.

The next graph, Fig. 5.18, shows the numbers of nomarchs and provincial administrators from the first king's reign with a known senior official to the last. The graph after that, Fig. 5.19, shows the average number of titles and average tomb size likewise by reigns and periods.

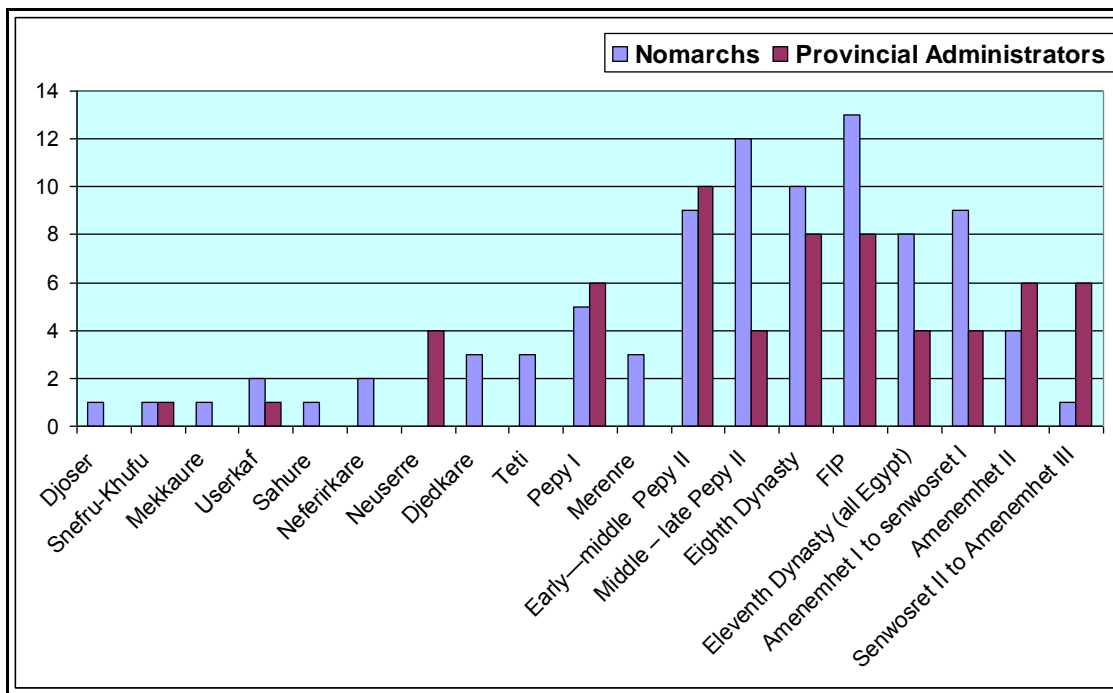


Fig. 5.18 Numbers of nomarchs and provincial administrators by reigns and periods

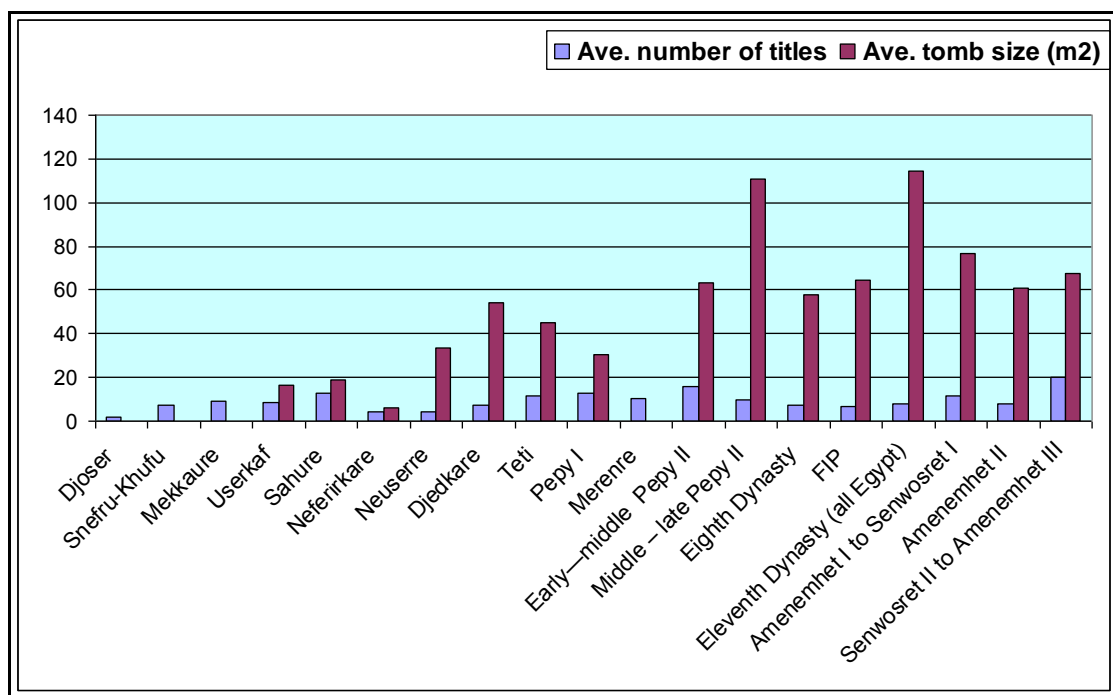


Fig 5.19 Average number of titles and average tomb size (m²) by reigns and periods

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

6.1 Average tomb size and the wealth of a province.

6.1.1 Correlation procedure

For every reign or period, the average sizes of the tombs are ranked in order of size, the largest first then through to the smallest. The provinces are also ranked in order, the wealthiest first then through to the poorest. The ranked average tomb sizes are then equated with the ranked estimate of wealth of the provinces in that reign. If a particular reign that is ranked as having the highest average tomb size is equated with the wealthiest province, the relationship is considered positive. The reverse means a negative or nil correlation. Assessment is made on a case-by-case basis.

The following table (Table 6.1) shows the average tomb size by reigns or periods and assessments of wealth of the provinces. Relative wealth of the provinces is an amalgamation of the assessments of wealth given in Chapter 4. Average tomb sizes for the reigns are taken from Table 5.20 above. Assessments of any correlations are presented in Chapter 6.1.2 below.

Period	Old Kingdom													FIP	Middle Kingdom					Estimates of relative wealth of the provinces
Dynasty	3 rd D	4 th D	Fifth Dynasty						Sixth Dynasty					8 th D	FIP	11 th D	Twelfth Dynasty			
Reign(s), Periods/ Nomes	Djoser	Snefru-Khufu	Menkaure ^c	Userkaf	Sahure ^c	Neferirkare ^c	Neuserre ^c	Djedkare ^c	Teti	Pepy I	Merenre ^c	Early-middle Pepy II	Middle-late Pepy II	Eighth Dynasty	FIP	Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)	Amenemhet I to Senwosret I	Amenemhet II	Senwosret II to Amenemhet III	
First												42.3	159.9	67.5	166.0		105.5	129.0		Wealthy
Second										15.8										Poor
Third														77.5	19.0					Below ave
Fourth												35.2	50.8	32.5						Average
Fifth																				Average
Sixth												114.7	88.2	66.6	46.1					Wealthy
Seventh													58.0							Poor
Eighth																				Wealthy
Ninth							42.9			13.7		55.7	52.8	31.4						Wealthy
Tenth				26.6			14.8													Poor
Eleventh																				Poor
Twelfth									41.2	33.7		82.4								Ave/wlthy
Thirteenth																				Average
Fourteenth										17.5		89.3	266.4				60.7	33.8	26.2	Wealthy
Fifteenth								64.4		49.3		61.9				63.1	45.9		78.5	Wealthy
Sixteenth				6.6								77.0				124.9	99.9	74.1	82.8	Wealthy
Seventeenth																				Above ave
Eighteenth												76.4								Poor
Nineteenth																				Poor
Twentieth																				Ave/wlthy
Twenty-first								33.1	49.0											Poor
Twenty-second																				Poor

Table 6.1 Average tomb sizes and estimated wealth of the provinces

6.1.2 Correlations of average tomb size and the wealth of a province

For the reign of Userkaf, the Tenth Nome (poor) ranks ahead of the Sixteenth Nome (wealthy). This is a negative correlation.

There is insufficient information to appraise any correlations for the other periods between the reign of Djoser until and including the reign of Neferirkare^c.

In the reign of Neuserre^c, the Ninth Nome (wealthy) ranks ahead of the Tenth Nome (poor). This is a positive correlation.

For the reign of Djedkare^c, the Fifteenth Nome (wealthy) ranks ahead of the Twentieth/ Twenty-first Nomes (average/poor). This is a positive correlation.

In the reign of Teti, the ranking is the Twentieth/Twenty-first Nomes (average/wealthy) followed by the Twelfth Nome (average/wealthy). This means a positive/neutral correlation.

For the reign of Pepy I, the sequence is nomes: Fifteenth (wealthy), Twelfth (average/wealthy), Fourteenth (wealthy), Second (Poor) and Ninth (wealthy). Therefore the relationship is assessed as negative.

There is insufficient data in the reign of Merenre^c.

For the early to middle reign of Pepy II, the ranking of nomes is: Sixth (wealthy), Fourteenth (wealthy), Twelfth (average/wealthy), Sixteenth (wealthy), Eighteenth (poor), Fifteenth (wealthy), Ninth (wealthy), First (wealthy), and Fourth Nome (average). As, conservatively, seven provinces out of nine are in sequence, the relationship is assessed as positive. The First Nome may not have been wealthy initially, but the general assessment of wealthy is still used.

For middle to late Pepy II, the sequence of nomes is: Fourteenth (wealthy), First (wealthy), Sixth (wealthy), Seventh (Poor), Ninth (wealthy), and Fourth (average). One province out of six is out of sequence. The correlation is assessed as positive.

For the Eighth Dynasty, the sequence of nomes is: Third (below average), First (wealthy), Fourth (average), and Ninth (wealthy). That is, there is no correlation between average tomb size and the wealth of a province.

For the FIP, the sequence of nomes is: First (wealthy), Sixth (wealthy), Third (below average). The correlation is therefore positive.

In the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) the sequence of nomes is: Sixteenth (wealthy), Fifteenth (wealthy). The correlation is therefore positive/neutral.

For the period Amenemhet I to Senwosret I, the sequence of nomes is: First (wealthy), Sixteenth (wealthy), Fourteenth (wealthy) and Fifteenth (wealthy). The correlation is therefore positive/neutral.

For the reign of Amenemhet II, the sequence of nomes is: First (wealthy), Sixteenth (wealthy), and Thirteenth (wealthy). The correlation is therefore positive/neutral.

For the reign of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III, the sequence of nomes is: Sixteenth (wealthy), Fifteenth (wealthy), and Fourteenth (wealthy). The correlation is therefore positive/neutral.

General comments

Of the 13 reigns or periods for which there is sufficient data for analysis, commencing with that of Neuserre^c, there is:

- i. a negative correlation for three;
- ii. a positive/neutral correlation for five; and
- iii. a positive correlation for five.

That is, of the 13 reigns or periods, there is a positive/neutral or positive correlation for ten and a negative correlation for three.

The negative correlations are the reigns of Userkaf, Pepy I and the Eighth Dynasty. In the reign of Userkaf the negative result is accepted, as is the negative result in the Eighth Dynasty. In the reign of Pepy I, the result is negative, but not strongly so.

Therefore, conclusion is made that generally there is a positive correlation between average tomb size and wealth of a province. One would assume that a senior official of a wealthy province would have more wealth to construct his tomb than the senior official of a poor one. Another consequence is that provincial officials would be more able to build expensive tombs in more prosperous times. Conversely, because of the positive correlations, in historical terms it is reasonable to assume that larger tombs are a reflection of the economic well-being of a region at a particular time.

6.2 Average tomb size and the power of the central authority

6.2.1 Correlation procedure

To assess the power of a reign or period, estimates of its wealth are used. These have taken into account as many criteria as possible.

In assessing any correlation between average tomb size and the power of the central authority, the average tomb size for every reign or period is again taken from Table 5.20. These sizes are compared against the assessments of wealth for the relevant reign or

period, explained and given in Table A3. Because of the variations in tomb size, especially as there was a development of tomb size in the early period, two cut-off points for average tomb size are used. These levels are half the maximum average tomb sizes in the two periods. The level is 27.0 m² for the Fifth Dynasty, and for the remainder, 57.3 m².

The levels of wealth are divided into three sections: low, medium, and high. The relationships are classified as either negative or positive:

- Average tomb size less than (27.0 m²) 57.3 m²/high wealth = negative relationship
- Average tomb size less than (27.0 m²) 57.3 m²/medium wealth = positive relationship
- Average tomb size greater than (27.0 m²) 57.3 m²/low wealth = negative relationship
- Average tomb size greater than (27.0 m²) 57.3 m²/medium or high wealth = positive relationship

6.2.2 Correlations of average tomb size and wealth of the central administrations

The following table (Table 6.2) summarises the assessments of wealth/power for the reigns/periods, the respective average tomb sizes, and whether or not there is a correlation between them.

Period	Old Kingdom														FIP	Middle Kingdom			
Dynasty	3 rd D	4 th D	Fifth Dynasty						Sixth Dynasty					8 th D	FIP	11 th D	Twelfth Dynasty		
Reign(s), Periods/ Nomes	Djoser	Snefru-Khufu	Menkaure ^c	Userkaf	Sahure ^c	Neferirkare ^c	Neuserre ^c	Djedkare ^c	Teti	Pepy I	Merenre ^c	Early-middle Pepy II	Middle-late Pepy II	Eighth Dynasty	FIP	Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)	Amenemhet I to Senwosret I	Amenemhet II	Senwosret II to Amenemhet III
Est. of wealth	Med	High	Med	Med	High	Med	Med	High	Med	High	Med	High	High	Low	Low	High	High	High	High
Average tomb size	nk	nk	nk	16.6+	18.6	6.2	33.5	53.9	45.1	30.5	nk	63.4	110.6	57.6	64.6	114.6	76.8	60.9	67.6
Correlation	nk	nk	nk	+	Neg	+	+	+	+	Neg	nk	+	+	Neg	Neg	+	+	+	+

Table 6.2 Correlations: relative wealth of the reigns/periods and average tomb sizes

Note: (i) + = high or positive correlation

(ii) Neg = negative or nil correlation

For the Fifth Dynasty, the correlations are positive in four reigns and negative in one reign.

For the Sixth Dynasty, the correlations are positive in three reigns and negative in one reign.

In both the Eighth Dynasty and the FIP, the correlations are negative.

In the Eleventh (all Egypt) and Twelfth Dynasties, the correlations are positive for both periods.

General comments

Of the 15 reigns or periods for which there are results, there is a positive relation between average tomb size and wealth of a reign for 11 and a negative relation for four.

The negative correlations are in the reigns of Sahure^c, Pepy I, the Eighth Dynasty and the FIP. For the reign of Sahure^c, the data for only one tomb is available, and this is really too small a sample to be considered valid, but is accepted with reservation. The Eighth Dynasty is a borderline case, and is close to being a positive correlation. In the FIP, the average tomb size was weighted by the large tomb of one senior official, *Sti-k3*, at the First Nome, but for which the lack of correlation would have been less definitive. This was not excluded in assessing the overall results; that is, no correlation for the FIP is accepted.

Had the Twelfth Dynasty been subdivided into two more periods, there would probably have been two more positive correlations. The figures as they stand are the accepted ones. Therefore, conclusion is made that as a general rule there is a positive correlation between the power of the central authority and average tomb size.

6.3 Comparison by periods: the relative power of the central administrations

6.3.1 Comparison of data for the OK, FIP and the MK

Period	Old Kingdom (500 years)	First Intermediate Period (105 years)	Middle Kingdom (240 years)
Per cent of total years	59.2%	12.4%	28.4%
Name (number) of nomes with senior officials	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20/21 (T = 18)	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15 (T = 8)	1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 (T = 6)
Numbers of nomarchs	53 (3 V)	13	22 (2 V)
Numbers of provincial administrators	34 (6 V)	8	20
Totals of senior officials	87 (9 V)	21	42 (2 V)
Total number of times titles awarded	906	143	394
Average number of titles per senior official	10.4	6.8	9.4
Total tomb size (m ²)	3514.4	323.2	1953.0
Average tomb size (m ²)	56.7	64.6	81.4
Estimates of wealth of reigns/periods:			
Low	1	1	-
Medium	7	-	-
High	6	-	7

Table 6.3 Comparison of periods: OK, FIP and MK

Note: (i) The figures on the nomes and senior officials are summarised from Table 5.20.

(ii) The estimates of wealth are summarised from Table A3.

6.3.2 Numbers of nomes with senior officials

There were more nomes with known senior officials in the OK than in the other periods.

There were 18 nomes (two combined) with senior officials at one stage or another in the OK, eight with senior officials in the FIP, and six with senior officials in the MK.

6.3.3 Numbers of senior officials

There were more known senior officials in the OK than in the other periods. There were 87 senior officials in the OK, 21 in the FIP, and 42 in the MK. On a per capita basis, the difference is not large. There was one senior official per 5.7 years in the OK, one senior official per 5.0 years in the FIP, and one senior official per 5.7 years in the MK.

6.3.4 Numbers of titles

The total number of times known titles were awarded was highest in the OK (906), followed by the MK (394), and then the FIP (143).

The large aggregate of titles for the OK is largely accounted for by the high number (142) in the reign of Pepy I and the far bigger total (454) in the reign of Pepy II. The rapid increase in the number titles in the OK was most likely linked with the requirements of an expanded provincial bureaucratic system. Thereafter there was an intermittent decline in the total number of titles per reign or period, an exception being the period of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I, when there was a rise, presumably partly due at least to there being an increasingly stable and united nation. There were declines in the reigns of Amenemhet II and the combined reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III, but caution must be used with the total number of titles for the latter period due to the possibility of missing data for several senior officials.

6.3.5 Average number of titles per senior official

The average number of titles per senior official varied from 10.4 in the OK, falling to 6.8 in the FIP and rising to 9.4 in the MK. From the reigns of Snefru-Khufu to Sahure^c, the average number of titles increased from 7.5 to 13.0 (there is only one known senior official in the reign of Sahure^c). In the reign of Neferirkare^c there was a drop to 4.0 titles, and thereafter a gradual increase to 12.9 in the reign of Pepy I. There was another increase to 15.8 in the early to middle reign of Pepy II, which is the highest average number. The average number of titles slumped to 9.6 in the second half of Pepy II's reign, the decline noticeable at the end of this reign, possibly an indication of national trouble. The drop continued through the Eighth Dynasty and the FIP, rose slightly in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt), and varied, generally higher, through the Twelfth Dynasty.

6.3.6 Average tomb sizes

There was an increase in average tomb size over the total time concerned. For the OK the average tomb size was 56.7 m², for the FIP, 64.6 m², and for the MK, 81.4m². However, the developments were more complex than these figures show, as there were fluctuations within the groupings. The trends can be seen in Table 5.20 and Fig. 5.19 above. There was a trend towards smaller tomb size through the Twelfth Dynasty until shortly before its end when there was an increase in size, presumably due to the wealth of several of the last senior officials.

6.3.7 Relative wealth of the central administrations.

Tables 6.2 and 6.3 above show that the OK had the greater number of reigns/periods classified as high in wealth, followed by the MK, and then the FIP, but of course caution has to be exercised with the figures, as totals numbers of reigns and periods of low or medium wealth must also be considered. Of the 14 assessed reigns and periods of the OK, six are appraised as having been wealthy, seven as medium wealthy, and one, the Eighth Dynasty, low in wealth. The FIP is appraised as having been low in wealth. Of the seven assessed reigns of the MK, all are appraised as having been wealthy.

Overall, the MK is estimated as having been the wealthiest period, followed by the OK, and then the FIP.

General comments

The OK can be seen as the golden age of provincial rule when it comes to the highest number of nomes which had senior officials at one stage or another, followed by the FIP, and the MK had the lowest number. In the OK the nomes with senior officials were distributed through most of the land. In the FIP, the nomes with senior officials were largely restricted to the southern ones, the northern ones being the Thirteenth Nome and the Fifteenth Nome. The distribution was marginally wider in the MK than in the FIP, but near the end of provincial rule, the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III, there were only three nomes with provincial rule, all to the north.

The OK also had the highest number of senior officials, followed by the MK and next was the FIP. On a per capita basis over time, the figures for the numbers of such officials show a slightly different picture. There were equal numbers for the OK and the MK, and a higher number in the FIP. However, on this basis the differences between the three periods are not large.

The average number of titles per senior official was highest in the OK, followed by the MK, and then the FIP. This may have been due, in part, to political and civil dispute considerations - the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Nomes did not have provincial rule in the FIP.

The MK is assessed as having been a relatively wealthy era, followed by the OK, with the FIP assessed as being the least wealthy. Nomes Fourteen, Fifteen and Sixteen feature moderately frequently as wealthy provinces in the OK, more so during the MK, particularly the Twelfth Dynasty.

Based on the trends of numbers of provinces with local rule and other data, there was generally strong central administration control in the OK but weak in the Eighth Dynasty, weak control in the FIP, and in the MK there was increasingly strong central control seen through what appears to be a determination by the central administrations to reduce provincial rule.

Generally, the data of the three groupings show that the differences between them were matters of degree rather than of kind.

6.4 The development of provincial rule

The following table shows figures relevant to the numbers of nomes with known senior officials for the whole period.

Period	Old Kingdom														FIP	Middle Kingdom				T o t a l s
Dynasty	3 rd D	4 th D	Fifth Dynasty						Sixth Dynasty				8 th D	11 th D		Twelfth Dynasty				
Reign(s)	Djoser	Snefru-Khufu	Menkaure ^c	Userkaf	Sahure ^c	Neferirkare ^c	Neuserre ^c	Djedkare ^c	Teti	Pepy I	Merenre ^c	Early-middle Pepy II	Middle-late Pepy II	Eighth Dynasty	FIP	Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)	Amenemhet I to Senwosret I	Amenemhet II	Senwosret II to Amenemhet III	
Length of reign(s) (years)	20	48	28	8	13	20	31	38	10	50	6	30	30	46	105	70	65	35	70	
Name (number) of nomes with senior officials	16	6, 17, 5, 7	All ^a (a)	8/10, 16	10	10	8, 9, 10	15, 20/21	20/21, 12, 14, 15	2, 9, 12, 14, 15	2, 8, 9	1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 16	1, 4, 6, 3, 8, 2, 5, 9	1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15	13, 15, 16	1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16	1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16	13, 14, 15, 16	
Totals of nomes with senior officials	1	4	All ^a (a)	3	1	1	3	3	3	5	3	10	8	8	8	3	6	6	4	
Totals of senior officials	1	2	1	3	1	2	4	3	3	11 (4V)	3	19 (1V)	16 (1V)	18 (3V)	21	12	13 (2V)	10	7	150 (b) (11V)

Table 6.4 Data on nomes with provincial rule

Note: (a) The nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt were under the supervision of one senior official, a position more akin to that of a vizier.

(b) This number excludes the senior officials of five tombs at the Eighteenth Nome, their dates being unknown.

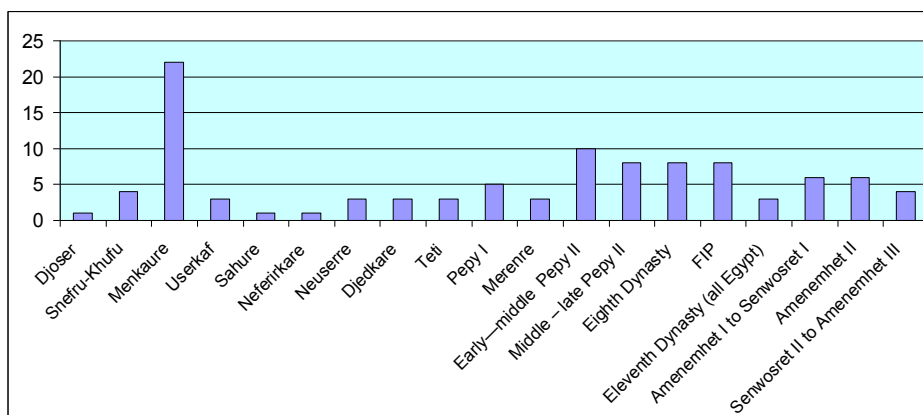


Fig. 6.1 Numbers of provinces with senior officials by reigns and periods

Note: As stated in Table 6.4, in the reign of Menkaure^c, the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt were under the supervision of one senior official, a position more akin to that of a vizier.

6.4.1 Provincial rule from the Third to the Sixth Dynasty

Most of the early local rulers of provinces had their tombs near the capital. The first nomarch, *Hm(?)w*, in the reign of Djoser, was responsible for one province only. In the reigns of Snefru-Khufu, one senior official was responsible for two provinces and another for three. In the reign of Menkaure^c, a sole nomarch was responsible for the provinces of both Upper and Lower Egypt. His supervision may have been somewhat equivalent to those of a vizier. In the reign of Userkaf, the earliest known senior official in this reign had responsibility for two provinces, and two senior officials were responsible for one province only.

From the next king after Userkaf, the reign of Sahure^c onwards, senior officials were seldom accountable for more than one province, but it does occur several times.

Until the reign of Pepy I, only once was there more than three senior officials in any monarch's reign. This changed in the reign of Pepy I, who reigned 50 years, when there were 11 senior officials in five nomes; the number dropped back to three senior officials in three nomes in the time of Merenre^c. The number escalated to 19 senior officials in ten nomes in the first half of Pepy II, although it eased back to 16 such officials in eight nomes in the second half of his reign, possibly affected by economic problems, but still indicative of substantial administrative organisation. The growth in the local bureaucracy seems to have been a deliberate central government decision to decentralise authority. Local rule may have been broadened because it was regarded as a chain of accountable control and a means of quick enactment of the central administration's bureaucratic decisions.

6.4.2 Provincial rule in the Eighth Dynasty

The Eighth Dynasty, as has been shown in Chapter 5.1.5, was a time of low wealth, exemplified by a fall in average tomb size and a decline in the average number of titles. However, there were still 18 senior officials in eight provinces, three of these officials also viziers. The provinces with local rule were all in the southern part of Upper Egypt (Nomes One to Nine). For the whole country, this dynasty has to be seen as one characterised by a lack of overall control. As discussed (Chapter 5.1.5), the end of the OK in the Eighth Dynasty suffered a period or periods of famine.

6.4.3 Provincial rule in the FIP

The number of locally-ruled provinces remained stationary at eight in the FIP, compared to eight in Middle-Late Pepy II and likewise eight in the Eighth Dynasty. Only two nomes north of the Eighth Nome, the Thirteenth and the Fifteenth, had senior officials. When all factors are taken into account, the FIP can be seen to have been a time of a central administration having some control, mainly over the southern part of the Upper Egypt, but continuing to lack overall authority. However, as discussed (Chapter 5.2), the lot of the poorer people, seen through technical improvements, seems to have improved slightly over that of earlier times. There were also mortuary religious developments.

6.4.4 Provincial rule in the MK

The number of locally-ruled provinces understandably rose again after re-unification of the country in the Eleventh Dynasty. In the Twelfth Dynasty, the locally supervised nomes in the reign of Amenemhet II (Nomes 1, 11, 13, 14, 5, 16) are identical to those in the reign of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I. The distribution of these provinces shows the central administration to have had widespread control. In the final period, the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III, the number dropped to four, all in the north (Nomes 13, 14, 15 and 16) and finally there were none. This was not a weakening of central authority, but as will be discussed (Chapter 6.6), quite the reverse, seen as part of a deliberate central administration policy of eliminating provincial rule.

General comments

Decentralisation of local provincial rule developed slowly. Until the reign of Pepy I, when it rose to five, the numbers of nomes in the reigns (Snefru and Khufu combined) with such rule varied between one and four, usually three.

The first provincial rulers were usually responsible for more than one nome, and had their tombs in the vicinity of the Residence. Only with the reign of Userkaf was the usual place of a tomb of a provincial ruler at the nome for which they were responsible, and then one of three senior officials had his burial at the capital. And even after that, on several occasions, local rulers were buried in the vicinity of the Residence. The slow process of decentralisation creates an impression of local power being reluctantly delegated. From the reign of Sahure^c on, only rarely was a senior official in charge of more than one province.

Local provincial rule reached its apogee in the reign of Pepy II, when there were 21 nomarchs and 14 provincial administrators at one stage or another. The number of provinces so administered was at its highest in this period, especially the first half of this king's reign, when 10 provinces were so ruled, and 8 provinces were so ruled in the second half of his reign.

Local provincial rule north of the Ninth Nome ceased at the end of Pepy II's reign and did not resume in the northern provinces until the FIP. This absence of provincial rule is considered to be a lack of central control, not centralisation. Civil war is considered a cause.

In the Twelfth Dynasty, from the reign of Amenemhet I up to and including Amenemhet II, locally ruled provinces were Nomes 1, 11, 13, 14, 15 and 16. After this period, the balance of locally ruled provinces swung to the northern provinces. For the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III, these were Nomes 13, 14, 15 and 16.

Nomes 19 and 22 never had senior officials. Being close to the Residence, such rule may have been considered not warranted. Both of these provinces were economically poor.

6.5 Titles and their significance: variations and modifications

6.5.1 Administrative titles

The earliest main title indicating that a person was a nomarch, *sšm t3* „leader of the land“, was initially replaced by *hr.y-tp ʕ3* „great overlord“ in the local rule of *Hnk.w/Htti* of the Twelfth Nome in the reign of Teti. This latter title continued through to and including the rule of *Dhw.ty-htp* II, shortly prior to the end of provincial rule as evidenced by the cessation of senior officials' tomb construction. The introduction of the title *hr.y-tp ʕ3* was not immediate to all provinces; the title *sšm t3* continued until the end of Pepy II's reign in the Sixteenth Nome. Why these two titles were awarded to specific individuals is not known, however, since most also hold titles that show an earlier association with the Residence, they were most likely known to and trusted by the king, as the function of some of their court titles suggest.

Another point is whether there is a difference of meaning between *hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y* [Nome] and *hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t* „great overlord of the nome“. Two nomarchs in the reign of Merenre^c had either version; there is nothing to indicate any substantive difference.

6.5.2 Agricultural titles

Dealing with agriculture in general, a nomarch in the reign of Teti had the title *im.y-r3 3h.(w)t* ‘overseer of the fields’. To show that little in Egypt escaped the bureaucracy, he was also an *im.y-r3 sš(.w) 3h.(w)t* ‘overseer of the scribes of the fields’, which rather contradicts the MK words of the scribe Khety in Papyrus Sallier II: „...there’s no profession without a boss, except for the scribe; he is the boss“. ³²⁷ The former title was also held by another nomarch in Teti’s reign in the same province, who also held the title *im.y-r3 sm nb rnp.wt* ‘overseer of all fresh vegetation’. A provincial administrator of the Sixth Nome in the Ninth Dynasty (or somewhat later) had the titles of *im.y-r3 šn-t3 nb n.y sp3.t* ‘overseer of all vegetation of the nome’ plus two other titles which referred to agriculture. A nomarch in the Eighth Nome in the early Ninth Dynasty had the title *im.y-r3 šn-t3* ‘overseer of vegetables’.

Concerning cattle, a provincial administrator of the Fourteenth Nome in the time of Pepy I had the title *im.y-r3 ts.t n.t tnt.t* ‘overseer of the herd of *tnt.t*-cattle’. A comparable title was held by three senior officials of the Sixth Nome in the Eighth to Ninth Dynasties, who had the title *mni.w tnt.t* ‘herdsman of the *tnt.t*-cattle’. A nomarch of the Eighth Nome in the Ninth Dynasty had the title *im.y-r3 nm.t* ‘overseer of the slaughter-house’. And a nomarch of the Sixteenth Nome in the reign of Senwosret I had the general title *im.y-r3 ʕb.w whm.w šw.t nšm.wt* ‘overseer of every kind of livestock and fish’ in addition to the title *im.y-r3 h.t nb.t dd.w p.t km3 t3* ‘overseer of all things produced by heaven and earth’.

Regarding cereal production and possibly also storage, either for taxation purposes or precaution against famine, a number of titles were introduced in the early part of Pepy II’s reign and later. There was the title *im.y-r3 iti šm^c.w* ‘overseer of Upper Egyptian grain’ held by senior officials of the Ninth Nome in the early reign of Pepy II, middle to late Pepy II, and the Eighth Dynasty. Late in the reign of Pepy II the title *im.y-r3 iti šm^c.w (m sp3.wt)*

³²⁷ Miriam Lichtheim (1975) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. I: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley, p. 189.

‘overseer of Upper Egyptian grain (in the provinces)’ was introduced, held by a nomarch of the Ninth Nome.

The title *im.y r3 šnw.ty* ‘overseer of the two granaries’, held by the nomarchs of the Fourth Nome in the early reign of Pepy II, continued to be held in late Pepy II through to the Eighth Dynasty. This title was held by two consecutive nomarchs of the Twelfth Nome in the early to middle reign of Pepy II and three consecutive senior officials of the Fourteenth Nome in the middle to late reign of Pepy II. A somewhat similar title: *im.y r3 šnw.ty n.y ḥtp.t-ntr* ‘overseer of the two granaries of the divine offering’ was held by senior officials in the Ninth Nome in the early reign of Pepy II, middle to late Pepy II, and the second half of the Eighth Dynasty.

6.5.3 Priestly titles

The title *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* ‘overseer of priests’ was first used in the reign of Userkaf, and lasted at least 650 years. In the reign of Senwosret I there may be a hint that this title could also be honorific, as the qualification *m3ʿ* ‘real’ was introduced. Provincial responsibility for religious cult duties was frequently an important part of local administration and seems more evident through the Twelfth Dynasty. In the reign of Senwosret I the nomarch *Df3=i-Ḥʿpy* I of the Thirteenth Nome had 33 titles, at least 11 of which designated religious functions. In the reign of Senwosret III the nomarch *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II of the Fifteenth Nome had 29 titles, at least 14 of which designated religious functions.

Hathor was the main deity of the Sixth and Fourteenth Nomes so, unsurprisingly, there were titles of duties naming her at these provinces. She also appeared in titles at the Fourth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Nomes. Among other gods named in the titles were:

- Horus at the Ninth, Twelfth, Fourteenth (in conjunction with Seth) and Sixteenth Nomes;
- Anubis, a principal deity of the Thirteenth Nome, was also named at the Sixteenth Nome;
- Isis, in conjunction with the goddess Hathor, at the Fourteenth Nome; and
- Osiris, at the Thirteenth Nome.

Names of gods of specific provinces regularly occurred in titles at the provinces, usually related to cult activities. The names of gods were also sometimes used in senior officials’

names. Perhaps indicative of the god's local prestige, the name of the god *Dḥw.ty* „Thoth“ was part of the name of eight senior officials of the Fifteenth Nome, by far the highest number at any province. The name of the national god Re occurs in senior officials' names at the Second, Tenth and Twelfth Nomes.

6.5.4 Other titles and epithets

Titles for the OK were largely established by the reign of Pepy I, and were consistent for the remainder of the OK. In the FIP many of the OK titles disappeared. These included *ḥr.y-tp nsw* 'royal chamberlain', *im.y-r3 pr.w nsw* 'overseer of the palace', *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* 'overseer of commissions', *md.w rhy.t* 'staff of the Rekhyet-people', *iwn knm.wt* 'support of the *knm.wt*', and *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3.wt* 'overseer of the new settlements'.

In the FIP, among administrative titles introduced were *ir.y-ḥ.t m s.t wr.t* 'administrator in the great place', *ḥr.y-sšt3 m pr.w ʕ3.t* 'privy to the secret in the palace', and *ḥrp-ns.ty* 'controller of the two seats'.

Certain titles supporting the authority of a senior official were still in use at the end of FIP, more than four centuries after their inauguration, and several after this. The title *ḥtm.w-bi.ty* 'seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt' was first used in the reign(s) of Teti/ Pepy I and was held by *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II in the reign of Senwosret III, meaning it lasted at least 450 years. The two early titles *smr-wʕ.ty* 'sole companion' and *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw* 'guardian of the affairs of the king' lasted until near the end (the reign of Senwosret III). These were three of the most commonly granted titles.

Some titles had more effect given to them by being qualified by the word *m3ʕ* (true). Such titles were *im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w m3ʕ* 'overseer of Upper Egypt in reality' and *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr m3ʕ* 'real overseer of priests'. And there were also the titles *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw m3ʕ* 'king's true acquaintance', *smr-wʕ.ty m3ʕ* 'true sole companion', *ḥtm.w-bi.ty m3ʕ* 'true seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt', *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w m3ʕ* 'true count', plus several modifications of these titles incorporating *m3ʕ*. In some cases, the epithet *m3ʕ* appears earlier than might be expected, for example in the reign of Pepy II.

A title whose meaning has caused some misunderstanding is that of *im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-ʕ3*, the term *hnt.y-š* variously translated as „land tenant/*hnt.y-š* official, attendant...“,³²⁸ and „tenants (?)“,³²⁹ but the full term has been shown to mean „overseer of the palace guards“. ³³⁰ This title was held by senior officials in the reigns of Pepy I or Merenreʕ, Pepy II, the Ninth or Tenth Dynasties and the Eleventh Dynasty. It is tempting to see the title being held at troubled or threatened times for the kings.

In the FIP and late Eleventh-early Twelfth Dynasties, unsettled periods for central administrations are seen through the usurpation by senior officials of the Fifteenth Nome of epithets normally reserved for the royal family: *ʕnh wd3 snb* ‘may he live, be prosperous, and well’ and *ʕnh d.t* ‘may he live forever’. Their usage appears to be further evidence, along with the dating of events to years of their local rule, of the power of these senior officials, and that there were periods when central administrations lacked authority.

6.5.5 Titles and implications for regional control

As indicated by the titles, interest in the regions to the south of Egypt developed further in the reign of Pepy I. New titles introduced by him to deal with this region were *im.y-r3 rsy* ‘overseer of the southern region’, *hr.y sšt3 n.y h3s.wt n.wt rsy* ‘privy to the secret of the southern lands’, *hr.y sšt3 n.y wd.t-md.w nb.t n.t r-ʕ3 h3s.wt n.wt rsy* ‘privy to the secret of every proclamation/command belonging to the entry of the southern lands’, *im.y-r3 smnt.yw* ‘overseer of prospectors’, and *im.y-r3 mšʕ* ‘expedition leader’, all at the Ninth Nome. Prospects of gaining gold, ivory, ebony and other products from the south developed further. And so, in the reign of Merenreʕ, there was the title *im.y-r3 ʕ3 h3s.wt m h3s.wt Šmʕ.w* ‘overseer of the gate of the desert-lands in the hill-countries of Upper Egypt’ held by a nomarch of the Second Nome. In early Pepy II’s reign, the title *im.y r3 ʕ3 r Šmʕ.w* ‘overseer of the gate of Upper Egypt’ was held by two nomarchs of the Twelfth Nome. And showing there was an influx of Nubians, as early as if not before in the reign of Pepy II, there was the title *im.y-r3 ʕ(w)* ‘overseer of Egyptianised Nubians’, held by provincial administrators of the First Nome in the first and second halves of Pepy II’s reign. In the second half of Pepy II’s reign the title *im.y-r3 ʕ3 h3s.wt Šmʕ.w* ‘overseer of the

³²⁸ Dilwyn Jones (2000) *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, vol. II, Oxford p. 692.

³²⁹ Raymond O. Faulkner (1964) *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, p. 194.

³³⁰ Naguib Kanawati (2003) *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, London, p. 20.

gate of the foreign Southern lands” was held by a nomarch of the Seventh Nome, and the similar title *im.y-r3 h3s.wt nb(.wt) n(.wt) tp-Šm^c.w* „overseer of all foreign lands of the head of the South”, was held by a provincial administrator of the First Nome.

In the Eighth Dynasty, the title *im.y-r3 h3s.wt nb(.wt) n(.wt) tp-Šm^c.w* overseer of all foreign lands of the head of the South” was again held by three consecutive provincial administrators of the First Nome. The title *im.y-r3 ʕ(.w)* „overseer of Egyptianised Nubians” was held by two senior officials of the First Nome. Again, referring to the south, was the title *mḥ-ib n.y nsw m r3-ʕ3 g3.w rsy* ‘confidant of the king in the narrow southern doorway’, held by a nomarch of the Fourth Nome. A title which became common, but did not necessarily refer to the south, was *im.y-r3 mš^c* „expedition leader” held by the nomarch ʕnh.ty=fy of the Third Nome, two consecutive nomarchs of the Eighth Nome, and two consecutive senior officials of the Ninth Nome. As discussed (Chapter 3), the title *mš^c* can also mean „army”, or perhaps a combination of expedition and army, but as used in these instances it is considered to mean „expedition”. The afore-mentioned ʕnh.ty=fy of the Third Nome also had the titles *im.y-r3 ʕ.w* „caravan leader” and *im.y-r3 h3s.wt* „overseer of hill-countries”.

