

# **The Nobles of El-Qusiya in The Sixth Dynasty**

## **Archaeological and Historical Study**

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**Miral Zakaria Ahmed Lashien**

MA, Helwan University, Egypt

A thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Ancient History  
Macquarie University, Sydney

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*For Mum and Dad*



## Declaration

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I certify that the work in this thesis titled *The Nobles of El-Qusiya in The Sixth Dynasty: Archaeological and Historical Study* has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

The research and findings within this work are my own. Any help or assistance received in its compilation have been duly acknowledged where used. Also, all sources of information and literature utilized in the period of writing this work have been acknowledged and referenced where appropriate.

Dated this      day of      2015

Miral Zakaria Ahmed Lashien

Student ID: 42547555



## Abstract

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The nobles of El-Qusiya were of Memphite origin and remained closely connected to the capital, with no evidence of a change in the ruling family from Khewenwekh (Pepy I) to Heni (end of Dynasty 6 or slightly later). Artists, particularly painters, were prominently depicted in the tombs of these nobles and appear in the company of the tomb owners on private occasions, bearing the title ‘scribe/painter of the house of sacred records of the palace’. Wall scenes in the tombs of El-Qusiya are clearly inspired by the Memphite tombs of the mid-Fifth Dynasty to the end of Pepy I’s reign, such as those of Tjy, Metjetji, Ankhmahor and Mereruka, with El-Qusiya artists probably being trained at Memphis. The clearest similarities are however found between the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle at Meir, which were probably decorated by the same painter, Kaientjenenet, who was certainly innovative.

As in other provinces, the rank titles of the nobles of Meir fluctuated between ‘sole companion’ and ‘hereditary prince’. Their regular office was that of ‘overseer of priests’, occasionally with reference to Hathor. Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black held the vizierate, and the evidence suggests the presence of two contemporary viziers in Upper Egypt, one for the south and the other for the middle provinces. Pepyankh the middle was the first to hold the title of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ at El-Qusiya, with authority over the middle provinces. Evidence suggests that the South was not divided into three parts, but into two almost equal sections, with the dividing line positioned between Abydos and Akhmim. Thus the ‘middle provinces’ refer to the area between the southernmost provinces and the Delta. Heny the eldest son of Pepyankh the black became ‘great overlord of the *Ndft*’, perhaps referring to nomes 13 and 14. This may have been the Memphite response to the rise of Khui at Dara, in UE13, who claimed some royal prerogatives.



## Acknowledgments

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My appointment as Inspector of Antiquities at Saqqara then at Giza gave me the opportunity to closely examine the magnificent monuments of the officials who are buried there, mostly from the Old Kingdom period. This experience culminated in my successive accompaniment of two of two most active and capable expeditions working at Saqqara, the Australian expedition led by Professor Naguib Kanawati and the Polish expedition led by Professor Karol Myśliwiec. Both scholars and the members of their teams have been extremely generous with their knowledge and have included me in the different aspects of the fieldwork. As both projects involved the excavation and recording of some of the most magnificent tombs of the Old Kingdom, I was particularly fortunate to examine with such experts the discovered objects, the architectural features of the tombs they are recording and the scenes and inscriptions which cover the walls of their chapels. This led to my completion of an MA thesis at Helwan University, Cairo entitled ‘The Successive Movement in the Private Tombs of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasties at Giza and Saqqara’ under the guidance of Professors Naguib Kanawati and Atef Awadalla, and finally in obtaining a scholarship to study for the PhD at Macquarie University, Australia.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Macquarie University for granting me an International Macquarie University Research Excellence Scholarship (IMQRES), which enabled me to study at such a distinguished institution and to experience an amazing environment of learning and research. The help, cooperation and support I received from the staff of the Department of Ancient History, and particularly the successive Heads of Department, Drs Andrew Gillett and Ian Plant, and the Department Administrators Mrs Raina Kim and Mrs Angela Abberton, and from the staff of the Macquarie Library and the Research Office is acknowledged and appreciated.