From the Tenth Dynasty on, titles which referred to other regions were general and more extensive, and seldom, if ever, mention the lands south of Egypt. There may have still been involvement there, however, as the title *im.y r3 h3s.wt* „overseer of hill-countries” was held by senior officials of the First and Fifth Nomes. The title *im.y-r3 h3s.wt i3b.tyt imn.tyt* ‘overseer of the eastern and western foreign lands’ was held by a senior official of the Fifth Nome. Note that the translation of *h3s.t* may be varied, and, according to the context; is rendered by „hill-country”, „foreign land”, or „desert”.

With the passage of time, titles continue to refer to or imply foreign regions, and also regions adjoining the Nile Valley. As mentioned (Chapter 5.3.1), in the Eleventh Dynasty, Mentuhotep II gave responsibility for the Western Desert to a nomarch of the Fifteenth Nome. Possibly also in the reign of Mentuhotep II, responsibility for the Eastern Desert was given to *Hty*, a nomarch of the Sixteenth Dynasty. The same senior official, *Hty*, also had the title *im.y-r3 mš^c s.t nb.t sšt3* „expedition leader in every inaccessible place”.

In the Twelfth Dynasty, a senior official had the title *im.y-r3 mš^c wr n.y Mḥd* ‘great expedition leader/generalissimo of the Oryx Nome’ in the time of Senwosret I. In the same

reign a nomarch of the Fourteenth Nome had the title *hrp nsw* 'controller of gold', the gold presumably but not necessarily coming from the south, as Senwosret I had renewed interest in the land(s) to the south (see also Chapter 5.3.2). Also in the reign of Senwosret I, the title *im.y-r3 h3s.wt* 'overseer of foreign lands', earlier held by a provincial administrator of the First Nome in the FIP, was again held by a senior official of this nome. Interest in the Eastern Desert continued in the reigns of Senwosret I, Amenemhet II and Senwosret II with the title *im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t* 'overseer of the Eastern Desert' still being held by senior officials of the Sixteenth Nome.

6.5.6 Titles and implications for central control

The title *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w* 'overseer of Upper Egypt' was used continuously from the reign of Teti until the reign of Amenemhet II. In the first half of the reign of Pepy II there were eight senior officials with this title so it must have been, in some cases at least, honorific. Strengthening this suggestion is the fact that the title *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w m3ꜥ* 'true overseer of Upper Egypt' was introduced in the same period.

Three known senior officials who were an *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w* also held the title *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w m3ꜥ*. Whether or not the title *im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w m3ꜥ* was held by consecutive or concurrent senior officials is difficult to say; there were five known such office-holders, a large number to account for in the time available. However, they were held in the sovereignty of Pepy II, a long reign.

General comments

The titles show that provinces were administered according to what would most likely have been their significance as perceived by the central administrations. Supervision of agriculture, the major religious centres, trade and obtaining minerals would obviously have been required at the centres where such activities were undertaken or had access. In some cases, religious duties and their supervision may have been awarded where local people wanted such positions to be held. Presumably other titles were also so awarded.

Appropriate centres for regional supervision appear to have been selected for practical reasons. The storing of grain was evidently necessary, and storage centres were strategically located. The titles show there was supervision of grain storage facilities at the Fourth Nome throughout the reign of Pepy II into the Eighth Dynasty, and at the Fourteenth Nome throughout the reign of Pepy II. And in the same king's reign, and into

the Eighth Dynasty, there were overseers of grain storage at the Ninth Nome. So we have grain storage at the Fourth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Nomes, which seems appropriate.

Titles introduced show that interest in the regions to the south increased further in the reign of Pepy I, expanded rapidly in the reign of Pepy II, continued through the Eighth Dynasty and early FIP. Titles which referred to or implied the south were mostly granted where one would expect them: the First Nome, but even as far north as the Fifth Nome. After the early FIP and for the remainder of this period there are no titles which refer specifically to the lands to the south of Egypt. In the later part of the Eleventh Dynasty, titles referring to the eastern and western deserts were conferred in the reign of Mentuhotep II, but none with any reasonable certainty imply the southern lands until the reign of Senwosret I.

Usurpation of royal epithets and benedictions by some senior officials at the Fifteenth Nome imply there were political troubles in the FIP and Eleventh/Twelfth Dynasties.

Titles associated with expeditions, and records written at the sites visited, mean that mineral exploration and trade expansion in wider regions increased, possibly in the Eighth Dynasty, to a limited extent in the FIP (the Fifth Nome only), and resumed from the reign of Senwosret I.

In the OK, titles were largely established by the reign of Pepy I, and were consistent for the remainder of the OK. In the FIP there were many changes to the titles. In the MK there were few major changes. Ostensibly some titles first appeared in the MK, an example being the Sixteenth Nome, but they actually commenced in the FIP, as seen at the Fifteenth Nome. This is probably explained by the fact that there was no provincial rule in the FIP at the Sixteenth Nome but there was at the Fifteenth Nome.

Once titles were introduced in the OK, at different times in the nomes, they were used consistently with no substantial changes in that period, although some have the adjective *mꜣ* „true“ which was introduced in the reign of Pepy II. This also occurred at the close of the Eleventh Dynasty and in the reign of Senwosret I. Some of the longest sequences of individual titles occurred in the reign of Pepy II. In the FIP there were numerous changes to them, as though the whole system had been reorganised. Many titles were no longer granted and new ones appeared. Most titles which appeared in the FIP remained in force until the Twelfth Dynasty, but after the FIP new ones still did appear.

The god Horus and the goddess Hathor were the deities referred to in titles at the most number of provinces. Apart from gods of particular provincial districts, those also mentioned were Anubis, Isis, Osiris, and Seth in conjunction with Horus.

6.6 The MK: the decline of provincial rule

6.6.1 Indicators from the analysis of average tomb size and average number of titles

The following table shows some of the data for the MK until the decline of provincial rule.

Reign	Length of period (years)	Average tomb size (m ²)	Average number of titles
11 th Dynasty (all Egypt)	70	114.6	7.9
12 th Dynasty			
Amenemhet I to Senwosret I	65	76.8	11.7
Amenemhet II	35	60.9	7.8
Senwosret II to Amenemhet III	70	67.6	20.0

Table 6.5 Eleventh (all Egypt) and Twelfth Dynasties: length of period, average tomb size (m²) and average number of titles

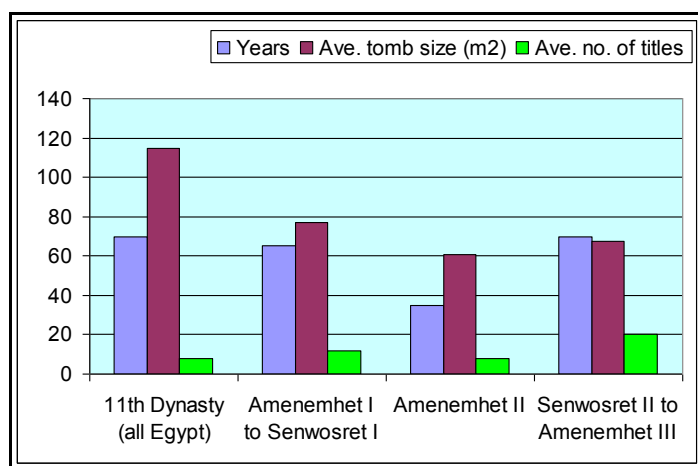


Fig 6.2 Eleventh (all Egypt) and Twelfth Dynasties: length of period, average tomb size (m²) and average number of titles

Table 6.5 and Fig. 6.2 above show the variations in average tomb size and average numbers of titles for the last 240 years or so of provincial rule. The figure for average tomb size for the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) is based on six tombs, the last two of which may

have been subsidised by a grateful king (probably Mentuhotep II or III) in a time that had suffered conflict.

6.6.2 Numbers of senior officials in the MK

The numbers of senior officials in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties are shown in Table 6.6 and Fig. 6.3 below. To aid comparison, the numbers of years of the reigns and periods are also given.

Reign	Length of period (years)	Nomarchs and Viziers	Provincial administrators	Totals (Senior Officials)
11 th Dynasty (all Egypt)	70	8 N	4 PA	12
12 th Dynasty				
Amenemhet I to Senwosret I	65	2 V/N + 7 N = 9 N (2 V)	4 PA	13 (2V)
Amenemhet II	35	4 N	6 PA	10
Senwosret II to Amenemhet III	70	1 N	6 PA	7

Table 6.6 Eleventh (all Egypt) and Twelfth Dynasties: numbers of senior officials

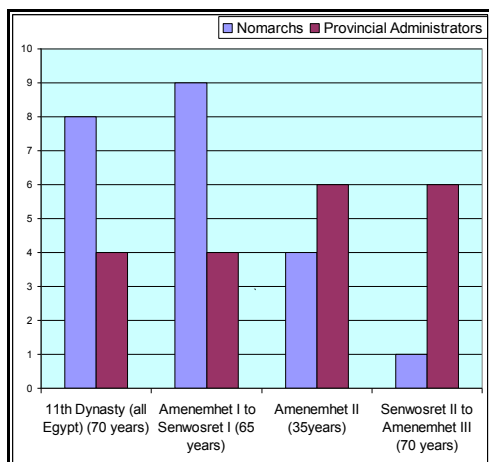


Fig 6.3 Eleventh (all Egypt) and Twelfth Dynasties: numbers of senior officials

Table 6.6 and Fig. 6.3 show that in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) and the period of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I, the ratios of nomarchs to provincial administrators were fairly similar; about two to one respectively in each period. In the reign of Amenemhet II, the ratio of nomarchs to provincial administrators was reversed, that is, it was two to three, much lower for nomarchs than the two earlier periods. The last period of provincial rule

had the ratio overwhelmingly in favour of provincial administrators, or perhaps more tellingly, against the concept of nomarchs.

6.6.3 Factors in the decline of provincial rule

The decline in the number of known senior officials is particularly evident after the reign of Amenemhet II. There were three known provincial administrators after the last nomarch, *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II, in the reign of Senwosret III, but their titles were few and none indicated any great authority. Whether or not this decline was a deliberate policy decision by the central administration to eliminate any possible threat to its authority by stopping provincial rule will now be discussed.

The claim that provincial rule was terminated in the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhet III, made by Eduard Meyer³³¹ is probably still largely accepted. More latterly, Detlef Franke has argued that the so-called „decline of the nomarchs“ was not a single action by Senwosret III to eliminate the nomarchs but rather a „social-political process“ which resulted in the centralisation of power and wealth at the King’s Residence and in the hands of the court elite.³³²

Franke claims it would not have been possible for a group of six men, no matter what their titles or numbers of local followers were, to be of concern to the king. However, a threat could have been possible, especially as the kings had no central army to call on, but relied on the provinces for military support.³³³ The nomes from which the last senior officials came were mainly in the northern half of Upper Egypt. These were the Eleventh, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Nomes in the reigns of Amenemhet I to Amenemhet II, and these provinces without the Eleventh Nome thereafter. Their senior officials were powerful rulers with military or quasi-military power to call on. One such example is *Imn-m-ḥ3.t*, a nomarch of the Sixteenth Nome. His tomb size is 141.3 m², the largest known at that particular time. In his tomb, dated to year 43 of Senwosret I, he records how he fought in Kush with this king; in his second expedition with the *s3 nsw wr n.y ḥ.t=f* „king’s eldest son of his body“ (the later Amenemhet I) he travelled with 400

³³¹ Eduard Meyer (1909) *Geschichte des Altertums*, Berlin, p. 252.

³³² Detlef Franke (1991) „The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called “decline of the Nomarchs”“ in Stephen Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey, pp. 51-67.

³³³ Raymond O. Faulkner (1953) „Egyptian Military Organization“ in *JEA* 39, pp. 37, 41.

troops³³⁴ and then he travelled again, this time with an army of 600 troops, to bring gold to Coptos.³³⁵ Note, as discussed referring to „army“ in Chapter 3, „troops“ may more mean „workmen“ than soldiers, possibly men with both duties. Another example is the last nomarch, *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II, in the reigns of Senwosret II through to Senwosret III, who included among his titles *hr.y-tp sp3.wt Šmꜥ.wt* „chief of the nomes of Upper Egypt“, *hr.y-tp i3.wt ḥnt* „chief of the foremost offices“, and *wr pr.w m pr.wy* „greatest of the house in the two houses“. Telling also is his tomb scene of a large statue of him, 13 cubits (6.8 metres) high,³³⁶ dragged by 88 men with reinforcements approaching,³³⁷ and the accompanying text which makes a claim of its value, „more costly than anything“. ³³⁸ There was also the acclaim with which the statue was received: „their (his people’s) speech was full of my praises [and] of my favours before the king“. ³³⁹ All told, he was a wealthy and powerful man with substantial quasi-military resources; one who could have been seen as a threat.

Another provincial administrator of the First Nome in the reign of Amenemhet II, *S3-rnpwt* II, had one of the largest known tombs of that particular time (129.0 m²). *Hnm.w-ḥtp* II, a provincial administrator of the Sixteenth Nome in the time of Senwosret II, in his big tomb (94.0 m², the largest known in his time grouping) lists 147 people, presumably his staff, and also mentions his title of *im.y-r3 ḥ3s.t i3b.t* „overseer of the Eastern Desert“, a traditional position of the senior officials of this nome. There has been mention of the usurpation of royal epithets by the Fifteenth Nome nomarchs probably as late as the reign of Amenemhet I, to which might be added the dating of events to their own rule.³⁴⁰

Franke lists tombs which have „usurpation of royal prerogatives“, namely iconographic elements such as „...symbolism associated with papyrus-plants and the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt“. He includes features from *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II’s tomb³⁴¹ which do

³³⁴ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London, pl. VIII, lines 11-14.

³³⁵ Ibid., pl. VIII, lines 14-15.

³³⁶ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *El Bersheh*, part I, pl. XIV, line 1.

³³⁷ Ibid., pl. XII.

³³⁸ Ibid., pl. XIV, line 6.

³³⁹ Ibid., pl. XIV, line 8.

³⁴⁰ Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, pp. 25, 26, 28, p.32, 34, 36, 41, et al.

³⁴¹ Detlef Franke (1991) „The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called “decline of the nomarchs”“ in Stephen Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, Surrey, p. 54.

nothing to strengthen his argument, quite the contrary, and these examples could be seen as having been provocative by the senior officials towards the Residence.

Franke argues, following Willems,³⁴² that an official of the Sixteenth Nome, *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III, was „promoted“ away to the Residence, although service at the Residence was a long-established tradition for the eldest son of a provincial senior official. That *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III was made an „offer too good to refuse“ to stay on is quite possible, although the king could presumably have ordered him to stay at the Residence. Franke’s argument that his tomb is at Dahshur is accepted, and the biographical notes of *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III indicate a close relationship with Senwosret II.³⁴³ Among his titles were those of *ir.y-ḥt nsw m3ꜥ* „true guardian of the affairs of the king“ which Franke claims replaced *smr-wꜥ.ty* „sole companion“ in the MK.³⁴⁴ This, incidentally, is not correct; *smr-wꜥ.ty* was one of *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II’s titles and *ir.y-ḥt nsw m3ꜥ* was not. Both titles were held by *Wh-ḥtp* (III) of the Fourteenth Nome in the reign of Amenemhet II, *Hnm.w-ḥtp* II held both titles, and *Wh-ḥtp* (IV) of the same nome in the reign of Senwosret II held the title *smr wꜥ.ty* and not *ir.y-ḥt nsw m3ꜥ*. According to Franke, the „unfinished tomb of his (*Hnm.w-ḥtp* III’s) half-brother *Hnm.w-ḥtp* IV ... is a hint that he simply had not enough money for his big tomb, because the wealth of the region was accumulated in the Residence.“³⁴⁵ The plan and photo of it³⁴⁶ show that work was further advanced than this implies, and whilst not finished, it was close to being so as the tomb was excavated and the walls smoothed, requiring only final levelling of the floor plus decoration. A large amount of wealth had obviously been spent on it, the area of the two chambers is 71.5 m²,³⁴⁷ above average for the time, and curved and flat architraves plus a fluted column in the portico are evidence of costly craftsmanship. The theory that work was terminated because of a lack of wealth which had, in effect, been transferred to the Residence, is possible but unlikely as this did not apply elsewhere. A nomarch of the time, *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II, had possession of the

³⁴² Ibid., p. 63.

³⁴³ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

³⁴⁶ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London, pls XXXIX and XL.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., pl. XXXIX.

„cattle of the king“³⁴⁸ (presumably not illegally) and he would seem to have been a more likely target, but was not so dealt with.

6.6.4 A possible explanation for the decline of provincial rule

In the reign of Amenemhet II, for the first time since the reign of Neuserre^c, the ratio of nomarchs to provincial administrators – which was nearly always in favour of nomarchs – was reversed, and this is when a decision to restrict future hereditary provincial rule was possibly made.

More administrative changes occurred in the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III, when there were only four nomes with senior officials, and a total of seven senior officials, only one of whom was a nomarch. As the kings were the ones who awarded positions of authority, the declines in provincial rule would have been their decisions. However, there may have been other reasons for the decline in the number of nomes with local provincial rule. Proactive kings in a reunified country, as those in the time concerned seem to have been,³⁴⁹ may have decided to supervise the provinces themselves more closely. But the regression in local provincial rule did not necessarily mean a lessening in the remaining senior officials’ wealth and prestige.

The wealth of some of the senior officials has been discussed. There were probably other reasons as well for the demise of provincial rule. *Hnm.w-ḥtp* II says in his tomb that the king, Senwosret II, had to deal with a dispute, involving among other matters, an allegation concerning „... that which one city had taken from its sister [city]“.³⁵⁰ Having to resolve such disputes may well have been reason for the king to think less than favourably of powerful provincial rulers, he knowing full well the military forces they could muster.

The power and authority of *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp* II were, I suggest, the reasons why he was the last nomarch. Such authority was curtailed by Senwosret III who was presumably realistic enough to eliminate the role of such senior provincial rulers who had the power to be potential threats to other nomes or to the central administration.

³⁴⁸ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *El Bersheh*, part I, London, pl. XVIII, top line.

³⁴⁹ Gae Callender (2000) „The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c. 2055-1650 BC)“ in Ian Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, pp. 158-170.

³⁵⁰ Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London, pl. XXVI, lines 133-134.

Senwosret III may have wanted *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III to stay at the Residence because of his personal abilities. From the text in his father's tomb we learn that *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III was „... greatly in favour among the courtiers, rich in gifts from the palace, [and] a sole friend. There is no-one his equal, to whom the judges listen, the sole mouth-piece [of the king], who destroys [other] speech, which brings good to its possessor, a magistrate ...“³⁵¹

Allowing for parental pride, *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III's presence in the direct service of the Residence may have been because of his debating abilities and legal duties. He was also an *ḥ3s.wt*,³⁵² translated literally as „a door of foreign lands“, which presumably means his responsibilities included concern with foreign regions. Whatever, he was evidently a valued official of the king required for the service of the king.

Provincial rule would have continued at the Sixteenth Nome through *Hnm.w-ḥtp* III's half-brother *Hnm.w-ḥtp* IV, who without other claimants, may well have assumed he (*Hnm.w-ḥtp* IV) would be the next senior official of the nome, and who had nearly finished building his own tomb there.³⁵³ Whether or not *Hnm.w-ḥtp* IV had the resources to complete the tomb is impossible to say, but in view of his family's lineage and wealth it is difficult to see why he would not have, unless there was Residence interference.

Either Senwosret III or Amenemhet III must have terminated the construction of *Hnm.w-ḥtp* IV's tomb and his authority was revoked. Few provincial titles were awarded to individuals after this. Presumably associated with the titles and numbers of titles, major tomb construction ceased, although there are several examples of „rich tombs“ around the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.³⁵⁴ And so provincial rule quickly declined. With such weakening of the authority of the local senior officials, any challenge to the king, from the provinces at least, would have been highly unlikely. The kings now ruled from fairly unchallengeable positions, at least from local senior officials.

General comments

The decline of aspects of senior officialdom is very evident in the reign of Amenemhet II, when no more senior officials who were also viziers had their tombs at the provinces.

³⁵¹ Ibid., pl. XXVI, lines 153-158.

³⁵² Ibid., pl. XXVI, line 158.

³⁵³ Ibid., pl. XXXIX.

³⁵⁴ Wolfram Grajetzki (2009) *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, London, p. 118.

The ratio of nomarchs to provincial administrators declined at this time. As evidenced in the decline of tomb construction and numbers of titles, provincial rule declined markedly in the reign of Senwosret III or Amenemhet III, ending in either of these reigns.

Reducing the authority of local provincial rule and discontinuing it was possibly seen as a way of reducing, if not eliminating, inter-provincial disputes.

The decline and termination of provincial rule is also suggested as being because of the power of the senior officials, possibly if not probably regarded as a threat to the sovereignty of the kings.

6.6.5 Local rule subsequent to the decline of provincial rule

The periods mainly dealt with here are the late Twelfth Dynasty and the SIP. The definition of the SIP used here covers the Thirteenth Dynasty to, and including, the Seventeenth Dynasty.³⁵⁵ The length of time for the Thirteenth Dynasty is that given by von Beckerath, averaged as 147 years.³⁵⁶

Local provincial rule as shown by senior officials with large tombs and high numbers of titles no longer occurred after the reign of Amenemhet III. There has been suggestion that a different form of local governance came into place in the SIP,³⁵⁷ and the evidence for this will now be discussed.

Going by the high number of kings in the Thirteenth Dynasty, if the number of 60 stated by Manetho³⁵⁸ is correct, there must have been periods of central administration difficulties which presumably had regional consequences. During the Thirteenth Dynasty, and probably for much if not all of the SIP, few titles, frequently only one, sometimes two or three, were awarded by central administrations to those who thereby became local officials.³⁵⁹ A consequence of the award of fewer titles per civic official would have meant

³⁵⁵ Jürgen von Beckerath (1997) *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 189.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 189.

³⁵⁷ Wolfram Grajetzki (2009) *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom*, London, p. 118.

³⁵⁸ William Gillian Waddell (tr.) (1997) *Manetho*, London, pp. 73-75.

³⁵⁹ Geoffrey Thorndyke Martin (1971) *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, *passim*.

such officials had less authority and power than local senior officials previously, and hence less wealth to spend on their tombs.³⁶⁰

Alternatively, another suggestion made is that there were new developments in tomb architecture, in which mud-brick chapels were built instead of rock-cut tombs, and built closer to fertile soil.³⁶¹ Had these tombs been built nearer to agricultural land they would have eventually disappeared³⁶² due to occasional widespread flooding by the Nile. These changes in tomb construction are feasible, but if so, one might have thought traces such as tomb goods or other artefacts would have come to light. Conceding some such tombs might remain undiscovered, these locations would have gone against centuries-old practice of not building tombs on land prone to flooding, which apart from anything else would have reduced the amount of arable land. Another possibility is that tombs were built on land later used for urban development. However such building work, especially foundation construction, would most likely have revealed evidence of tombs, which might well have been reported, or at least word or rumour would have got out. A more likely explanation is that tombs of the types formerly made for local senior officials were in this period built to a far lesser extent.

Several locally-constructed tombs were built during the SIP which presumably means that without assistance certain officials had the power and wealth to do so, although if tombs of this period at El Kab and Hagr Edfu are typical, they were much smaller, less than 30 m²,³⁶³ than those earlier. Recent archaeological work at these sites has revealed additional details of previously known tombs.³⁶⁴ Those of relevance here are the tomb of *Bbi*, dated to the SIP,³⁶⁵ who had the title *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr* „overseer of priests“,³⁶⁶ and that of *Sbk-nh.t*, dated by Porter and Moss to the reign of Sobekhotep III,³⁶⁷ which would mean the Thirteenth Dynasty,³⁶⁸ and dated by Vivian Davies to the Seventeenth

³⁶⁰ Wolfram Grajetzki (2009) *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom*, London, p. 118.

³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 118.

³⁶² Ibid., p. 119.

³⁶³ W. Vivian Davies and Elisabeth R. O'Connell (2009) „The British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2009“ in *BMSAES* 14, pp. 51-72.

³⁶⁴ PM V, pp. 171-191.

³⁶⁵ W. Vivian Davies and Elisabeth R. O'Connell (2009) „The British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2009“ in *BMSAES* 14, p. 52.

³⁶⁶ PM V, p. 184.

³⁶⁷ PM V, p. 184.

³⁶⁸ Beckerath, J. von (1986) „Zwischenzeit, Zweite“ in *LÄ* VI, Wiesbaden, col. 1445.

Dynasty,³⁶⁹ the latter more likely as Davies has recently examined the tomb in detail.³⁷⁰ *Sbk-nḥ.t* also had the title *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*³⁷¹ and what appears to be the title *ḥry-tp t3* „headman of land”.³⁷² Neither of the tombs is large; the area of the tomb of *Bbi* is 12.0 m²³⁷³ and that of *Sbk-nḥ.t* is 26.1 m².³⁷⁴

Titles known in the SIP were also granted in the NK. The tomb of the vizier *Rḥ-mi-r*³⁷⁵ at Thebes in the reign of Tuthmosis III³⁷⁵ has details of titles of officials. Those listed include *ḥ3.tyw-^c.w* „mayors”, *ḥk3.w ḥw.wt* „estate managers”, *knb.wty* „magistrates”, and *wḥm.w sp3.wt* „legal registrars of nomes”.³⁷⁶

Religious customs for burial continued to evolve. There were more developments in mummification, proceeding from the Twelfth through the Thirteenth Dynasty.³⁷⁷ During previous periods at the provinces, wooden, rectangular coffins were constructed, and frequently had the owners name on them and at least one title.³⁷⁸ These coffins were superseded by anthropoid coffins. Religious texts written on the cartonnage were extracts from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, and these texts were sometimes written on linen wrapped around the mummy.³⁷⁹ Whilst names of divinities are given in the Coffin Texts, names of individuals and their titles do not appear to be in these writings.³⁸⁰

Further evidence of changed local administration in the SIP is seen through artefacts such as stelae and scarabs, the latter by far the most voluminous source of information on officials. Major development and production of scarabs took place during or immediately after the reign of Senwosret III.³⁸¹ Originally largely amuletic in nature, that is of religious or magical significance for power and protection,³⁸² later ones were also used as seals, and contained the name and title or titles of officials. Hundreds of titles are known, common

³⁶⁹ W. Vivian Davies (2003), „Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush”, *EA* 23, p. 3.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

³⁷¹ PM V, p. 184.

³⁷² W. Vivian Davies (2003), „Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush”, *EA* 23, p. 6.

³⁷³ W. Vivian Davies and Elisabeth R. O’Connell (2009) „The British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2009” in *BMSAES* 14, p. 58.

³⁷⁴ W. Vivian Davies (2003), „Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush”, *EA* 23, p. 4.

³⁷⁵ Norman de Garis Davies (2002) *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* I, North Stratford, p. 15.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX.

³⁷⁷ H. E. Winlock (1947) *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, p. 101.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

³⁸⁰ R.O. Faulkner (1973-1978) *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 3 vols, Warminster, *passim*.

³⁸¹ Richard H. Wilkinson (2008) *Egyptian Scarabs*, Oxford, p. 17.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ones being *im.y-pr.w* „overseer of the temple“, *im.y-r hm(.w)-ntr* „overseer of priests“, *im.y-sd3w.t* „chief treasurer“, *iry-ḥ.t* „door-keeper“, *ḥnh n(.t) niw.t* „townsman“ and numerous versions of *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* „mayor“, often in association with the name of a city.³⁸³

In his analysis of MK and SIP scarabs, Geoffrey Martin suggests the development of private-name scarabs in the Thirteenth Dynasty reflected changes in the administrative structure around that time,³⁸⁴ and this is concurred with by Wolfram Grajetzki for other reasons, such as the role and distribution of „mayors“, although he suggests changes in perception of administration may be the result of changes in sources.³⁸⁵ There are also claims that some low-ranked officials other than mayors were in charge, and later again in the Thirteenth Dynasty the office of mayor in some towns was replaced by other officials.³⁸⁶ These statements are accepted, but more evidence for the latter would be of value. Whatever, the title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* continued to be awarded throughout the SIP and the NK.³⁸⁷

Other evidence of civic officialdom in the SIP comes from Edfu in the form of funerary inscriptions on stelae and offering tables, some of which are listed by Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B Moss.³⁸⁸ An article by Rex Engelbach deals with many of those mentioned by Porter and Moss and he discusses other artefacts not elsewhere mentioned. The stelae and offering tables dealt with by Engelbach are those of *Twf*, *Kirf*, a Queen Sobekemsaf, *Hri*, *Hr-nh.t*, *Hr-wnf*, *Twf*, *Snbw*, *Hri* son of *Iḥr*, *Ibiḥ*, *Rn-snb* and *Mnh*,³⁸⁹ all of whom he dates to between the close of the Twelfth Dynasty and the Fourteenth Dynasty. These artefacts were found within a 25 metre radius and it has been suggested that they were from a shrine where they served as memorials.³⁹⁰ Engelbach also says they do not appear to have any association with one another,³⁹¹ although one might have thought several common names and their proximity would have meant some family lines of inheritance of

³⁸³ Geoffrey Thorndyke Martin (1971) *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, pp. 175-187.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

³⁸⁵ Wolfram Grajetzki (2009) *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom*, London, p. 120.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 120.


³⁸⁷ Geoffrey Thorndyke Martin (1971) *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, *passim*.

³⁸⁸ PM V, p. 203.

³⁸⁹ Rex Engelbach (1922) „Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfū“ in *ASAE* 22, pp. 113-138.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 124.

³⁹¹ Ibid., p. 124.

senior positions. Titles of relevance given were *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w* „mayor“ (the most frequent), *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w* Edfu „mayor of Edfu“, *ḥm-ntr* „priest“, *im.y-r ḥm(.w)-ntr* „overseer of priests“, and *wḥb* „wḥb-priest“.³⁹² Note that the word for „overseer“ *im.y-r3* was then usually written . Again dealing with monuments from Edfu, another article by M. G. Daressy discusses six stelae which include the titles *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* „lector priest“, and *wḥb*.³⁹³ A similar article by him deals with five stelae, which include the same three titles.³⁹⁴

The most significant title for civic administration in the SIP was *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w*, and whilst there is little if anything to reveal its responsibilities, Grajetzki may well be correct in saying its duties were not only limited to the owner's town, but possibly also to countryside and estates associated with it.³⁹⁵ Not all towns apparently had mayors, and some were administered by other officials.³⁹⁶ Acknowledging there are gaps in sources, it has been suggested that later in the Thirteenth Dynasty mayors at some towns were replaced by lesser-ranked officials.³⁹⁷

Of several main titles associated with provincial rule, those of *ḥr.y-tp ʿ3* „great over-lord“ and *ḥtm.w-bi.ty* „seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt“ are not attested to the SIP.³⁹⁸

As a postscript to this section, funerary cones, discovered at Thebes, were often inscribed with the owner's name, lines or columns of text, and frequently two or three titles, and date mainly from the NK.³⁹⁹ Among the many titles were *im.y-r3 wḥb* „overseer of wḥb priests“, *ir.y-pḫ.t* „hereditary prince“, *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w*, *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w niw.t* „mayor of the town“,⁴⁰⁰ and *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* „overseer of priests“.⁴⁰¹ So some long-known titles continued through this period of Egyptian history.

³⁹² Ibid., pp. 127-138.

³⁹³ M. G. Daressy (1917) *ASAE* 17, „Monuments d'Edfou Datant du Moyen Empire“, pp. 237-243.

³⁹⁴ M. G. Daressy (1919) *ASAE* 18, „Monuments d'Edfou Datant du Moyen Empire“, pp. 49-52.

³⁹⁵ Wolfram Grajetzki (2009) *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom*, London, p. 119.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

³⁹⁸ Geoffrey Thorndyke Martin (1971) *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, pp. 175-187.

³⁹⁹ Norman de Garis Davies in Miles Frederick Laming Macadam (ed.) (1957), *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, vol. I, *passim*.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., pls. 1-2.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., pl. 8.

Conclusions

Tombs of local officials at Edfu in the SIP are rare and invariably smaller in size than those of the senior officials earlier. Strings of large numbers of titles of tomb owners are no longer known. Based on the evidence of these tombs and numerous antiquities, particularly scarabs and stelae, and lack of evidence to prove otherwise, there was no local provincial rule in Upper Egypt after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty through the NK, and possibly later.

Following an unspecified period after the last senior officials of the nomes, in which the form of local supervision is unknown, in the Thirteenth Dynasty there seems to have been a reorganisation of local administration. Governance was generally restricted to authority at the main towns. From the evidence of the tombs and artefacts discussed, throughout the SIP there were reduced numbers of titles per official, usually one, rarely two or three. Some of the earlier titles held by senior officials at the nomes were no longer seen, but others such as *im.y r3 hm(.w)-ntr* and *h3.ty-ꜥ.w* were. This latter title was often given with a person's name and the name of a town, sometimes simply with the word *niw.t* „town“. At some towns the authority was held by officials other than a *h3.ty-ꜥ.w*. By the time of the reign of Tuthmosis III there appears to have been a resurgence of increased authority at towns as seen by certain titles, but such responsibility still seems to have related to the towns, although authority may have been extended to places outside them. Mayoral and other authority over towns continued through the NK, and it would seem unlikely that such rule disappeared after that, as some form of town administration would appear to have been essential.

6.7 From the OK to the MK: continuity and change in administration and society

6.7.1 Features of the administration and observable changes

The features noted explain the extent to which tomb location, decoration and size indicate the social position of the provincial rulers in relation to the rest of society. The provincial rulers had the best tombs, with the best views, in the most accessible positions.

The tombs were usually built at their owners' expense, with occasional gifts of funerary furniture by the king to certain favoured senior officials. The allotment of land for a tomb

was theoretically, at least, the king's prerogative, and was probably „a given“ by definition of the authority granted to the senior official of a province.

There was a wide disparity between the standard of construction of the tombs depending on the classes of people. The tombs of the senior officials often had below-level burial chambers and decorated entry courts. They frequently had more than one interior chamber and painted scenes of everyday life plus lists of their titles. Carved statues of the owner were also common, and a false door on which were listed some of the tomb owners' titles was frequently carved into a wall. By contrast, the tombs of ordinary officials at the provinces had little if any external decoration, were invariably of one chamber only, seldom had a false door, and were much smaller than those of the provincial rulers. The tombs of lower-ranked people were always small, consisting of a single chamber, or, in some cases, simply holes or even „memorial“ indentations in the rock walls with burials in the ground.

From the FIP through to the Twelfth Dynasty the wall texts became more expansive. The main references are to the local god; there are no references to the god specific to another nome, although there are references to national gods which may be the cult deity of another province. This also applies to titles.

Local provincial rule disappeared towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and sometime during the Thirteenth Dynasty a new system of local rule came into play, in which local rule was restricted to the mayors of towns, assisted by lower ranked officials.

Of the 88 nomarchs, five were viziers; of the 62 provincial administrators, six were viziers; making a total of 11 viziers who were also in charge of nomes. Therefore, a person did not have to be a nomarch to become a vizier.

There was probably only one vizier at a time who was also a senior official. The viziers had the same titles relating to provincial rule as those held by other senior officials at the same times.

No nomes north of the Ninth Nome during the Eighth Dynasty had provincial rulers. The Eighth Dynasty was an era of trouble and lack of unified control which continued into the FIP. However, initially at least, there were still central collection points for grain as there

had been earlier. After this period, titles concerning grain control are no longer seen. The Eighth Dynasty seems to have been the nadir of Upper Egypt's fortunes for the whole period, but after this the data points to improved conditions, although the records show that civil strife and famine did still occur.

6.7.2 Implications for the society

The figures for the OK as shown in Table 6.3 above and associated commentary show that the basic structure and organisation of the provincial bureaucracy continued through the FIP and much of the MK. There were variations to all the data over the years but no substantive changes. As far as can be established, the system provided a framework for a system of stable government, which, pragmatically at least, would have been in the interests of the people, and which seems to have worked well.

6.7.3 Summary: the system of provincial administration

Many, if not most, senior officials of the provincial administration:

- were invariably promoted to the top position at a nome after dealing with specific areas at the Residence; their duties were not necessarily related. Often these positions at the Residence involved heavy responsibilities;
- received training, education, and experience, at the same location, that is, at the Residence. This would have allowed for consistency of approach for procedural matters, and helped standardisation of administrations and administrative procedures;
- would almost certainly have been known to the king and/or the senior-most authorities, and known what was expected of them. Likewise the king, and presumably his palace officials, would have obtained knowledge of their abilities;
- would have become acquainted at the Residence with at least some of their counterparts from the other provinces. This could have been of value in ensuring the reduction of possible tension between competing regions and local administrations;
- are seen through their titles at the Residence to have been in charge of different administrative areas, and not necessarily merely risen through the ranks of restricted fields. That is, their ability to successfully hold down several senior positions may have been regarded as valued attributes for a senior rank responsible for numerous functions; and

- presumably would have received training in specialised areas, based on the range of titles, and the essential skills of reading and writing. Titles at the Residence refer to public works, administration, record management, law, finance, religious service, architecture, oversight of estates and so on. Experience dealing with such areas would have been good bases for the widespread overall responsibilities of a province.

The structure of governance shows the benefits to be gained from a provincial system in association with central management. This was a method in which a predominant administration, the Residence, delegated authority to local districts, headed by supervisors directly accountable to the central authority. This would have enabled direct lines of control with the flexibility of local authorities to deal with their regions. This in turn would have allowed for standardisation of laws, regulations and requirements for construction works and defence and so on to apply on a national as well as a regional basis, and for bureaucrats to have close contact with their constituencies.

Examination of titles reveals the way positions of authority at particular provinces were established to deal with necessary administrative duties including those related to trade and mining, religion, agriculture, and other facets of local and regional control.

The modern day bureaucrat would do well to study the dictates of the MK writer Khety, previously mentioned, who gave advice including that of behaviour appropriate for the vocation of scribe.⁴⁰² If the officials, especially the senior officials of the nomes, were as good as the high aspirations stated there, the MK administrative system would have been a good one.

A point of censure of the Egyptian administrative system has to be dealt with here: that of the problems associated with the ancient archival system, such as it was. As discussed in Chapter 3, Christopher Eyre is strongly critical of the Ancient Egyptians' archival methods which he says were not only liable to fraud but were also quite inefficient.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰² Miriam Lichtheim (1975) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. I: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley, pp. 185-192.

⁴⁰³ Christopher Eyre (2009) „On the inefficiency of bureaucracy“ in Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo (eds) *Egyptian Archives, Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives/Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9-10, 15-30*, Milan, pp. 15-30.

Apart from these probably correct estimations, the system of administration under local rulers seems to have been as good a one as could be devised. And it also shows how a lack of strong central and local administrations is likely to lead to social difficulties and breakdown. This must have created economic difficulties not only for administration of the provinces and their people but the nation as a whole. Most likely the deleterious effects were suffered by nearly everyone. The system of administration did not end because it was not perfect. There is no pretence that it was ever so, but it seems to have served the population well. It did not finish because of inherent faults, rather because of the potential for trouble between the central administration and the powerful senior officials at several of the provinces. That it was ever terminated was not, I suggest, in the nation's interests.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Conclusions reached for the individual points of the thesis.

Was there a relationship between average tomb size and the wealth of a province?

(Chapter 6.1)

There was in most reigns or periods, ten out of 13, a positive or positive/neutral correlation between average tomb size and the wealth of a province.

The three periods when there was no relationship were the reign of Userkaf, which has a small sample size, the reign of Pepy I, when there were central administration troubles, and the Eighth Dynasty, a period troubled by problems which included famine and civil war.

Was there a relationship between average tomb size and the power of the central authority? (Chapter 6.2)

There was in most reigns or periods, 11 out of 15, a positive correlation between average tomb size and the power of the central authority. The figures for the positive correlations are conservative ones.

The four periods when there was no relationship were the reigns of Sahure^c and Pepy I, the Eighth Dynasty and the FIP. The data for the reign of Sahure^c is based on one tomb only. There were central administration troubles in the reign of Pepy I. In the Eighth Dynasty and the FIP, both periods showed tendencies towards positive correlations.

This overall positive correlation means the size of tombs must also have been linked with the nation's economy, itself presumably linked with the power of the central administrations.

On one other related matter, average tomb size in the reign of Senwosret I was higher than that in the reign of Amenemhet I, which agrees with the consolidation of rule from a new capital and the likely increase in prosperity of the times. Fluctuating tomb size during and after the reign of Amenemhet II appears to tie in with the political situations concerning the relationships of the kings with their senior provincial administrators. In the reign of Amenemhet II average tomb size and average number of titles both declined, as did the

ratio of nomarchs to senior officials. And near the end of provincial rule, the high average tomb size is considered to be an indication of the last senior officials' wealth and power, in apposition with the power of the central administrations, and hence is suggested to have been a reason for the phasing out of such rule by the more powerful central administrations.

Do variations in data between the OK, FIP and MK reveal differences in the power of the central administrations? (Chapter 6.3)

There were variations in the data between the three periods, which are suggested as indicating differences in the power and wealth of the central administrations of the times.

The average size of tombs was largest in the MK, then the FIP, and then the OK. The OK figure is weighted by the initially small size of tombs until the reign of Neuserre^c.

Figures for the average number of titles per senior official do not tie in with average tomb size. The average number of titles per senior official was highest in the OK, next in the MK, and lowest for the FIP. The figure for the average number of titles for the OK was weighted by the high total number, and subsequent high average number, in the first half of the reign of Pepy II. The figure for the MK was short of what might have been expected because of the below average number of titles in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt) and also in the reign of Amenemhet II.