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*(A paper presented in the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference at Warsaw 2014)*

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## Abbreviations

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<b>AJA</b>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<b>ASAE</b>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<b>BACE</b>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<b>BIFAO</b>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<b>BMFA</b>	<i>Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
<b>Cd'É</b>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<b>DE</b>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<b>FIFAO</b>	<i>Fouilles de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire</i>
<b>GM</b>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion.</i>
<b>JAOS</b>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<b>JARCE</b>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<b>JEA</b>	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<b>JNES</b>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<b>LÄ</b>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<b>MDAIK</b>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK)</i>
<b>MIO</b>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts Für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
<b>Orientalia</b>	<i>Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series</i>
<b>PSBA</b>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<b>RdÉ</b>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>

***RES***

*RES Antiquae*

***SAK***

*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*

***Studi di Egittologia***

*Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia. Rivista internazionale*

***ZÄS***

*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

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# Introduction

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## Introduction

The Sixth Dynasty represents a most important period in the history of the Old Kingdom. In art it reached its highest point, architecture, particularly of private tombs,<sup>1</sup> became more elaborate and complex, royal burial chambers were inscribed with Pyramid Texts and individual autobiographies became longer, richer and more informative.<sup>2</sup> Yet, during the same period the monarchy seems to have faced great difficulties. Internally, the succession of the kings was occasionally disputed, their relationship with the priesthood, particularly those of the Sun-god Re, was not always peaceful,<sup>3</sup> and controlling or satisfying the ever growing royal family and administrative bureaucracy must have been difficult. Externally, the changing nature of relationships between Egypt and its neighbours necessitated major adjustments and resulted in many wars.<sup>4</sup> Valuable studies by many scholars have been devoted to the examination of most of these aspects. These studies have highlighted important issues, solved some and laid the foundation for investigating the others. Like all those undertaking research in the Old Kingdom Egypt, I have benefited greatly from these earlier and in many cases pioneering works and would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to them.

From its inception the Sixth Dynasty appears to have been fraught with problems, so much so that its founder, King Teti, adopted the Horus name *Shṭp-T3wy* or 'He who pacifies the Two Lands'.<sup>5</sup> Relying on a limited number of his trusted officials, many of whom were also his in-laws, Teti appears to have succeeded in containing the administration and the priesthood and in introducing many reforms, yet his reign ended tragically.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the single most drastic reform introduced by King Teti was in the administrative system of Upper Egypt. For the first time viziers were appointed in the South in order to deal effectively with any problem in this important part of the country and at the same time a new office of *ḥry-tp* 'great overlord' of the province was created with its holders residing in the individual

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<sup>1</sup> The mastabas of Mereruka, Kagemni and Khentika with their complex chapels are clear examples of the progress in architecture at this time (Duell, *Mereruka*, passim; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, passim; James, *Khentika*, passim).

<sup>2</sup> See for instance the biographies of Weni and Harkhuf (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98-110; 120-31).

<sup>3</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, passim.

<sup>4</sup> See the efforts of Sabni of Aswan to recover the body of his father who died in Nubia (Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 335ff.) and the many wars Weni had to fight against the Aamu (Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 352ff.)

<sup>5</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 57 (13).

<sup>6</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, passim.

provinces they governed. These new positions represented major developments in the way the Egyptian provinces were governed; for apart from a limited number of administrative/religious centres, Upper Egypt hitherto had mainly been governed by Residence officials, some responsible for more than one province, and mostly executing their responsibilities through periodic visits.<sup>7</sup> Such significant changes in the administrative system introduced by Teti must have been necessitated by the economic, political or even religious circumstances at the time and these need much further examinations. One can certainly think of obvious economic advantages in a closer supervision of Upper Egypt, certainly the most productive area of the country; and the need for better control of the region was presumably felt by the central administration long before Teti, when the office of overseer of Upper Egypt had been introduced late in the Fifth Dynasty, even though its holder resided at Memphis.<sup>8</sup>

But Teti's reforms were inherently charged with dangers. Upper Egypt is formed of a very long, narrow strip of fertile land which, considering the slow transport was difficult to keep united and tied to the king and the central government. Appointing residing governors in the provinces and allowing for father-son succession to the office risked the governing families becoming too strong and entrenched in their provinces and theoretically at least the inability of the king and the central government to impose their will. On the surface the system appears to have worked well and the biographies of provincial officials who held office towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty give the impression that the king was still in control. Sabni of Aswan and Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi for instance had to request from King Pepy II that the rank of count be granted to their fathers as posthumous boons.<sup>9</sup> The highest rank titles of 'hereditary prince' and 'count' seem in fact to be granted to or withheld from governors of different provinces at the same time, suggesting central control.<sup>10</sup> High administrative posts were withdrawn from one province and allocated to another, the vizierate being an obvious example of the practice. But was the king in full control of his provinces so that he was able to completely remove a nomarchic family from office and appoint another? To answer this important question the history of individual provinces needs to be examined on a case by case basis.