The data of the three major groupings show that the differences between them are matters of degree rather than of kind.

The MK is assessed as having been the most prosperous period, followed by the OK, and then the FIP. Directly related to this, the MK is assessed as having had, overall, the strongest central administrations, then the OK, and then the FIP.

Were the development of provincial rule, and variations in the numbers of locally ruled provinces, central administration policies of centralisation or decentralisation or, rather, do they indicate a lack of overall control? (Chapter 6.4)

The trends in provincial rule, as seen through the numbers of nomes with senior officials and other relevant data, show ongoing changes. There was increasing decentralisation until the end of Pepy II's reign, a lack of overall central control in the Eighth Dynasty, and

slightly improved overall central control in the FIP. There was a decline in the numbers of locally-ruled provinces after the FIP, and more such provinces in the Twelfth Dynasty, accompanied by strong central administrations and increasing centralisation.

The initial stages of a slowly developing policy of decentralisation seem to indicate some reluctance to inaugurate this policy. The first senior officials at the provinces had their tombs near the capital. However, once established under local rulers who had their tombs at a province for which they were responsible, provincial rule increased strongly, especially in the reigns of Pepy I and Pepy II.

The decline in the distribution of locally-ruled provinces in the Eighth Dynasty, marginally increased in the FIP, combined with evidence of civil war, were most likely reciprocal consequences of a breakdown in national control by the Residence.

The further decline in the number of locally-ruled provinces, later in the Twelfth Dynasty (the period of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III), is considered to be a consequence of a process of centralisation of authority by the Residence, and was probably initiated by Amenemhet II.

What do the introduction of administrative and other titles indicate about regional and central control? (Chapters 2 and 6.5)

Because of the Ancient Egyptians attachment to titles and the efforts they took to record them, titles prove to be an excellent source of material, not only on regional and central control, but also bureaucratic, economic and climatic issues, and historical developments. As shown in the prosopography and the tables on the provinces, the range of titles was large, and usually each one was quite specific to a duty.

The average number of titles per senior official shows a continual, if intermittent rise, from the time of the first such officials, reaching its maximum in the early to middle reign of Pepy II, then irregularly declined until an increase at virtually the end of provincial rule. Throughout the whole time, new titles were introduced whilst others were no longer granted. High average numbers of titles per senior official generally occurred at times of estimated strong central control. One exception to this was in the reign of Amenemhet II, but specific factors of control by this king are considered to be the causes.

Specific title types show that:

- those referring to grain storage were inaugurated in the reign of Pepy II and continued into the Eighth Dynasty. Equidistant collection/distribution points were established, and these are suggested as being for taxation purposes or precaution against famine, possibly more the latter reason in the Eighth Dynasty because of the lack of a central authority in the northern region and the known famine(s);
- some titles indicate the importance of some provinces for agriculture, particularly grain and cattle, and their importance as wealth indicators, and were often reinforced by tomb paintings showing agricultural life. Cattle-counting and crop-harvesting scenes are frequent. Supervision of farming of other livestock and fowl and fishing are also referred to in the titles and depicted in tomb scenes. Titles referring to oversight of agriculture are first seen in the reign of Teti and continued through into the reign of Senwosret I;
- those concerning trade and defence implications are first in the reign of Pepy I and continued through to the reign of Senwosret III. Interest in the lands to the north-east for amethyst and other minerals is shown by the titles introduced in the Tenth Dynasty, which were continued through the MK to and including the reign of Senwosret II.

The epithets used and the dating of events to their own local rule by several senior officials of the Fifteenth Nome, give insights into the history of the Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty, in particular the relative strengths of these officials compared with those of the kings. Titles granted to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Nome senior officials similarly show the power of these officials in the Twelfth Dynasty. Tomb and other records confirm the authority of the titles.

The numbers of religious titles seem to increase at times of perceived strong rule, and this is seen in the reign of Pepy II and the Twelfth Dynasty as it progressed. Titles often refer to service to the gods; the most frequently mentioned deities are the goddess Hathor and the god Horus. Other national gods are also named. And from the FIP onwards, the name of a local god was often incorporated into the personal name of a senior official.

Three titles have been taken as meaning the title „nomarch“ as discussed in Chapter 2, confirmed by the phasing out of two and their replacement with another which lasted the whole of the time concerned. Somewhat over half of all local rulers held one or other of such titles, and the other senior officials were what are described here as provincial

administrators. Certain titles held by many nomarchs indicate trust in them by the king, but this is insufficient of itself to establish why they had such designation.

Based on the titles granted, a person did not have to be a nomarch to be a vizier, as many provincial administrators were also viziers.

As far as can be discerned from the titles, the kings and Residence administrators, even when circumstances appear difficult, seem adept at helping resolve problems or potential difficulties, or responding to local requirements, with the creation of appropriate bureaucratic positions.

In the light of historical records, can variations in tomb size, titles and numbers of titles reveal evidence for the decline of provincial rule? (Chapter 6.6)

Generally, it can be said that the statistical data supports the conclusions drawn from the historical records.

The data, combined with the records, shows evidence for the decline and cessation of provincial rule in the Twelfth Dynasty. Variations in most of the criteria show that the beginning of the decline of provincial rule began in the reign of Amenemhet II, and furthered declined in the reign of either Senwosret III or Amenemhet III. It finished in either the reign of Senwosret III or Amenemhet III, probably the latter king.

Average tomb size declined intermittently from 76.8 m² in the reigns of Amenemhet I and Senwosret I to 67.6 m² in the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III.

The average number of titles dropped from 11.7 per senior official at the start of the Twelfth Dynasty (reigns of Amenemhet I and Senwosret I) to 7.8 per senior official in the reign of Amenemhet II. In the last part of this dynasty, there was a brief upsurge in the average number of titles, due to two senior officials, after whom the data is too incomplete to allow analysis.

Tellingly, in the final period, during the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III, the number of nomes with senior officials dropped from six to four, the number of provincial administrators stayed the same (six) as in the reign of Amenemhet II, but the number of nomarchs dropped from four to only one.

Tomb records tell of the wealth and military might possessed by several of the last provincial rulers. The changes in tomb and title data are seen as indirect evidence for decision(s) by the last kings to eliminate provincial rule, and remove, forever, possible threat to their authority.

Local provincial rule did not decline because its time had come. The last provincial rulers were powerful and possibly regarded as potential challengers to the kings. Such regional administration is suggested as having been reduced in authority and power by the kings.

During the Thirteenth Dynasty regional responsibility was changed to a form in which local power was in the hands of mayors and other officials at the cities, and this form continued through the NK. Never again did such bureaucrats have the power and wide authority once held by the provincial senior officials.

Do features of the bureaucracy of the OK continue through to the MK, and are there any other distinctive features of the administration of the provinces that can be identified?
(Chapter 6.7)

Despite understandable changes over time, the basic features of provincial administration continued from the OK through to most of the MK. Features of the bureaucracy, such as tombs for the senior officials, continued to be built through the period. Titles, despite changes, likewise continued, several even lasting through to the end.

The effectiveness of the administration by the provincial rulers can be recognised by the fact that it survived some 830 years, despite occasional difficult periods including economic stress and civil war. The end of local provincial rule was not, of course, the end of the bureaucracy. But the fundamental bureaucratic system would have been a good basis for future social and economic development.

The rock-tombs of the senior officials, from the beginning, invariably had the best positions at the local cemeteries: accessible for offerings and offering bearers, high enough to have views of the Nile Valley below, were in little if any danger of flooding, and were associated with others of similar rank and separate to lower-classed people. The other officials had less favourable tomb-sites, and the lower-ranked people had the worst locations for their tombs. These differences are probably good indicators of the disparities between the economic levels of the ruling and the ruled classes.

Because of the collapse in rule at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, it could be more appropriate for the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties to be included in the FIP. The Seventh Dynasty is virtually non-existent anyway. The commencement of the MK with the reign of Mentuhotep II in the Eleventh Dynasty is accepted and used here.

Provincial administration had the dual advantages of not only allowing central direction and standardisation of administration, but also allowing local officialdom to deal with and respond to directives at the appropriate levels. And the centralised system of training future leaders was an excellent method of ensuring experienced officials were ready to take up senior positions of responsibility, and ensuring known lines of control.

Changes to the titles allow developments and trends in the society to be traced on a historical basis, and are important adjuncts to other records. The titles usually mesh with the historical records, and provide information when no other records are available.

And beyond this, the data and the records indicate that we can still learn from aspects of local provincial rule in Ancient Egypt. But the changes to such administration reminds us that bureaucratic systems can evolve, and the millennia of a successful Egyptian civilization may well owe much to its administrative adaptability. By this is meant the way administrations, local and central, responded to society's ongoing needs and changes. Some regions, generally the poorer ones, on the basis of lack of tombs and associated records such as those of the large tombs at the known wealthy provinces, had small numbers, if any, of senior administrative staff. And vice versa. Wealthy provinces, and those important for defence and trade, tended to have senior officials over much of the time. Such officialdom, at least in the wealthy provinces, would have been required for agricultural supervision, taxation, grain storage, overall supervision of the priests, for regional support at times of low Niles, and in more extreme times to deal with the problems of food shortages. That the central administration trained youths to become scribes and presumably deal with administration would have been necessary. The changes to the titles, most of which were functional ones, are confirmation that the system was an adaptable one. This phenomenon of administrative adaptability studied here for the OK and MK is specific to those times, but I do not suggest it is limited to those times or indeed to the one nation. It was, and I suggest still is, a good way to prevent stultification of both central and local governments.

7.2 Concluding remarks

What might seem bland sources of information such as tomb sizes and titles have instead turned out to be keys with which further knowledge of an advanced civilisation has, and may be, unlocked.

The results of the data analysis and the records show that for most of the Third Dynasty to near the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, Upper Egypt generally had a well organised and supervised society through its rulers, both centrally and in the provinces. The basis of the organisation of the society was the bureaucracy. Despite various tribulations that befell the nation, the bureaucracy operated in the society as a modifiable system that proved adaptable to the evolution of social mores.

An important part of the system of the bureaucracy of Upper Egypt was the decentralisation of a centralised state administration to local provincial rule. The local rulers, granted their authority by the king, supervised their provinces at the behest of this authority, and were the major points of communication and authority between the local and central administrations. Such records as are available indicate that both levels of government took their responsibilities seriously.

The contributions of this thesis to existing knowledge are now summarised. There was for most periods a positive relationship between tomb size and the wealth of a province. That is, there is a likelihood that at a time of large average tomb size in a province, it was likely to have been a wealthy one.

That a positive correlation has been shown to exist between average tomb size and the power of the central authority at particular times means that the larger the average tomb size, the more likely the central authority was to have been powerful.

Differences in the power of the central administrations between the OK, FIP and MK are revealed by the tomb and title data. The MK has been assessed as having had the strongest central administration, then the OK, and then the FIP. Related to this, the MK is assessed as having been the most prosperous period, followed by the OK, and then the FIP. However, over this time range, despite understandable variations to tomb sizes and significant changes to many of the titles, there were no fundamental differences between the three periods.

The variations of data for the numbers of locally ruled provinces mean that there was increasing decentralisation in the OK, then a lack of control, slightly improved control in the FIP, and increasing central control after that. Civil disputes in the Eighth Dynasty and FIP may have been either a cause or consequence of this lack of central control, but would appear to be factors. The decline in the number of locally supervised provinces in the Twelfth Dynasty is attributed to central government policy. Overall, the average number of titles per senior official increased under strong central administrations.

The introduction of administrative and other titles show how the Residence and provinces dealt with such issues as grain storage at particular places, most likely for precaution against famine. Some titles show the importance of agriculture, particularly grain and cattle, at certain regions. Trade and defence are seen as having been issues for both the central administration and also the provinces.

The titles also prove to be a valuable source of information on social development. Examination of them shows how much of the workforce was organised, what the duties carried out by officialdom were, and how steps were taken by central and local rulers to deal with issues as they arose. Egyptian society, if the changes to titles are an accurate measure, was not as conservative as often claimed. The titles were continually being changed, not in a steady trajectory, more in a series of steps, some larger than others, and constantly adapting to changing circumstances. By the end of provincial rule, only a few of the original titles were still in use. After this, local rule was by mayors and other officials at the cities, and such local authority continued to and through the NK.

Variations in tomb size, titles and numbers of titles, in conjunction with records, supply evidence for the decline of provincial rule in the Twelfth Dynasty, suggested to be decisions by the monarchs to remove any threat to their hegemony by eliminating the authority of the local senior officials.

Features of the bureaucracy of the OK continued through to the MK. Tombs for the senior officials continued to be built, and titles, despite numerous changes, likewise continued, several at the beginning of local provincial rule still being awarded at the end of such rule. Changes to the titles allow developments and trends to be traced, are valuable adjuncts to other records, and provide information when there are no other records.

As a consequence of the research done to make these findings, the data in the Appendix should be of value to anyone wanting prosopographical information on the provincial senior officials and the title tables should likewise be of use to researchers. Some previously undated tombs have had their dates estimated and stated. Moving on from these conclusions, a newly discovered tomb could have its date reasonably accurately estimated from its location, size and number of titles per senior official in conjunction with other data given in the Appendix. The types of titles could be checked against the Appendix data and again comparison could be an aid to the dating of tombs due to the use of particular titles at certain times.

Matters raised by the results of this thesis are the potential possibilities and limitations of quantitative approaches to society. One possible such future project is establishing a correlation between tomb size and numbers of titles, and between tomb size and particular titles of a type similar to that carried out by Nicole Alexanian and discussed in Chapter 3, but on an expanded scale. The large range of titles could well be of value for quantitative analysis by function and responsibility. The potential for analysis on such a basis of numbers and types of scarabs in the Second Intermediate Period is something worth considering, especially in view of the lack of other records for this time. Quantitative analysis of aspects of tomb paintings, already done in some ways, most likely has potential for further research. Another possible area for such research may well be Lower Egypt should sufficient antiquities be found. These have been coming to light more frequently in recent years, and hopefully there will be sufficient material discovered for this sort of analysis, which should give a better picture of the overall regional supervision of Ancient Egypt.

There are however, limitations to quantitative approaches to aspects of society. The first is whether an index of some factor is measurable. We may know particular items from Ancient Egypt existed and examples of them still exist: pottery vases, figurines, metal implements, religious items, jewellery and so on. But being able to calculate a reliable estimate of the number produced to draw other conclusions would be difficult. We know that bread and beer were staple items of the diet; accurately estimating the average quantity consumed per day would also be difficult. Therefore the defining factor has to be if the subject can be quantified. And also if there is sufficient material to work with. On this latter matter, such analysis on specific aspects of Lower Egypt is currently inhibited.

Another matter for mention is how the results inform approaches to administration in Ancient Egypt generally. One of the ways this has been done is the use of basic statistical analyses, most likely not a common technique, but as used for this thesis the results obtained proved their use. Use of such data in conjunction with records as also shown in Chapter 3 is obviously useful. But there is another matter: that of recognising not only the technical achievements of a system but also any weaknesses. The Egyptian bureaucratic system cannot be said to have been perfect. As discussed, the inadequacy of the Egyptians' system of record storage and retrieval must have been an impediment to efficient bureaucratic operations. A lack of literate people may also have been a problem; being able to write meant membership of a superior social class.⁴⁰⁴ The author of *The Satire of the Trades* tells us that he was taking his son to the Residence to place him in the school for scribes.⁴⁰⁵ An implication of this is that such training was a prestigious and rare opportunity. As few people must have had this opportunity; literacy must have been rare. Which makes the Egyptians' achievements of the time all the more impressive.

Apart from these issues, that such a system of local and central governance was terminated was in part, I suggest, a consequence of its own success, in particular the success of some of the last senior officials at the provinces. They have been suggested here as having been viewed as a potential threat to the central government, which simply finished the system by no longer allowing local provincial rule, perhaps by not training or allowing descendants to take over their parents' responsibilities or simply not granting authority to such successors.

An important issue is the success the Egyptian state had in dealing with social changes, at least over aspects of which it had some degree of control. We know from the tomb scenes, titles and records and the artefacts discovered that changes were continually taking place in the society. There were ongoing changes to the culture with technical innovations to pottery design and production methods, and changes to religious beliefs as seen through the evolution of religious texts, artefacts, and burial customs. Changes to mummy decoration and variations to grave goods occurred quite rapidly at times, especially during

⁴⁰⁴ Christopher Eyre (2009) „On the Inefficiency of Bureaucracy“ in Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo (eds) *Egyptian Archives, Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives/Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9-10, 15-30*, Milan, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁰⁵ Miriam Lichtheim (1975) *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Berkeley, p. 185.

the Twelfth Dynasty, when there was increased craft specialization development, the growth of cities and urban design and construction. Building design changes and simplified construction techniques can be seen in pyramid complexes. A unified system of social organisation possibly allowed a faster and wider spread of these changes to occur. The Egyptian system of provincial leadership integrating religious duties with civil ones, which existed from early times, meant less likelihood of any conflict between church and state, and this never seems to have been an issue in the time concerned. And the chain of command between the Residence and the provinces was a suitable way to ensure stable, unified control.

Gardiner's claim that the Egyptian system of government control during the OK was one of the best ever is agreed with, and is extended through to the MK by the fact that the same system of local and central rule continued from the OK through to near the end of the MK. For centuries of provincial rule, Egypt usually had a well-organised system of government, attributable to its locally-supervised administration under the control of a central administration. The fact that major features of local governance ended in the Twelfth Dynasty takes nothing away from the fact that it was a well-organised administrative structure that established a system in which loyalty, diligence, and efficiency could be and were rewarded with promotion, often through career levels, but wisely, I believe, on occasion beyond these. The advantages of the organisation of their bureaucracy were quite likely a reason for the survival of a high level of civilisation, even in times of trouble. The Ancient Egyptians' system of local rule in conjunction with a central administration was arguably as good a method of governance as any yet devised.

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APPENDIX

AI PROSOPOGRAPHY [001]-[155]

- [001] *Twḥi* Provincial Administrator.
 Titles: *hr.y-tp nsw, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Nmt.y* (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 144.
 Total number of titles: 3.
 Date: Assumed as late OK (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) *passim*.
 Nome: 18.
 Tomb location: No. R10, Scharuna.
 Tomb size: 11.5 m². Calculated from Schenkel and Gomaà (2004) vol. 2, pl. 89.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein.
- [002] *Tbi* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ* Twelfth Nome, *hr.y-tp ʕ* Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, smr-wʕt.y, smr-wʕt.y m3ʕ, imy-ib n.y nsw m s.t=f nb.t, hr.y-tp nsw, hrp šnd.t nb.t, hrp-ns.ty, hr.y-sšt3, im.y-is, hrp ḥw.wt Nt, ʕ-Dw3w, im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd, im.y-r3 šnw.ty, im.y-r3 sš.wy, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t ḥtp.(w)t-ntr m pr.wy, ʕd-mr Hr-sb3-ḥnt.y-p.t, imy-ḥ.t ḥm(.w)-ntr mḥ.t Mn-ʕnh mr Nfr-k3-Rʕ, ḥn.ty šnwty-š mn-ʕnh mr Nfr-k3-Rʕ, šhd ḥm(.w)-ntr Mn ʕnh mr Nfr-k3-Rʕ, sš md3.t-ntr, ir.y Nhn, mni.w Nhb, hr.y-tp Nhb, r3 P nb, ʕ Khns.w, mdw Hp, ḥw-ʕ, ḥk3 B3.t, hrp ḥ3ts km, wr snw.t, k... wr ḥnt.t (?), hrp(?) ʕ, s(t)m, hr.y-ḥb.t, hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp, šms.w-snw.t, hrp (i)m.yw ntr.w, hrp i3.t nb(.t) ntr.t, im3-ʕ, wr m i3.t=f wr m sʕh=f, n.y mrw.t, im.y-r3 ʕ r Šmʕ.w, im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w, im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w m3ʕ, ḥw.ty-ʕ3.t, ḥk3-ḥw.t, ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w, ir.y-pʕ.t, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* (Kanawati, 2007) pp. 11-13.
 Total number of titles: 50.
 Date: Early Pepy II (Kanawati, 2007) p. 19, fn. 116.
 Nome: 12.
 Tomb location: No. S8, Deir el-Gebrawi.
 Tomb size: 97.8 m². Calculated from Kanawati (2007) pl. 41.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (2007) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. II, *The Southern Cliff*, Oxford.
- [003] *Ip.w* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr, wr m 5 m pr.w Dḥw.ty, im.y-r3 km.t nfr.t n.y Dḥw.ty nb Hmnw* (Brovarski, 1981) p. 23.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Amenemhet II (Brovarski, 1981) p. 29.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Nhri* II (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 102.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1981) ‘Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom’ in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.
 Harco O. Willems (1983-1984) ‘The nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history’ in *JEOL* 28, pp. 80-102.

[004] *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y* Sixteenth Nome).

Other titles: *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *ir.y-ḥ.t m3ʕ nsw*, *ir.y-ḥ.t m3ʕ Šmʕ.w nsw*, *wr id.t m pr.w nsw*, *smr wʕ.ty*, *(i)m(y) is*, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥrp šndw.t nb(.t)*, *sm3.y m ḥw.t Nt*, *ḥrp ḥw.wt Nt*, *im.y-r3 sš.w n.y šḥmh-ib*, *ḥrp-ns.ty*, *iri-p.ʕt*, *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w*, *r3 Nḥn*, *ḥr.y-tp Nḥb*, *ḥk3 B3.t*, *im.y-r3 ʕb wḥm.t šw nšm.t*, *im.y-r3 ḥ.t nb.t ʕ.w p.t km3 t3*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w) ntr n.y Hnm.w nb Hrwr*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Hr srk.ty*, *ḥm-ntr Inpw ḥn.t pr.w Šms.w*, *ḥm ntr n.y Šw Tfn.t*, *im.y-r3 r.w pr.w*, *ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y md.w ntr*, *mt.y m ḥw.t ntr*, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t ḥtp.w-ntr*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t ḥr.y-tp*, *s(t)m*, *sʕh ʕ3 n.y rnp.(w)t m pr.w im.ytw*, *im.y-r3 mšʕ wr n.y Mḥd*, *ḥw-ʕ* (Newberry, 1893) pp. 11-13.

Total number of titles: 33.

Date: Year 43 of Senwosret I (Newberry, 1893) p. 3.

Nome: 16.

Tomb location: No. 2, Beni Hasan.

Tomb size: 141.3 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. IV.

Father: Name not known (Newberry, 1893) p. 13.

Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London.

[005] *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ʕ3* Fifteenth Nome).

Other titles: *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w*, *ḥrp-ns.ty*, *smr-wʕ.ty*, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *im.y-r3 niw.t Dḥw.ty*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *im.y-r3 ḥw.t* (Anthes, 1928) p. 76.

Total number of titles: 8.

Date: Senwosret I-Amenemhet II (Brovarski, 1981) p. 28.

Nome: 15.

Tomb location: No. 3 EEF, Deir el-Bersha.

Tomb size: Not known, tomb badly damaged (Griffith and Newberry, 1894) pl. X.

Father: *Nḥri* II [075] (Freed, 1992) p. 63.

Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.

Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.

Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

Rita E. Freed (1992) 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 51-63.

[006] *Inī* Nomarch (Hieroglyphic text not given).

Other titles: *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *smr wʕ.ty*, overseer of the priests of the temple of Sobek, lord of Sumenu (Hieroglyphic text not given) (Donadoni Rovieri, 1990) p. 26.

Total number of titles: 4.

Date: 11th Dynasty (Donadoni Rovieri, 1990) p. 26.

Nome: 3.

Tomb location: El-Moʕalla.

Tomb size: 19.0 m². Calculated from Donadoni Rovieri (1990) p. 26.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: A. M. Donadoni Rovieri (1990) 'Gebelein' in Gaye Robins (ed.) *Beyond the Pyramids: Egyptian regional art from the Museo Egizio, Turin*, Atlanta.

[007] *Inī-iḳr* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w*, *im.y-r ḥm(.w)-ntr* (DEN) p. 178.

Total number of titles: 2.

Date: Ninth Dynasty (*DEN*) p. 178.

Nome: 6.

Tomb location: Dendera.

Tomb size: 160 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: *DEN*.

[008] *Ini-it=f* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y* Fourth Nome).

Other titles: *mḥ-ib n.y nsw m r3-ʕ g3.w rsy, ir.y pʕ.t, ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* (Mariette, 1889) pl. 50.

Total number of titles: 5.

Date: Eighth Dynasty (Kanawati, 1980) p. 107.

Nome: 4.

Tomb location: Thebes.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name no known.

Bibliography: Auguste Mariette (1889) *Monuments Divers*, Paris.

Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.

[009] *Ini-it=f ʕ* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y sp3.t*).

Other title(s): *ḥm-ntr Ḥw.t-Hr (nb(.t) s.t n.t ḥ(?))*. From a stela fragment of *In-it=f ʕ* (*DEN*) p. 129, pl. XXIX.

Total number of titles: 2.

Date: Eighth Dynasty. This date is assumed from Kanawati (1980) p. 114.

Nome: 4.

Tomb location: Thebes.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: *DEN*.

Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.

[010] *In-it=f/* Provincial administrator.

Mḥ.w

Titles: *ḥtm.w-bi.ty, smr wʕ.ty, ḥ3.ty-ʕ.w, hr.y-ḥb.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 83.

Total number of titles: 4.

Date: Years 55-85 Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 282.

Nome: 1.

Tomb location: No. A1, Qubbet el-Hawa.

Tomb size: 159.9 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 83.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*, Warminster.

Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

[011] *In-k3=f/* Provincial administrator.

Ini

Titles: *smr wʕ.ty, hr.y sšt3 n.y pr.w-dw3.t, hr.y-tp nsw pr.w ʕ, sd3wty ntr m dp.ty ʕ, im.y-r3 rsy, hr.y sšt3 n.y ḥ3s.wt n.(w)t rsy, hr.y sšt3 n.y wd.t-md.w nb.t n.t r-ʕ ḥ3s.wt n.t rsy, im.y-r3 k3.wt nb.t nsw, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Mn.w Ip.w, hr.y-ḥb.t, im.y-r3 smnt.yw, im.y-r3 mšʕ* (Kanawati, 2004) Fig. 2, pp. 53-62.

Total number of titles: 12.

Date: Pepy I (Kanawati, 2004) p. 56.

Nome: 9.

Tomb location: Saqqara.

Tomb size: Not known. Implied by Kanawati (2004) p. 53.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (2004) 'The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty' in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62.

- [012] *Inti* Nomarch (*sšm-t3*).
 Other titles: *ir.y ht nsw, hrp ḥd.t (nfr.t), im.y-r3 mn.ww nsw, ḥk3 ḥw.t-3.t, šḥd wī3, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t Nṣr.t* (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993) pp. 15-16.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Djedkare^c (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993) p. 19.
 Nomes: 20 and 21.
 Tomb location: Deshasha.
 Tomb size: 33.1 m². Calculated from Kanawati and McFarlane (1993) pl. 23.
 Father: Name not known. *Inti* [012] was the first senior official whose tomb is at Deshasha (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993) p. 17.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati and Ann S. McFarlane (1993) *Deshasha: The tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, Sydney.
- [013] *Iri* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y* Ninth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty, sš gs-dp.t, mty n.y s3, hr.y-ḥb.t* (Jéquier, 1933) pp. 39-43.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Late Pepy I/Merenre^c (Kanawati, 2004) p. 51.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: Saqqara.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Gustave Jéquier (1933) *Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire*, Cairo.
 Naguib Kanawati (2004) 'The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty' in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62.
- [014] *Thy* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty, im.y ib nsw ḥn.ty idb.wy=f, hr.y-tp nsw pr.w 3, š3b 3d-mr n.y ns.t ḥnt.t, im.y r3 šnw.ty, md.w rhy.t, iwn knm.wt, im.y-r s3.w sp3.t, ḥk3 ḥw.t, hr.y sš3 n.y mdw.t nb.t sš3 inn.t r sp3.t, hr.y-ḥb.t* (Saleh, 1977) pp. 23-24.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Merenre^c-Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 281.
 Nome: 4.
 Tomb location: No. PM 186, El-Khokha, Thebes.
 Tomb size: 35.2 m². Calculated from Saleh (1977) pl. 7.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Mohamed Saleh (1977) *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [015] *Th3* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3* Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *h3.ty-3.w, hrp-ns.ty, im.y-r3 šm^c.w, im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr*. Note epithets: *ṛnh wd3 snb, ṛnh d.t* (Anthes, 1928) Gr. No. 9, p. 23; (Davies, 1901) pp. 38-39, pl. XXX.
 Total number of titles: 5.

Date: Ninth Dynasty (Brovarski, 1981) p. 29.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. EEF 8, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.
 Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.
 Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.
 Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

- [016] *Isi* Nomarch (*sšm-t3 sp3.wt m* Upper Egypt and *swš.w(?) m sp3.wt* Lower Egypt).
 Other titles: *sš ʿ nsw, im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd, im.y-r3 im3(.w) nsw, wr bs.t, ḥr.y-sšt3, im.y-r3 gs-pr.w, ḥm-ntr ḥnt(.y) Ḥʿ Snfr.w* (Hodjash and Berlev, 1982) pp. 23-32.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Late Fourth, early Fifth Dynasty (Hodjash and Berlev, 1982) p. 22.
 Nome: Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt (Hodjash and Berlev, 1982) p. 32.
 Tomb location: Saqqara.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Svetlana Hodjash and Oleg Berlev (1982) *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Leningrad*.
- [017] *Isi* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *t3yt.y s3b t3t.y, s3b ʿd-mr, smr wʿ.ty, ḥr.y-tp nsw, im.y-r3 sš(.w) ʿ(.w) nsw, mdḥ sš nsw, ḥr.y k3(.w)t nb(.wt) n.(wt) sw, sms.w h(3)y.t n..., wr md(.w) Šmʿ.w, md.w Rhy.t, iwn knm.wt, ḥk3 ḥw.t, ir.y pʿ.t, ḥ3.ty-ʿ.w, ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (Edel, 1954) pp. 11-17.
 Total number of titles: 16.
 Date: Pepy I. *Isi* was almost certainly a brother-in-law of Pepy I (Kanawati, 2004) p. 52, and accordingly he is dated to the reign of that monarch.
 Nome: 2.
 Tomb location: Edfu.
 Tomb size: 158.0 m² (Kanawati, 1980) p. 86.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Elmar Edel (1954) 'Inschriften des Alten Reichs, 1. Die Biographie des Gaufürsten von Edfu' in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 79, pp. 11-17.
 Naguib Kanawati (1980) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Naguib Kanawati (2004) 'The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty' in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62.

- [018] *It-ib I* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 n.y* Thirteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr wʿ.ty, ḥtm.w-bi.ty, ir.y-pʿ.t, ḥ3.ty-ʿ.w, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n.(w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t* (Griffith, 1889) pls. 11-12.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Inyotef II (Zitman, p. 2010) vol. I, p. 39.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: No. III, Asyut.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London.

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- [019] *It-ib II* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h³.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r³ hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)*
Wp-w³w.t nb S³w.t, *im.y-r³ hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Inpw nb r-krr.t*, *im.y-r³ mš^c Ndfy.t*
hnnt.t ml-kd=s, *im.y-r³ iskt.t Inpw*, *imy.r-...w.t šndw.t* (Zitman, 2010) vol. I,
 p. 42.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Mentuhotep III (Zitman, p. 2010) vol. I, p. 42.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: No. XVII, Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Hty II* (?) (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 42.
 Bibliography: Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.
- [020] *Itti/Šd.w* Nomarch (*sšm t³ n.y* of the land of the two goat cities of the two provinces).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *hr.y-tp nsw*, *hk³ hw.t*, *md.w Rh^y.t*, *im.y-r³ 3h.(w)t*,
im.y-r³ sm nb rnp.wt, *im.y-r³ šn.(w)t*, *hrp shn* (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993)
 p. 39.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Teti (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993) p. 44.
 Nomes: 20 and 21.
 Tomb location: Deshasha.
 Tomb size: 49.0 m². Calculated from Kanawati and McFarlane (1993) pl. 40.
 Father: Not certain. Possibly *Inti* [012] (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993)
 pp. 11-14.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati and Ann S. McFarlane (1993) *Deshasha: The
 tombs of Inti, Shedu and others*, Sydney.
- [021] *Idy* Provincial administrator and vizier.
 Titles: *t³yt.y s³b t³t.y*, *hr.y-tp hk³ niw.wt*, *im.y-r³ Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r³ hm(.w)-ntr*, *sm³*
Mn.w, *h³.ty-^c.w* (Hayes, 1946) p. 16.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Demedj-ib-towy (8th Dynasty) (Hayes, 1946) p. 14.
 Nome: 5.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Šm³i* [122] (Hayes, 1946) p. 5.
 Bibliography: William C. Hayes (1946) ‘Royal decrees from the Temple of
 Min at Coptos’ in *JEA* 32, pp. 3-23.
- [022] *Id.w I* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp t³ n.y sp³.t*).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *šps.w nsw*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr-pr.w*, *im.y-r³ sw.t špsy*
pr.w-^c, *im.y-is*, *hr.y sšt³ n.y wd^c-mdw*, *rs-tp r wd.wt sr.w*, *Mn hk³ hw.t mn nfr*
Mry-R^c, *Mn hk³ hw.t mn n^ch Nfr-k³-R^c*, *wr md.w Šm^c.w*, *š³b d-mr n.y ns.t hnt.t*,
im.y-r³ Šm^c.w, *im.y-r³ Šm^c.w n.y bw m³c*, *hr.y sšt³ n.y md.t nb.t sšt³.t inn.t r*
sp³.t, *im.y-r³ s³.w sp³.t*, *h³.ty-^c.w*, *hk³ hw.t*, *hr.y-hb.t* (DEN) p. 93.
 Total number of titles: 20.
 Date: Merenre^c-early Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 281.
 Nome: 6.

Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: 1147 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [023] *Id.w II* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *smr wʕ.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, im.y-r3 sw.t špsy pr.w-ʕ3, rs-tp r wd.wt sr.w, hk3 hwt, hr.y-hb.t (DEN)* pp. 100-101.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Pepy II (Kanawati, 1977) p. 88.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: 882 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.
 Father: *Id.w I* [022] *DEN*, pp. 99-100.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
 Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
- [024] *Id.w(-i)/ Wh3i* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr wʕ.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, ir.y pʕ.t, h3.ty-ʕ.w, im.y-r hm(.w)-ntr, mni.w tnt.t (DEN)* p. 153.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Ninth Dynasty or later (*DEN*) p. 153.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
- [025] *Id.w/Snni* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *smr wʕ.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, shd hm(.w)-ntr mr.w Ppy Mr-n-Rʕ Nfr-k3-Rʕ, im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-ʕ3, h3.ty-ʕ.w, hk3 hwt (Lepsius, 1973)* p. 113 (g).
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Pepy II (years 55-60) (Harpur, 1987) p. 338.
 Nome: 7.
 Tomb location: El-Qasr wa el-Saiyad.
 Tomb size: 27.1 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 88.
 Father: *T3wti* [134] (Harpur, 1987) p. 298.
 Bibliography: C. Richard Lepsius (1973) *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, vol. 4, reprint, Geneva.
 Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [026] *ʕb-ih.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ3* Eighth, Seventh and Sixth nomes).
 Other titles: *smr wʕ.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w, ir.y pʕ.t, h3.ty-ʕ.w (DEN)* p. 195.
 Total number of titles: 6.

Date: Ninth Dynasty (*DEN*) p. 195.

Nomes: 6, 7 and 8.

Tomb location: Location not known, but it is believed to be at Dendera (*DEN*) p. 203.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: *DEN*.

[027] *ḥn-ḥi*

Provisional Administrator.

Titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *hr.y-tp nsw*, *im.y-r3 sm.t n.t ...*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t*, *im.y-r3 šn^c.w* (Kanawati, 1993) p. 39.

Total number of titles: 6.

Date: Early-middle Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 296.

Nome: 9.

Tomb location: No. B13, el Hagarsa.

Tomb size: 6.1 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1993) pl. 30(a).

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom I: Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

Naguib Kanawati (1993) *The Tombs of el-Hagarsa*, vol. I, Sydney.

[028] *ḥnty=fy*

Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Second and Third Nomes).

Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr w^c.ty*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *hr.y-ḥb.t*, *im.y-r3 mš^c*, *im.y-r3 ^c.w*, *im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt* (Vandier, 1950) p. 162.

Total number of titles: 10.

Date: Early Eighth Dynasty (Kanawati, 1980) p. 107.

Nome: 3.

Tomb location: El-Mo^calla.

Tomb size: 70.0 m². Calculated from Vandier (1950) pl. 11.

Father: Possibly *Htp* [093] (Kanawati, 1980) p. 106.

Bibliography: Jacques Vandier (1950) *Mo^calla: la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, Cairo.

Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.

[029] *ḥ3-nḥ.t I*

Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome).

Other titles: *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *hrp-ns.ty*, *smr-w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *s3b*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 smy.t imn.t*, *hnt.y t3 pn*, *hr.y-tp ḥw.t nbw*, *im.y-r3 niw.t Dḥw.ty*, *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr* (Anthes, 1928) Gr. 10 (pl. 13), 11 (pl. 14) and 12 (pl. 15); Griffith and Newberry (1894) pp. 30-35.

Total number of titles: 12.

Date: Mentuhotep II (late) (Freed, 1992) p. 56.

Nome: 15.

Tomb location: No. 5, Deir el-Bersha.

Tomb size: 63.1 m². Calculated from Griffith and Newberry (1894) pl. XII.

Father: A *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t* (Brovarski, 1981) p. 16, most likely *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t III* [150] (inferred from Brovarski (1981) p. 29 and Willems (1983-84) p. 84.

Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.

Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.

Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

Harco O. Williams (1981) 'The nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.
 Rita E. Freed (1992) 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 51-63.

[030] *ḥ3-nḥ.t II* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w*, *ḥrp-ns.ty* (Brovarski, 1981) p. 22.

Date: Mentuhotep III. This date is based on *ḥ3-nḥ.t II*'s father's date of Mentuhotep II (late) (Freed, 1992) p. 56.

Total number of titles: 2.

Nome: 15.

Tomb location: Not known. Note: Two tombs at el-Bersheh, numbers 8 and 10 (Griffith and Newberry *El Bersheh*, part II) pp. 38-46, refer to an *ḥ3-nḥ.t* but this is almost certainly *ḥ3-nḥ.t I*.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: *ḥ3-nḥ.t I* [029] (Willems, 1981) p. 102.

Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.

Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

Harco O. Willems (1981) 'The nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

Rita E. Freed (1992) 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 51-63.

[031] *Wt.w/Iit.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome).

Other titles: *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *im.y-r3 Šmḫ.w*, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t (Wn.t)*, *smr-wḫ.ty*, *hr.y-ḥb.t*, *hr.y-tp nsw pr.w-3* (Davies, 1901) p. 27.

Total number of titles: 8.

Date: Merenreḫ-beginning Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 300.

Nome: 15.

Tomb location: No. 19, el-Sheikh Saʿīd.

Tomb size: 52.7 m². Calculated from Davies (1901) pl. XXII (left).

Father: *Mr.w/Bbi* [058] (Davies (1901) p. 27, but see Kanawati (1977) p. 56.

Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.

Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, North Sydney.

[032] *Wp3w.t-ḥtp* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ḫ.w*, *ḥrp-ns.ty* (Brovarski, 1981) p. 23.

Total number of titles: 2.

Date: Amenemhet III (Brovarski, 1981) p. 23.

Nome: 15.

Tomb location: Not known.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not certain. Possibly *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VII* [154] (Brovarski, 1981) p. 29.

Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

- [033] *Wnis-ḥnh* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *hr.y-tp nsw*, *im.y r3 šnw.ty*, *im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w*, *hr.y sš3 n.y mdw.t nb.t sš3 inn.t r sp3.t* (Saleh, 1977) p. 12.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Late Pepy II-Eighth Dynasty (Harpur, 1987) p. 281.
 Nome: 4.
 Tomb location: No. PM 413, El-Khokha, Thebes.
 Tomb size: 32.5 m². Calculated from Mohamed Saleh (1977) p. 13.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Mohamed Saleh (1977) *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [034] *Wr-ir-n=i* Nomarch (*sšm-t3* Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t (Wn.t)*, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t*, *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3w.t wḥb nsw*, *ḥm-ntr Ni-wsr-Rḥ* (Davies, 1901) p. 14.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Late Djedkareḥ-early Unas (Kanawati, 1992) p. 41.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. 25, el-Sheikh Saʿid.
 Tomb size: 86.2 m². Calculated from Davies (1901) pl. VII.
 Father: *Srf-k3(=i)* [120] (Davies, 1901) p. 11.
 Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, North Sydney.
- [035] *Wh-ḥtp (I)* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y* Fourteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *im.y-r3 šnw.t*, *hrp nbw*, *smr wḥ.ty*, *ir.y-ḥt nsw m3ḥ mri=f*, *ḥw-ḥ tw sn.w=f*, *sš3 n.y m33.t wḥ*, *sš ntr md3.t*, *ir.y pḥ.t*, *ḥ3t.y-ḥ.w*, *ir.y-ḥt nsw ḥsy=f wn m3ḥ*, *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *s(t)m*, *s(t)m n.y nb.t t3w.ty*, *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t Kis*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) nb.t r dr ntr.t*, *hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp*, *ḥm-ntr s3 iri ḥ(r) ḥ3.t* (Blackman, 1915) pp. 1-3.
 Total number of titles: 18.
 Date: Senwosret I (Blackman, 1914) p. 8.
 Nome: 14.
 Tomb location: No. B2, Meir.
 Tomb size: 76.8 m². Calculated from Blackman (1915) pl. 1.
 Father: *Snbi (I)* [118] (Blackman, 1914) p. 19.
 Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1914) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part I, London.
 Aylward M. Blackman (1915) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part II, London.
- [036] *Wh-ḥtp (II)* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥ3t.y-ḥ.w*, *im.y-r3 ḥ3(?)* (Blackman, 1953) p. 1.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Amenemhet II (Blackman, 1914) p. 9.
 Nome: 14.