The significance of Teti's new administrative system needs thorough and systematic evaluation; it may be suggested that it represented a major step towards the decentralisation

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<sup>7</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 109ff.; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 1ff.

<sup>8</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 152ff.

<sup>9</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 337, 366

<sup>10</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, passim.



of the administration, and even that it was a contributing factor in the ultimate fall of the Old Kingdom. On the other hand it may be argued that the reforms aimed at more and better control of the production in the richest part of the country, that it was necessary at the time and was in response to difficult conditions Egypt faced and that it saved the kingdom from even an earlier collapse due to climatic factors.

In order to examine whether the central government was aware of the possible dangerous consequences of the new reforms and if it took precautionary steps towards preventing them, we need to analyse the various aspects of the government policies. Of particular significance for instance is whether the early appointments of viziers and nomarchs were from among the strong local families or from the high officials in the capital. Did the often suggested strong local families already exist in each province despite the lack of evidence? And did they have the necessary education and expertise in administration? If on the other hand they were from Memphis, were they selected from the top officials or belonged to the royal family? The system of educating and training the future generations of administrators of different provinces needs to be examined,<sup>11</sup> and the intermarriages between the new provincial elite and the royal family,<sup>12</sup> perhaps to guarantee the formers' loyalty, should receive more attention.

Earlier studies of the administrative system in Upper Egypt have focussed on the examination of the general trends at different periods,<sup>13</sup> with the provinces of Dendera and Akhmim receiving more systematic and detailed analysis.<sup>14</sup> In recent years a number of provinces have been re-excavated and/or documented; of these are Aswan, Thebes, Hamra Dom, Akhmim, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir and Deshasha. Other provinces are currently being investigated, among which are Moalla, Coptos, Dendera, Abydos, Asiut and Kom el-Ahmar. With the full excavation and documentation of individual provinces we are in a better position to re-investigate the administrative system, the art and architecture, the daily life in each province and the relationship of the different province with the capital and with each other based on maximum evidence. It is almost certain that due to their geographical location or to their level of productivity and wealth some provinces enjoyed special advantages or played a more important role in the administration. For instance the seat of the vizier was

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<sup>11</sup> This is mentioned in the inscriptions of Meryrenofor/ Qar of Edfu (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1).

<sup>12</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39ff.

<sup>13</sup> See for instance Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, passim; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, passim; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, passim.

<sup>14</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, passim; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, passim.

allocated at certain periods of time to specific provinces and not to others, and the same is true to the granting of authority to the overseer of Upper Egypt in a specific province or over multiple provinces. It is now essential to examine the evidence from each province separately before attempting to examine the conditions of Egypt in the Sixth Dynasty and the role the different provinces played in the general history of the country.

Earlier studies of Egyptian art have examined the tomb decoration in the Upper Egyptian provinces in general, frequently discussing the so-called provincial art, or more specifically the different schools of art in Upper Egypt.<sup>15</sup> Many have also noticed similarities with the art in the capital and suggested various reasons for them. In examining the so-called provincial art we should bear in mind that there are no strong similarities between the art in any two provinces and that no single province seems to have provided sufficient activities for artists to justify the presence of a school of arts. Most provinces had only the governor's tomb and occasionally a limited number of smaller tombs with minimum decoration to execute in any single generation. But if not local, where did the artists come from, and to what extent was their provincial work influenced by their earlier training and works?