Tomb location: No. A3, Meir.

Tomb size: 12.0 m². Calculated from Blackman (1953) pl. II.

Father: *ʿBm* (Blackman, 1953) p. 1.

Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1914) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part I, London.

Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part VI, London.

- [037] *Wh-ḥtp*
(III) Provincial administrator.
Titles: *im.y-r3 šnw.t, smr w^c.ty, ir.y-ḥt nsw m3^c, ḥrp kni ḥr(.wt) nsw ḥss=f m ḥr.t ḥr.w n.t r^c nb, šḥkr ḥrp wr.t ḥk3.w, ḥr.y-tp sšt3 n.y m33.t w^c, sš ntr md3.t, ḥrp šndw.t nb(.t), ḥr.y-tp wr.w šm^c.w, ir.y p^c.t, ḥ3t.y-^c.w, im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr, s(t)m, s(t)m n.y nb.t t3w.ty, im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t Kīs, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Ḥw.t-Ḥr, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) nb(.t) p.t, ḥm-ntr n.y Ḥw.t-Ḥr, ḥr.y-ḥb.t ḥr.y-tp, ḥr.y-ḥb.t psd.t ʿ3.t, ḥrp i3.t nb ntr* (Blackman, 1915) pp. 1-2.
Total number of titles: 21.
Date: Senwosret II (Blackman, 1914) p. 9.
Nome: 14.
Tomb location: No. B4, Meir.
Tomb size: 28.6 m². Calculated from Blackman (1915) pl. 1.
Father: *Wh-ḥtp* II [036] (Blackman, 1915) p. 3.
Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1914) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part I, London.
Aylward M. Blackman (1915) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part III, London.
- [038] *Wh-ḥtp*
(IV) Provincial administrator.
Titles: *ḥtm.w-bi.ty, smr w^c.ty, ḥr.y-sšt3, ir.y p^c.t, ḥ3t.y-^c.w, im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr, s(t)m n.y nb.t t3w.ty, w^cb n.y nb.t p.t* (Blackman, 1953) p. 8.
Total number of titles: 8.
Date: Senwosret II (PM IV) p. 253.
Nome: 14.
Tomb location: No. C 1, Meir.
Tomb size: 26.2 m². Calculated from Blackman (1953) pl. IV.
Father: *Wh-ḥtp* III [037] (Blackman, 1953) p. 9.
Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part VI, London.
PM IV.
- [039] *Wsr* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 n.y* Fifth Nome).
Other titles: *it-ntr, s3 wr nsw n.y ḥ.t=f, im.y-r3 šm^c.w, im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt i3b.t imn.tt, im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr, ir.y p^c.t, ḥ3.ty-^c.w* (Fischer, 1964) p. 43, pl. XIII.
Total number of titles: 9.
Date: 10th Dynasty (Fischer, 1964) p. 40.
Nome: 5.
Tomb location: Not known.
Tomb size: Not known.
Father: Name not known.
Bibliography: Henry George Fischer (1964) *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, Rome.
- [040] *B3wi*
(CA1) Provisional Administrator and vizier.
Titles: *smr w^c.ty, t3yt.y s3b t3t.y, im.y-r3 niw.t mr, ir.y-p^c.t, ḥ3.ty-^c.w, im.y-r3 mn.ww, sms.w snw.t, ḥr.y-ḥb.t ḥr.y-tp, ḥr.y-ḥb.t, im.y-r3 niw.wt m3w.t* (Kanawati, 1988) p. 20.

Total number of titles: 10.

Date: Early-middle Pepy I (Kanawati, 1992) p. 295.

Nome: 9.

Tomb location: No. CA 1, Akhmim.

Tomb size: 9.6 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1988) fig. 6.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1988) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, Sydney, vol. VIII.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

- [041] **B3wi** Provincial administrator and vizier.
(B7 and B6) Titles: *t3yt.y s3b t3t.y, im.y r3 šnw.ty n(.w) htp.t-ntr, im.y r3 hnt.w(?) pr.w-ꜥ3, im.y r3 sš(.w) n(.w) ꜥ(.w) nsw, im.y-r3 niw.t mr, it ntr mr.y ntr, šd.t nsw, h3.ty-ꜥ.w, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr, hr.y-hb.t, im.y-r3 mšꜥ*, uncertain title (Kanawati, 1989) p. 33.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty (second half) (Kanawati, 1992) p. 295.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb locations: Nos. B7 and B6, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 45.2 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1989) fig. 16.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1989) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. IX, Sydney.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.
- [042] **B3kt I** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ꜥ3 n.y* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, smr wꜥ.ty, (i)m(.y) is, htm.w-bi.ty, h3.ty-ꜥ.w, r3 Nhn, hr.y-tp Nhb* (Newberry, 1893) p. 32.
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Accepted here as Eleventh Dynasty. Queried as Eleventh Dynasty by Newberry (1893) p. 32.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 29, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 103.1 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XXVII.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.
- [043] **B3kt II** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ꜥ3 n.y* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, smr wꜥ.ty, (i)m(.y) is, htm.w-bi.ty, h3.ty-ꜥ.w, r3 Nhn, hr.y-tp Nhb* (Newberry, 1893) p. 37.
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Accepted here as Eleventh Dynasty. Queried as Eleventh Dynasty by Newberry (1893) p. 37.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 33, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 37.0 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XXXIV.
 Father: B3kt I [042] (Newberry, 1893), p. 38.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.
- [044] **B3kt III** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ꜥ3 n.y* Sixteenth Nome *mi kd=f*).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t m3ꜥ nsw, smr wꜥ.ty, (i)m(.y) is, htm.w-bi.ty, h3.ty-ꜥ.w, r3 Nhn, hr.y-tp Nhb* (Newberry, 1893) p. 43.

Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Eleventh Dynasty (Newberry, 1893) p. 43.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 15, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 196.8 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. II.
 Father: *Rm.w-šnti* [081] (Newberry, 1893) p. 6.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.

- [045] *Bḥn* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 n.y* Ninth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr wʿ.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *im.y-r3 iti Šmʿ.w*, *iri-p.ʿt*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *sm3 Mn.w*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t*, *im.y-r3 sw.t šb(.w) n.t* *ḥnw ḥw.t-ntr*, *ḥ3.ty-ʿ.w*, *im.y-r3 mšʿ* (Kanawati, 1982) p. 38.
 Total number of titles: 11.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty (Kanawati, 1992) p. 295.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. C3, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 17.5 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1982) fig. 23.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1982) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. I, Sydney.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

- [046] *Ppy-ʿnh/* Provincial Administrator.
Ṭpi-ʿnh/Ṭpi Titles: *ḥk3 ḥw.t*, *smr wʿ.ty* (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 105.
 Total titles: 2.
 Date: Assumed as late OK (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) 2 vols, *passim*.
 Nome: 18.
 Tomb location: No. G7, Scharuna.
 Tomb size: 85.3 m². Calculated from Schenkel and Gomaà (2004) vol. 2, pl. 44.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein.

- [047] *Ppy-ʿnh-wr* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr wʿ.ty*, *ir.y pʿ.t*, *ḥ3t.y-ʿ.w*, *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t* *Kis*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t ḥr.y-t* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 27.
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Early Pepy II (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 25.
 Nome: 14.
 Tomb location: Quseir el-Amarna.
 Tomb size: 103.7 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Kanawati (1989) pl. 24.
 Father: *Ḥw.n-wh/Ṭti* [097] (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) pp. 15-16.
 Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney.

- [048] *Ppy-ʿnh/* Provincial administrator and vizier.
Ḥny-km/
Ḥni.t-km Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *htm.w-ntr*, *s3b*, *ṭ3t.y*, *im.y-r3 pr.w ḥd*, *ḥr.y-tp nsw*, *smr wʿ.ty*, *šmr*, *šps nsw*, *sš im.w*, *ḥrp šndw.t nb(.t)*, *im.y-r3 ḥnw*, *im.y-r3 šnw.ty*, *mty n.y s3*, *sš n.y s3*, *im.y-r3 š3.wy*, *im.y-r3 šnw.t*, *im.y-r3 Šmʿ.w*, *im.y-r3 Šmʿ.w m3ʿ*, *ḥ3t.y-ʿ.w*, *im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *shd ḥm(.w) ntr*, *s(t)m*, *wr id.t*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t*,

hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp (Blackman, 1953) pp. 1-2.

Total number of titles: 26.

Date: End Pepy II (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 26.

Nome: 14.

Tomb location: No. A2, Meir.

Tomb size: 290.5 m². Calculated from Blackman (1953) pl. 1.

Father: *Ni-ḥn-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-ḥtp/Hpy-km* [065] (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 15).

Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part V, London,

Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney.

[049] *Ppy-ḥn-
hr.i-ib/
Nfr-k3/
Hnii*

Provincial administrator and vizier.

Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, htm.w-ntr, t3yt.y s3b t3t.y, hr.y-tp nsw, hr.y-tp nsw m pr.w wr, (i)m(.y) is, smr wḥ.ty, hr(.y) sšt3 n.y pr.w-dw3.t, hr.y sšt3(.w) n.y ḥd md.t nb.t n.t nsw, nsw sš ḥf.t hr, sš ntr md3.t, sš kdwt, s3b ḥd-mr, hrp šndwt nb(.t), ḥw-ḥ, ḥk3 B3.t, hrp ḥ3ts km, md.w rhy.t, iwn knm.wt, im.y-r3 šnw.ty, im.y-r3 gs-pr.w, im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w m sp3.wt hr.y.wt-ib, im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w m3ḥ, ir.y pḥ.t, ḥ3t.y-ḥ.w, im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr, s(t)m, im.y r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Kis, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr 3s.t H.t-Hr, im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n.y nb(.t) p.t, hr.y-ḥb.t, hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp, r3 P nb, mni.w Nhn, hr.y-tp Nhb, ḥm-ntr Hr Sth, ḥm-ntr Nw.t, ḥm-ntr M3ḥ.t, ḥm-ntr psd.t ḥ3.t, md.w Hp* (Blackman, 1924) pp. 1-3.

Total number of titles: 40.

Date: Middle Pepy II (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 26.

Nome: 14.

Tomb location: No. D2, Meir.

Tomb size: 74.8 m². Calculated from Blackman (1924) pl. 1.

Father: *Sbk-ḥtp/Hpi*, for whom no tomb is known, unless he is the owner of tomb A4 at Meir (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 17.

Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1924) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part IV, London.

Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney, 1989.

[050] *Ppy-ḥn/
Hwi*

Provincial administrator.

Titles: *t3t.y, ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w, im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w, ḥk3 ḥw.t, im.y-r3 wp(.w)t, im.y-r3 hnty-š pr.w-ḥ, smr wḥ.ty, hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp, hr.y-ḥb.t, s(t)m, hrp šnd.t nb.t, sš ḥ nsw, ir.y-ḥ.t nsw, ḥm-ntr Hw.t-Hr, im.y-r3 sš(.w), im.y-r3 sš(.w) hr.y htm.t, hr.y-tp nsw, ir.y-pḥ.t, im.y-r3 wpw.t ḥtp-ntr, im.y-r3 wpw.t ḥtp-ntr m pr.wy, htm.w-bi.ty* (Smolenski, 1907) pp. 150-153; (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 188.

Total number of titles: 21.

Date: Merenre^c-Early Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 337.

Nome: 18.

Tomb location: V23, Scharuna.

Tomb size: 76.4 m². Calculated from Smolenski (1907) p. 149.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: M. Thadée Smolenski (1907) 'Le tombeau d'un prince de la VI^e à Charounà' in *ASAE* 8, pp. 149-153.

Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein.

- [051] *Ppy-nh.t/Hk3-ib* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, smr w^c.ty, hnt.y-š (mr) Nfr-k3-R^c, im.y-r3 h3sw.t nb.t n.(w)t tp-Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 ^c(.w), h3.ty-^c.w, hr.y-hb.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 91.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty. Note: Dated to years 85 of Pepy II – D8 (Harpur (1987) p. 282, but the date of Pepy II is too early because of the number of senior officials at this nome in the Sixth Dynasty before him and the now shortened reign of Pepy II.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: No. A9, Qubbet el-Hawa.
 Tomb size: 15.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 92.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [052] *Mmi* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, hr.y-tp nsw, im.y r3 wp.(w)t 3h.ty mr[.t 3h.t] m pr.wy, h3.ty-^c.w* (Kanawati, 1987) p. 18.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Late Pepy I (Kanawati, 1992) p. 295.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. B12, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 10.3 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1987) fig. 9a.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1987) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. VII, Sydney.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.
- [053] *Mni* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ^c3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other title: *smr w^c.ty (DEN)* p. 107.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Pepy II (*DEN*) p. 107.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
- [054] *Mn-^cnh Ppy/Mni* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-^c3, hk3 hw.t mn-nfr-Mry-R^c, hk3 hw.t h^ci-nfr-Mr-n.y-R^c, h3.ty-^c.w, hk3 hw.t, hr.y-hb.t, hrp m hb.t [of Hathor], im.y-r3 km.t mr nb dšr.t sm.t, im.y-r3 wh^c n.y sp3.t, im.y-r3 šn-t3 nb n(.w) sp3.t*.
 Date: Ninth Dynasty (*DEN*) p. 170.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: 435 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.

- [055] **Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* ^c3 *sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *s3b* ^c*d-mr*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *smr w^c.ty*, *n.y ns.t hnt.t pr-^c3*, *hr.y-tp nsw*, *hr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w dw3.t*, *wr md(.w) Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3* ^c3 *ḥ3s.wt m ḥ3s.wt Šm^c.w*, *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t nb(.t) n(.w)t nsw*, *hr.y-ḥb.t*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* (Daressy, 1917) pp. 130-140.
 Total number of titles: 15.
 Date: Merenre^c (Harpur, 1987) p. 282.
 Nome: 2.
 Tomb location: Edfu.
 Tomb size: 103.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 96.
 Father: *Isi* [017] (Harpur, 1987) p. 299.
 Bibliography: M. G. Daressy (1917) 'Inscriptions du mastaba de Pepi-Nefer à Edfou' in *ASAE* 17.
 Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [056] **Mr.w** Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥk3 ḥw.t (Wn.t)*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr-w^c.ty* (Davies, 1901) p. 30.
 Total number of titles: 3.
 Date: Early-middle Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 300.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. 18, el-Sheikh Sa'īd.
 Tomb size: 71.0 m². Calculated from Davies (1901) pl. XXII (right).
 Father: *Wl.w/Iii.w* [031] (Davies, 1901) p. 29.
 Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, North Sydney.
- [057] **Mr.w/Iy 3.w** Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-^c3*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *ir.y nfr-ḥ3.t m db3 nb=f ntr=f niw.ty* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 486.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Eleventh Dynasty (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 3, p. 866.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: No. N3737, Cemetery 3500, Naga ed-Dêr.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vols 2 and 3, Chicago.
- [058] **Mr.w/Bbi** Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥk3 ḥw.t (Wn.t)*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t Ppy*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr-w^c.ty*, *hr.y-ḥb.t*, *hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp*, *s(t)m šnd.wt nb(.t)*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *hr.y-tp nsw pr.w-^c3*, *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3w.t*, *md.w rhy.t*, *iwn knm.wt*, *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *ḥm-ntr ḥ3.t-Hr nb.t nh.t*, *s3b* ^c*d-mr ns.t hnt.t* (Davies, 1901) pls. XIX, XX.
 Total number of titles: 15.
 Date: Teti-Pepy I (Kanawati, 1992) p. 300.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. 20, el-Sheikh Sa'īd.
 Tomb size: 53.7 m². Calculated from Davies (1901) pl. XVIII.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, North Sydney.

- [059] *Mrr* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, ir.y p^c.t, h3.ty-^c.w, im.y-r hm(.w)-ntr* (*DEN*) p. 178.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Late FIP (?) (*DEN*) p. 178.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Not known (probably Dendera).
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
- [060] *Mrrr* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, hr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-dw3.t, h3.ty-^c.w, hr.y-hb.t, im.y-r hm[.w]-ntr, hr.y-tp d3.t n.y Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) Imnt.t, hr.y sšt3 n.y sd3w.ty ntr, hr.y-sšt3 n.y mdw-ntr, mni.w tnt.t* (*DEN*) p. 136.
 Total number of titles: 10.
 Date: Ninth Dynasty or later (*DEN*) p. 136.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: 787 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
- [061] *Mshṭi* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ir.y p^c.t, h3.ty-^c.w, htm.w-bi.ty, smr-w^c.ty, im.y-r hm(.w)-ntr, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n.(w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Inpw nb r-krr.t, sm3 Hr, md.w Hp, hrp ibṭty.w* (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 42.
 Total number of titles: 10.
 Date: Mentuhotep IV (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 42.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: Hogarth Tomb No. 3, Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not available (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 42.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Marc Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.
- [062] *Mṭn* Nomarch (*hk3 sp3.t* East Sixth Nome, *sšm-t3* East Sixth Nome, *hk3 sp3.t* Seventeenth Nome, *sšm-t3* Seventeenth Nome).
 Other titles: *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t Sbk i3b.t, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t Inpw* (Sethe, 1933) pp. 1: 2, 6; 3, 15.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Snefru-Khufu (Harpur, 1987) p. 274.
 Nomes: East Sixth Nome and Seventeenth Nome (Sethe, 1933) vol. I, 2:6.
 Tomb location: No. PM 493-494, Saqqara.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Kurt Sethe (1933) *Urkunden des alten Reiches*, vol. I, Leipzig.

Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [063] *Ni-ibw-nswt/Bbi* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *smr wʕ.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *hr.y-tp nsw*, *hr.y sst3 n.y wdʕ-mdw*, *rs-tp r wd.wt sr.w*, *wr md.w Šmʕ.w*, *š3b ʕd-mr n.y ns.t hnt.t*, *h3.ty-ʕ.w*, *hk3 hwt.t*, *im.y-r hm(.w)-ntr*, *hr.y sst3 n.y sd3w.ty ntr* (*DEN*) p. 114.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Late Pepy II-Early Eighth Dynasty (*DEN*) p. 114.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: 972 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
- [064] *Ni-ʕnh-Ppy/Hnm.w-htp-Hpi* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr wʕ.ty*, *hr.y-tp nsw*, *hk3 hwt.t*, *im.y-r3 wp(.w)t m sp3.wt 9* (Kanawati, 1980) p. 51.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Early Pepy II (Kanawati, 1980) p. 52.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 14, Zawyet el-Amwat.
 Tomb size: approximately 53 m² (Kanawati, 1980) p. 51.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.
- [065] *Ni-ʕnh-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-htp/Hpy-km* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *hr.y-tp nsw*, (*i*)*m(.y) is*, *smr wʕ.ty*, *sš ntr md3.t*, *hrp šndw.t nb(.t)*, *hw-ʕ*, *hk3 B3.t*, *im.y-r3 šnw.ty*, *im.y-r3 š3.wy*, *im.y-r3 6 wr(.w) pr.w*, *im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w*, *im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w m3ʕ*, *h3t.y-ʕ.w*, *im.y r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *s(t)m*, *šs ʕ3 (ʕ) (?)*, *hr.y-hb.t*, *hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp*, *mni.w Nhn*, *hr.y-tp Nhb*, *sms.w d3d.w*, *hrp i3.t nb ntr* (Blackman, 1953) pp. 1-2.
 Total number of titles: 23.
 Date: Third quarter Pepy II (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 26.
 Nome: 14.
 Tomb location: No. A1, Meir.
 Tomb size: 242.3 m². Calculated from Blackman (1953) pl. 1.
 Father: *Ppy-ʕnh-hr.y-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii* [049] (El-Khouli and Kanawati (1989) pp. 15-16.
 Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part V, London.
 Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney.
- [066] *Ny-k3-ʕnh* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw*, *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y hwt.t 3ʕ.t*, *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3w.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Hwt- Hr nb.t R3-In.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 101.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Userkaf (Kanawati, 1977) p. 102.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: Tihna.
 Tomb size: 6.6 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 102.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.

- [067] *Nfr-m3^c.t* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *s3 n.y h.t=f nsw, smr w^c.ty, ir.y-h.t nsw, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr H^ci=f-R^c, im.y-r3 s3.w Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t T3-wr, h3.ty-^c.w* (Maspero, 1885) p. 191, no. 4; (Barsanti, 1902) pp. 203-204.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Neuserre^c (Harpur, 1987) p. 279.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: Meydum.
 Tomb size: 24.7 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 104.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Gaston Maspero (1885) *Trois années de fouilles dans les tombeaux de Thèbes et de Memphis*, Paris.
 Alexandre Barsanti (1902) 'Rapport sur la Fouille de Dahchour' in *ASAE* 3.
 Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [068] *Nfr-nfr.t* Provincial Administrator.
 Other titles: *hk3 hw.t, smr w^c.ty, hr.y-hb.t, htm.w-bl.ty* (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 119.
 Total titles: 4.
 Date: Assumed as late OK (Schenkel and Gomaà (2004) 2 vols, *passim*.
 Nome: 18.
 Tomb location: The tomb of *Nfr-nfr.t* has not been found. His name and title details were on the wooden base of a statue found in tomb N8 at Scharuna (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 119.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein.

- [069] *Nfr-nsw* Nomarch (*sšm-t3* Eighth Nome and Tenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw hn.t, im.y-r3 ^ch, im.y-r3 mn.ww T3-wr Dt, im.y-r3 nswt.yw T3-wr Dt, hk3 hw.t ^c3.t T3-wr Dt, im.y-r3 ^ch(.w) T3-wr Dt, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t T3-wr Dt, hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr, im.y-r3 w^cb(.w), hrp (i) m(.yw) s3* (Junker, 1938) figs. 27, 28.
 Total number of titles: 11.
 Date: Userkaf-Sahure^c (Harpur, 1987) p. 323.
 Nomes: 8 and 10 (Junker, 1938) figs. 27, 28.
 Tomb location: No. G 4790, Giza.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Hermann Junker (1938) *Giza*, vol. III, Vienna.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [070] *Nfr-Hnm.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* ̣³ *n.y* Eleventh Nome).
 Other titles: *smr-w*̣³*t.y*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *im.y-r3* *Šm*̣³*w*, *ir.y-p*̣³*t*, *h3.ty-*̣³*w*,
im.y-r3 *hm(.w)-ntr* *Hnm.w* (Griffith, 1889) pl. 16.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Amenemhet II. On the basis of *Nfr-Hnm.w* [070] being the successor of
Nh.t-³nh.w [077], the latter dated to Senwosret I (Griffith, 1889) pl. 4.
 Nome: 11.
 Tomb location: Deir Rifa.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Most likely *Nh.t-³nh.w* [077], he being the immediate predecessor of
Nfr-Hnm.w [070].
 Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and*
Dêr Rîfeh, London.
- [071] *Nn-hft-k3(=i)* Nomarch (*sšm-t3* *n.y* Twentieth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y ht nsw*, *smr w*̣³*ty*, *hri-tp nsw*, *sš* ̣³ *nsw hft-hr*, *w*̣³*b nsw*, *im.y-r3*
wp.(w)t, *md.w Rhy.t*, *iwn knm.wt*, *hk3 niw.t* ̣³*r.t rsy.t*, *im.y-r3* *sš(.w) 3h.(w)t*,
im.y-r3 *3h.(w)t* (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993) p. 72.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Teti. On the basis that he is near contemporary, possibly earlier, with
Itti/Šd.w [020] of the same burial area and nomes (Kanawati and McFarlane,
 1993) p. 44. They date *Itti/Šd.w* [020] to the reign of Teti (Kanawati and
 McFarlane, 1993) p. 44.
 Nomes: 20 and 21.
 Tomb location: Deshasha.
 Tomb size: Tomb virtually destroyed (Kanawati and McFarlane, 1993) p. 73.
 Father: Possibly *Inti* [012], the immediate predecessor of *Nn-hft-k3(=i)* [071].
 Bibliography: Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old*
Kingdom, London.
 Naguib Kanawati and Ann S. McFarlane (1993) *Deshasha: The tombs of Inti,*
Shedu and Others, Sydney.
- [072] *Nn son of Id* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* ̣³ Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w*̣³*ty*, *ir.y-h.t m s.t wr.t*, *ir.y-p*̣³*t*, *r3 P nb*, *wr m P*, *wr m Dp*,
h3.ty-̣³*w*, *im.y-r3* *Šm*̣³*w*, *im.y-r3* *hnt.y-š pr.w-*̣³*w*, *im.y-r3* *pr.w-ntr*, *im.y-r3*
hw.t-ntr n.t Inhr.t (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, pp. 466-467.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Ninth or Tenth Dynasty (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 470.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First*
Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr, vol. 2, Chicago.
- [073] *Nhwt-dšr/Mry/Wi.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* ̣³ *n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *smr w*̣³*ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *hr.y-sšt3* *n.y sd3w.t-ntr*, *im.y-r3* *hm(.w)-ntr*,
h.t Mn.w, *sm3 Mn.w* (Kanawati, 1988) p. 7.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: End Teti I-beginning Pepy I (Kanawati, 1992) p. 295.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. G95, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 21.2 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1988) fig. 1.
 Father: Name not known (Kanawati, 1988) p. 9.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1988) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. VIII, Sydney.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom I: Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

- [074] **Nhri I** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome) and vizier.
 Other titles: *h3.ty-^c.w*, *hrp-ns.ty*, *im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr*, *ir.y-h.t nsw*, *h3.ty-^c Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 niw.t Dhwt.ty*, *t3.ty*, *s3b*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *h3.ty-^c h3.ty-^c.w m nsw pr.w*.
 Note epithets: *nh wd3 snb*, *nh d.t* (Anthes, 1928) pp. 36-57.
 Total number of titles: 11.
 Date: End of Eleventh-beginning of Twelfth Dynasties (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 102.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. 4, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: 56.2 m² (estimate) (Griffith and Newberry, 1894) pl. X.
 Father: *Dhw.ty-nh.t* IV [151] (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 84 and p. 102.
 Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.
 Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.
 Harco O. Willems (1983-1984) 'The senior officials of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in *JEOL* 28, pp. 80-102.
- [075] **Nhri II** Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *h3.ty-^c.w*, *hrp-ns.ty*, *im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr*, *w^cb n.y Dhwt.ty* (Griffith and Newberry, 1894) pl. XIX, no. 1, lines 16-17; no. 3, lines 15-18.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Senwosret I (Robinson, 1992) p. 15.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. 7, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: 36.8 m². Calculated from Griffith and Newberry (1894) pl. XVIII.
 Father: Name not known. Possibly *K3y*, son of *Nhri I* (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 102.
 Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.
 Harco O. Willems (1983-1984) 'The senior officials of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in *JEOL* 28, pp. 80-102.
 Melissa Robinson (1992) 'Reisner 1 – The tomb of Nehri II' in *Bersheh Reports I*, David P. Silverman (ed.) Boston, pp. 13-15.
- [076] **Nhti** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *h3.ty-^c.w n.y Mn^c.t Hwi=f-wi niw.t* (Newberry, 1893) p. 26.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Senwosret I (Newberry, 1893) p. 3.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 21, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 80.2 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XXII.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.
- [077] **Nh.t-^cnh.w** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y* Eleventh Nome).
 Other titles: *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w mi kd=f*, *h3.ty-^c.w* (Griffith, 1889) pl. 19.
 Total number of titles: 3.
 Date: Senwosret I (Griffith, 1889) pl. 4.

Nome: 11.

Tomb location: Deir Rifa.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London.

- [078] *Ntr-^cpr=f* Provincial administrator.
 Other titles: *s3 nsw, ir.y-h.t pr.w-^c3 nsw hr-^c nb sš, hr.y-sšt3, s3b ^cd-mr, wr md-Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t B3wy B^ct Ikr, im.y-r3 s3.w Šm^c.w, sš md3.t-ntr, hr(.y) (?) pr.w ^cnh* (Fakhry, 1954) p. 563.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Snefru-Khufu. *Ntr-^cpr=f* is given this date on the basis that if the reasoning by Baer (1973) p. 97, that *Ntr-^cpr=f* was a son of Snefru, is correct, then *Ntr-^cpr=f* must date to the reigns of Snefru-Khufu.
 Nomes: 5, 7 and 6 (Fakhry, 1954) p. 563.
 Tomb location: Dahshur.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Ahmed Fakhry (1954) 'The excavation of Sneferu's monuments at Dahshur' in *ASAE* 52, pp. 563-594.
 Klaus Baer (1973) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago.
- [079] *Ntr-nh.t* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t, iri-p.^ct, h3.ty-^c.w, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n.y Hr.w hwi Rhy.t* (Newberry, 1893) p. 27.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Amenemhet II. Note: This date is suggested on the basis of *Ntr-nh.t* being most likely the immediate predecessor of *Hnm-htp* II (Kamrin, 1999) p. 27.
Hnm-htp II's tomb is dated to year 6 of Senwosret II (Newberry, 1893) p. 3.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 23, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 94.0 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XXIII.
 Father: Name not known (Newberry, 1893) p. 27.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.
 Janice Kamrin (1999) *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan*, London.
- [080] *R^c-htp* Nomarch (most likely *sšm-t3*).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, smr w^c.ty, s3b sš iri spr, im.y-r3 nswt.yw* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) pp. 27, 72.
 Total number of titles: 4+?
 Date: Neferirkare^c. Note: Given as early-middle Fifth Dynasty by El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) p. 16, but here given, on the basis of probability, as Neferirkare^c; this being the most likely date because his successors are also dated to the Fifth Dynasty (El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) p. 16, which virtually forces *R^c-htp* (C5) to this date.
 Nome: 10.
 Tomb location: No. C5, el-Hammamiya.
 Tomb size: 5.5 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) pl. 71.
 Father: *K3(=i)-hnt* (A2) [128] (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.
 Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney.

- [081] *Rm.w-šnti* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw*, *smr wʕ.ty*, (*i)m(.y) is*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *h3.ty-ʕ.w*, *r3 Nhn*, *hr.y-tp Nhb* (Newberry, 1893) p. 30.
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Accepted here as almost certainly Eleventh Dynasty. Date of Eleventh Dynasty suggested by but also queried by Newberry (1893) p. 30.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 27, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 83.4 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XXII.
 Father: *B3kt* II [043] (?) (Percy E. Newberry, 1893) p. 7.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.
- [082] *Hnk.w/f* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y* Twelfth Nome) and vizier.
 Other titles: *smr-wʕ.ty*, *t3yt.y s3b t3t.y*, *im.y-r3 sš(.w) ʕ(.w) nsw*, *hrp šnd.t nb.t*, *im.y-r3 niw.t mr*, *s(t)m*, *hr.y-hb.t*, *hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp*, *šms.w-snw.t*, *h3.ty-ʕ.w*, *ir.y-pʕ.t* (Kanawati, 2005) p. 60.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Early-middle Pepy I (Kanawati, 2005) p. 20.
 Nome: 12.
 Tomb location: Deir el-Gebrawi.
 Tomb size: 52.2 m². Calculated from Kanawati (2005) pl. 51.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. I, *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford.
- [083] *Hnk.w/Htti* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y* Twelfth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr-wʕ.ty*, *hrp šnd.t nb.t*, *hr.y-sšt3*, *sš md3.t-ntr*, *s(t)m*, *hr.y-hb.t*, *hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp*, *šms.w-snw.t*, *hrp i3.t nb(.t) ntr.t*, *im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w*, *hr.y-tp ʕ*, *h3.ty-ʕ.w* (Kanawati, 2005) pp. 21-22.
 Total number of titles: 13.
 Date: Teti – possibly late (Kanawati, 2005) p. 20.
 Nome: 12.
 Tomb location: No. N39, Deir el-Gebrawi.
 Tomb size: 41.2 m². Calculated from Kanawati (2005) pl. 35.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. I, *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford.
- [084] *H3gi* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y* Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr wʕ.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *im.y-r3 nm.t*, *h3.ty-ʕ.w*, *h3 hwt*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *hr.y-tp d3.t m hw.t-ntr*, *im.y-r3 šn-t3*, *im.y-r3 šn.t* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 418.
 Total number of titles: 10.
 Date: Ninth Dynasty (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 418.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: No. N 89, Nagʕ el-Deir 500 – 900.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 2, Chicago.
- [085] *Hpi (-km?)* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr wʕ.ty*, *im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w*, *im.y r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *hr.y-hb.t* (Blackman, 1953) pl. XI.

Total number of titles: 5.

Date: End Pepy II or later (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 26.

Nome: 14.

Tomb location: No. A4, Meir.

Tomb size: Not known. The tomb is badly damaged (Blackman, 1953) p. 57.

Father: *Ppy-ḥ-Ḥny/km/Ḥni.t-km* [048]. Note: This is not certain (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 14.

Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part V, London.

Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney.

- [086] *Ḥm(?)w* Nomarch (*ḥk3* Sixteenth Nome, *sšm-t3* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: There are no other titles (Firth and Quibell, 1936) pl. 106 (no. 6).
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Djoser (Firth and Quibell, 1936) pl. 106 (no. 6).
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: This is not known, but it is suggested to be at Saqqara (Firth and Quibell, 1936) pl. 106 (no. 6).
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Cecil M. Firth and J. E. Quibell (1936) *The Step Pyramid*, vol. 2, Cairo.
- [087] *Ḥm-R^c/Isi I* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp 3* Twelfth Nome).
 Other titles: *ḥtm.w-ntr, smr-w^ct.y, Byt.y s3b Bt.y, im.y-r3 3(w) nsw, ḥr.y-tp nsw, ḥrp šnd.t nb.t, (n.y)-ns.t ḥnt.t, s3b 3d- mr, 3-Dw3w, 3d-mr Ḥr-sb3-ḥnt.y-p.t, im.y-r3 niw.t mr, wr 10 Šm^c.w, iwn knmw.t, mdw rhy.t, ḥr.y-sšt3 n ḥtm.t-ntr m T^ckm.t, ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y ḥtm.t-ntr m pr.w n.y M^cm, im.y-r3 ḥm(w)-ntr [M^ctīt?], im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n.(w) Nmt.y, s(t)m, ḥr.y-ḥb.t, ḥr.y-ḥb.t ḥr.y-tp, šms.w-snw.t, ḥ3.ty-^c.w, ir.y-p^c.t* (Kanawati, 2005) pp. 37-38.
 Total number of titles: 25.
 Date: Early Pepy I. Note: I suggest this date, despite Kanawati (2005) p. 20, who dates him to late Teti-early Pepy I, because of the shortness of the reign of Teti (10 years) and because *Ḥm-R^c/Isi I* was almost certainly the eldest son of *Hnk.w/Htti* [083] who is dated by Kanawati (2005) p. 20 to late in the reign of Teti.
 Nome: 12.
 Tomb location: No. N72, Deir el-Gebrawi.
 Tomb size: 45.7 m². Calculated from Kanawati (2005) pl. 41.
 Father: *Hnk.w/Htti* [083] (Kanawati, 2005) p. 22.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. I, *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford.
- [088] *Ḥm-R^c/Isi II* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp 3* Twelfth Nome).
 Other titles: *ḥtm.w-ntr, smr-w^ct.y, ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y ḥtm.t-ntr m T^ckm.t, ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (Kanawati, 2005) p. 79.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: End of Pepy I (Kanawati, 2005) p. 80.
 Nome: 12.
 Tomb location: No. N46, Deir el-Gebrawi.
 Tomb size: 3.3 m². Calculated from Kanawati (2005) pl. 58.
 Father: Probably *Ḥm-R^c/Isi I* [087] (Kanawati, 2005) p. 39.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. I, *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford.

- [089] *Hni* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y* Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr-w^ct.y*, *hr.y-sšt3 m pr.w 3.t*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-3*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *hr.y-sšt3 m nw3 ntr*, *im.y-r3 k3.t htp m hw.t ntr*, *im.y-r3 tpw.t nb.wt n.(w)t sms.w m3t.w* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, pp. 479-480.
 Total number of titles: 10.
 Date: Ninth or Tenth Dynasty (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 479.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: No. N 3774, Naga ed-Dêr.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 2, Chicago.
- [090] *Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-K3.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y* Fourteenth Nome).
 Other title(s): *smr w^c.ty* (Blackman, 1953) part V, London, pl. XXVII.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: End Pepy II or later (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 26.
 Nome: 14.
 Tomb location: Not known. Note: The sole records there are of *Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-K3.w* [090] are from the tomb of his father, *Ppy-^cnh/Hny-km/Hni.t-km* [048] (Tomb No. A2 at Meir) (Blackman, 1953) part V, pl. XXVII.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Ppy-^cnh/Hny-km/Hni.t-km* [048] (Blackman, 1953) part V, pl. XXVII.
 See also El-Khouli and Kanawati (1989) pp. 15-16.
 Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part V, London.
 Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney.
- [091] *Hnwy* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 m sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 mš^c* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, pp. 381-382.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 386.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: No. SF 18, Sheikh el-Farag.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 2, Chicago.
- [092] *Hr-hw=f* Provincial administrator.
 Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr w^c.ty*, *mni.w Nhn*, *hr.y-tp [Nhb]*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 h3sw.t nb.t n.(w)t tp-Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 ^c(.w)*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *hr.y-hb.t* (Sethe, 1932-1933) p. 109.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Years 1-34 Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 282.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: No. A8, Qubbet el-Hawa.
 Tomb size: 34.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 110.
 Father: Possibly *Tti* [141] (Kanawati, 1977) p. 44; (Harpur, 1987) p. 282.

Bibliography: Kurt Sethe (1932-1933) *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, vol. I, Leipzig.
 Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [093] *Htp* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Third Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y p^c.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr* (Vandier, 1950) p. 186.
 Total number of titles: 3.
 Date: Late Pepy II (Kanawati, 1980) p. 106.
 Nome: 3.
 Tomb location: El-Mo^calla.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Jacques Vandier (1950) *Mo^calla: la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, Cairo.
 Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.
- [094] *Hwt* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr w^c.ty*, *im.y-r3 hnw*, *im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-^c3*, *h3.ty-^c.w* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 111.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Merenre^c-early Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 282.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: No. A5, Qubbet el-Hawa.
 Tomb size: 57.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 112.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [095] *H.ww* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Second Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr* (Alliot, 1933) p. 2, fig. 1; (Kanawati, 1980) p. 105.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty (Kanawati, 1980) p. 105.
 Nome: 2.
 Tomb location: Edfu.
 Tomb size: Tomb destroyed. All that remains is a single door jamb which lists *H.ww*'s titles (Kanawati, 1980) p. 105.
 Father: Possibly a son or grandson of *Mry-R^c-nfr/K3r* [055] (Kanawati, 1980) p. 105.
 Bibliography: Maurice Alliot (1933) *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932)* Cairo.
 Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.
- [096] *Hw-b3.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y* Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *shd hm(.w)-ntr Mn-^cnh-Nfr-k3-R^c*, *hr.y-hb.t*, *im.y-r3 pr.w-šn^c*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. I, p. 136; (Jéquier, 1928) pp. 27- 28.

Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Perhaps early Pepy II (Kanawati, 2004) p. 51.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: Saqqara.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Gustave Jéquier (1928) *La Pyramide D'Oudjebten*, Cairo.
 Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Der*, vol. I, Chicago.
 Naguib Kanawati (2004) 'The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty' in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62.

- [097] *Hw.n-wh/*
Tti Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *hr.y-tp nsw, smr w^c.ty, hk3 s3, hr.y-sšt3 n.y wd3.t nb(.t), šms.w n.y db3.t, hr.y-sšt3 n.y wp.(w)t htp[-ntr?], hr.y-sšt3 n.y sd3w.t-ntr, hr.y-sšt3 n.y md3.t-ntr, iwn dšr.t, hm-ntr dšr.t, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr m Kis, (im.y)-h.t hm(.w)-ntr m Kis, shd hm(.w)-ntr (m Kis), im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Kis, shd hm(.w)-ntr Hw.t-Hr Kis, (im.y)-h.t Hr it Kis, hr.y-h3b mit Hr d^c.t Hr, hr.y-hb.t (m Kis), hr.y-hb.t sms.w, hm b3.w P, hm b3.w Nhn, hm-ntr Hk3, hm-ntr h.wy Hr, hm-ntr Hr k3-^c, im.y-r3 ts.t n.t tnt.t* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) pp. 33-35.
 Total number of titles: 25.
 Date: Late Pepy I (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1989) p. 25.
 Nome: 14.
 Tomb location: No. 2, Quseir.
 Tomb size: 17.5 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Kanawati (1989) pl. 29.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1989) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney.
- [098] *Hw.n-Hnm.w* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, smr w^c.ty, hr.y-tp nsw, shd hm(.w)-ntr [mr] Nfr-k3-R^c, im.y-r3 h3sw.t nb.t n.(w)t tp-Šm^c.w, h3.ty-^c.w, hr.y-hb.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 113.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty.
 Note: *Hw.n-Hnm.w* is dated to the late Sixth Dynasty (years 55-85 of Pepy II) by Harpur (1987) p. 282 and late Pepy II by Kanawati (1980) p. 91, but these dates are considered too early because of the number of senior officials at this nome in the Sixth Dynasty before him and the now known shorter reign of Pepy II.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: No. B2, Qubbet el-Hawa,
 Tomb size: 43.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 114.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [099] *Hw-ns* Nomarch (*sšm-t3* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t, hk3 hw.t, im.y-r3 hm(.w) ntr* (Kanawati, 1980) p. 51.
 Total number of titles: 5.