Although one of the best preserved and documented provinces, El-Qusiya has not received the attention it deserves. An unpublished thesis by R. Gillam was devoted to the study of this province and has examined the chronology of its governors.<sup>16</sup> However, Gillam's work, like many earlier studies,<sup>17</sup> was strongly influenced by the chronology established by Blackman who was the first to publish a comprehensive record of the cemetery of Meir and who took into consideration the nobles of Nome 14 buried at Quseir el-Amarna. Blackman was of the opinion that the first governor of El-Qusiya was Niankhpepy the black/Hepi the black who was successively followed by three of his sons, Pepyankh the elder, Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black.<sup>18</sup> This opinion was first challenged in 1989 by El-Khouli and Kanawati,<sup>19</sup> and more recently (2010) by Kanawati,<sup>20</sup> who suggested a regular father-son succession. The present study will examine the archaeological, artistic and

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<sup>15</sup> For example Smith, *HESPOK*, passim; Harpur, *Decoration*, passim.

<sup>16</sup> Gillam, 14<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome, passim.

<sup>17</sup> For example Baer, *Rank and Title*, 70, 84, 278 [132-134, 212]; Fisher, *Dendera*, passim; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 52-54; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, passim; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 123-125; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 102-105; Strudwick, *Administration*, 176, 201, 253-254; Harpur, *Decoration*, 280. For different theories of the chronology and genealogy of El-Qusiya nobles see (Polet, *Studi di Egittologia* 5 (2008), 81-94).

<sup>18</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 1, 5-11.

<sup>19</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 11-26.

<sup>20</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 207-220.

inscriptional evidence in detail in an attempt to establish the exact genealogy, chronology and background of this family based on maximum evidence.

This thesis has been divided into three main chapters. Chapter I, 'Succession, Chronology and Family Relationship of El-Qusiya Nobility', deals with the origin of the governing family of el-Qusiya, the succession and chronology of its members to the top office in the province, their education and training, their strongly demonstrated filial affection, the nature of their relationship with the royal family, and the likely reasons for moving the cemetery from Quseir el-Amarna to Meir and in the latter cemetery from section D to section A. Chapter II, 'Honorific, Religious and Administrative Titles of El-Qusiya Nobles' examines the rank titles each generation of nobles enjoyed, the office of overseer of priests and its importance at El-Qusiya, the unusual religious titles held by members of the ruling family, and the significance of the offices of the vizier, the overseer of Upper Egypt, the great overlord of the province held at El-Qusiya. Chapter III, 'Artists and Artistic Influence' examines the representations of artists in the tombs of Quseir el-Amarna and Meir, the identification of named artists, the titles describing the artists, the relative status of the painters and the sculptors, the artists' training, the source of artistic influence on the decoration of El-Qusiya tombs and the influence of the latter on other provinces. Parts of the art analysis results included in Chapter III, particularly those examining the possible identity and origin of the artist who decorated the tomb of Pepyankh the middle at Meir and the sources of inspiration for his work are presented in a paper with the title 'The Art in the Tomb of Pepyankh the middle: Innovation or Copying?' in Appendix 2. This paper was a contribution to the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference at Warsaw 2014.

In presenting the findings of this thesis certain issues which have bearing on our conclusions needed broad documentation and detailed analysis and discussion. Rather than interrupting the flow of the chapters, these issues were examined in a separate section entitled Appendix 1: 'Complementary Studies' with the results referred to in the main text. These are: Study A: 'The epithet 'elder' and its significance'; Study B: 'The representation of aging in wall scenes'; Study C: 'The positioning on the left and right on false doors and its significance'; Study D: 'The block chair with the *hwt*-sign and its significance'; Study E: 'Heneni's false door at Saqqara'; Study F: 'Finds from tombs A1 and A4'.

El-Qusiya, with its two cemeteries, Quseir el-Amarna and Meir, has been re-excavated and re-recorded in recent years by the Australian Centre for Egyptology. It is now

appropriate to devote a special study to the data obtained, thus the research is based on all the surviving evidence from this province. The study of the noble family of El-Qusiya fortunately shows a continuous succession of governors of the province with no missing generations, which makes it an ideal case study for the chronology of its rulers as well as for the examination of the development of the administrative, religious and artistic traditions in the province. It is hoped that studies of other provinces will benefit from the present study and will follow in the near future.