Date: Middle Pepy II (Kanawati, 1980) p. 52.

Nome: 16.

Tomb location: No. 2, Zawyet el-Amwat.

Tomb size: Approx. 101 m² (Kanawati, 1980) p. 51.

Father: Possibly *Ni-ṣnh-Ppy/Hnm.w-ḥtp-Ḥpi* [064] (Kanawati, 1980) p. 52.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.

- [100] *Ḥw-ns* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *smr wṣ.ty*, *ḥ3.ty-ṣ.w*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 111.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty. Note: Dated to years 55 – 85 of Pepy II to D8 by Harpur (1987) p. 282, but the Eighth Dynasty is the most likely date in view of the number of senior officials at this nome in the Sixth Dynasty before him and the now known shorter reign of Pepy II.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: No. A9, Qubbet el-Hawa.
 Tomb size: 90.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 112.
 Father: Possibly *Ni-ṣnh-Ppy/Hnm.w-ḥtp-Ḥpi* [064] (Kanawati, 1980) p. 52.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [101] *Ḥni-ṣnh.w* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *im.y r3 Ṣmṣ.w m3ṣ*, *iri-p.ṣt*, *ḥ3.ty-ṣ.w*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *sm3 Mn.w*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (Kanawati, 1983) p. 32.
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Early-Middle Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 296.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. H15, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 25.4 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1983) fig.22.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1983) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. IV, Sydney.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.
- [102] *Ḥnti* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp ṣ3 n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *ḥtm-ntr*, *smr wṣ.ty*, *im.y r3 šnw.ty*, *ḥr.y sšb3 n.y mdw.t nb.t sšb3 inn.t r sp3.t*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (Saleh, 1977) p. 18.
 Titles: 6.
 Date: Late Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 281.
 Nome: 4.
 Tomb location: No. PM 405, El-Khokha, Thebes.
 Tomb size: 50.8 m². Calculated from Saleh (1977) p. 19.
 Father: *Ihy* [014] (Saleh, 1977) p. 18.
 Bibliography: Mohamed Saleh (1977) *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

- [103] *Hni/Špsī-pw-Mn.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʿ3 n.y* Ninth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr wʿ.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ir.y-nfr h3.t (m sšt3 nb)*, *hrp šndw.t nb.t*, *im.y-is*, *im.y-r3 Šmʿ.w (m sp3w.t mh.tyt)*, *im.y-r3 iti Šmʿ.w (m sp3.wt)*, *nni.w Nhn*, *hr.y-tp [Nhb]*, *md.w Rhy.t*, *iwn knm.wt*, *hrp šndw.t nb.t*, *ʿd-mr Dp Šb3 Hr hnt.y p.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *it Mn.w*, *h.t Mn.w*, *sm3 Mn.w*, *hkr-Mn.w*, *hr.y-hb.t*, *sm*, *hrp m ntr.w*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w* (Kanawati, 1981) pp. 7-8.
 Total number of titles: 23.
 Date: Late Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 296.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. H 24, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 102.2 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1981) fig. 1.
 Father: *K3 (=i)-hp/Tti-ikr* [126] (Kanawati, 1992) p. 225.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1981) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, the Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. II, Sydney.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.
- [104] *Hnm.w-htp* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʿ3 n.y* Sixteenth Nome).
 I Other titles: *ir.y-h.t m3ʿ nsw*, *smr wʿ.ty*, *(i)m(.y) is*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *iri-p.ʿt*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w n.y Mnʿ.t Hwi=f-wi niw.t*, *r3 Nhn*, *hr.y-tp Nhb*, *im.y-r3 hm.w ntr* (Newberry, 1893) p. 81.
 Total number of titles: 11.
 Date: Amenemhet I (PM IV) p. 149.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 14, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 78.2 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XLIII.
 Father: Name not known (Kamrin, 1999) p. 27.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London.
 PM IV.
 Janice Kamrin (1999) *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*, London.
- [105] *Hnm.w-htp* Provincial administrator.
 II Titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw*, *ir.y-h.t m3ʿ nsw*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w m pr.w wr*, *smr wʿ.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *hrp šndw.t nb(.t)*, *im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t*, *hr dp nsw šps.w nb*, *iri-p.ʿt*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w n.y Mnʿ.t Hwi=f-wi niw.t*, *hr.y-tp Nhb*, *im.y-r3 hm.w ntr*, *hm-ntr Hr.w*, *sm3 Hr.w*, *hm-ntr Inpw*, *hr.y-sšt3 n.y md.w ntr*, *hr.y-hb.t*, (?) *šbh.t*, *ir.y nhn(?) n.y Gb*, *sm3 P3h.t*, *wp.t-rʿ i3w.t hw.t ntr P3h.t*, *wp.t-rʿ m in sm3 ntr.t m pr.w P3h.t* (Newberry, 1893) pp. 41-42.
 Total number of titles: 23.
 Date: Year 6 of Senwosret II (Newberry, 1893) p. 3.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 3, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 94.0 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XXII.
 Father: *Nhri* [074] (Newberry, 1893) p. 55.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London.
- [106] *Hnm.w-htp* Provincial administrator.
 IV Titles: *iri-p.ʿt*, *h3.ty-ʿ.w* (Newberry, 1893) p. 7.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Senwosret III. This is the most probable date, seeing that there were 23-24 years between the date of the tomb of *Hnm.w-htp* II [105] (year 6 of Senwosret II) ((Newberry, 1893) p. 41, and the end of Senwosret III's reign. Amenemhet III's reign cannot be ruled out, but this is less probable.
 Nome: 16.

Tomb location: No. 4, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 59.6 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. XL.
 Father: *Hnm.w-htp* II [105] (Newberry, 1893) p. 44.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part I, London.

- [107] *Hty* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y* Sixteenth Nome *mi kd=f*).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t m3^c nsw*, *smr w^c.ty*, (*i*)*m(.y) is*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *im.y-r3 h3s.t i3b.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *r3 Nhn*, *hr.y-tp Nhb*, *im.y-r3 m3^c s.t nb.t s3t3* (Newberry, 1893) p. 52.
 Total number of titles: 10.
 Date: Eleventh Dynasty (Newberry, 1893) p. 53.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 17, Beni Hasan.
 Tomb size: 204.2 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893) pl. IX.
 Father: *B3kt* III [044] (Newberry, 1893) p. 7.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893) *Beni Hasan*, part II, London.
- [108] *Hty* I Nomarch *hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y* (Thirteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Wsir nb n.y rnp.t n.y sm.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Wp-w3w.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Inpw nb r-krr.t* (Griffith, 1889) pl. 15.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Inyotef I (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 264.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: No. 5 Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London.
 PM IV.
 Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.
- [109] *Hty* II Nomarch *hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y* (Thirteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *hr.y-tp* 3 *n.y t3 Šm^c.w*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Inpw nb r-krr.t* (Griffith, 1889) pls. 13, 14, 20 (upper).
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Merykare^c-Mentuhotep II (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 39.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: No. IV, Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *It-ib* I [018] (el-Khadragy, 2006) p. 79.
 Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London.
 Mahmoud el-Khadragy (2006) 'New Discoveries in the tomb of Khety II at Asyut' in *BACE* 17, pp. 79-95.
 Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.
- [110] *Hty* III Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *h3.ty-^c.w*, *r3 P nb* (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 41.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Amenemhet I (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 37.
 Nome: 13.

Tomb location: No. XIV, Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.

- [111] *Hty IV* Note: Name enumeration not confirmed. Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *h3.ty-^c.w, idn.w* (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 41.
 Total titles: 2.
 Date: Senwosret III (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 37.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: No. XII, Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.
- [112] *S3bi* Provincial Administrator.
 Titles: *hk3 hw.t, hr.y-tp nsw, s3b [c^d-mr]* (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 162.
 Total titles: 3.
 Date: Assumed as late OK (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) *passim*.
 Nome: 18.
 Tomb location: No. T12, Scharuna.
 Tomb size: 16.1 m². Calculated from Schenkel and Gomaà (2004) vol. 2, pl. 113.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein.
- [113] *S3bni* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, smr w^c.ty, im.y-r3 Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 h3sw.t nb.t n.(w)t tp-Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 c^(.w), h3.ty-^c.w, hr.y-hb.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 113.
 Total number of titles: 7.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty. Note: According to Harpur (1987) p. 282, *S3bni* dates to the years 55-85 of Pepy II, but this date would most likely put him into the Eighth Dynasty because of the number of senior officials at this nome in the Sixth Dynasty before him and the now known shorter reign of Pepy II.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: No. A1, Qubbet el-Hawa.
 Tomb size: 122.0+ m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 114.
 Father: *In-it=f/Mhw* [010] (Jenkins, 2000) p. 71.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
 Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
 Michael R. Jenkins (2000) 'Notes on the tomb of Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan' in *BACE* 11, pp. 67-81.
- [114] *S3-rnpwt I* Nomarch *hr.y-tp c³ n.y* First Nome).
 Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, smr w^c.ty, im.y r3 h3s.wt, ir.y p^c.t, hr.y-hb.t, im.y-r3 hm(.w) ntr, hr.y s3t3 n.y hm(.w)-ntr, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w) St.t nb.t 3bw* (Müller, 1940) pls. 4-6.
 Total number of titles: 9.
 Date: Senwosret I (PM V) p. 238.

Nome: 1.

Tomb location: No. PM 36, Qubbet el-Hawa.

Tomb size: 105.5 m². Calculated from Müller (1940) pl. 5.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Heinrich W. Müller (1940) *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine* (Glückstadt).

PM V.

[115] *S3-rnpwt II* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr w^c.ty*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *hr.y-tp h3.ty-^c.ww*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *St.t nb.t 3bw*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w)* *Hnm.w*, *im.y-r3 mš^c* (Müller, 1940) pl. 42.

Total number of titles: 8.

Date: Amenemhet II (PM V) p. 233.

Nome: 1

Tomb location: No. PM 31, Qubbet el-Hawa.

Tomb size: 129.0 m². Calculated from Müller (1940) pl. 31.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Heinrich W. Müller (1940) *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, Glückstadt.

PM V.

[116] *Sip.t* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y* Eighth Nome).

Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *im.y-r3 km.t hnr.w* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 456.

Total number of titles: 6.

Date: Ninth Dynasty (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 456.

Nome: 8.

Tomb location: No. SF 352, Sheikh el-Farag.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 2, Chicago.

[117] *Sni-iḫr* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *htm.w-ntr*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w* (Saleh, 1977) p. 11.

Total number of titles: 3.

Date: FIP (Saleh, 1977) p. 11.

Nome: 4.

Tomb location: El-Khokha, Thebes.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Mohamed Saleh (1977) *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein.

[118] *Snbi (I)* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *im.y-r3 šnw.t*, *smr w^c.ty*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr*, *hr.y-ḫb.t hr.y-tp* (Blackman, 1914) p. 18.

Total number of titles: 6.

Date: Amenemhet I (Blackman, 1914) p. 8.

Nome: 14.

Tomb location: No. B1 Meir

Tomb size: 60.7 m². Calculated from Blackman (1914) pl. 1.

Father: *Wh-htp* (I) [035] (Blackman, 1914) p. 11.

Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1914) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part I, London.

- [119] *Snbi* (II) Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *s^ch šps mry rmt*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *h³ty-^c.w*, *im.y r³ hm(.w)-ntr* (Blackman, 1953) p. 3.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Senwosret I-Amenemhet II (Blackman, 1914) p. 8.
 Nome: 14.
 Tomb location: No. B3, Meir.
 Tomb size: 91.1 m². Calculated from Blackman (1953) pl. III.
 Father: *Wh-htp* (I) [035] (Blackman, 1953) p. 3.
 Bibliography: Aylward M. Blackman (1914) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part I, London.
 Aylward M. Blackman (1953) *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, part VI, London.
- [120] *Srf-k3(=i)* Nomarch (*sšm-t3* Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw*, *im.y-r³ wp.(w)t*, *im.y-r³ h.w*, *im.y-r³ niw.wt m³w.t*, *im.y-r³ sp³.wt Šm^c.w hr.y.wt-ib*, *hm-ntr Wsr-k3f*, *hm-ntr Hwi=f-wi* (Davies, 1901) pp. 10-11.
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Djedkare^c (Kanawati, 1992) p. 41.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. 24, el-Sheikh Sa'īd.
 Tomb size: 42.5 m². Calculated from Davies (1901) pl. III.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.
 Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part 1: *Chronology and Administration*, North Sydney.
- [121] *Sti-k3* Provincial administrator.
 Titles *šhd hm(.w)-ntr [mr] Nfr-k3-R^c mn^c n^h*, *im.y-r³ s³.w Šm^c.w*, *im.y r³ h³s.wt*, *h³ty-^c.w* (Jenkins, 2000) p. 68.
 Total number of titles: 4 (Jenkins, 2000) p. 68.
 Date: Assumed as early FIP (Jenkins, 2000) p. 69.
 Nome: 1.
 Tomb location: Qubbet el-Hawa.
 Tomb size: 166.0 m² (Jenkins, 2000) p. 70.
 Father: 'Mekhu' (Jenkins, 2000) p. 71.
 Bibliography: Michael R. Jenkins (2000) 'Notes on the tomb of Setka at Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan' in *BACE* 11, pp. 67-81.
- [122] *Šm3i* Provincial administrator and vizier.
 Titles: *t³yt.y s³b t³t.y*, *it-ntr*, *mr.y ntr*, [foster-child of the king], *htm.w-bi.ty*, *im.y-r³ sš(.)^c(.w) nsw*, *im.y-r³ niw.t (mr)*, *im.y-r³ Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r³ hm(.w)-ntr*, *sm³ Mn.w*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *h³ty-^c.w* (Hayes, 1946) pp. 12, 14, 16.
 Total number of titles: 12.
 Date: Neferkauhor (8th Dynasty) (Hayes, 1946) p. 14.
 Nome: 5.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Possibly an *Idy* (not *Idy* [021] for whom the suggested date is late Pepy II (Hayes, 1946) p. 21.

Bibliography: William C. Hayes (1946) 'Royal decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptos' in *JEA* 32, pp. 3-23.

- [123] *Šn-sti* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y sp3.t*).
 Other titles: *ir.y pʕ.t, h3.ty-ʕ.w, im.y-r hm(.w)-ntr, mni.w tnt.t (DEN)* p. 120.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Eighth Dynasty (*DEN*) p. 120.
 Nome: 6.
 Tomb location: Dendera.
 Tomb size: 360 m² (mastaba). Calculated from *DEN*, map of the Dendera cemetery, last two pages.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: *DEN*.
- [124] *K3(=i)-m-nfr.t (C4)* Nomarch (*sšm-t3*).
 Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, im.y-r3 sʕ.w Šmʕ.w, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 72.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Early-middle Fifth Dynasty (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.
 Nome: 10.
 Tomb location: No. C4, el-Hammamiya.
 Tomb size: 6.9 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) pl. 71.
 Father: *Rʕ-htp* [080] (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.
 Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney.
- [125] *K3(=i)-m-nfr.t (A3)* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, wʕb nsw, im.y-r3 nswt.yw, hk3 hw.t ʕ3.t* (Kanawati, 1993) p. 11.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Middle Fifth Dynasty or slightly later (Kanawati, 1993) p. 13.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. A3, El-Hagarsa.
 Tomb size: 67.6 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1993) pl. 16.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1993) *The Tombs of el-Hagarsa*, vol. I, Sydney.
- [126] *K3=i-hp/Tti* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp ʕ n.y Ninth Nome*).
 Other titles: *smr wʕ.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, htm.w-bi.ty m3ʕ, ir.y-nfr h3.t (m sšt3 nb), im.y-r3 pr.wy-hd, im.y r3 šnw.ty n(.w) htp.t-ntr, hrp hw.wt..., hrp šndw.t nb.t, hr.y-sšt3 n.y sd3w.t-ntr, im.y-r3 šmh-ib nb, im.y r3 ip.t nsw, wd md.w n.y hri wdb, im.y-r3 sš.wy, ʕ Dw3.w, wr m3.w, wr 5, h.w, im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w, im.y-r3 iti Šmʕ.w, wʕ (m) wr.w Šp(n)tyw, hrp šndw.t nb.t, iri-p.ʕt, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr, it Mn.w, h.t Mn.w, sm3 Mn.w, im.y-r3 md.t m g3(w)s, rh tp w3.t nfr.t, sms.w snw.t, hrp Mn.w, hk3 B3.t, hrp h3ts km, hr.y-hb.t, hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp, sm, hrp m ntr.w, hʕi, h3.ty-ʕ.w, h3.ty-ʕ.w m3ʕ* (Kanawati, 1982) pp. 7-8.
 Total number of titles: 40. Note that this total includes that of *sm3 Mn.w*, not counted by Kanawati, but considered warrants inclusion because of the probability it is a title in its own right, and not a misspelling of another title (Kanawati, 1982, p. 8).
 Date: Early Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 296.

Nome: 9.

Tomb location: No. M8, Akhmim.

Tomb size: 135.7 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1982) fig. 1.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1982) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. III, Sydney.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

[127] *K3(=i)-hnp*/Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y* Ninth Nome).

Tti-ikr Other titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, im.y r3 šnw.ty n(.w) htp.t-ntr, im.y-r3 iti Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr, it Mn.w, mh ib n.y nsw m pr.w Mn.w, h.t Mn.w, sm3 Mn.w, hkr-Mn.w, hr.y-hb.t, h3.ty-^c.w* (Kanawati, 1980) p. 12.

Total number of titles: 13.

Date: Middle Pepy II (Kanawati, 1992) p. 296.

Nome: 9.

Tomb location: No. H26, Akhmim.

Tomb size: 40.0 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1980) fig. 5.

Father: *K3(=i)-hnp/Tti* (?) (Kanawati, 1980) p. 14.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1980) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. I, Sydney.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

[128] *K3(=i)-hnt* Nomarch (*sšm-t3 m* Tenth Nome).

(A3) Other titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw, w^cb nsw, im.y-r3 3h, wr md-Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 k^c.t (nb.t) m sp3.wt hry.wt-ib Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 s^c.w Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 nswt.yw, hk3 hw.t-3.t, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 54.

Total number of titles: 10.

Date: Probably Userkaf (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.

Nome: 10.

Tomb location: No. A3, El-Hammamiya.

Tomb size: 26.6 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) pl. 52.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney.

[129] *K3(=i)-hnt* Nomarch (most likely *sšm-t3*) (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) pp. 16-17.

(A2) Other titles: *s3 nsw (n.y h.t=f), ir.y-h.t nsw, smr w^c.ty, w^cb nsw, im.y-r3 3h, hrp 3h, wr md-Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 k^c.t (nb.t) m sp3.wt hry.wt-ib Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 s^c.w Šm^c.w, im.y-r3 k^c.t (nsw), im.y-r3 nswt.yw, hk3 hw.t-3.t, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) pp. 26-27.

Total number of titles: 13.

Date: Sahure^c. *K3(i)-hnt* (A2) [128] is dated to the time of Sahure^c as he was most likely the eldest son of *K3(i)-hnt* (A3) [127] whose administration was probably in the reign of Userkaf (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.

K3(i)-hnt (A2) [128] is dated to the early Fifth Dynasty by El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) p. 16.

Nome: 10.

Tomb location: No. A2, el-Hammamiya.

Tomb size: 18.6 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) pl. 31.

Father: *K3(=i)-hnt* (A3) [127] (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.

Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney.

- [130] ***K3(=i)-hnt*** Provincial administrator.
(C6) Titles: *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 76.
 Total number of titles: 1. Probably there were more titles as *K3(=i)-hnt* (C6) evidently belonged to the El-Hammamiya nomarchic family, but El-Khouli and Kanawati (1990) p. 76 do not say there were.
 Date: Early-middle Fifth Dynasty (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.
 Nome: 10.
 Tomb location: No. C6, el-Hammamiya.
 Tomb size: 14.8 m². Calculated from El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) pl. 74.
 Father: Possibly *K3(=i)-m-nfr.t* [124] (C4) (El-Khouli and Kanawati, 1990) p. 16.
 Bibliography: Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney.
- [131] ***K3-whm*** Nomarch (*sšm-ḥ* Sixteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y-ḥ.t nsw*, *im.y-r3 nswt.yw*, *im.y-r3 mn.w*, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t* (Kanawati, 1980) p. 51.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Middle-late Pepy II (Kanawati, 1980) p. 52.
 Nome: 16.
 Tomb location: No. 6, Zawyet el-Amwat.
 Tomb size: The tomb is too damaged to allow an accurate estimate (Kanawati, 1980) pp. 51-52.
 Father: Possibly *Hw-ns* [099] (Kanawati, 1980) p. 52.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster.
- [132] ***Gs3/Mry*** Provincial Administrator
 Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w*, *im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t*, *smr wḥ.ty*, *hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp*, *s(t)m*, *hrp šnd.t nb.t*, *htm.w-bi.ty* (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 155.
 Total titles: 8.
 Date: Assumed as late OK (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) *passim*.
 Nome: 18.
 Tomb location: No. S12, Scharuna.
 Tomb size: 62.5 m². Calculated from Schenkel and Gomaà (2004) vol. 2, pl. 102.
 Father: Possibly *S3bi* [112] (Schenkel and Gomaà, 2004) vol. I, p. 155.
 Bibliography: Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein.
- [133] ***Ggi*** Nomarch (*hr.y-tp 3 n.y* Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *s3 nsw*, *smr wḥ.ty*, *sš gs-dp.t*, *šd ḥm.w-ntr Mr-n-Rḥ-ḥi-nfr*, *im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-3*, *mni.w n.y km.t*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n.y Inḥr.t*, *sš n.y s3*, *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w*, *hr.y-ḥb.t* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. I, pp. 125-128.
 Total number of titles: 11.
 Date: Merenreḥ (Kanawati, 2004) p. 51.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: Two tombs: No. N90 at Naga ed-Der and a tomb at Saqqara (Brovarski, 1989) vol. I, p. 125.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First*

Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Der, vol. I, Chicago.

Naguib Kanawati (2004) 'The interrelation of the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty' in *BACE* 15, pp. 51-62.

- [134] **Ttī-ḥḥ/
Tī-m-ḥtp** Provincial administrator.
Titles: *ḥk3 ḥw.t (Wn.t)*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t Ppy*, *smr-w^c.ty*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t*, *ḥr.y-tp nsw pr.w-^c3*, *ḥr.y-tp nsw*, *im.y-r3 nīw.wt m3w.t*, *md.w rhy.t*, *iwn knm.wt*, *mdḥ wi3* (Davies, 1901) p. 21, pl. XXVIII-XXIX.
Total number of titles: 10.
Date: Teti-Pepy I (Kanawati, 1992) p. 300.
Nome: 15.
Tomb location: No. 15, el-Sheikh Sa'īd.
Tomb size: 44.8 m². Calculated from Davies (1901) pl. XVII.
Father: Possibly *Wr-ir-n=I* [034] (based on the time sequence of tombs at the burial site).
Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Sa'īd*, London.
Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, North Sydney.
- [135] **T3wti** Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp 3 n.y sp3.t*).
Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥr.y sšt3*, *shd ḥm(.w)-ntr mr.w Mry-R^c* *Mr-n-R^c Nfr-k3-R^c*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 3 ḥ3s.t Šm^c.w*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (Lepsius, 1973) p. 114 (c-h).
Total number of titles: 11.
Date: Middle Pepy II (Harpur, 1987) p. 326.
Nome: 7.
Tomb location: El-Qasr wa el-Saiyad.
Tomb size: 88.8 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 126.
Father: Name not known.
Bibliography: C. Richard Lepsius (1973) *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, vol. 4, reprint, Geneva.
Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
- [136] **T3wti** Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp 3 n.y sp3.t*).
Other titles: *smr w^c.ty*, *ḥtm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥr.y sšt3 n.y md.t nb.t sšt3.t inn.t r sp3.t*, *ḥk3 ḥw.t*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t* (DEN) p. 103.
Total number of titles: 6.
Date: Late Pepy II (Kanawati, 1977) p. 126.
Nome: 6.
Tomb location: Dendera.
Tomb size: Not known.
Father: Name not known.
Bibliography: DEN.
Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster.
- [137] **T3wti** Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp 3 n.y* Fifth nome).
Other titles: *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *mḥ-ib n.y nsw m r3-^c3 g3.w rsy*, *ir.y p^c.t*, *ḥ3.ty-^c.w* (Fischer, 1964) p. 47, pl. XIII.
Total number of titles: 5.

Date: Early 11th Dynasty (Fischer, 1964) p. 47.

Nome: 5.

Tomb location: Not known.

Tomb size: Not known.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Henry George Fischer (1964) *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome*, Rome.

- [138] Tw3.w Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *smr w^c.ty, sš^c nsw n hft-hr, hr.y-tp nsw, s3b^c d-mr, n-ns.t-hnt.t, im.y-r3 wp.(w)t, nh.t-hr.w m(?) sp3.wt Hnw-nhn, im.y-r3 3h.t* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, p. 287.
 Total number of titles: 8.
 Date: Early Eighth Dynasty (Harpur, 1987) p. 281.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb location: No. N359, Nag^c el-Deir 100.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
 Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 2, Chicago.
- [139] Tmrry Nomarch (*hr.y-tp^c 3 n.y* Eighth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty, hr.y-tp nsw, s3b^c d-mr, im.y-r3 n.y sp3.t, im.y-r3 hm-ntr n.y Inhr.t, im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr, im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t irr.t m T3-wr, im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t wd.t irr.t m T3-wr, im.y-r3 mš^c* (Brovarski, 1989) vol. 2, pp. 266-267.
 Total number of titles: 10.
 Date: End of Eighth Dynasty (Harpur, 1987) p. 362.
 Nome: 8.
 Tomb locations: Nos. N71 and N248, Nag^c el-Deir 500-900.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.
 Edward Brovarski (1989) *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 2, Chicago.
- [140] Tt-3 Nomarch (*hr.y-tp^c 3 n.y* Ninth Nome).
 Other titles: *smr w^c.ty, htm.w-bi.ty, im.y-r3 pr.w ..., im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr, it Mn.w, h.t Mn.w, sm3 Mn.w, hr.y-hb.t, hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp, h3.ty-^c.w* (Kanawati, 1988) p. 29.
 Total number of titles: 11.
 Date: End Pepy II-End Sixth Dynasty (Kanawati, 1988) p. 29.
 Nome: 9.
 Tomb location: No. H41, Akhmim.
 Tomb size: 16.3 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1988) fig. 11.
 Father: *Hni/Špsi-pw-Mn.w* [103] (Kanawati, 1988) p. 29.
 Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1988) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. VIII, Sydney.
- [141] Tt Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *htm.w-bi.ty, smr w^c.ty, h3.ty-^c.w, hr.y-hb.t* (Kanawati, 1977) p. 127.
 Total number of titles: 4.

Date: Merenre^c-early Pepy II (Baer, 1973) p. 154.

Nome: 1.

Tomb location: No. B3, Qubbet el-Hawa.

Tomb size: 36.0 m² (Kanawati, 1977) p. 128.

Father: Name not certain. Possibly it was *Hwi* [094], he and *Tti* travelling to Byblos and Pwenet together (Newberry, 1937) p. 182.

Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1937) 'Three Old-Kingdom travellers to Byblos and Pwenet' in *JEA* 23, pp. 182-184.

Karl Baer (1973) *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*, Chicago.

Naguib Kanawati (1977) *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*, Warminster.

[142] *Dw3-Mn.w* Provincial administrator.

Titles: *ir.y-h.t nsw*, *w^cb nsw*, *shd-wi3*, *im.y-r3 pr.w n.(t) h^w.t-^c3.t*, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t id.w*, *im.y-r3 niw.wt m3w.t* (Kanawati, 1986) p. 15.

Total number of titles: 6.

Date: Neuserre^c or a little earlier (Kanawati, 1992) p. 296.

Nome: 9.

Tomb location: No. L6, Akhmim.

Tomb size: 18.2 m². Calculated from Kanawati (1986) fig. 4.

Father: Name not known.

Bibliography: Naguib Kanawati (1986) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim*, Sydney, vol. VI.

Naguib Kanawati (1992) *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, part I: *Chronology and Administration*, Sydney.

[143] *D^c.w* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* ^c3 Twelfth Nome, *hr.y-tp* ^c3 Eighth Nome).

Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr-w^ct.y*, *hrp šnd.t nb.t*, *hrp-ns.ty*, [*hr.y*] *s[št3 n.y sdm]* *w^c.ty*, *hrp h^w.wt Nt*, *imy-h.t hm(.w)-ntr mh.t Mn-^cn^h mr Nfr-k3-R^c*, *sš md3.t-ntr*, ^c3 *Khns.w*, *hw-^c*, *hk3 B3.t*, *hrp h3ts km*, *wr snw.t*, *s(t)m*, *hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp*, *hrp (i)m.yw ntr.w*, *hrp i3.t nb.(t) ntr.t*, *m-r3* ^c3 *r Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *hw.ty-^c3.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w* (Davies, 1902) p. 2.

Total number of titles: 23.

Date: Later Pepy II years 1-34 (Harpur, 1987) p. 348.

Nome: 12.

Tomb location: Deir el-Gebrawi.

Tomb size: 67.0 m². Calculated from Davies (1902) pl. II.

Note: *D^c.w* [143] was buried in the same tomb as his father *D^c.w/Šm3i* [144] (Davies, 1902) p. 13.

Father: *D^c.w/Šm3i* [144] (Davies, 1902) p. 13.

Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1902) *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, part II, London.

Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

[144] *D^c.w/Šm3i* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* ^c3 Twelfth Nome, *hr.y-tp* ^c3 Eighth Nome).

Other titles: *htm.w-bi.ty*, *smr-w^ct.y*, *hrp šnd.t nb.t*, [*hr.y*] *s[št3 n.y sdm]* *w^c.ty*, *im.y-r3 pr.wy-hd*, *im.y-r3 šnw.ty*, *im.y-r3 sš.wy*, *im.y-r3 wp.(w)t htp.(w)t-ntr m pr.wy*, *imy-h.t hm(.w)-ntr mh.t Mn-^cn^h mr Nfr-k3-R^c*, *hn.ty šnwty-š mn-^cn^h mr Nfr-k3-R^c*, *shd hm(.w)-ntr Mn ^cn^h mr Nfr-k3-R^c*, *ir.y Nhn*, *hr.y-tp Nhb*, *r3 P nb*, *mdw Hp*, *s(t)m*, *hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp*, *w^cb w.wy*, *hrp ibtt.yw Hr*, *m* ^c3 *r Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*, *hw.ty-^c3.t*, *hk3-hw.t*, *h3.ty-^c.w*, *ir.y-p^c.t* (Davies, 1902) pp. 1-2.

Total number of titles: 27.

Date: Pepy II years 1-34. This is on the basis that $\underline{D}f\beta.w/\check{S}m3i$'s son $\underline{D}f\beta.w$ is dated to late Pepy II years 1-34 by Harpur (1987) p. 363.

Nome: 12.

Tomb location: Deir el-Gebrawi.

Tomb size: 67.0 m². Calculated from Davies (1902) pl. II.

Father: *Ibi* [002] (Kanawati, 2007), p. 14.

Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1902) *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, part II, London.

Yvonne Harpur (1987) *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London.

Naguib Kanawati (2007) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. II, *The Southern Cliff*, Oxford.

- [145] $\underline{D}f\beta=i-$
 $\check{H}^{\epsilon}py$ I Nomarch ($\check{h}r.y-tp \epsilon^3 n.y$ Thirteenth Nome).
Other titles: $smr w^{\epsilon}.ty$, $\check{h}tm.w-bi.ty$, $\check{s}ps nsw$, $\check{h}r.y s\check{s}t3 n.y md.w-ntr$, $s3b \epsilon^d-mr$, $\check{h}rp-n\check{s}.ty$, $\check{h}rp \check{h}w.wt N.t \check{h}d.t$, $r3 N\check{h}n$, $\check{h}r.y-tp N\check{h}b$, $wr wr.w N\check{h}b.t$, $r3 P nb$, $(i)m(.y) pr.wy$, $\check{h}rp \check{s}ndy.t nb.t$, $\check{h}r.y-tp n.y mnit(?) ssm.(w)t$, $im.y-r3 pr.w nsw$, $\check{h}r.y-tp \epsilon^3 n.y \check{S}m^{\epsilon}.w$, $im.y-r3 \check{S}m^{\epsilon}.w mi kd=f$, $\check{h}rp \check{S}m^{\epsilon}.w$, $im.y-r3 \check{h}w.t-ntr \check{S}m^{\epsilon}.w$, $im.y-r3 gs.w pr.w nsw$, $ir.y-p^{\epsilon}.t$, $\check{h}3.ty-\epsilon^{\epsilon}.w$, $\check{h}m(.w)-ntr(.w) n(.w) Wsir nb Wp-w3w.t$, $\check{h}r.y s\check{s}t3 pd n.y Wsir m s.t=f dw3.t$, $\check{s}hd \check{h}m(.w)-ntr$, $\check{h}r.y-\check{h}b.t \check{h}r.y-tp$, $im.y-r3 \check{h}m(.w)-ntr m3^{\epsilon}$, $\check{h}rp i3.t nb(.t) nb ntrw.t$, $im.y-r3 \check{h}m(.w)-ntr n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t$, $\check{s}3b \check{S}m^{\epsilon}.w Wp-w3w.t$, $im.y-r3 \check{h}m(.w)-ntr m3^{\epsilon} n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t$, $im.y-r3 \check{h}m(.w)-ntr n(.w) wn-m3^{\epsilon} n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t$ (Griffith, 1889) pls. 1-10, 20 (lower middle).
Total number of titles: 33.
Date: Senwosret I (PM IV) p. 261.
Nome: 13.
Tomb location: No. I, Asyut.
Tomb size: Not known.
Father: Name not known.
Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London.
PM IV.
- [146] $\underline{D}f\beta=i-$
 $\check{H}^{\epsilon}py$ II Nomarch ($\check{h}r.y-tp \epsilon^3 n.y$ Thirteenth Nome).
Other titles: $smr w^{\epsilon}.ty$, $\check{h}tm.w-bi.ty$, $s3b \epsilon^d-mr$, $r3 N\check{h}n$, $\check{h}r.y-tp N\check{h}b$, $r3 P nb$, $ir.y-p^{\epsilon}.t$, $\check{h}3.ty-\epsilon^{\epsilon}.w$, $\check{h}m-ntr n.y Wsir nb Wp-w3w.t$, $\check{h}m-ntr n.y Wsir nb imn.t$, $\check{h}r.y s\check{s}t3 pd n.y Wsir m s.t=f dw3.t$, $\check{h}r.y-\check{h}b.t \check{h}r.y-tp$, $im.y-r3 \check{h}m(.w)-ntr n(.w) wn-m3^{\epsilon} n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t$ (Griffith, 1889) pls. 10 (left) 20 (bottom left).
Total number of titles: 14.
Date: Senwosret I-Amenemhet II. This is on the basis that $\underline{D}f\beta=i-\check{H}^{\epsilon}py$ I [145], dated to the reign of Senwosret I (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 38, is most likely his father.
Nome: 13.
Tomb location: No. II, Asyut.
Tomb size: Not known.
Father: Most likely $\underline{D}f\beta=i-\check{H}^{\epsilon}py$ I [145] (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 38.
Bibliography: Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1889) *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London.
Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I (Leuven).
- [147] $\underline{D}f\beta=i-$
 $\check{H}^{\epsilon}py$ III Nomarch ('Nomarch of the Lycopolite nome') (PM IV) p. 264. There is no known full report on his tomb, although recent work has been published by Zitman (2010) vol. I, p. 40.

Other titles: *ir.y-p^c.t* (PM IV) p. 264; *ḥ3ty-^c.w*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* (Zitman, 2010) vol. I, p. 40.
 Total number of titles: 4.
 Date: Amenemhet II (PM IV) p. 264.
 Nome: 13.
 Tomb location: No. VII, Asyut.
 Tomb size: Not known. Evidently large (Moss, 1933) p. 33.
 Father: Probably *Df3=i H^cpy* II [146] (On the basis of proximity of tombs).
 Bibliography: Rosalind L. B. Moss (1933) 'An unpublished rock-tomb at Asyût' in *JEA* 19, p. 33.
 PM IV.
 Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, vol. I, Leuven.

- [148] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t I* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *hrp-ns.ty*, *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w*. Note epithet: *ḥnh wḏ3 snb* (Anthes, 1928) Insc. X b, pl. 6.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Meryibre^c Khety I (Anthes, 1928) Insc. X b, pl. 6.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: Possibly *Th3* [015]. But see Freed (1992) p. 59.
 Bibliography: Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.
 Rita E. Freed (1992) 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 53-63.

- [149] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t II* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *hrp-ns.ty*, *im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w* (Anthes, 1928) pl. 7.
 Total number of titles: 5.
 Date: Meryibre Khety II (Anthes, 1928) pl. 7.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t I* [148] (from implication by Brovarski, 1981) p. 29.
 Bibliography: Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.
 Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

- [150] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t III* Nomarch (*hr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *hrp-ns.ty*, *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr*, *im.y-r3 pr.w nsw*, *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w* (Davies, 1901) pl. XXX (restoration inscription).
 Total number of titles: 6.
 Date: Mentuhotep II. Mainly based on the dating of his son *ḥ3-nḥ.t I* to Mentuhotep II (late) (Freed, 1992) p. 56.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t II* [149] (by implication by Brovarski, 1981) p. 29.
 Bibliography: Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London.
 Edward Brovarski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the

First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

Rita E. Freed, 1992, 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston (1992) pp. 51-63.

- [151] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t IV* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w, ḥrp-ns.ty* (Anthes, 1928) p. 72.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Mentuhotep III. This is based on his father's date of Mentuhotep II (late) (Freed, 1992) p. 56.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: Not known.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *ḥ3-nḥ.t I* [029] (Freed, 1992) p. 59.
 Bibliography: Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.
 Rita E. Freed (1992) 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman, *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 53-63.
- [152] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t V* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w, ḥrp-ns.ty*. Note epithet: *ḥnḥ wd3 snb* (Anthes, 1928) p. 67.
 Total number of titles: 2.
 Date: Amenemhet I. This is a suggested date, as *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t V* [152] succeeded *Nḥri I* [074] dated to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty-beginning of Twelfth Dynasty (Willems, 1983-1984), p. 102.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: Not certain. Possibly No. EEF 10, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: Not known.
 Father: *Nḥri I* (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 102.
 Bibliography: Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Bonn.
 Harco O. Willems (1983-1984) 'The senior officials of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in *Jaarbericht Van Het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*, No. 28, pp. 80-102.
- [153] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VI* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp* 3 Fifteenth Nome) and vizier.
 Other titles: *ir.y pḥ.t, ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w, ḥrp-ns.ty, im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr, t3.ty, ir.y-ḥ.t nsw, smr-wḥ.ty, ḥtm.w-bi.ty, im.y-r3 ḥnr, s3b, ḥ3.ty-Šmḥ.w, wr m 5 m pr.w Dḥw.ty, im.y-r3 ḥw.t wr.t 6* (Griffith and Newberry, 1894) pp. 19-28, pl. V-IX.
 Total number of titles: 14.
 Date: Amenemhet I or Senwosret I (Brovarski, 1992) p. 35.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. EEF 1, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: 55.1 m². Calculated from Griffith and Newberry (1894) pl. IV.
 Father: *Nḥri II* [075] (Freed, 1992) p. 63.
 Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.
 Edward Brovarski (1992) 'Epigraphic Work' in David P. Silverman (ed.) *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 35-38.
 Rita E. Freed (1992) 'Art historical overview' in David P. Silverman (ed.) *Bersheh Reports I*, Boston, pp. 53-63.
- [154] *Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VII* Provincial administrator.
 Titles: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w, ḥrp-ns.ty, wr m 5 m pr.w Dḥw.ty* (Brovarski, 1981) p. 25.
 Total number of titles: 3.

Date: Senwosret III-Amenemhet III. This is by implication from Brovanski, (1981) p. 29.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No. EEf 6, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: Not known. Tomb almost destroyed (Griffith and Newberry (1894) p. 36.
 Father: Name not known.
 Bibliography: Francis L. Griffith and Percy E. Newberry (1894) *El Bersheh*, part II, London.
 Edward Brovanski (1981) 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston, pp. 14-30.

- [155] *Dḥw.ty-ḥtp II* Nomarch (*ḥr.y-tp* ʕ Fifteenth Nome).
 Other titles: *ir.y p^c.t*, *ḥ3.ty-^c.w*, *ḥrp-ns.ty*, *smr-w^c.ty*, *htm.w-bi.ty*, *ḥr.y sšt3 n.y m33 w^c*, *s(t)m šnd.wt nb(.t)*, *šm-ḥrp-šndw.t nb(.t)*, *s3b ^cd-mr*, *wr pr.w m pr.wy*, *ḥr.y-tp niw.t Nḥb*, *ir.y niw.t Nḥn*, *ḥr.y-tp sp.wt Šm^c.w*, *ḥr.y-tp i3.wt ḥnt*, ʕ *n.y ḥ3s.t nb(.t)*, *n=f smi iw md3.t n n(.y) sw*, *ḥr.y-ḥb.t*, *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr*, *ḥm-ntr M33.t*, *wr m 5 m pr.w Dḥw.ty*, *wr 5 pr.w Dḥw.ty n.y rs.w mh.w*, *ḥm-ntr ḥn.t ḥsr.t*, *ḥr.y sšt3 n(.w) r3-pr.w*, *ḥr.y-sšt3 n(.w) ḥm.w-ntr*, *ḥrp-m-ntr.w*, *ḥrp-ḥtp-ntr.w*, [...] *n.y ntr(w).t http*, *ḥm(.w)-ntr t ḥnk.t k3w 3pd.w* (Newberry, 1893-94?) pp. 6-7, 13, pls. VII, XVI.
 Total number of titles: 29.
 Date: Senwosret III (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 102.
 Nome: 15.
 Tomb location: No EEf 2, Deir el-Bersha.
 Tomb size: 78.5 m². Calculated from Newberry (1893-94?) pl. 2.
 Father: *K3y* (Willems, 1983-1984) p. 102.
 Bibliography: Percy E. Newberry (1893-94?) *El Bersheh*, part I, London.
 Harco O. Willems (1983-1984) 'The senior officials of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history' in *JEOL* 28, pp. 80-102.

TABLES A2-A23

TABLE A2 LAND CAPABILITY OF THE NOMES OF UPPER EGYPT

Number of Nome	Estimated quality of soil
First	Classes 3, 4 and 5
Second	Classes 4
Third	Classes 3 and 4
Fourth	Classes 2 and 4
Fifth	Classes 3 and 4
Sixth	Class 3
Seventh	Class 2
Eighth	Classes 2 and 3
Ninth	Classes 1 and 2
Tenth	Classes 1 and 2
Eleventh	Class 1
Twelfth	Classes 1 and 2
Thirteenth	Class 1
Fourteenth	Classes 1 and 2
Fifteenth	Classes 1 and 2
Sixteenth	Class 1
Seventeenth	Class 1
Eighteenth	Class 1
Nineteenth	Class 1
Twentieth	Classes 1, 2 and 3
Twenty-first	Classes 3 and 4
Twenty-second	Class 3

Note: The land capability has been sub-divided into five classes: Class 1 being the highest quality and Class 5 the lowest quality.⁴⁰⁶ Where there is more than one class of land capability, the sequence is from the south moving north and west to east.

⁴⁰⁶ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, pp. 6-7.

TABLE A3 WEALTH INDICATORS FOR THE REIGNS/PERIODS

Criteria	D 3	D 4	Fifth Dynasty						Sixth Dynasty					D8	FIP	D11	Twelfth Dynasty					
	Djoser	Snefru	Khufu	Menkaure ^c	Userkaf	Sahure ^c	Neferirkare ^c	Neuserre ^c	Djedkare ^c	Teti	Pepy I	Merentre ^c	Pepy II	Eighth Dynasty	FIP	11th Dynasty (all E.)	Amenemhet I	Senwosret I	Amenemhet II	Senwosret II	Senwosret III	Amenemhet III
Length of reign (years)	20	35	23	28	8	13	20	31	38	10	50	6	60	46	125	70	29	45-46	35-38	10	19-20	47-48
Pyramid(s)	●	●(3)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	(a)	(b)	(c)	●	●	●	●	●	●
Vol. (m ³)	330	3,569	2,583	235	88	97	257	113	108	108	108	108	108	nn	nn	nn	129	225	nn	186	288	475
Pyramid material	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone	m,s	m-b	stone	stone	stone	stone	stone, mud-brick	mud-brick	mud-brick
Estimate of quality of pyramid construction	high	high	high	high	low	good	low	good	good	good	good	good	poor	poor	poor	good	ave.	med	med	med.	med.	med.
Pyramid temple(s)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	nn	●			●	●	●	nn	●	●	●
Sun pyramid					●			●														
Artefacts	7	10	13	10	4	12	7	9	9	10	38	11	20			11	27	78	23	20	54	66
Temples																	●	●				●
Text/ins.		1		1	1	1	2	2	9	3	5	2	7		3	14	6	10	5	3	13	12
Ship building		●																				
Mining:																						
Magharah		●	●			●					●		●									●
Wady Nasb																						●
V/m S.el K.																			●			●
T. of S.el K.																	●	●	●	●		●
W.el Ham.																	●					
Hatnub		●	●							●	●	●	●			●		●	●			
W.el Hudi																●		●	●		●	●
Abu Simbel			●															●				
Pwenet						●			●				●			●		●	●	●		
God's Land																●				●		
'Malachite'						●			●													
Gold	●												●									
Gold plating							●				●						●					
Nubia trade		●									●	●	●	●		●		●	●	●	●	
Nubia forts																					●	
Buhen insc.																		●			●	●
Myrrh						●										●						
Trade: Asia		●											●					●				
Totals	4	9	6	4	5	8	5	5	6	5	8	5	10	2	2	10	8	13	9	8	8	11
Rel. wealth/authority	Med	High	High	Med.	Med	High	Med	Med	High	Med	High	Med	High	Low	Low	High	High	High	High	High	High	High

(a) Pyramid of Ibi. A small pyramid, mud and brick, now practically destroyed. (b) Pyramid of Khui. A reasonably large pyramid, mud-brick, now largely destroyed. (c) Pyramid-temple at Deir el-Bahri.

TABLE A3 WEALTH INDICATORS FOR THE REIGNS/PERIODS (CONTINUED)

KEYS TO INDICATORS

Locations

V/m S.el K. = valleys and mines of Serabit el-Khadim
 T. of S. el K = Temple of Serabit el-Khadim and the approach to it
 W. el Hudi = Wadi el Hudi
 W. el Ham. = Wadi el Hammamat
 Abu Simbel = diorite quarry north of Abu Simbel

Key to 'Total' and 'Estimates of relative wealth/authority'

Total	Estimate of relative wealth/authority
0-3	Low
4-5	Medium
6-12	High

'Totals' are the sums of all dot points and entries for pyramids, artefacts, and texts or inscriptions. 'Vol. (m³)', 'Pyramid material' and 'Estimate of quality of pyr. const'n' are for ancillary use only and not included in the totals. Each numeral is counted as a dot point.



References:

- Pyramids/Pyramid temples/Sun pyramids: Pyramids: Mark Lehner (1997) *The Complete Pyramids*, London, *passim*.
 Artefacts: William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1923) *A History of Egypt*, vol. I, London, *passim*.
 Temples: Richard H. Wilkinson (2002) *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London, *passim*.
 Texts and inscriptions: *BARE*, *passim*.
 Shipbuilding: *BARE*, p. 65.
 Magharah: Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet (1952) *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, part I, London, p. 9.
 Wady Nasb: Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet (1952) *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, part I, London, p. 10.
 Serabit el-Khadim: Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet (1952) *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, part I, London, pp. 11-18.
 Wadi el Hammamat: *BARE*, pp. 208-215.
 Hatnub: Rudolf Anthes (1928) *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Leipzig, pls. 4-24.
 Wadi el Hudi: Ashraf I. Sadek (c. 1980) *The Amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, part I, Text, Warminster, pp. 4-98.
 Abu Simbel: Nicholas Grimal (1992) *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, p. 71.
 Pwenet: *BARE*, pp. 70, 160, 163, 209, 103.
 God's Land: *BARE*, pp. 161, 279.
 'Malachite': *BARE*, p. 121.
 Gold: *BARE*, p. 169.
 Gold plating: Alfred Lucas (1962) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London, pp. 232-233.
 Nubia trade: *BARE*, pp. 66, 154, 155-173, 279.
 Nubia forts: Alan H. Gardiner (1916) 'An ancient list of the fortresses of Nubia' in *JEA* 3, p. 192.
 Buhen inscriptions: Walter B. Emery (1965) *Egypt in Nubia*, London, p. 140.
 Myrrh: *BARE*, pp. 68, 154, 209.
 Trade (West Asia): *BARE*, p. 65.
 William A. Ward (1971) *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200-1900 B.C.*, Lebanon, pp. 9, 61, 71-125, 127-140.

TABLE A4 NOMARCHS AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS WITH TOMBS AT THE CAPITAL

Name	Ref. no.	Date	Nome(s) of Upper Egypt ruled	Burial site
<i>Hm(?)w</i> (a)	[086]	Reign of Djoser	Sixteenth	Saqqara
<i>Mtn</i>	[062]	Snefru-Khufu	East Sixth and Seventeenth	Saqqara
<i>Ntr-ꜥpr=f</i>	[078]	Snefru-Khufu	Fifth, Sixth and Seventh	Dahshur
<i>Isi</i>	[016]	Late Fourth, early Fifth Dynasty	Nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt	Saqqara
<i>Nfr-nsw</i>	[069]	Userkaf-Sahure ^c	Eighth and Tenth	Giza
<i>Nfr-mꜥt</i>	[067]	Neuserre ^c	Eighth	Dahshur
<i>In-kꜣ=f/Ini</i>	[011]	Pepy I	Ninth	Saqqara
<i>Tri</i>	[013]	Pepy I-Merenre ^c	Ninth	Saqqara
<i>Ggi</i>	[132]	Pepy I-Merenre ^c	Eighth	Saqqara and Abydos (N90)?
<i>Hw-bꜣw</i>	[096]	Early Pepy II	Eighth	Saqqara

Note: (a) Concerning this person, most likely there is only one individual. His name and titles, copied from potsherds found at Djoser's pyramid complex by Firth and Quibell,⁴⁰⁷ are as follows:

- (1.) 
- (2.) 

The nomarch's name given in (1.) above is transliterated as *Hm(?)w*. Kanawati suggests there is only one nomarch, with the two titles *sꜣm-tꜣ* and *ḥꜣꜣ*, of the Oryx (Sixteenth) Nome in the Third Dynasty.⁴⁰⁸ Fischer, on the other hand, suggests there are at least two administrators of the Sixteenth Nome and possibly three, one having the title *ḥꜣꜣ* and the other two (?) each having the title *sꜣm-tꜣ*.⁴⁰⁹ In view of the doubt as to whether there could have been two nomarchs of the Sixteenth Nome and none anywhere else, and because of the shortness of the reign of Djoser, which lasted only 20 years, it is accepted here that there is only one person with the titles *ḥꜣꜣ Mꜣḥꜣ* and *sꜣm-tꜣ Mꜣḥꜣ*.

⁴⁰⁷ Cecil E. Firth and James E. Quibell (1936) *The Step Pyramid*, Cairo, vol. I, p. 137; vol. 2, pl. 106 (no. 6).

⁴⁰⁸ Naguib Kanawati (1980) *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ Henry George Fischer (1977) 'Gaufürst' in *LÄ II*, Wiesbaden, col. 409.

TABLE A5 TITLES OF NOMARCHS AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS
WITH TOMBS AT THE CAPITAL

Period		Old Kingdom									
Name		<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Mtn</i> (a)	<i>Ntr- pr=f</i>	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Nfr-nsw</i> (a)	<i>Nfr-m3^c.t</i>	<i>In-k3=f</i> <i>Ini</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw- b3.w</i>
Reference number		[086]	[062]	[078]	[016]	[069]	[067]	[011]	[013]	[133]	[096]
Nomarch or provincial administrator		N	N	PA	N	N	PA	PA	N	N	N
Date		Djoser	Snefru- Khufu	Snefru- Khufu	LateD4, Ea D5	Userkaf- Sahure ^c	Neuserre ^c	Pepy I	Pepy I- Merenre ^c	Merenre ^c	Early Pepy II
Transliteration	Translation										
<i>hk3 sp3.t M3hd</i>	ruler of the Sixteenth Nome	•									
<i>sšm-t3 M3hd</i>	leader of the land of the Sixteenth Nome	•									
<i>hk3 sp3.t Sbk i3b.t</i>	ruler of the East Sixth Nome		•								
<i>sšm-t3 Sbk i3b.t</i>	leader of the land of the East Sixth Nome		•								
<i>hk3 sp3.t Inpw</i>	ruler of the Seventeenth Nome		•								
<i>sšm-t3 Inpw</i>	leader of the land of the Seventeenth Nome		•								
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t Sbk i3b.t</i>	overseer of commissions of the East Sixth Nome		•								
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t Inpw</i>	overseer of commissions of the Seventeenth Nome		•								
<i>s3 nsw</i>	king's son			•						•	
<i>s3 n.y h.t=f nsw</i>	king's son of his body						•				
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion						•	•	•	•	•
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw hn.t</i>	foremost guardian of the affairs of the king					•					
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king						•				
<i>hr.y-tp nsw pr.w 3</i>	royal chamberlain of the Great House							•			
<i>sš 3 nsw</i>	king's record scribe				•						
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd</i>	overseer of the treasury				•						
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt										•

Continued

TABLE A5 TITLES OF NOMARCHS AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS
WITH TOMBS AT THE CAPITAL (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Mtn</i>	<i>Ntr- ꜥpr=f</i>	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Nfr-nsw</i>	<i>Nfr-mꜣt</i>	<i>In-kꜣ=f Ini</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw- bꜣ.w</i>
<i>ir.y-ḥ.t pr.w-ꜣ nsw ḥr-ꜣ nb sš</i>	royal custodian of property of the Great House, in charge of all writing			•							
<i>im.y-rꜣ imꜣ.(w) nsw</i>	overseer of the king's ornaments				•						
<i>wr bs.t</i>	great one of the container of adornments				•						
<i>im.y-rꜣ ꜥḥ</i>	overseer of the palace					•					
<i>ḥr.y-sštꜣ</i>	one who is privy to the secret			•	•						
<i>sš gs-dꜣ.t</i>	scribe of protection								•	•	
<i>im.y-rꜣ gs-pr.w</i>	overseer of a work place				•						
<i>im.y-rꜣ kꜣ.wt nb.t nsw</i>	overseer of all works of the king							•			
<i>sꜣb ꜥd-mr</i>	judicial ꜥd-mr official			•							
<i>wr md Šmꜣ.w</i>	great one of the ten of Upper Egypt			•							
<i>ḥm-ntr ḥnt(.y) Ḥꜣ Snfr.w</i>	priest of the outer chamber of (the pyramid) 'Snefru rises in splendour'				•						
<i>ḥm-ntr Ḥꜣi=f-Rꜣ</i>	priest of Khafreꜣ						•				
<i>swšw(?) m spꜣ.wt Tꜣ-mḥ.w</i>	overseer/leader? in the nomes of Lower Egypt				•						
<i>sšm-tꜣ spꜣ.wt m Šmꜣ.w</i>	leader of the land in the nomes of Upper Egypt				•						
<i>sšm-tꜣ Tꜣ-wr Dt</i>	leader of the land of the Eighth Nome and the Tenth Nome					•					
<i>im.y-rꜣ mn.ww Tꜣ-wr Dt</i>	overseer of fortresses of the Eighth Nome and the Tenth Nome					•					
<i>im.y-rꜣ nswt.yw Tꜣ-wr Dt</i>	overseer of the king's people of the Eighth Nome and the Tenth Nome					•					

Continued

TABLE A5 TITLES OF NOMARCHS AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS
WITH TOMBS AT THE CAPITAL (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hm(?)w</i>	<i>Mtn</i>	<i>Ntr- pr=f</i>	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Nfr-nsw</i>	<i>Nfr- m3^c.t</i>	<i>In-k3=f 'Ini</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw- b3.w</i>
<i>hk3 hw.t 3.t T3-wr Dt</i>	manager of the great estate of the Eighth Nome and the Tenth Nome					•					
<i>im.y-r3 3h.(w) T3-wr Dt</i>	overseer of palaces of the Eighth Nome and the Tenth Nome					•					
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t B3wy, B3t, Ikr</i>	overseer of commissions (in nomes) 5, 7 and 6			•							
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t T3-wr Dt</i>	overseer of commissions of the Eighth Nome and the Tenth Nome					•					
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t T3-wr</i>	overseer of commissions of the Eighth Nome						•				
<i>im.y-r3 rsy</i>	overseer of the southern region							•			
<i>hr.y s3t3 n.y h3s.wt n.t rsy</i>	privy to the secret of the southern lands							•			
<i>im.y-r3 s3.w Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt			•			•				
<i>mni.w n.y km.t</i>	herdsman of the (sacred) black cattle									•	
<i>sš md3.t-ntr</i>	scribe of the god's book			•							
<i>hr.(y) (?) Pr.w 3nh</i>	one who is in charge of the temple scriptorium			•							
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest								•		•
<i>hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr</i>	priest of Hathor					•					
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n.y Inhr.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Onuris									•	
<i>im.y-r3 w^cb(.w)</i>	overseer of w ^c b-priests					•					
<i>hrp (i) m(.yw) s3</i>	director of the members of a phyle					•					
<i>mty n.y s3</i>	regulator of a phyle								•		
<i>sš n.y s3</i>	scribe of a phyle									•	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-šn^c</i>	overseer of the storehouse										•
<i>hr.y-tp 3 n.y In.t Mn.w</i>	great overlord of Akhmim								•		

Continued

TABLE A5 TITLES OF NOMARCHS AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS
WITH TOMBS AT THE CAPITAL (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Mtn</i>	<i>Ntr-</i> <i>pr=f</i>	<i>Isi</i>	<i>Nfr-nsw</i>	<i>Nfr-</i> <i>m3^c.t</i>	<i>In-k3=f</i> <i>'Ini</i>	<i>'Iri</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw-</i> <i>b3.w</i>
<i>hr.y sšt3 n.y</i> <i>pr.w-dw3.t</i>	privy to the secret of the House of the Morning							•			
<i>sd3wty ntr m dp.ty 3</i>	god's sealer in the two great barques							•			
<i>hr.y sšt3 n.y wd.t-</i> <i>md.w nb.t n.t r-3</i> <i>h3s.wt n.t rsy</i>	privy to the secret of every proclamation/ command belonging to the entry of the southern lands							•			
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i> <i>Mn.w Ip.w</i>	overseer of the priests of Min of Akhmim							•			
<i>im.y-r3 smnt.yw</i>	overseer of prospectors							•			
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c</i>	expedition leader							•			
<i>hr.y-tp 3 n.y T3-wr</i>	great overlord of the Eighth Nome									•	•
<i>h3.ty-^c.w</i>	count						•			•	•
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest							•		•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests										•
<i>im.y-r3 hnt.y-š</i> <i>pr.w-3</i>	overseer of the palace guards									•	
<i>shd hm.w-ntr</i> <i>Mr-n-r^c-h^ci-nfr</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid 'Merenre ^c appears and is beautiful'									•	
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr Mn-</i> <i>nh-Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Neferkare ^c (Pepy II)										•
Totals		2	6	9	9	11	7	12	5	11	8

Note: (a) The titles of *Mtn* related to Lower Egypt are not included.

TABLE A6 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIRST NOME

Period		Old Kingdom								FIP	Middle Kingdom	
Name		<i>Hwi</i>	<i>Tti</i>	<i>Hr- hw=f</i>	<i>Init=f/ Mh.w</i>	<i>S3bni</i>	<i>Hwn- Hnm.w</i>	<i>Ppy-nh.t /Hk3-ib</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>Sti-k3</i>	<i>S3-rmpwt I</i>	<i>S3-rmpwt II</i>
Reference number		[094]	[141]	[092]	[010]	[113]	[098]	[051]	[100]	[121]	[114]	[115]
Nomarch or prov. administrator		PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA	N	PA
Date		M-ea PII	Ea PII	Yrs 1- 34 PII	Late PII	Late PII-D8	D8	D8	D8	Early FIP(a)	Sen- wosret I	Amen- emhet II
Tomb number		A5	B3	A8	A1	A1	B2	A9	A6	110	PM36	PM31
Transliteration	Translation											
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•
<i>smr.w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•
<i>im.y-r3 hnw</i>	overseer of the royal residence	•										
<i>im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-^c3</i>	overseer of the palace guards	•										
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	chamberlain						•					
<i>hnt.y-š (mr) Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	guardian of the pyramid of Pepy II							•				
<i>šhd hm(.w)-ntr [mr] Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Pepy II						•					
<i>šhd hm(.w)-ntr [mr] Nfr-k3-R^c mn^c n^h</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Pepy II									•		
<i>mni.w Nhn</i>	guardian of Hierakonpolis			•								
<i>hr.y-tp [Nhb]</i>	chief Nekhebite			•								
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt			•		•						
<i>im.y-r3 s3.w Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt									•		
<i>im.y-r3 h3s.wt nb.t n(.w)t tp-Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of all foreign lands of the head of the South			•		•	•	•				
<i>im.y-r3 ^c(.w)</i>	overseer of Egyptianised Nubians			•		•		•				
<i>im.y r3 h3s.wt</i>	overseer of foreign lands									•	•	
<i>hr.y-tp ^c3 n.y 3bw</i>	great overlord of the First Nome										•	
<i>h3.ty-^c.w</i>	count	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•
<i>hr.y-tp h3.ty-^c.ww</i>	foremost of the counts											•
<i>ir.y p^c.t</i>	hereditary noble										•	•
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest		•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests										•	

Continued

TABLE A6 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIRST NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hwi</i>	<i>Tti</i>	<i>Hr- hw=f</i>	<i>Init=f/ Mh.w</i>	<i>S3bni</i>	<i>Hwn- Hnm.w</i>	<i>Ppy-nh.t/ Hk3-ib</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>Sti-k3</i>	<i>S3-rnpwt I</i>	<i>S3-rnpwt II</i>
<i>hr.y sšt3 n(.w)</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr</i>	privy to the secret of the priests										•	
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr</i> <i>n(.w) St.t nb.t</i> <i>3bw</i>	overseer of the priests of Satet, lady of Elephantine										•	•
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr</i> <i>n(.w) Hnm.w</i>	overseer of the priests of Khnum											•
<i>im.y-r3 mšc</i>	expedition leader											•
Totals		5	4	9	4	7	7	7	4	4	9	8

TABLE A7 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE SECOND NOME

Period		Old Kingdom		
Name		<i>Isi</i>	<i>Mry-R^c-nfr/ K3r</i>	<i>H.w</i>
Reference number		[017]	[055]	[095]
Nomarch/Vizier		N (also vizier)	N	N
Date		Pepy I	Merenre ^c	Early 8th Dynasty
Transliteration	Translation			
<i>t3yt.y s3b t3t.y</i>	he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier	•		
<i>s3b r^cd-mr</i>	juridical <i>r^cd-mr</i> official	•	•	
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt		•	
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king		•	
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•
<i>n.y ns.t hnt.t pr-3</i>	one who belongs to a foremost place of the palace		•	
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	chamberlain	•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 sš(.w) r^c(.w) nsw</i>	overseer of scribes of the king's documents	•		
<i>mdh sš nsw</i>	master architect of the king	•		
<i>hr.y k3(.w)t nb.(wt) n.(w)t nsw</i>	supervisor of all works of the king	•		
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w dw3.t</i>	privy to the secret of the House of the Morning		•	
<i>sms.w h(3)y.t n...</i>	elder of the portal of ...	•		
<i>wr md(.w) Šm^c.w</i>	great one of the ten of Upper Egypt	•	•	
<i>md.w Rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet-people	•		
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	support of the <i>knm.wt</i>	•		
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt		•	
<i>im.y-r3 3 h3s.wt m h3s.wt Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the gate of the desert-lands in the hill-countries of Upper Egypt		•	
<i>hr.y-tp 3 sp3.t</i>	great overlord of the nome	•	•	
<i>hr.y-tp 3 Wts.t-Hr</i>	great overlord of Second Nome			•
<i>hk3 hw.t</i>	estate manager	•		
<i>ir.y p^c.t</i>	hereditary noble	•		•
<i>h3.ty-^c.w</i>	count	•	•	•
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t nb(.t) n.(w)t nsw</i>	overseer of all commissions of the king		•	
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest	•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests		•	•
Totals		16	15	5

TABLE A8 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE THIRD NOME

Period		Old Kingdom	First Intermediate Period	Middle Kingdom
Name		<i>Htp</i>	<i>ḥnḥ.ty=fy</i>	<i>Ini</i> (a)
Reference number		[093]	[028]	[006]
Date		Late Pepy II	Early Eighth Dynasty	11 th Dynasty
Burial site		El-Moḥalla	El-Moḥalla	Gebelein
Transliteration	Translation			
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt		•	•
<i>smr wḥ.ty</i>	sole companion		•	•
<i>ir.y pḥ.t</i>	hereditary noble	•	•	
<i>h3.ty-ḥ.w</i>	count		•	
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests	•	•	
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t</i>	lector priest		•	
Hieroglyphic text not given (a)	overseer of the priests of the temple of Sobek, lord of Sumenu			•
<i>hr.y-tp ḥ3 Nḥn</i>	great overlord of Third Nome	•		
<i>hr.y-tp ḥ3 Wts.t-Ḥr Nḥn</i>	great overlord of Second Nome and Third Nome		•	
Hieroglyphic text not given (a)	nomarch			•
<i>im.y-r3 mšḥ</i>	expedition leader		•	
<i>im.y-r3 ḥ.w</i>	caravan leader		•	
<i>im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt</i>	overseer of the hill-countries		•	
Totals		3	10	4

Note: (a) Hieroglyphic text of titles is not given.

TABLE A9 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOURTH NOME

Period		Old Kingdom					FIP
Name		<i>Thy</i>	<i>Hnti</i>	<i>Wnis-ḥnḥ</i>	<i>Ini-it=f</i>	<i>Ini-it=f</i> ʕ3	<i>Sni-ikr</i>
Reference number		[014]	[102]	[033]	[008]	[009]	[117]
Nomarch or provincial administrator		N	N	N	N	N	PA
Date		M-PII	La PII	La PII- Eighth Dynasty	Eighth Dynasty	Eighth Dynasty	FIP
Transliteration	Translation						
<i>htm-ntr</i>	god's sealer		•				•
<i>smr wḥ.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•				
<i>im.y ib nsw hn.ty idb.wy=f</i>	one who is favourite of the king and tenant of his two banks	•					
<i>hr.y-tp nsw pr.w ʕ3</i>	royal chamberlain of the Great House	•					
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain			•			
<i>š3b ʕd-mr n.y ns.t hnt.t</i>	juridical ʕd-mr official of pre-eminent place	•					
<i>im.y r3 šnw.ty</i>	overseer of the two granaries	•	•	•			
<i>md.w rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet-people	•					
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	support of the <i>knm.wt</i>	•					
<i>im.y-r3 Šmḥ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt			•			
<i>mḥ-ib n.y nsw m r3-ʕ3 g3.w rsy</i>	confidant of the king in the narrow southern doorway				•		
<i>ir.y pḥ.t</i>	hereditary noble				•		•
<i>h3.ty-ḥ.w</i>	count				•		•
<i>hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y sp3.t</i>	great overlord of the nome	•	•	•		•	
<i>hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y W3s.t</i>	great overlord of the Fourth Nome				•		
<i>im.y-r s3.w sp3.t</i>	overseer of the phyles of the nome	•					
<i>hk3 ḥw.t</i>	estate manager	•					
<i>hr.y sšt3 n.y mdw.t nb.t sšt3 inn.t r sp3.t</i>	one who is privy to the secret of every word brought to the nome	•	•	•			
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t</i>	lector priest	•	•				
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w) ntr</i>	overseer of priests				•		
<i>ḥm-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr (nb(.t) s.t n.t ḥ(?))</i>	priest of Hathor... (full meaning not known)					•	
Totals		12	6	5	5	2	3

TABLE A10 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIFTH NOME

Period		OK		FIP	MK
Name		<i>Šm3i</i>	<i>Idy</i>	<i>Wsr</i>	<i>T3wti</i>
Reference number		[122]	[021]	[039]	[137]
Nomarch/provincial administrator/vizier		PA/V	PA/V	N	N
Date		Neferkauhor (8 th Dynasty)	Demedj-ib-towy (8 th Dynasty)	10 th Dynasty	Early 11 th Dynasty
Transliteration	Translation				
<i>t3yt.y s3b t3t.y</i>	he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier	•	•		
<i>it-ntr</i>	father of the god	•		•	
<i>s3 wr nsw n.y h.t=f</i>	king's eldest son of his body			•	
<i>mr.y ntr</i>	beloved of the god	•			
(a)	[foster-child of the king]	•			
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt	•			
<i>im.y-r3 sš(.w) ʕ(.w) nsw</i>	overseer of the royal scribes	•			
<i>im.y-r3 niw.t (mr)</i>	overseer of the [pyramid] town	•			
<i>hr.y-tp hḳ3 niw.wt</i>	chief of the rulers of towns		•		
<i>im.y-r3 Šmʕ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt	•	•	•	•
<i>im.y-r3 h3s.wt i3b.t imn.tt</i>	overseer of the eastern and western foreign lands			•	
<i>mḥ-ib n.y nsw m r3-ʕ3 g3.w rsy</i>	confidant of the king in the narrow southern doorway				•
<i>im.y-r3 h3s.wt</i>	overseer of foreign lands			•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests	•	•	•	
<i>sm3 Mn.w</i>	<i>sm3</i> -priest/stolist of Min	•	•		
<i>ir.y pʕ.t</i>	hereditary noble	•		•	•
<i>h3.ty-ʕ.w</i>	count	•	•	•	•
<i>hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y Hr.wy</i>	great overlord of the Fifth Nome			•	•
Totals		12	6	9	5

Note: (a) Title not seen.⁴¹⁰

⁴¹⁰ William Charles Hayes (1946) 'Royal decrees from the temple of Min at Coptos' in *JEA* 32, p. 14.

TABLE A11 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE SIXTH NOME WITH TOMBS AT THE NOME

Period		Old Kingdom						First Intermediate Period					
Name		<i>Id.w I</i>	<i>Id.w II</i>	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Mni</i>	<i>Ni-ibw-nswt/Bbi</i>	<i>Šn-sti</i>	<i>‘b-ih.w (a)</i>	<i>Mrrr</i>	<i>Id.w(-i)/Wh3i</i>	<i>Mn-‘nh-Ppy/Mni</i>	<i>Mrr</i>	<i>Ini-ikr</i>
Reference number		[022]	[023]	[136]	[053]	[063]	[123]	[026]	[060]	[024]	[054]	[059]	[007]
Date		M-Ea Pepy II	La Pepy II	La Pepy II	La Pepy II	La PII – 8D	8 D	9 D or later	9 D or later	9 D or later	9 D or later	Late FIP (?)	Late FIP (?)
Nomarch or provincial administrator		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	PA	PA
Transliteration	Translation												
<i>smr wꜥ.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	
<i>šps.w nsw</i>	noble of the king	•											
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt	•	•	•		•		•	•	•	•	•	
<i>smr-pr.w</i>	companion of the house	•											
<i>im.y-r3 sw.t špsy</i>	overseer of the noble	•	•										
<i>pr.w-‘3</i>	places of the great house												
<i>im.y-is</i>	councillor	•											
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	chamberlain					•							
<i>hr.y sšB n.y wdꜥ-mdw</i>	he who is privy to the secret of the judgement	•				•							
<i>hr.y-sšB n.y pr.w-dw3.t</i>	he who is privy to the House of the Morning							•					
<i>im.y-r3 hnt.y-š</i>	overseer of the palace guards										•		
<i>pr.w-‘3</i>													
<i>rs-tp r wd.wt sr.w (b)</i>	vigilant as to that which the officials order	•	•			•							
<i>Mn hk3 hw.t mn nfr Mry-Rꜥ</i>	overseer of the pyramid estate of Pepy I	•											
<i>Mn hk3 hw.t mn ‘nh Nfr-k3-Rꜥ</i>	overseer of the pyramid estate of Pepy II	•											
<i>hk3 hw.t mn-nfr-Mry-Rꜥ</i>	ruler of the funerary estate of (the pyramid) ‘The-perfection-of-Mery-Reꜥ-abides’										•		
<i>hk3 hw.t hꜥi-nfr-Mr-n-Rꜥ</i>	ruler of the funerary estate of (the pyramid) ‘The-perfection-of-Merenreꜥ appears’										•		
<i>wr md.w Šmꜥ.w</i>	great one of the ten of Upper Egypt	•				•							
<i>š3b ‘d-mr n.y ns.t hnt.t</i>	juridical ‘d-mr official of pre-eminent place	•				•							
<i>im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt	•						•					
<i>im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w m3ꜥ</i>	true overseer of Upper Egypt	•											
<i>ir.y pꜥ.t</i>	hereditary noble						•	•		•		•	
<i>hr.y-tp ‘3 T3-wr, B3.t, Tkr</i>	great overlord of the Eighth, Seventh and Sixth nomes							•					
<i>hr.y-tp ‘3 n.y sp3.t</i>	great overlord of the nome	•	•	•	•	•	•						
<i>hr.y sšB n.y md.t nb.t sšB.t inn.t r sp3.t</i>	he who is privy to the secret of every word of the secrets which are brought to the nome	•		•									

Continued

TABLE A11 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE SIXTH NOME WITH TOMBS AT THE NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Id.w I</i>	<i>Id.w II</i>	<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Mni</i>	<i>Ni-ibw-nsw/Bbi</i>	<i>Šn-sti</i>	<i>ʿb-iḥ.w</i>	<i>Mrrr</i>	<i>Id.w(-i)/Wh3i</i>	<i>Mn-ʿnh-Ppy/Mni</i>	<i>Mrr</i>	<i>Ini-ikr</i>
<i>im.y-r3 s3.w sp3.t</i>	overseer of the phyles of the nome	•											
<i>h3.ty-ʿ.w</i>	count	•				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>hk3 ḥw.t</i>	estate manager	•	•	•		•					•		
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t</i>	lector priest	•	•	•					•		•		
<i>im.y-r ḥm[.w]-ntr</i>	overseer of priests					•	•		•	•		•	•
<i>hrp m ḥb.t</i> [of Hathor]	director in the barque of Hathor										•		
<i>hr.y-tp d3.t n.y</i> <i>Hw.t-Ḥr nb(.t)</i> <i>Imnt.t</i>	supervisor of the wardrobe of Hathor, mistress of Dendera								•				
<i>hr.y sšt3 n.y sd3w.ty ntr</i>	he who is privy to the secret of the treasure of the god					•			•				
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y mdw-ntr</i>	he who is privy to the secret of the god's word								•				
<i>im.y-r3 km.t mr nb dšr.t sm.t</i>	overseer of every cultivated place and every desert place.										•		
<i>im.y-r3 whʿ n(.w) sp3.t</i>	overseer of fishers, fowlers and hunters of the nome										•		
<i>im.y-r3 šn-t3 nb n.y sp3.t</i>	overseer of all vegetation of the nome										•		
<i>mni.w tnt.t</i>	herdsman of the <i>tnt.t</i> -cattle						•		•	•			
Totals		20	7	6	2	12	5	6	10	6	12	5	2

Note: (a) The titles of *ʿb-iḥ.w* are given in the details on Dendera although the location of his tomb at Dendera is not known, the titles coming from a false-door originally found at Dendera, now in Cairo (JE38851).⁴¹¹

(b) The title/epithet *rs-tp r wd.wt sr.w* ‘vigilant as to that which the officials order’ is really as much an epithet as a title, but it is included as a title by Fischer,⁴¹² and is so regarded here.

Omitted from the above table is the nomarch *Mtn* whose title details are given under those for the Capital. His titles relevant to the Sixth Nome are *hk3 sp3.t Sbk i3b.t*, *sšm-t3 Sbk i3b.t* and *im.y-r3 wp(.w)t Sbk i3b.t*. *Mtn* was also a nomarch of the Seventeenth Nome.

⁴¹¹ DEN, p. 463.

⁴¹² Ibid, p. 101.