# Chapter I

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# Chapter I

## Succession, Chronology and Family Relationship of El-Qusiya Nobility

### 1. Family Members, Close Ties

It was customary for the Egyptian officials to represent members of their families in their tombs, particularly their wives, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters, but much less frequently parents.<sup>1</sup> However, evidence for the Egyptian apparent desire to be buried in the near vicinity of other members of his/ her family is well attested in most cemeteries. A study of the mastabas of members of Shepseskafankh's family,<sup>2</sup> or the Seshemnofer family at Giza<sup>3</sup> and the Ptahhotep/Akhethotep family at Saqqara<sup>4</sup> as examples would demonstrate such a wish. The same phenomenon is also observable in the many provincial cemeteries in Upper Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Some interesting cases of a close father-son relationship may be cited. The Fifth Dynasty official, Wepemnofert of Giza allocated a room in his chapel for the funerary benefit of his eldest son, Iby, and inscribed a will witnessed by fifteen men forbidding the use of this room by any other member of the family.<sup>6</sup> Sons frequently built their tombs adjacent to, or even abutting that of their fathers,<sup>7</sup> and in a few instances constructed their chapels within their fathers' mastabas and as extensions to the fathers' chapels. Ptahhotep II, son of Akhethotep (tomb D 64) of the late Fifth Dynasty is a well-known case of this tradition. The early Sixth Dynasty cemetery of King Teti also produced a number of such examples, as for example in the cases of Ishfi son of

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<sup>1</sup> For a possible reason for the lack of including parents in tomb decoration see Kanawati, *SAK* 9 (1981), 213-225.

<sup>2</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, passim.

<sup>3</sup> Kanawati, *Giza* 1, 51ff.; vol. 2, 51ff.; Brunner-Traut, *Seshemnofers III*, passim; Junker, *Giza* 11, 92ff.

<sup>4</sup> Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hotep*, passim; Davies, *Ptahhotep*, 2 vols., passim; Harpur and Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, passim.

<sup>5</sup> See for example the tombs of Ibi and Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 2 vols, passim; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vols. 2-3, passim) and those of Tjeti-iqer and Kheni at El-Hawawish (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, vols. 1-2, passim).

<sup>6</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 219; Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 31-43.

<sup>7</sup> As for example in the case of Ptahhotep I (tomb D 62) and Akhethotep (tomb D 64) (Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 25-84; Davies, *Ptahhotep*, 2 vols., passim).

Ankhmahor,<sup>8</sup> Noferseshemtah son of Noferseshemtah,<sup>9</sup> Meryteti son of Mereruka,<sup>10</sup> and Khentika son of Khentika.<sup>11</sup> That the chapel of Meryteti, son of Mereruka, for instance was a later addition to that of his father may be seen in the fact that the entrance to Meryteti's chapel was opened into the already decorated north wall of Mereruka's pillared hall (A13), resulting in certain damage to some figures on that wall.<sup>12</sup> In many of the aforementioned examples, however, we are uncertain whether the son built his own chapel after the father's death or if it was built by the father during his lifetime, as did Wepemnofert for his son. Such actions may show special cases of the need of fathers to rely on the eldest sons for the maintenance of their funerary cult, or demonstrate the strong paternal feelings towards a particular son or the filial affection of a son towards his father, or may even reflect the lack of space in an already crowded cemetery, as is the case in the restricted cemetery of King Teti.

Filial responsibilities and perhaps affection may be seen in the many cases of sons completing the building and/ or decoration of their fathers' tombs.<sup>13</sup> One of the well-known examples is that of Senedjemib/ Mehi, who left an inscription stating that he built/ decorated the tomb for his father Senedjemib/ Inti in one year and three months, while the latter was in the embalming workshop. Senedjemib/ Mehi also requested and obtained a stone sarcophagus for his father, presumably as a gift from King Djedkare.<sup>14</sup> These cases presumably represent sons performing their expected obligations towards their deceased parents according to the Egyptian traditions. Yet it is surprising that despite the many examples attesting to filial affection, parents are rarely depicted in their children's tombs. It has been suggested that the representation of an already dead parent in the son's tomb was perhaps "undesirable" and was only done in unusual

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<sup>8</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, 12-14, pl. 62.

<sup>9</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pls. 23-28. For the identification of room 7 in the tomb as belonging to the son rather than to the similarly named father, see Kanawati's review of the above work (Kanawati, *JEA* 96 (2010), 290-293).

<sup>10</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, passim.

<sup>11</sup> James, *Khentika*, pls. 13, 40.

<sup>12</sup> See Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, fig. 94.

<sup>13</sup> At Giza for instance Kanynesut presumably completed the tomb of his similarly named father (Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 22), and Ankhemre did the same for his father Iryenre (Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 24). For similar cases see Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 106; Junker, *Giza* 9, figs. 52, 72, 78; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 34, 227, 229. Taking Akhmim as an example for such a tradition in the provinces, Khenni presumably completed the tomb of his father Tjeti-iqer (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, 19; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 265:5); Pepyseneb decorated the tomb of his father Memi (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, 21); Shepsipumin possibly decorated the tomb of his father Nehwet-deshet (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 11, fig. 3 (a)), while the tomb of Ty was made/ decorated for him by his daughter, Nofertjentet and his brother, Tjeri (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 54, fig. 23 (b)).

<sup>14</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, passim; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 314-316.



circumstances and that when it occurred the figures of the living and the dead were completely separated and faced in opposite directions.<sup>15</sup> With some Egyptians having more than one wife, regardless of whether the marriages were concurrent or successive,<sup>16</sup> it would not be surprising that some younger wives would have outlived their husbands. A study of the Teti cemetery for instance shows that, probably for political reasons, many of the top and powerful officials were married to Teti's own daughters, who were much younger in age.<sup>17</sup> These wives and many others may have outlived their husbands and were cared for by their children, perhaps in most cases by the eldest sons.

While a few already deceased fathers were represented in their children's tombs, perhaps because of their importance or due to some special circumstances, many more mothers were depicted in the wall scenes of their children's chapels, having probably survived their husbands and thus were cared for by their children when these decorated their tombs. Queen Meresankh III for instance represented her most likely dead father, Kawab, in her tomb.<sup>18</sup> The reason for showing him may well be to emphasize her descent, since Kawab was the eldest son of Khufu and was perhaps the heir apparent before his unexpected death.<sup>19</sup> His importance may be seen in his large size in comparison with that of Meresankh III and her mother Hotepheres II. Senedjemib/ Mehi made the tomb of his father Senedjemib/ Inti after the latter's death, yet he represented himself in his father's tomb,<sup>20</sup> presumably commemorating the past. The importance of Senedjemib/ Inti is evident from the decrees and letters he received from Djedkare.<sup>21</sup> Also in apparently a very close family, Noferbaptah appears in his own tomb following his father Iymery,<sup>22</sup> and the latter did the same with his own father Shepseskafankh.<sup>23</sup>

Mothers are represented more frequently in the tombs of their children. At Giza for instance Seshemnofer II represented his mother, Meritites, prominently on the west wall of his

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<sup>15</sup> Kanawati, *SAK* 9 (1981), 222 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See discussion in: Simpson, *JEA* 60 (1974), 100-105; Kanawati, *SAK* 4 (1976), 149-160. The high risk associated with pregnancy and childbirth may account for the death of many women and the resulting multiple marriages (Bentley in: Sowada et al., *Teti Cemetery* 4, 95).

<sup>17</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 20-22.

<sup>18</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4.

<sup>19</sup> For a study of this family see Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, 7-8.

<sup>20</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 26-27, 34-35.

<sup>21</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 311ff.

<sup>22</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 31.

chapel,<sup>24</sup> and the same was done by Seshemnofer III for his mother Henutsen.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Rawer depicted his mother Hotepheres in his chapel,<sup>26</sup> Mersuankh added a false door for his mother Rudsaues in his own chapel,<sup>27</sup> Kai probably represented his mother, the king's daughter Khen[ut],<sup>28</sup> and Nebemakhet depicted his mother Queen Meresankh.<sup>29</sup> Kahief added a false door in his chapel for his mother Khenmet,<sup>30</sup> and Weser showed his mother Henutsen seated next to him on a chair on the lintel above the entrance to his chapel.<sup>31</sup> The example of Mereruka of Saqqara is also remarkable. Mereruka was probably the son of Meruka of Giza.<sup>32</sup> His mother, Nedjetempet,<sup>33</sup> was not buried in her husband's tomb or in a separate tomb at Giza, but a mastaba was built for her, presumably by her son, and near his own tomb at Saqqara.<sup>34</sup> She is also represented a number of times in Mereruka's own chapel.<sup>35</sup> Some of the abovementioned mothers were of royal blood and others may have been so, even if our sources do not allow verification, which may have been the reason for their commemoration.