TABLE A12 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE SEVENTH NOME WITH TOMBS
AT THE NOME

Period		Old Kingdom	
Name		<i>T3wti</i>	<i>Id.w/Snni</i>
Reference number		[135]	[025]
Date		Middle Pepy II	Pepy II (years 55-60)
Transliteration	Translation		
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt	•	•
<i>hr.y sšt3</i>	one who is privy to the secret	•	
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr mr.w Mry-R^c Mr-n-R^c Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramids of Meryre ^c (Pepy I), Merenre ^c and Neferkare ^c (Pepy II)	•	
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr mr.w Ppy Mr-n-R^c Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramids of Pepy (I), Merenre ^c and Neferkare ^c (Pepy II)		•
<i>im.y-r3 hn.ty-š pr.w-^c3</i>	overseer of the palace guards		•
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt	•	
<i>im.y-r3 3 h3s.wt Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the gate of the foreign southern lands	•	
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	hereditary noble	•	
<i>h3.ty-^c.w</i>	count	•	•
<i>hr.y-tp 3 n.y sp3.t</i>	great overlord of the nome	•	•
<i>hk3 hw.t</i>	estate manager	•	•
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest	•	
Totals		11	7

TABLE A13 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE EIGHTH NOME MAINLY WITH TOMBS AT THE NOME

Period		Old Kingdom						First Intermediate Period				MK
Name		<i>Nfr-m3^c.t</i>	<i>Ggi</i> (a)	<i>Hw-b3.w</i>	<i>Tw3.w</i>	<i>Hnwy</i>	<i>Tmrry</i>	<i>H3gi</i>	<i>Sip.t</i>	NN son of <i>Id</i>	<i>Hni</i>	<i>Mr.w/Iy 3.w</i>
Reference number		[067]	[133]	[096]	[138]	[091]	[139]	[084]	[116]	[072]	[089]	[057]
Nomarch or provincial administrator		PA	N	N	PA	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA
Date		Neuser-re ^c	Meren-re ^c	Early Pepy II	Early D 8	D 8	End of D 8	D9 (d)	D9 (e)	D 9 (or 10)	D 9 (or 10)	D 11
Transliteration	Translation											
<i>s3 n.y h.t=f nsw</i>	king's son of his body	•										
<i>s3 nsw</i>	king's son		•									
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•
<i>iry-ht nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king	•										
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt			•				•	•			•
<i>sš^c nsw n.y hft-hr</i>	scribe of royal records in the presence				•							
<i>ir.y-h.t m s.t wr.t</i>	administrator in the great place									•		
<i>hr.y-sšt3 m pr.w^c 3.t</i>	privy to the secret in the palace										•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr H^ci=f-R^c</i>	overseer of the priests of Khafre ^c	•										
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr Mr-n-R^c-h^ci-nfr</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid ‘Merenre ^c appears and is beautiful’		•									
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr Mn-^cnh-Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Neferkare ^c (Pepy II)			•								
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain				•		•					
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-šn^c</i>	overseer of the storehouse			•								
<i>im.y-r3 nm.t</i>	overseer of the slaughter-house							•				
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	hereditary prince								•	•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 s3.w Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt	•										
<i>sš n.y s3</i>	scribe of a phyle		•									
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t T3-wr</i>	overseer of commissions of the Eighth Nome	•										
<i>r3 P nb</i>	mouth of every Pe-ite/Butite									•		
<i>wr m P</i>	great in Pe									•		
<i>wr m Dp</i>	great one in Dep									•		
<i>s3b^c d-mr</i>	juridical ^c <i>d-mr</i> official				•		•					
<i>h3.ty-^c.w</i>	count	•	•	•		•		•	•	•	•	•
<i>n.y-ns.t-hnt.t</i>	[he who belongs to] the foremost seat				•							

Continued

TABLE A13 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE EIGHTH NOME MAINLY WITH TOMBS AT THE NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Nfr-m3^c.t</i>	<i>Ggi</i>	<i>Hw-b3.w</i>	<i>Tw3.w</i>	<i>Hnwy</i>	<i>Tmrry</i>	<i>H3gi</i>	<i>Sip.t</i>	NN son of <i>Id</i>	<i>Hni</i>	<i>Mr.w/Ty 3.w</i>
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt									•		
<i>hk3 h.w.t</i>	chief of the estate district							•				
<i>im.y-r3 n.y sp3.t</i>	overseer of the province						•					
<i>im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-^c3</i>	overseer of the palace guards		•							•	•	•
<i>sš gs-dp.t</i>	scribe of protection		•									
<i>hr.y-tp ^c3 n.y T3-wr</i>	great overlord of the Eighth Nome		•	•			•	•	•	•	•	
<i>hr.y-tp ^c3 m sp3.t</i>	great overlord in the province					•						
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions				•							
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest		•	•								
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n.y Inhr.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Onuris		•				•					
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests			•			•	•	•		•	•
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ntr</i>	overseer of the temple									•		
<i>im.y-r3 h.w.t-ntr n.t Inhr.t</i>	overseer of the temple of Onuris									•		
<i>ir.y nfr-h3.t m db3 nb=f ntr=f niw.ty</i>	keeper of the head-dress in attiring his lord of his city god.											•
<i>hr.y-sšt3 m nw3 ntr</i>	privy to the secret of the sacred adze										•	
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t htp m h.w.t ntr</i>	overseer of work in the temple										•	
<i>hr.y-tp d3.t m h.w.t-ntr</i>	overseer of the wardrobe in the temple							•				
<i>nh.t-hr.w m(?) sp3.wt Hnw-nhn</i>	strong of voice in the nomes of <i>Hnw-Nhn</i>				•							
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t irr.t m T3-wr</i>	overseer of all work done in the Eighth Nome						•					
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t wd.t irr.t m T3-wr</i>	overseer of all work which is commanded to be done in the Eighth Nome						•					
<i>im.y-r3 3h.t</i>	overseer of fields				•							
<i>im.y-r3 šn-t3</i>	overseer of vegetables							•				
<i>im.y-r3 šn.t</i>	overseer of punishment							•				
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c</i>	expedition leader					•	•					
<i>im.y-r3 km.t hnr.w</i>	overseer of the black cattle of the musical performers								•			
<i>mni.w n.y km.t</i>	herdsman of the (sacred) black cattle		•									
<i>im.y-r3 tpw.t nb.wt n.(w)t sms.w m3t.w</i>	overseer of all the <i>tpw.t</i> of the retinue of the <i>m3t.w</i>										•	
Totals		7	11	8	8	4	10	10	6	12	10	6

TABLE A14 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE NINTH NOME

Period		Old Kingdom															
Name		<i>K3(=i)- m-nfr.t</i> (A3)	<i>Dw3- Mn.w</i>	<i>Nhwt- -dšr/ Mry/ Wi.w</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (CA1)	<i>Ink3f/ Ini</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Hw- b3.w</i>	<i>K3=i- ḥp/ Tti</i>	<i>n-nḥt</i>	<i>Ḥni- Ḥnh.w</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- ḥp/ Tti-ikr	<i>Ḥni/ Špsi- pw- Mn.w</i>	<i>Tti-ʕ3</i>	<i>Bḥn</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (B7 and B6)
Reference number		[125]	[142]	[073]	[040]	[011]	[052]	[013]	[95]	[126]	[027]	[101]	[127]	[103]	[140]	[045]	[041]
Nomarch/provincial administrator/vizier		PA	PA	N	PA and V	PA	PA	N	N	N	PA	PA	N	N	N	N	PA and V
Date		Middle D5 or later	N, or a little earlier	End T- begin PI	Ea-mi PI	PI	La PI	La PI/M	Ea PII	Ea P II	Ea/mi P II	Ea/ mi P II	Mi PII	La PII	End PII – End D6	D8	D8 (2 nd half)
Transliteration	Translation																
<i>ir.y-ḥ.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king	•	•														
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	
<i>t3yt.y s3b</i> <i>t3t.y</i>	he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier				•												•
<i>ḥtm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt			•			•		•	•	•		•	•	•	•	
<i>ḥtm.w-bi.ty</i> <i>m3^c</i>	true seal- bearer of the king of Lower Egypt									•							
<i>w^cb nsw</i>	w ^c b-priest of the king	•	•														
<i>ir.y-nfr ḥ3.t</i> <i>[m sšt3 nb]</i>	keeper of the head- dress (in every secret)									•				•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>pr.wy-ḥd</i>	overseer of the two houses of silver									•							
<i>im.y r3</i> <i>šnw.ty n(.w)</i> <i>ḥtp.t-ntr</i>	overseer of the two granaries of the divine offering									•			•				•
<i>ḥrp ḥw.wt...</i>	director of the estates of ...									•							
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>pr.w...</i>	overseer of the house of ...														•		
<i>ḥrp šndw.t</i> <i>nb.t</i>	controller of every kilt									•				•			
<i>im.y r3</i> <i>ḥnt.w(?)</i> <i>pr.w-ʕ3</i>	overseer of those who are foremost (?) in the palace																•

Continued

TABLE A14 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE NINTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>K3(=i)- m-nfr.t</i> (A3)	<i>Dw3- Mn.w</i>	<i>Nhwt- dšr/ Mry/ Wi.w</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (CA1)	<i>Ink3f/ Ini</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Hw- b3.w</i>	<i>Tti/ K3=i</i> <i>-hp</i>	<i>ʿn- nhi</i>	<i>Hni- nh.w</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>hp/ Tti-ikr</i>	<i>Hni/ Špsi- pw- Mn.w</i>	<i>Tti-ʿ3</i>	<i>Bhn</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (B7 and B6)
<i>im.y-is</i>	he who is in the chamber													•			
<i>im.y r3 sš(.w) n(.w) ʿ(.w) nsw</i>	overseer of the scribes of royal documents																•
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y sd3w.t-ntr</i>	privy to the secret of the god's treasure			•						•							
<i>hr.y sšt3 n.y pr.w-dw3.t</i>	privy to the secret of the House of the Morning					•											
<i>hr.y-tp nsw pr.w ʿ3</i>	royal chamberlain of the Great House					•											
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain						•				•						
<i>im.y-r3 šhmh-ib nb</i>	overseer of all pleasures									•							
<i>im.y r3 ip.t nsw</i>	overseer of the royal harem									•							
<i>wđ md.w n.y hri wdb</i>	commander of the chiefs of distribution									•							
<i>im.y r3 wp(.w)t 3h.ty mr[.t 3h.t] m pr.wy</i>	overseer of apportionments of serfs and fields in the two houses						•										
<i>šđd-wi3</i>	superintendent of the boat		•														
<i>sd3wty ntr m dp.ty ʿ3</i>	god's sealer in the two great barques					•											
<i>im.y-r3 sš.wy</i>	overseer of the two pools									•							
<i>ʿ3 Dw3.w</i>	assistant of Duau									•							
<i>wr m3.w</i>	greatest of seers									•							
<i>wr 5</i>	greatest of the five									•							
<i>sš gs-dp.t</i>	scribe of protection							•									
<i>h.w</i>	exempted									•							
<i>im.y-r3 rsy</i>	overseer of the southern region					•											

Continued

TABLE A14 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE NINTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>K3(=i)</i> -m- nfr.t (A3)	<i>Dw3-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Nhwt-</i> <i>dšr/</i> <i>Mry/</i> <i>Wt.w</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (CA1)	<i>Ink3f/</i> <i>Ini</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Hw-</i> <i>b3.w</i>	<i>Tti/</i> <i>K3=i-</i> <i>hp</i>	<i>ʕn-</i> <i>nhi</i>	<i>Hni-</i> <i>nh.w</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>hp/</i> <i>Tti-</i> <i>ikr</i>	<i>Hni/</i> <i>špsi-</i> <i>pw-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Tti-ʕ</i>	<i>Bhn</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (B7 and B6)
<i>im.y-r3 šmʕ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt									•							
<i>im.y r3 šmʕ.w</i> <i>m3ʕ</i>	true overseer of Upper Egypt											•					
<i>im.y-r3 šmʕ.w</i> (<i>m sp3w.t</i> <i>mḥ.tyt</i>)	overseer of Upper Egypt (in the northern provinces)													•			
<i>ḥr.y sšb3 n.y</i> <i>ḥ3s.wt n.(w)t</i> <i>rsy</i>	privy to the secret of the southern lands					•											
<i>ḥr.y sšb3 n.y</i> <i>wḏ.t-md.w</i> <i>nb.t n.(t) r-ʕ3</i> <i>ḥ3s.wt n.(w)t</i> <i>rsy</i>	privy to the secret of every proclamation/ command belonging to the entry of the southern lands					•											
<i>im.y-r3 sm.t</i> <i>n.t ...</i>	overseer of the desert region of...										•						
<i>im.y-r3 iti</i> <i>šmʕ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egyptian grain									•			•			•	
<i>im.y-r3 iti</i> <i>šmʕ.w (m</i> <i>sp3.wt)</i>	overseer of Upper Egyptian grain (in the provinces)													•			
<i>im.y-r3 niw.t</i> <i>mr</i>	overseer of the pyramid town				•												•
<i>mni.w Nhn</i>	guardian of Hierakonpolis													•			
<i>ḥr.y-tp Nhb</i>	chief Nekhebite													•			
<i>md.w Rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet- people													•			
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	pillar of the <i>knm.wt</i>													•			
<i>wʕ (m) wr.w</i> <i>šp(n).tyw</i>	unique among the great ones of the <i>špnt</i> -people									•							
<i>hrp šndw.t</i> <i>nb.t</i>	controller of every kilt									•				•			

Continued

TABLE A14 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE NINTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>K3(=i)</i> <i>-m-</i> <i>nfr.t</i> (A3)	<i>Dw3-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Nhwt-</i> <i>dšr/</i> <i>Mry/</i> <i>Wi.w</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (CA1)	<i>Ink3f/</i> <i>Tni</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Tri</i>	<i>Hw-</i> <i>b3.w</i>	<i>Tti/</i> <i>K3=i</i> <i>-hp</i>	<i>ʕn-</i> <i>nh</i>	<i>Hni-</i> <i>ʕnh.w</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>hp/</i> <i>Tti-</i> <i>ikr</i>	<i>Hni/</i> <i>ʕpsi-</i> <i>pw-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Tti-ʕ3</i>	<i>Bhn</i>	<i>B3wi</i> (B7 and B6)
<i>it ntr mr.y</i> <i>ntr</i>	father of the god, beloved of the god																•
<i>šd.t nsw</i>	foster child of the king																•
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>nswt.yw</i>	overseer of the king's people	•															
<i>iri-p.ʕt</i>	hereditary noble									•		•				•	
<i>hk3 hw.t ʕ3.t</i>	manager of the great estate	•															
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> <i>n.y hw.t-ʕ3.t</i>	overseer of the great estate		•														
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>wp.(w)t id.w</i>	overseer of commissions of the young men		•														
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt</i> <i>nb.t nsw</i>	overseer of all works of the king					•											
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-</i> <i>šnʕ</i>	overseer of the labour establishment								•								
<i>ʕd-mr Dp Šb3</i> <i>Hr hnt.y p.t</i>	administrator of Dep, and of the estate Star of Horus foremost of heaven													•			
<i>mty n.y s3</i>	regulator of a phyle							•									
<i>ir.y-pʕ.t</i>	hereditary prince				•												
<i>h3.ty-ʕ.w</i>	count				•		•		•			•					•
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>mn.ww</i>	overseer of fortresses				•												
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests			•					•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>it Mn.w</i>	father of (the god) Min									•			•	•	•		
<i>mḥ ib n.y</i> <i>nsw m</i> <i>pr.w Mn.w</i>	confidant of the king in the house of Min												•				
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr</i> <i>Mn.w Ip.w</i>	overseer of the priests of Min of Akhmim					•											
<i>h.t Mn.w</i>	attendant of Min			•						•			•	•	•		
<i>sm3 Mn.w</i>	stolist of Min			•						•		•	•	•	•	•	
<i>hkr-Mn.w</i>	adornor of Min												•	•			
<i>im.y-r3 md.t</i> <i>m g3(w)s</i>	overseer of speech when it is lacking									•							
<i>rḥ tp w3.t</i> <i>nfr.t</i>	one who knows the beautiful journey									•							
<i>sms.w snw.t</i>	elder of the <i>snw.t</i> - house				•					•							
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t</i> <i>hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest				•												

Continued

TABLE A14 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE NINTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>K3(=i)</i> <i>-m-</i> <i>nfr.t</i> (A3)	<i>Dw3-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Nhwt-</i> <i>dšr/</i> <i>Mry/</i> <i>Wi.w</i>	<i>B3wi</i> CA1	<i>Ink3f/</i> <i>'Ini</i>	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>Iri</i>	<i>Hw-</i> <i>b3.w</i>	<i>Tti/</i> <i>K3=i-</i> <i>hp</i>	<i>ʿn-</i> <i>ʿnh</i>	<i>Hni-</i> <i>ʿnh.w</i>	<i>K3</i> (=i)- <i>hp/</i> <i>Tti-ikt</i>	<i>Hni/</i> <i>Špsi-</i> <i>pw-</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	<i>Tti</i> <i>-ʿ3</i>	<i>Bhn</i>	<i>B3wi</i> B7 and B6
<i>hrp Mn.w</i>	director of the Min (cult)									•							
<i>hk3 B3.t</i>	guardian of the <i>B3.t</i> emblem									•							
<i>hrp h3ts km</i>	director of the black vase									•							
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest				•	•		•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i> <i>hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest									•					•		
<i>sm</i>	sem-priest									•				•			
<i>im.y-r3 sw.t</i> <i>št3.(w) n.t</i> <i>hnw hw.t-</i> <i>ntr</i>	overseer of the secret places of the interior of the temple															•	
<i>hrp m ntr.w</i>	one who has power from the gods									•				•			
<i>hʿi</i>	one who appears/shines									•							
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>niw.wt</i> <i>m3w.t</i>	overseer of the new settlements		•		•												
<i>h3.ty-ʿ.w</i>	count									•			•	•	•	•	
<i>h3.ty-ʿ.w</i> <i>m3ʿ</i>	true count									•							
<i>hr.y-tp ʿ3</i> <i>n.y sp3.t</i>	great overlord of the province			•													
<i>hr.y-tp ʿ3</i> <i>n.y Hn.t</i> <i>Mn.w</i>	great overlord of Ninth Nome							•	•	•			•	•	•	•	
<i>hk3 hw.t</i>	estate manager										•						
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>šnʿ.w</i>	overseer of police										•						
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>smnt.yw</i>	overseer of prospectors					•											
<i>im.y-r3 mšʿ</i>	expedition leader					•										•	•
(a)	title uncertain																•
Totals		4	6	7	10	12	5	5	7	40	6	6	13	23	11	11	12

Note: (a) The title is illegible, but according to Kanawati it may belong to the *hkr nsw* group of titles common to viziers.⁴¹³

⁴¹³ Naguib Kanawati (1989) *The Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. IX, p. 33.

TABLE A15 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE TENTH NOME WITH TOMBS AT THE NOME

Period		Old Kingdom				
Name		<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (A3) (a)	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (A2)	<i>R^c-h_{tp}</i> (a)	<i>K3(=i)-m-nfr.t</i> (C4)	<i>K3(=i)-hnt</i> (C6)
Reference number		[128]	[129]	[080]	[124]	[130]
Nomarch or provincial administrator		N	N	N	N	PA
Date		Beginning D5 (Userkaf)	Early D5 (Sahure ^c)	Early – middle D5 (Neferirkare ^c)	Early-middle D5	Middle D5
<i>s3 nsw (n.y h.t=f)</i>	king's son (of his body)		•			
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king	•	•	•	•	
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion		•	•		
<i>w^cb nsw</i>	w ^c b-priest of the king	•	•			
<i>im.y-r3 ^ch</i>	overseer of the palace	•	•			
<i>hrp ^ch</i>	director of the palace		•			
<i>s3b sš iri spr</i>	judge and scribe of petitions			•		
<i>wr md-Šm^c.w</i>	greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt	•	•			
<i>im.y-r3 k^c.t (nb.t) m sp3.wt hry.wt-ib Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of (all) the works in the middle provinces of Upper Egypt	•	•			
<i>im.y-r3 s^c.w Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt	•	•		•	
<i>im.y-r3 k^c.t (nsw)</i>	overseer of the works (of the king)		•			
<i>im.y-r3 nswt.yw</i>	overseer of the king's people	•	•	•		
<i>hk3 hw.t-^c3.t</i>	manager of the great estate	•	•			
<i>sšm-t3 m W3d.t</i>	leader of the land in the Tenth Nome	•				
<i>sšm-t3</i>	leader of the land		?	?	•	
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions	•	•		•	•
Totals		10	13+?	4+?	4	1

TABLE A16 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE ELEVENTH NOME

Period		Middle Kingdom	
Name		<i>Nḥ.t-ꜥnḥ.w</i>	<i>Nfr-Hnm.w</i>
Reference number		[077]	[070]
Date		Late Senwosret I	Amenemhet II
Transliteration	Translation		
<i>smr-wꜥt.y</i>	sole companion		•
<i>ḥtm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt		•
<i>im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt		•
<i>im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w mi ḳd=f</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt to its entirety	•	
<i>ir.y-pꜥ.t</i>	hereditary prince		•
<i>h3.ty-ꜥ.w</i>	count	•	•
<i>hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y Sth</i>	great overlord of the Eleventh Nome	•	•
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr Hnm.w</i>	overseer of the priests of Khnum		•
Totals		3	7

Note: Due to wall damage to the tombs it is unlikely *Nḥ.t-ꜥnḥ.w* only had the titles accredited with here, and *Nfr-Hnm.w* may have had more also.

TABLE A17 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE TWELFTH NOME

Period		Old Kingdom						
Name		<i>Hnk.w/Htti</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Tsi I</i>	<i>Hnk.w/Ti...f</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Tsi II</i>	<i>Tbi</i>	<i>D^c.w/Šm3i</i>	<i>D^c.w</i>
Reference number		[083]	[087]	[082]	[088]	[002]	[144]	[143]
Nomarch/Vizier		N	N/V	N/V	N	N	N	N
Date		Teti – possibly late	Early Pepy I	Early-middle Pepy I	End of Pepy I	Early Pepy II years 1-34	Pepy II years 1-34	Later Pepy II years 1-34
Transliteration	Translation							
<i>htm.w-ntr</i>	seal-bearer of the god		•		•			
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt					•	•	•
<i>smr-w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>smr-w^c.ty m3^c</i>	true sole companion					•		
<i>imy-ib n.y nsw m s.t=f nb.t</i>	confidant of the king in his every place					•		
<i>t3yt.y s3b t3t.y</i>	he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier		•	•				
<i>im.y-r3 ^c(.w) nsw</i>	overseer of the royal documents		•					
<i>im.y-r3 sš(.w) ^c(.w) nsw</i>	overseer of the scribes of the king's documents			•				
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain		•			•		
<i>hrp šnd.t nb.t</i>	controller of every kilt	•	•	•		•	•	•
<i>n.y-ns.t hnt.t</i>	(he who belongs to) the foremost seat		•					
<i>hrp-ns.ty</i>	director of the two seats					•		•
<i>hr.y-sšt3</i>	one who is privy to the secret	•				•		
<i>[hr.y] s[št3 n.y sđm] w^c.ty</i>	one who is privy to the secrets of hearing alone						•	•
<i>im.y-is</i>	councillor					•		
<i>s3b ^cd- mr</i>	juridical ^c d- mr official		•					
<i>hrp n.y hwwt Nt</i>	director of the estates of the Red Crown					•		•
<i>^c3-Dw3w</i>	assistant of Duau		•			•		
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-hđ</i>	overseer of the two treasuries					•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i>	overseer of the two granaries					•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 sš.wy</i>	overseer of the two fowling pools					•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t htp.(w)t-ntr m pr.wy</i>	overseer of the apportionments of divine offerings in the Two Houses					•	•	
<i>^cd-mr Hr-sb3-hnt.y-p.t</i>	administrator of (the royal domain) Star of Horus-foremost of heaven		•			•		
<i>im.y-r3 niw.t mr</i>	overseer of the pyramid town		•	•				
<i>imy-h.t hm(.w)-ntr mh.t Mn-^cnh mr Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	under-supervisor of the priests of the pyramid of Neferkare ^c					•	•	•
<i>hn.ty šnwty-š mn-^cnh mr Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	guardian of the established and enduring pyramid of Neferkare ^c					•	•	

Continued

TABLE A17 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE TWELFTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Title	<i>Hnk.w/Hti</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Tsi I</i>	<i>Hnk.w/li... f</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Tsi II</i>	<i>Tbi</i>	<i>D^c.w/Šm3i</i>	<i>D^c.w</i>
<i>wr 10 Šm^c.w</i>	greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt		•					
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	support of the <i>knm.wt</i>		•					
<i>mdw rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet-people		•					
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr Mn ‘nh mr Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Neferkare ^c					•	•	
<i>sš md3.t-ntr</i>	scribe of the god’s book	•				•		•
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y htm.t- ntr m Tkm.t</i>	one who is privy to the secret of the god’s treasure in Iakmet		•		•			
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y htm.t- ntr m pr.w n.y M^cm</i>	one who is privy to the secret of the god’s treasure in the houses of Maam		•					
<i>ir.y Nhn</i>	he who belongs to Hierakonpolis					•	•	
<i>mni.w Nhb</i>	guardian of Nekheb					•		
<i>hr.y-tp Nhb</i>	chief Nekhebite					•	•	
<i>r3 P nb</i>	mouth of every Butite					•	•	
<i>‘3 Khns.w</i>	magnate of Khonsu					•		•
<i>mdw Hp</i>	herdsman of Apis					•	•	
<i>hw-^c</i>	protector					•		•
<i>hk3 B3.t</i>	chief of <i>Bat</i>					•		•
<i>hrp h3ts km</i>	controller of the black vase					•		•
<i>wr snw.t</i>	chief of the shrine					•		•
<i>im.y-r3 hm(w)-ntr [M^ctir?]</i>	overseer of the priests [of Matit?]		•					
<i>im.y-r3 hm(w)-ntr n(w) Nmty</i>	overseer of the priests of Nemty		•					
<i>k... wr hnt.t (?) (a)</i>	who is at the head (?)					•		
<i>hrp(?) ^c</i>	controller (?) of the province					•		
<i>s(t)m</i>	<i>se(te)m</i> -priest	•	•	•		•	•	•
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest	•	•	•	•	•		
<i>hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest	•	•	•		•	•	•
<i>šms.w-snw.t</i>	elder of the <i>snw.t</i> house	•	•	•		•		
<i>w^cb w.wy</i>	<i>w^cb</i> -priest of two districts						•	
<i>hrp ibtt.yw Hr</i>	director of the fowlers of Horus						•	
<i>hrp (i)m.yw ntr.w</i>	director of those who are among the gods					•		•
<i>hrp i3.t nb(.t) ntr.t</i>	director of every divine office	•				•		•
<i>im3-^c</i>	gracious of arm					•		
<i>wr m i3.t=f wr m s^ch=f</i>	great in his office and eminent in his dignity					•		
<i>n.y mrw.t</i>	possessor of love					•		
<i>im.y-r3 ‘3 r Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of the gate of Upper Egypt						•	•
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt	•				•	•	•
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w m3^c</i>	true overseer of Upper Egypt					•		

Continued

TABLE A17 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE TWELFTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Title	<i>Hnk.w/Htti</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Isi I</i>	<i>Hnk.w/li...f</i>	<i>Hm-R^c/Isi II</i>	<i>Tbi</i>	<i>D^c.w/Šm3i</i>	<i>D^c.w</i>
<i>hr.y-tp^c3</i>	great overlord (b)	•						
<i>hr.y-tp^c3 3t-ft</i>	great overlord of the Twelfth Nome (b)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>hr.y-tp^c3 T3-wr</i>	great overlord of the Eighth Nome					•	•	•
<i>hw.ty-^c3.t</i>	one belonging to the great estate					•	•	•
<i>hk3-hw.t</i>	chief of the estate					•	•	
<i>h3.ty-^c.w</i>	count	•	•	•		•	•	•
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	hereditary prince		•	•		•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions					•		
Totals		13	25	12	5	50	27	23

Note: (a) The title is damaged and no reading can be established.

(b) These two titles are both included in the total titles.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ Naguib Kanawati (2005) *Deir el-Gebrawi*, vol. I, *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford, pp. 21-23.

TABLE A18 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE THIRTEENTH NOME

Period		Middle Kingdom									
		Eleventh Dynasty					Twelfth Dynasty				
Names		<i>Hty</i> I	<i>Tt-ib</i> I	<i>Hty</i> II	<i>Tt-ib</i> II	<i>Mshṯi</i>	<i>Hty</i> III	<i>Df3=i-Hṣpy</i> I	<i>Df3=i-Hṣpy</i> II	<i>Df3=i-Hṣpy</i> III	<i>Hty</i> IV
Reference number		[108]	[018]	[109]	[019]	[061]	[110]	[145]	[146]	[147]	[111]
Nomarch or provincial administrator		N	N	N	PA	PA	PA	N	N	N	PA
Date		Inyotef I	Inyotef II	Mentu-hotep II	Mentu-hotep III	Mentu-hotep IV	Amen-emhet I	Sen-wosret I	S I-A II	Amen-emhet II	Sen-wosret III
Tomb		V	III	IV	XVII	No number	XIV	I	II	VII	XII
Transliteration	Translation										
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		
<i>ḥtm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		
<i>šps nsw</i>	noble of the king							•			
<i>ḥr.y sšt3 n.y md.w-nṯr</i>	privy to the secret of the god's words							•			
<i>s3b ḥd-mr</i>	juridical ḥd-mr official							•	•		
<i>ḥrp-ns.ty</i>	controller of the two seats							•			
<i>sm3 Hr</i>	priest/stolist of Horus					•					
<i>ḥrp ḥw.wt N.t ḥd.t</i>	director of the estates of the Red and White Crowns							•			
<i>r3 Nḥn</i>	mouth of Hierakonpolis							•	•		
<i>ḥr.y-tp Nḥb</i>	chief Nekhebite							•	•		
<i>wr wr.w Nḥb.t</i>	greatest of the great of Nekhet							•			
<i>r3 P nb</i>	mouth of every Pe-ite/Butite						•	•	•		
<i>(i)m(.y) pr.wy</i>	member of the administration							•			
<i>ḥrp šndy.t nb.t</i>	controller of every tunic							•			
<i>ḥr.y-tp n.y mnit(?) ssm(.w)t</i>	supervisor of (sadliery?) of horses							•			
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w nsw</i>	overseer of the king's domain							•			
<i>ḥr.y-tp ḥ3 n.y t3 Šm^c.w</i>	great overlord of the land of Upper Egypt			•							
<i>ḥr.y-tp ḥ3 n.y Šm^c.w</i>	great overlord of Upper Egypt							•			
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w mi ḳd=f</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt to its entirety							•			
<i>ḥrp Šm^c.w</i>	director of Upper Egypt							•			

Continued

TABLE A18 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE THIRTEENTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Names		<i>Hty</i> I	<i>It-ib</i> (I)	<i>Hty</i> II	<i>It-ib</i> (II)	<i>Msh̥ti</i>	<i>Hty</i> III	<i>Df̥β=i-H̥py</i> I	<i>Df̥β=i-H̥py</i> II	<i>Df̥β=i-H̥py</i> III	<i>Hty</i> (IV)
<i>im.y-r3 ḥw.t-ntr Šm̥.w</i>	overseer of the temple of Upper Egypt							•			
<i>hr.y-tp ʕ3 n.y S3w.t</i>	great overlord of the Thirteenth Nome	•	•	•				•	•	• (a)	
<i>im.y-r3 gs.w pr.w nsw</i>	overseer of a royal administrative centre(?)							•			
<i>ir.y-p̥.t</i>	hereditary noble	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	
<i>ḥ3.ty-̥.w</i>	count	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Wsir nb n.y rnp.t n.y sm.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Osiris, lord of the rejuvenation of the necropolis	•									
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Wsir nb Wp-w3w.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Osiris, lord of Wepwawet							•	•		
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Wsir nb imn.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Osiris, lord of the west								•		
<i>hr.y sšt3 pd n.y Wsir m s.t=f ḏw3.t</i>	privy to the secret of Osiris in his place of the morning							•	•		
<i>šhd ḥm(.w)-ntr</i>	inspector of priests							•			
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests									•	
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest			•				•	•		
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr m3̥</i>	real overseer of priests							•			
<i>hrp i3.t nb(.t) nb ntrw.t</i>	director of every divine office							•			
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut	•	•		•	•		•			
<i>š3b Šm̥.w Wp-w3w.t</i>	dignitary of Wepwawet of Upper Egypt							•			

Continued

TABLE A18 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE THIRTEENTH NOME (CONTINUED)

Names		<i>Hty</i> I	<i>It-ib</i> (I)	<i>Hty</i> II	<i>It-ib</i> (II)	<i>Mshti</i>	<i>Hty</i> III	<i>Dfβ=i-Hpy</i> I	<i>Dfβ=i-Hpy</i> II	<i>Dfβ=i-Hpy</i> III	<i>Hty</i> (IV)
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Wp-w3w.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Wepwawet	•									
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr m3^c n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t</i>	real overseer of the priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut							•			
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w) wn-m3^c n(.w) Wp-w3w.t nb S3w.t</i>	overseer of the priests in reality of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut							•	•		
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(.w) Inpw nb r-kr.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Anubis, lord of the tomb	•		•	•	•					
<i>md.w Hp</i>	herdsman of Apis					•					
<i>hrp ibity.w</i>	director of the fowlers/bird traps					•					
<i>im.y-r3 m3^c Ndfy.t hnnt.t mi-ḳd=s</i>	general of the army of the Thirteenth Nome, at the front of it in every respect				•						
<i>im.y-r3 iskt.t Inpw</i>	overseer of the place (?) of Anubis				•						
<i>imy.r-...w.t šndw.t</i>	overseer of the (?) of the kilt				•						
<i>idn.w</i>	replacement										•
Totals		9	6	8	9	10	2 (b)	33	14	4	2

Note: (a) The title *hr.y-tp 3 n.y* (Thirteenth Nome) is not attested in *Dfβ=i-Hpy* III 's tomb, but according to Rosalind L. B. Moss, he was a nomarch.⁴¹⁵ The missing title *hr.y-tp 3 n.y* (Thirteenth Nome) is therefore included in *Dfβ=i-Hpy* III 's total number of titles, made more likely because his predecessors with the same name all held this title. Marcel Zitman mentions the likely loss of titles from the tomb.⁴¹⁶

(b) Titles may be lost.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ Rosalind L. B. Moss (1933) 'An unpublished rock-tomb at Asyût' in *JEA* 19, p. 33.

⁴¹⁶ Marcel Zitman (2010) *The Necropolis of Assiut*, Leuven, vol. I, p. 40.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, p. 41.

TABLE A19 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOURTEENTH NOME

Period		Old Kingdom							Middle Kingdom					
Name		<i>Hw.n-wh/Tti</i>	<i>Ppy-ṯnh-wr</i>	<i>Ppy-ṯnh-hr.i-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii</i>	<i>Ni-ṯnh-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Hpy-km</i>	<i>Ppy-ṯnh/Hny-km/Hni.t-km</i>	<i>Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-k3.w (a)</i>	<i>Hpi(-km?) (b)</i>	<i>Snbi (I)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (I)</i>	<i>Snbi (II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (III)</i>	<i>Wh-htp (IV)</i>
Reference number		[097]	[047]	[049]	[065]	[048]	[090]	[085]	[118]	[035]	[119]	[036]	[037]	[038]
Nomarch/prov. administrator/v		PA	PA	PA,V	PA	PA,V	N	PA	PA	N	PA	PA	PA	PA
Date		Late PI	Early Pepy II	Middle Pepy II	Third quarter Pepy II	End Pepy II	End Pepy II or later	End Pepy II or later	A I	S I	SI-AII	SI-AII	A II	S II
Tomb		Quseir T. 2	Quseir T. 1	Meir D2	Meir A1	Meir A2	Meir A2	Meir A4	Meir B1	Meir B2	Meir B3	Meir A3	Meir B4	Meir C1
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt		•	•	•	•		•	•	•			•	•
<i>htm.w-ntr</i>	seal-bearer of the god			•		•								
<i>ḳyt.y s3b ḳt.y</i>	he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier			•										
<i>s3b</i>	chief justice					•								
<i>ḳt.y</i>	vizier					•								
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w ḥd</i>	overseer of the treasury					•								
<i>hrp nbw</i>	controller of gold									•				
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain	•		•	•	•								
<i>hr.y-tp nsw m pr.w wr</i>	royal chamberlain in the great temple			•										
<i>(i)m(.y) is</i>	he who is in the chamber			•	•									
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•
<i>šmr</i>	companion					•								
<i>ir.y-ḥt nsw m3^c mri=f</i>	king's true acquaintance whom he loves									•				
<i>ir.y-ḥt nsw m3^c</i>	king's true acquaintance												•	
<i>šps nsw</i>	noble of the king					•								
<i>s^cḥ šps mry rmt</i>	illustrious noble, beloved of the people										•			
<i>hw-^c tw snw=f</i>	unique personality, one without equal									•				
<i>hrp kni hr(.wt) nsw hss=f m hr.t hr.w n.t r^c nb</i>	valiant administrator of the affairs of the king whom he praises daily												•	
<i>hk3 s3</i>	magician of the ruler	•												

Continued

TABLE A19 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOURTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hw.n-wh/Tti</i>	<i>Ppy-^cnh-wr</i>	<i>Ppy-^cnh-hr.i-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii</i>	<i>Ni-^cnh-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-htp/Hpy-km</i>	<i>Ppy-^cnh-Hny-km/Hni.t-km</i>	<i>Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-k3.w</i>	<i>Hpi(-km?)</i>	<i>Snbi(I)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(I)</i>	<i>Snbi(II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(III)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(IV)</i>
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y wd3.t nb(.t)</i>	privy to the secret of every command	•												
<i>shkr hrp wr.t hk3.w</i>	adornor of the diadem ‘great of magic’												•	
<i>hr(.y) sšt3 n.y pr.w-dw3.t</i>	privy to the secret of the mystery of the robing room			•										
<i>hr.y-sšt3</i>	one who is privy to the secret													•
<i>šms.w n.y db3.t</i>	elder of the robing room	•												
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y wp.(w)t htp [-ntr?]</i>	privy to the secret of the apportionments of the [god’s?] offering	•												
<i>hr.y sšt3.(w) n.y hḏ md.t nb.t n.y nsw</i>	privy to the secret of the command of any matter of the king			•										
<i>sšt3 n.y m33.t w^c</i>	privy to the secret of that which one sees alone									•				
<i>hr.y-tp sšt3 n.y m33.t w^c</i>	chief of the secret of that which one sees alone												•	
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y sd3w.t-ntr</i>	privy to the secret of the god’s treasure	•												
<i>nsw sš^c hf.t hr</i>	scribe of the king’s records in the presence			•										
<i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y md3.t-ntr</i>	privy to the secret of the sacred books	•												
<i>sš ntr md3.t</i>	scribe of the god’s book			•	•					•			•	
<i>sš im.w</i>	ship’s scribe					•								
<i>sš kdw.t</i>	draughtsman			•										
<i>s3b ^cd-mr</i>	juridical ^c d-mr official			•										
<i>hrp šndw.t nb(.t)</i>	controller of every kilt			•	•	•							•	
<i>iwn dšr.t</i>	pillar of the Red Crown	•												

Continued

TABLE A19 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOURTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hw.n- wh/Tti</i>	<i>Ppy- nh- wr</i>	<i>Ppy- nh-hr.i- ib/ Nfr-k3/ Hnii</i>	<i>Ni-^cnh- Ppy-km/ Hpi-km/ Sbk-htp/ Hpy-km</i>	<i>Ppy- nh/Hny -km/ Hni.t- km</i>	<i>Hni/ Hnny.t/ Nfr- k3.w</i>	<i>Hpi (-km?)</i>	<i>Snbi (I)</i>	<i>Wh- htp (I)</i>	<i>Snbi (II)</i>	<i>Wh- htp (II)</i>	<i>Wh- htp (III)</i>	<i>Wh- htp (IV)</i>
<i>hm-ntr dšr.t</i>	priest of the Red Crown	•												
<i>hw-^c</i>	protector			•	•									
<i>hk3 B3.t</i>	chief of <i>Bat</i>			•	•									
<i>hrp h3ts km</i>	controller of the black vase			•										
<i>md.w rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet-people			•										
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	pillar of the <i>knm.wt</i>			•										
<i>im.y-r3 hnw</i>	overseer of the Residence					•								
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i>	overseer of the two granaries			•	•	•								
<i>im.y-r3 gs-pr.w</i>	overseer of a work-place			•										
<i>mty n.y s3</i>	regulator of a phyle					•								
<i>sš n.y s3</i>	scribe of a phyle					•								
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.t</i>	overseer of the granary					•								
<i>im.y-r3 š3.wy</i>	overseer of the two fishing and fowling swamps				•	•								
<i>im.y-r3 6 wr(.w) pr.w</i>	overseer of the six great houses				•									
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w m sp3.wt hr.y.wt-ib</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces			•										
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt				•	•		•						
<i>im.y-r3 Šm^c.w m3^c</i>	true overseer of Upper Egypt			•	•	•								
<i>hr.y-tp wr.w Šm^c.w</i>	chief of the great ones of Upper Egypt												•	
<i>hr.y-tp 3 n.y Kis</i>	great overlord of the Fourteenth Nome						•			•				
<i>ir.y p^c.t</i>	hereditary prince		•	•					•	•	•		•	•
<i>h3t.y-^c.w</i>	count		•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>ir.y-ht nsw hsy=f wn m3^c</i>	true custodian of the king's property, favoured by him									•				
<i>im.y-r3 h3(?)</i>	overseer of land (?)											•		
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)- ntr m Kis</i>	overseer of the priests at Quseir	•												
<i>(im.y)-h.t hm(.w)-ntr m Kis</i>	under-supervisor of the priests at Quseir	•												

Continued

TABLE A19 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOURTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hw.n-wh/Tti</i>	<i>Ppy-⁵nh-wr</i>	<i>Ppy-⁵nh-hr.i-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii</i>	<i>Ni-⁵nh-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-htp/Hpy-km</i>	<i>Ppy-⁵nh/Hny-km/Hni.t-km</i>	<i>Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-k3.w</i>	<i>Hpi(-km?)</i>	<i>Snbi(I)</i>	<i>Whhtp(I)</i>	<i>Snbi(II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(III)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(IV)</i>
<i>im.y r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests		•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		•	•
<i>shd hm(.w) ntr</i>	inspector of priests					•								
<i>s(t)m</i>	<i>se(te)m</i> -priest			•	•	•				•			•	
<i>s(t)m n.y nb.t t3w.ty</i>	<i>se(te)m</i> -priest of the Lady of Heaven									•			•	•
<i>3s 3 (?) (?)</i>	assistant of <i>Dw3w (?)</i>				•									
<i>wr id.t</i>	great of censuring					•								
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr (m Kis)</i>	superintendent of the priests (at Quseir)	•												
<i>im.y r3 hm(.w)-ntr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Kis</i>	overseer of the priests of Hathor, Mistress of Quseir	•	•	•						•			•	
<i>shd hm(.w)-ntr Hw.t-Hr Kis</i>	superintendent of the priests of Hathor at Quseir	•												
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr 3s.t Hw.t-Hr</i>	overseer of the priests of Isis and Hathor			•										
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(w) Hw.t-Hr</i>	overseer of the priests of Hathor												•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(w) nb(.t) p.t</i>	overseer of the priests of the Mistress of Heaven			•									•	
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr n(w) nb.t r dr ntr.t</i>	overseer of the priests of the goddess of all (Hathor?)									•				
<i>hm-ntr n.y Hw.t-Hr</i>	priest of Hathor												•	
<i>w^cb n.y nb.t p.t</i>	w ^c b-priest of the Mistress of Heaven													•
<i>(im.y)-h.t Hr it Kis</i>	under-supervisor of (the cult) of Horus, father of Quseir	•												
<i>hr.y-h3b mit Hr d^c.t Hr</i>	lector priest of the <i>mit</i> -barque of Horus and the <i>djat</i> -barque of Horus	•												
<i>hr.y-hb.t (m Kis)</i>	lector priest (at Quseir)	•												

Continued

TABLE A19 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FOURTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hw.n-wh/Tti</i>	<i>Ppy-^εnh-wr</i>	<i>Ppy-^εnh-hr.i-ib/Nfr-k3/Hnii</i>	<i>Ni-^εnh-Ppy-km/Hpi-km/Sbk-htp/Hpy-km</i>	<i>Ppy-^εnh/Hny-km/Hnit-km</i>	<i>Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-k3.w</i>	<i>Hpi(-km)</i>	<i>Snbi(I)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(I)</i>	<i>Snbi(II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(II)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(III)</i>	<i>Wh-htp(IV)</i>
<i>hr.y-hb.t sms.w</i>	senior lector priest	•												
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest		•	•	•	•		•						
<i>hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest		•	•	•	•			•	•			•	
<i>hm-ntr s3 iri h(r) h3.t</i>	priest, the son of one who did so before									•				
<i>hm b3.w P</i>	servant of the souls of Buto	•												
<i>r3 P nb</i>	mouth of every Pe-ite/Butite			•										
<i>hm b3.w Nhn</i>	servant of the souls of Hierakonpolis	•												
<i>mni.w Nhn</i>	guardian of Hierakonpolis			•	•									
<i>hr.y-tp Nhb</i>	chief Nekhebite			•	•									
<i>hm-ntr Hk3</i>	priest of Heka	•												
<i>hm-ntr h.wy Hr</i>	priest of the two children of Horus	•												
<i>hm-ntr Hr k3-^ε</i>	priest of Horus, elevated of arm	•												
<i>hm-ntr Hr Sth</i>	priest of Horus and Seth			•										
<i>hm-ntr Nw.t</i>	priest of Nut			•										
<i>hm-ntr M3^ε.t</i>	priest of Maat			•										
<i>hm-ntr psd.t ^ε3.t</i>	priest of the great company of nine gods			•										
<i>hr.y-hb.t psd.t ^ε3.t</i>	lector priest of the great company of nine gods												•	
<i>im.y-r3 ts.t n.t tnt.t</i>	overseer of the herd of <i>tnt.t</i> cattle	•												
<i>md.w Hp</i>	herdsman of Apis			•										
<i>sms.w d3d.w</i>	elder of the hall of columns				•									
<i>hrp i3.t nb ntr</i>	director of every divine office				•								•	
Totals		25	8	40	23	26	2	5	6	18	4	2	21	8

Note: (a) Information on *Hni/Hnny.t/Nfr-k3.w* comes from the tomb of his father *Ppy-^εnh/Hny-km/Hni.t-km* (Tomb Meir A2).

(b) The tomb ownership is in doubt.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ Ali El-Khouli and Naguib Kanawati (1990) *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney, p. 15.

TABLE A20 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIFTEENTH NOME

[illegible]

Continued

TABLE A20 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIFTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Sṣf-k(=t)</i>	<i>Wṣr-lr-r=i</i>	<i>Tt-ṣṣṣl-m-ḥtp</i>	<i>Mṣ.w/Bḥt</i>	<i>Wl.w/Htw</i>	<i>Mṣ.w</i>	<i>ḥḥ3</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t III</i>	<i>ḥḥ3-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t IV</i>	<i>ḥḥ3-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Nḥr I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t V</i>	<i>Nḥr II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VI</i>	<i>Tmn-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>ṣpw</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-ḥtp II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VII</i>	<i>Wṣw.t-ḥtp</i>
<i>s3b ʿd-mr</i>	juridical ʿd-mr official																				•		
<i>s3b</i>	judge											•			9			•					
<i>wr pr.w m pr.wy</i>	greatest of the house in the two houses																				•		
<i>ḥr.y-tp niw.t Nḥb</i>	chief of the city of Nekheb																				•		
<i>ir.y niw.t Nḥn</i>	he who belongs to the city of Nekken																				•		
<i>md.w rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet-people			8	11																		
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	support of the <i>knm.wt</i>			9	12																		
<i>im.y-r3 niw.wt m3w.t</i>	overseer of the new settlements	5	5	7	10																		
<i>im.y-r3 Šmṣ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt				8	2		3	4	4	5	•			10								
<i>ḥ3.ty-Šmṣ.w</i>	ruler of Upper Egypt																	•					
<i>ḥ3.ty-ṣ Šmṣ.w</i>	foremost one of Upper Egypt														6								
<i>ḥr.y-tp sp.wt Šmṣ.w</i>	chief of the nomes of Upper Egypt																				•		
<i>im.y-r3 smy.t imn.t</i>	overseer of the Western Desert											•											
<i>im.y-r3 sp3.wt Šmṣ.w</i> <i>ḥr.y.wt-ib</i>	overseer of the middle nomes of Upper Egypt	6																					
<i>ḥ3.ty-ṣ.w</i>	count							1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1
<i>ḥrp-ns.ty</i>	controller of the two seats							2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2		•	2	2
<i>ir.y pṣ.t</i>	hereditary noble																	1			1		
<i>sšm-t3 Wn</i>	leader of the land of the Fifteenth Nome	4	4																				
<i>ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 Wn</i>	great overlord of the Fifteenth Nome					8		5	5	5	6	•			4			5	•		•		
<i>ḥḥ3 ḥw.t (Wn.t)</i>	estate manager (of the Fifteenth Nome)		2(a)	1	1	4	1																
<i>ḥnt.y t3 pn</i>	foremost of this land											•											
<i>ḥr.y-tp t3.wt ḥnt</i>	chief of the foremost offices																				•		
<i>ḥr.y-tp ḥw.t nbw</i>	chief of Hatnub											•											
<i>im.y-r3 niw.t Dḥw.ty</i>	overseer of the city of Thoth											•			7			•					
<i>ʿ3 n.y ḥ3s.t nb(t)</i>	‘one who is’ the gate of every foreign country																				•		

Continued

TABLE A20 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIFTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Srf-k(=t)</i>	<i>Wr-lr-n=i</i>	<i>Tt-ʕnh/ll-m-ḥtp</i>	<i>Mr.w/Bbi</i>	<i>Wl.w/Hiw</i>	<i>Mr.w</i>	<i>Th3</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t III</i>	<i>ʕḥ3-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t IV</i>	<i>ʕḥ3-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Nḥri I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t V</i>	<i>Nḥri II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VI</i>	<i>Imu-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>ḥpw</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-ḥtp II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VII</i>	<i>Wp3w.t-ḥtp</i>
<i>n=f smi iw md3.t n</i> <i>n(.y) sw</i>	one who receives reports from those who receive reports																				•		
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest				6																		
<i>hr.y-ḥb.t</i>	lector priest			4	5	6															•		
<i>im.y-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests							4	3	3	3	•		•	3		3	4	•	2	•		
<i>ḥm-ntr Hw.t-Hr, nb.t nh.t</i>	priest of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore				14																		
<i>ḥm-ntr M33.t</i>	priest of Maat																				•		
<i>wr m 5 m pr.w</i> <i>Dḥw.ty</i>	great of five in the Temple of Thoth																	•		•	•	•	
<i>wr 5 pr.w Dḥw.ty</i> <i>n.y rs.w mh.w</i>	great of five in the temples of Thoth of the south and north																				•		
<i>wᶜb n.y Dḥw.ty</i>	wᶜb-priest of Thoth																4						
<i>ḥm-ntr ḥn.t ḥsr.t</i>	priest of Thoth																				•		
<i>im.y-r3 km.t nfr.t</i> <i>n.y Dḥw.ty nb Hmnw</i>	overseer of the <i>km.t nfr.t</i> of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis																			•			
<i>im.y-r3 ḥw.t</i>	overseer of the temple																			•			
<i>im.y-r3 ḥw.t wr.t 6</i>	overseer of the six great temples																	•					
<i>hry-sšt3(.w) n(.w) r3-pr.w</i>	master of the secrets of the temples																				•		
<i>hr.y-sšt3(.w) n(.w) ḥm(.w)-ntr.</i>	master of the secrets of the priests																				•		
<i>hrp-m-ntr.w</i>	one who has power from the gods																				•		
<i>hrp-ḥtp-ntr.w</i>	controller of the sacred offerings																				•		
<i>[...] n.y ntr(w).t ḥtp</i>	[controller of the distribution?] of the sacred offerings																				•		
<i>ḥm(.w)-ntr t ḥnḳ.t k3w 3pd.w</i>	controller of the funerary offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl																				•		
<i>mdḥ wi3</i>	boat-builder			10																			

Continued

TABLE A20 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE FIFTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Srft-k3(=f)</i>	<i>Wr-ir-n=i</i>	<i>Ttj-nḥtli-m-ḥtp</i>	<i>Mr.w/Bbi</i>	<i>Wt.w/tiww</i>	<i>Mr.w</i>	<i>ḥk3</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t III</i>	<i>ḥ3-nḥ.t I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t IV</i>	<i>ḥ3-nḥ.t II</i>	<i>Nḥri I</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t V</i>	<i>Nḥri II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VI</i>	<i>Imn-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>ḥpw</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-ḥtp II</i>	<i>Dḥw.ty-nḥ.t VII</i>	<i>Wp3w.t-ḥtp</i>
<i>ḥnh wd3 snb</i> (b)	may he live, be prosperous, and well							•	•						•	•							
<i>ḥnh d.t</i> (b)	may he live forever							•							•								
Totals		8	7	10	15	8	3	5	5	5	6	12	2	2	11	2	4	14	8	4	29	3	2

Note: (a) The title *ḥk3 ḥw.t* is read here, despite Fischer's claim that in *Wr-ir-n=i*'s tomb, *ḥk3 ḥw.t* *ḥ3.t* has been incorrectly copied by Davies as *ḥk3 ḥ3w.t*.⁴¹⁹ The next four senior administrative officials at the Fifteenth Nome all had this title, it is known from the late Fifth-early Sixth Dynasties (reigns of Unas-Teti) and whilst it is possible the ancient craftsman made a mistake, it is more probable that this is one of the first if not the first use of this title, and the high standard of the raised relief workmanship does not easily lend itself to the likelihood of error. Examination of the text in the actual tomb shows that Davies' copy⁴²⁰ is correct.

(b) Epithets are not counted as titles.

Where possible, the sequence of titles for the senior officials of El-Sheikh Sa'īd are given in this table. For the senior officials of Deir el-Bersha, with the exception of many of the titles of *Nḥri I*, it has proved possible to only establish the sequence of the first four or five titles. Dot points are used for sequences which cannot be established.

⁴¹⁹ *DEN*, p. 10.

⁴²⁰ Norman de Garis Davies (1901) *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Sa'īd*, London, p. 14, pl. IX.

TABLE A21 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE SIXTEENTH NOME

Period		Old Kingdom					Middle Kingdom										
Burial site		Saqqara	Tihna	Zawyet el-Amwat			Beni Hasan										
Name		<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Ny-k3-</i> <i>nh</i>	<i>Ni-^cnh-</i> <i>Ppy/</i> <i>Hnm.w-</i> <i>htp-Hpi</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>K3-</i> <i>whm</i>	<i>B3kt</i> I	<i>B3kt</i> II	<i>Rm.w</i> <i>-šnti</i>	<i>B3kt</i> III	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnm.w</i> <i>-htp</i> I	<i>Nhti</i>	<i>Imn-</i> <i>m-</i> <i>h3.t</i>	<i>Ntr-</i> <i>nh.t</i>	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>w-htp</i> II	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>.w-htp</i> IV
Reference number		[086]	[066]	[064]	[099]	[131]	[042]	[043]	[081]	[044]	[107]	[104]	[076]	[004]	[079]	[105]	[106]
Nomarch or prov. admin.		N	PA	PA	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	PA	PA	PA
Date		Djoser	Userkaf	Early Pepy II	Middle Pepy II	Middle- late Pepy II	11D	11D	11D	Late 11D	Late 11D	A I	S I	year 43 of S I	A II	year 6 of S II	S III
Transliteration	Translation																
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king		•		•	•	•	•	•					•		•	
<i>ir.y-h.t m3^c nsw</i>	true guardian of the affairs of the king									•	•	•		•		•	
<i>ir.y-h.t m3^c Šm^c.w nsw</i>	true guardian of the affairs of Upper Egypt for the king													•			
<i>wr id.t m pr.w nsw</i>	great of influence in the palace of the king													•			
<i>h3.ty-^c.w m pr.w wr</i>	count in the great house															•	
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion			•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
<i>(i)m(y) is</i>	he who is in the chamber						•	•	•	•	•	•		•			
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain			•													
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt						•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	
<i>im.y-r3 nswt.yw</i>	overseer of the king's people					•											
<i>hrp šndw.t nb(t)</i>	controller of all the kilts													•		•	
<i>sm3.y m hw.t Nt</i>	companion of the Red Crown													•			
<i>hrp hw.wt Nt</i>	director of the estates of the Red Crown													•			
<i>im.y-r3 sš.wy n(w) šhmh-ib</i>	overseer of the two fowling pools of enjoyment													•			
<i>im.y-r3 mn.ww</i>	overseer of fortresses					•											
<i>hk3 M3hd</i>	ruler of the Sixteenth Nome	•															
<i>sšm-t3 M3hd</i>	leader of the land of the Sixteenth Nome	•			•	•											
<i>hr.y-tp ^c3 n.y M3hd</i>	great overlord of the Sixteenth Nome						•	•	•			•	•	•			

Continued

TABLE A21 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE SIXTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hm(?)</i> - .w	<i>Ny-k3</i> - nh	<i>Ni-nh</i> - Ppy/ <i>Hnm.w</i> <i>http</i> - <i>Hpi</i>	<i>Hw</i> -ns	<i>K3</i> - whm	<i>B3kt</i> I	<i>B3kt</i> II	<i>Rmw</i> - šnti	<i>B3kt</i> III	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnm.w</i> -htp I	<i>Nhti</i>	<i>Imn</i> - m- h3.t	<i>Ntr</i> - nh.t	<i>Hnm</i> .w- htp II	<i>Hnm</i> .w- htp IV
<i>hr.y-tp</i> ʕ3 n.y <i>M3hd mi kd=f</i>	great overlord of the Sixteenth Nome to its entirety									•	•						
<i>im.y-r3</i> h3s.t <i>i3b.t</i>	overseer of the Eastern Desert										•		•		•	•	
<i>hrp</i> -ns.ty	controller of the two seats													•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> pr.w n.y h.w.t 3ʕ.t	manager of the great estate		•														
<i>hr dp</i> nsw <i>šps.w nb</i>	chief of all nobles															•	
<i>im.y-r3</i> niw.wt m3w.t	overseer of the new settlements		•														
<i>im.y-r3</i> wp.(w)t	overseer of commissions				•	•											
<i>hk3</i> h.w.t	estate manager			•	•												
<i>im.y-r3</i> wp.(w)t m sp3.wt 9	overseer of commissions in nine nomes			•													
<i>iri</i> -p.ʕt	hereditary noble											•		•	•	•	•
<i>h3</i> .ty-ʕ.w	count						•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>h3</i> .ty-ʕ.w n.y <i>Mnʕ.t</i> Hwi=f-wi niw.t	count of the city of Menat Khufu											•	•			•	
<i>r3</i> Nhn	mouth of Hierakonpolis						•	•	•	•	•	•		•			
<i>hr.y-tp</i> Nhb	chief Nekhebite						•	•	•	•	•	•		•		•	
<i>hk3</i> B3.t	chief of <i>Bat</i>													•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> ʕb whm.t šw nšm.t	overseer of every kind of livestock and fish													•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> h.t nb.t ʕ.w p.t km3 t3	overseer of all things produced by heaven and earth													•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> hm(.w) ntr	overseer of priests				•							•				•	
<i>im.y-r3</i> hm(.w)- ntr n(.w) Hw.t- Hr nb.t R3-In.t	overseer of the priests of Hathor, Mistress of the 'Mouth of the Valley'		•														
<i>im.y-r3</i> hm(.w)- ntr n(.w) Hnm.w nb Hrwr	overseer of the priests of Khnum, lord of Herur													•			

Continued

TABLE A21 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE SIXTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Ny-k3-</i> <i>nh</i>	<i>Ni-eh-</i> <i>Ppy/</i> <i>Hnm.w</i> <i>-htp-</i> <i>Hpi</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>K3-</i> <i>whm</i>	<i>B3kt</i> I	<i>B3kt</i> II	<i>Rmw</i> <i>-snti</i>	<i>B3kt</i> III	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>w-htp</i> I	<i>Nhti</i>	<i>Imn-</i> <i>m-h3.t</i>	<i>Ntr-</i> <i>nh.t</i>	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>whtp</i> II	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>w-htp</i> IV
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr Hr</i> <i>srk.ty</i>	overseer of the priests of Horus of the Two Scorpions													•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>hm(.w)-ntr n.y</i> <i>Hr.w hwi</i> <i>Rhy.t</i>	overseer of the priests of Horus, smiter of the Rekhyet- people														•		
<i>hm-ntr Hr.w</i>	priest of Horus															•	
<i>sm3 Hr.w</i>	<i>sm3</i> -priest who clothes Horus															•	
<i>hm-ntr Inpw</i> <i>hn.t pr.w</i> <i>šms.w</i>	priest of Anubis within the house of Shemsu													•			
<i>hm-ntr Inpw</i>	priest of Anubis															•	
<i>hm ntr n.y šw</i> <i>Tfn.t</i>	Priest of Shu and Tefnut													•			
<i>im.y-r3 r.w</i> <i>pr.w</i>	overseer of temples													•			
<i>hr.y-sš3 n.y</i> <i>md.w ntr</i>	he who is over the secrets of the divine words													•		•	
<i>mt.y m hw.t</i> <i>ntr</i>	controller of a priestly phyle in the temple													•			
<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>wp.(w)t htp.w-</i> <i>ntr</i>	overseer of the distribution of the sacred offerings													•			
<i>hr.y-hb.t hr.y-</i> <i>tp</i>	chief lector priest													•			
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest															•	
<i>s(tm)</i>	<i>se(te)m</i> -priest													•			
<i>s^ch^c3 n.y</i> <i>rnp.(w)t m</i> <i>pr.w im.ytw</i>	a noble great of years in the midst of the temple													•			
<i>(?) šbh.t</i>	(?) of the gateway															•	
<i>ir.y nhn(?) n.y</i> <i>Gb</i>	he who belongs to the double house (?) of Geb															•	

Continued

TABLE A21 TITLES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE SIXTEENTH NOME
(CONTINUED)

Transliteration	Translation	<i>Hm(?)</i> .w	<i>Ny-k3-</i> <i>nh</i>	<i>Ni-nh-</i> <i>Ppy/</i> <i>Hnm.w</i> <i>-hṭp-</i> <i>Hpi</i>	<i>Hw-ns</i>	<i>K3-</i> <i>whm</i>	<i>B3kt</i> I	<i>B3kt</i> II	<i>Rmw-</i> <i>šnti</i>	<i>B3kt</i> III	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>w-hṭp</i> I	<i>Nhti</i>	<i>Imn-</i> <i>m-</i> <i>h3.t</i>	<i>Ntr-</i> <i>nh.t</i>	<i>Hnm</i> <i>w-hṭp</i> II	<i>Hnm.</i> <i>w-hṭp</i> IV
<i>sm3 P3h.t</i>	<i>sm3</i> -priest who clothes Pakhet															•	
<i>wp.t-r^c i3w.t</i> <i>hw.t ntr P3h.t</i>	first of the offices in the temple of Pakhet															•	
<i>wp.t-r^c m in</i> <i>sm3 ntr.t m</i> <i>pr.w P3h.t</i>	first in bringing the clothed goddess in the temple of Pakhet															•	
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c wr</i> <i>n.y M3hd</i>	great expedition leader/ generalissimo of the Oryx Nome													•			
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c s.t</i> <i>nb.t sšt3</i>	expedition leader in every inaccessible place										•						
<i>hw-^c</i>	protector													•			
Totals		2	4	4	5	5	8	8	8	8	10	11	5	33	6	23	2

TABLE A22 TITLES OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS OF THE EIGHTEENTH NOME

Period		Old Kingdom					
Name		<i>Ppy-ꜥnh/Hwi</i>	<i>Ppy-ꜥnh/Ipi-ꜥnh/Ipi</i>	<i>Nfr-nfr.t</i>	<i>Twhi</i>	<i>Gs3/Mry</i>	<i>S3bi</i>
Reference number		[050]	[046]	[068]	[001]	[132]	[112]
Date		Merenre ^c – Early Pepy II	Not known (a)	Not known (a)	Not known (a)	Not known (a)	Not known (a)
Tomb		V23	G7	N8 (b)	R10	S12	T12
Transliteration	Translation						
<i>t3t.y</i>	vizier	•					
<i>h3.ty-ꜥ.w</i>	count	•				•	
<i>im.y-r3 Šmꜥ.w</i>	overseer of Upper Egypt	•				•	
<i>hk3 hꜣw.t</i>	estate manager	•	•	•		•	•
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions	•					
<i>im.y-r3 hnt.y-š pr.w-ꜥ3</i>	overseer of the palace guards	•					
<i>smr wꜥ.ty</i>	sole companion	•	•	•		•	
<i>hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp</i>	chief lector priest	•				•	
<i>hr.y-hb.t</i>	lector priest	•		•			
<i>s(t)m</i>	se(te)m priest	•				•	
<i>hrp šnd.t nb.t</i>	controller of every kilt	•				•	
<i>sš ꜥ nsw</i>	scribe of the king's documents	•					
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw</i>	one who is known to the king	•					
<i>hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr (c)</i>	priest of Hathor	•					
<i>im.y-r3 sš(.w)</i>	overseer of scribes	•					
<i>im.y-r3 sš(.w) hr.y htm.t</i>	overseer of scribes of the registry	•					
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain	•			•		•
<i>ir.y-pꜥ.t</i>	hereditary noble	•					
<i>im.y-r3 wpw.t htp-ntr</i>	overseer of the apportionments of the divine offerings	•					
<i>im.y-r3 wpw.t htp-ntr m pr.wy</i>	overseer of the apportionments of the divine offerings in the two houses	•					
<i>htm.w-bi.ty</i>	seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt	•		•		•	
<i>s3b [ꜥd-mr]</i>	juridical ꜥd-mr official						•
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr</i>	overseer of priests				•		
<i>im.y-r3 hm(.w)-ntr Nmt.y</i>	overseer of priests of Nemty				•		
Totals		21	2	4	3	8	3

Note: There are five officials named in the Scharuna tombs, four of whom were sons of *Ppy-ꜥnh/Hwi*, for whom there are no known tombs, but all have the title *hk3 hꜣw.t*.

Continued

Note (continued): (a) This tomb, along with all the others with the reference (a), has been dated to the late OK. As a more precise date is not known, the details are not included in the text discussions after Chapter 4.19. See also that chapter.

(b) The tomb of *Nfr-nfr.t* is not known. His name and titles were on the wooden base of a statue found in tomb N8.

(c) This title is not given by Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà.⁴²¹

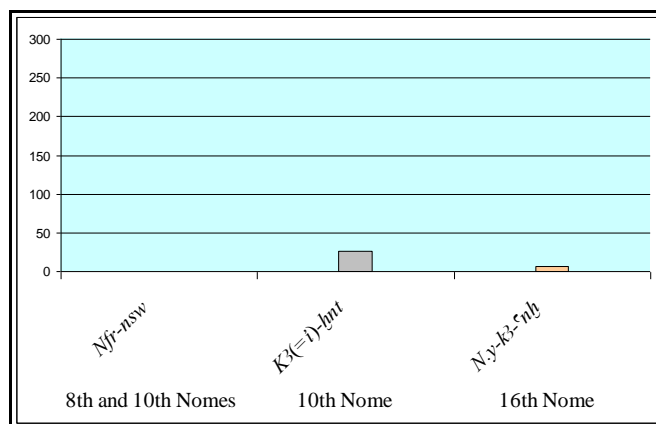
⁴²¹ Wolfgang Schenkel and Farouk Gomaà (2004) *Scharuna I: Der Grabungsplatz Die Nekropole Gräber aus der Alten-Reichs-Nekropole*, 2 vols, Mainz am Rhein, *passim*.

TABLE A23 TITLES OF NOMARCHS OF THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST NOMES

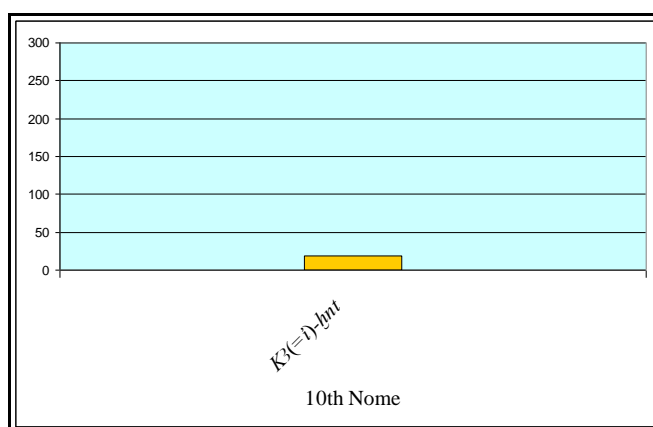
Period		Old Kingdom		
		Fifth Dynasty	Sixth Dynasty	
Name		<i>Inti</i>	<i>Nn-hft-k3(=i)</i>	<i>Titi/Sd.w</i>
Reference number		[012]	[071]	[020]
Date		Djedkare ^c	Teti	Teti
Transliteration	Translation			
<i>ir.y-h.t nsw</i>	guardian of the affairs of the king	•	•	
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	sole companion		•	•
<i>hrp h_d.t (nfr.t)</i>	director of the (beautiful) White Crown	•		
<i>hr.y-tp nsw</i>	royal chamberlain		•	•
<i>sš^c nsw hft-hr</i>	scribe of royal documents in the presence		•	
<i>w^cb nsw</i>	w ^c b-priest of the king		•	
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t</i>	overseer of commissions		•	
<i>im.y-r3 mn.w nsw</i>	overseer of royal fortresses	•		
<i>hk3 hw.t-^c3.t</i>	manager of the great estate	•		
<i>hk3 hw.t</i>	manager of the estate			•
<i>šhd wi3</i>	superintendent of the boat	•		
<i>md.w Rhy.t</i>	staff of the Rekhyet-people		•	•
<i>iwn knm.wt</i>	pillar of the <i>knm.wt</i>		•	
<i>sšm-t3</i>	leader of the land	•		
<i>hk3 niw.t r.t rsy.t</i>	administrator of Nome Twenty		•	
<i>im.y-r3 wp.(w)t N^cr.t</i>	overseer of commissions of Nome Twenty and Twenty-one	•		
<i>sšm-t3 n.y N^cr.t hnti.t</i>	leader of the land of Nome Twenty		•	
<i>sšm t3 n.y niw.ty n.y r.t sp3.ty</i>	leader of the land of the two goat cities of the two provinces			•
<i>im.y-r3 sš(.w) 3h.(w)t</i>	overseer of the scribes of the fields		•	
<i>im.y-r3 3h.(w).t</i>	overseer of the fields		•	•
<i>im.y-r3 sm nb rnp.wt</i>	overseer of all fresh vegetation			•
<i>im.y-r3 šn.(w)t</i>	overseer of punishment			•
<i>hrp shn</i>	director of <i>shn</i>			•
Totals		7	12	9

GRAPHS A24-A39

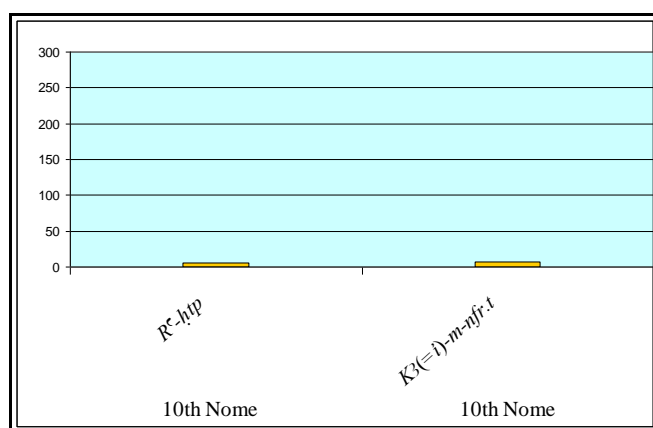
AVERAGE TOMB SIZES (m²) BY REIGN/PERIOD



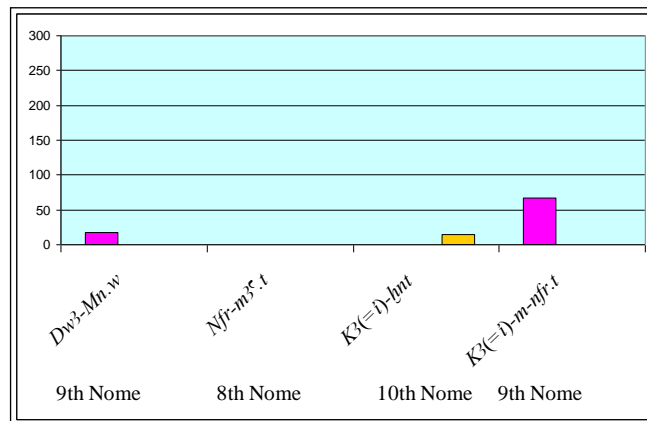
Graph A24: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Userkaf



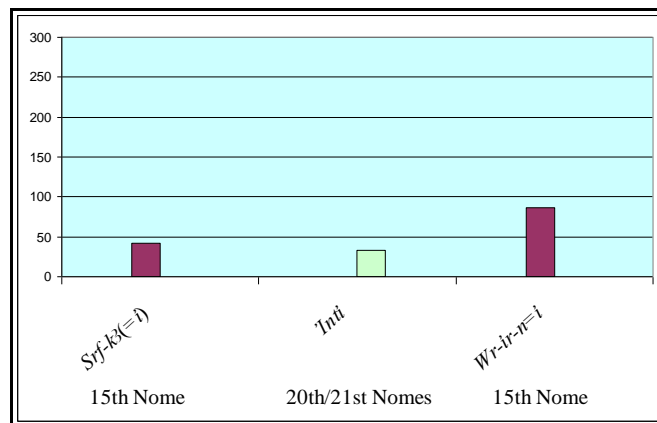
Graph A25: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Sahure^c



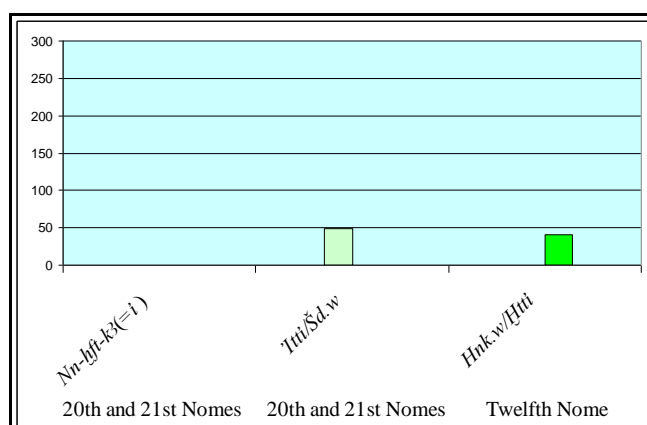
Graph A26: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Neferirkare^c



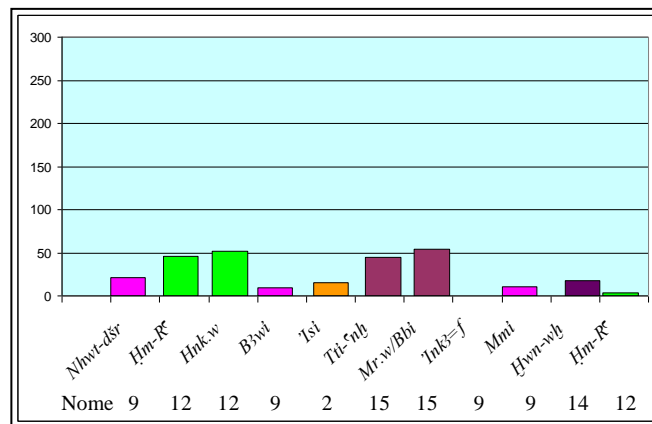
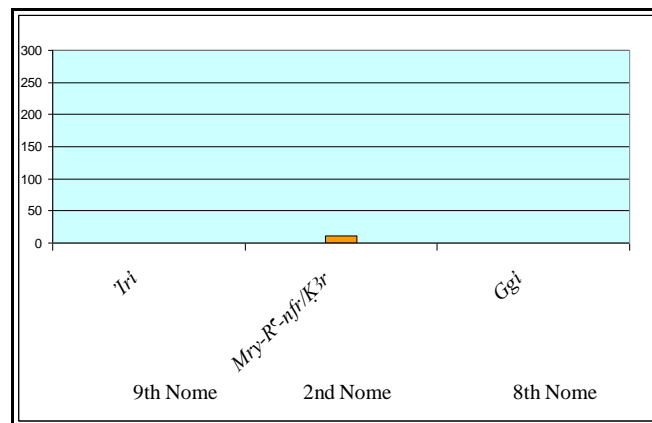
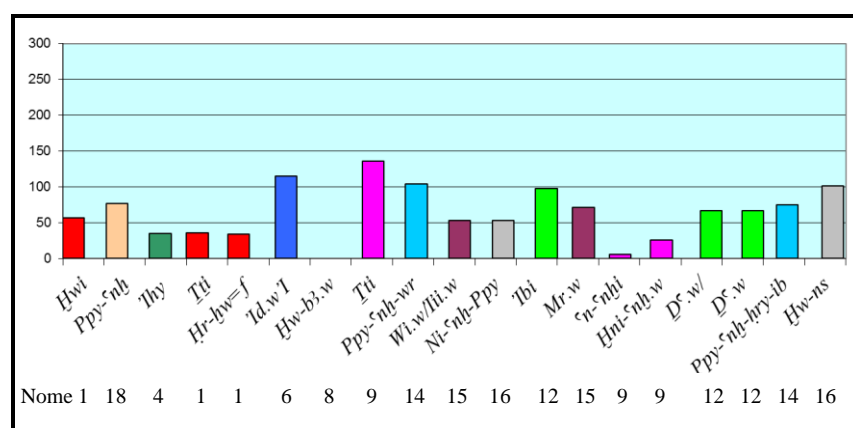
Graph A27: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Neuserre

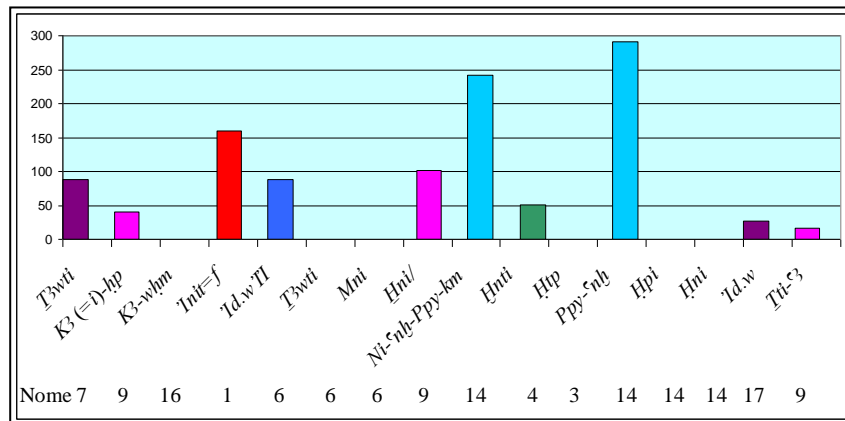
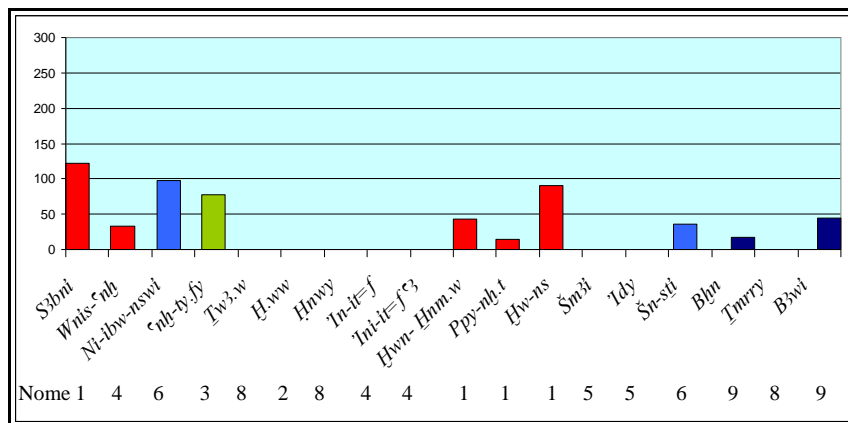
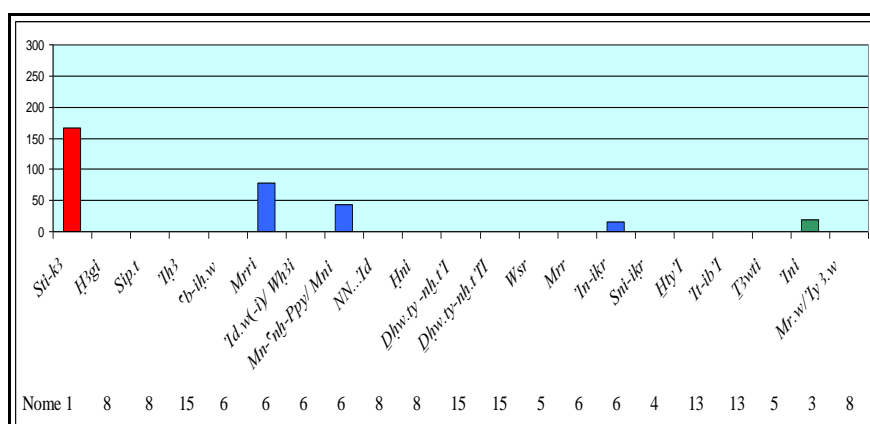


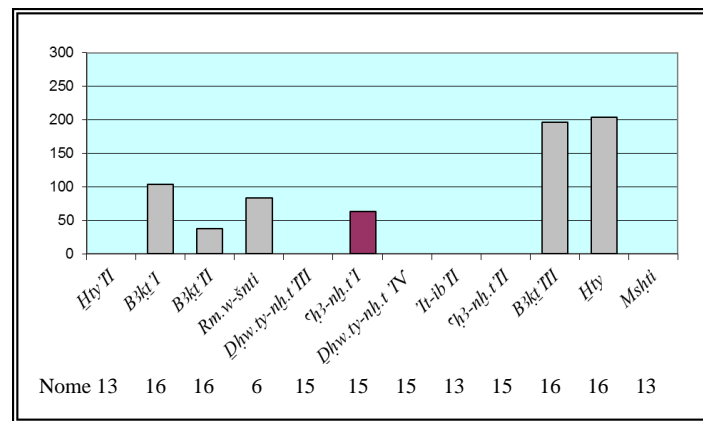
Graph A28: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Djedkare



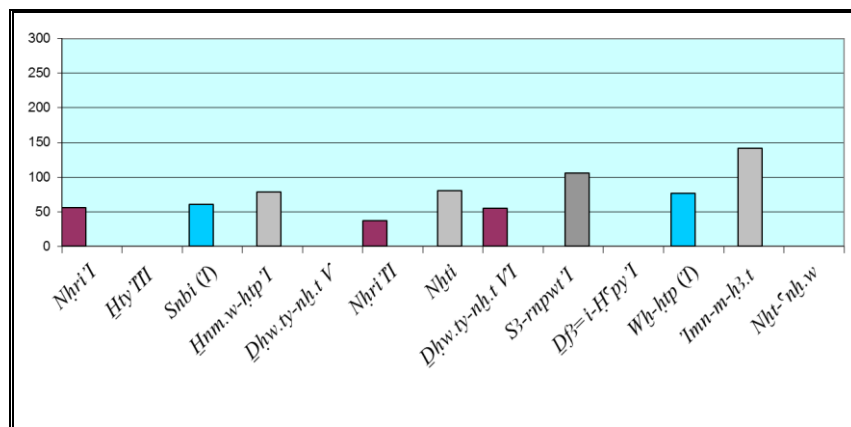
Graph A29: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Teti

Graph A30: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Pepy IGraph A31: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of MerenreGraph A32: Tomb sizes (m²) in the early to middle reign of Pepy II

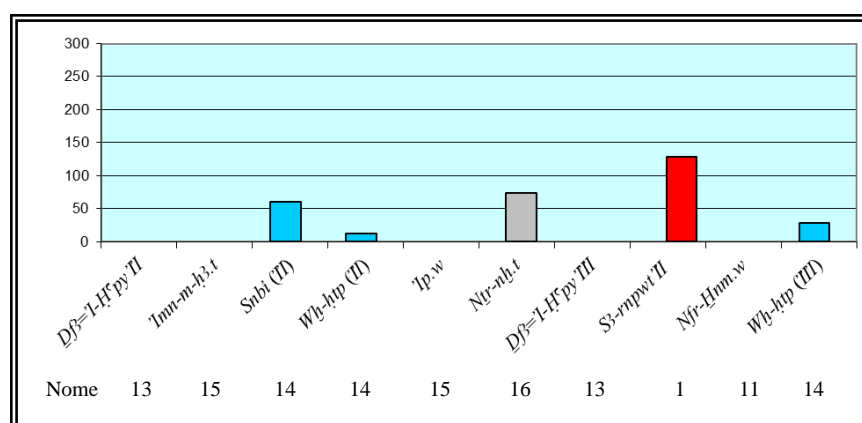
Graph A33: Tomb sizes (m²) in the middle to late reign of Pepy IIGraph A34: Tomb sizes (m²) in the Eighth DynastyGraph A35: Tomb sizes (m²) in the FIP



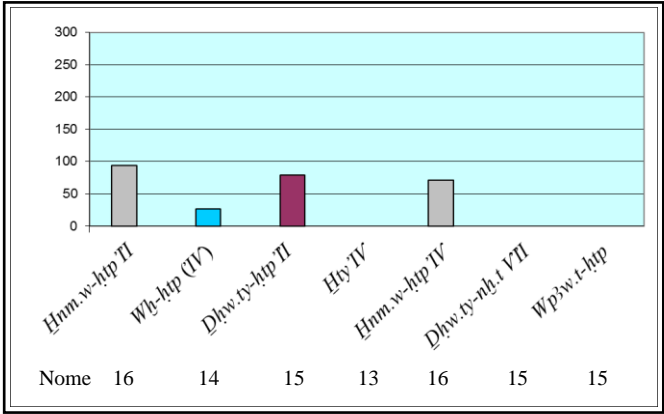
Graph A36: Tomb sizes (m²) in the Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)



Graph A37: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reigns of Amenemhet I to Senwosret I



Graph A38: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reign of Amenemhet II



Graph A39: Tomb sizes (m²) in the reigns of Senwosret II to Amenemhet III