Following this brief survey, we can now examine the relationships between the governors of El-Qusiya, buried at Quseir el-Amarna and Meir, especially their close family ties and possible lineage.

## 2. El-Qusiya Nobles: Tracing their Background and Kinship

### 2.1 Khewenwekh/ Tjetji (Quseir el-Amarna)<sup>36</sup>

*Hwi-n-wh* 'Khewenwekh',<sup>37</sup> with the beautiful name *Tti* 'Tjetji'.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Kanawati, *Giza* 2, pl. 63.

<sup>25</sup> Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, fig.3.

<sup>26</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 184.

<sup>28</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 3, 31, 33.

<sup>29</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 4, 126 n. 3, fig. 81.

<sup>30</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 32.

<sup>31</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 69.

<sup>32</sup> Junker, *Giza* 9, 70ff.; Fischer, *MIO* 7:3 (1950), 310-312; Harpur, *Decoration*, 14-15.

<sup>33</sup> She was probably the daughter of Seshemnofer II and was depicted in his chapel (Kanawati, *Giza* 2, pl. 63; Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 47f.).

<sup>34</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 11-30, pls. 3-11, 36-44.

<sup>35</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 149, 159, 166, and probably 127; Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 74, 76, 82, 85.

<sup>36</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33ff., pls. 1-4, 9-23, 29-46.

**Wife:** *Mrri* ‘Mereri’,<sup>39</sup> with the beautiful name *Ibi* ‘Ibi’.<sup>40</sup> She is described as *hmt.f mrt/ mryt.f* ‘his wife, his beloved’.

**Sons:** A number of men are represented in the tomb, but their relationship to the tomb owner is not always indicated. Of particular importance are a few men depicted in the main scene of offering bearers on the east wall (Figure 1), where the caption above them reads: *shpt ndt-hr in msw.f in snw.f in hk3w.f in mrt.f nt pr-dt.f in hm(w)-k3 nw pr-dt.f* ‘bringing gifts by his children, by his brothers, by his managers, by his labourers of his estate<sup>41</sup> and by the ka-servants of his estate’.<sup>42</sup> It is important that the caption lists these groups with plural determinatives, yet although the names and titles of each person in the row are given, only one man, named Khewenwekh, is labelled as ‘his eldest son’ and another, *Wh-m-...f*, as ‘his brother’. This may be due to the special importance/ rights of the eldest son and the need to distinguish the brother from the sons. The kinship, if any, of the other men to the tomb owner is not specified, yet we know for instance that the fifth man in the row, *Nfr-htp-wh* ‘Noferhotepwekh’,<sup>43</sup> is designated elsewhere as the tomb owner’s son,<sup>44</sup> and indeed he is described here as *imy-r tzt nt it.f* ‘overseer of the herd of his father’.<sup>45</sup> The third man, *Nfr-sfh-wh* ‘Nofersefekhwekh’<sup>46</sup> is probably also the tomb owner’s son, since he is described on the south wall (Figure 3b) as *mry n it.f hz(y) n mwt.f* ‘beloved of his father and favoured of his mother’.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting that the two last-mentioned men are the only sons, the eldest son included, who are described in the tomb as beloved of their father and who are appointed as his lector priests.<sup>48</sup> We may also assume that *Hnni* ‘Heneni’,<sup>49</sup> who is placed between the eldest son Khewenwekh and another son Nofersefekhwekh,<sup>50</sup> (see Figure 1) was a son and so was perhaps the last man in the row, *Twhw* ‘Iuhu’,<sup>51</sup> who held the title

<sup>37</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 266:20.

<sup>38</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 395:24.

<sup>39</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 162:22.

<sup>40</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 20:10.

<sup>41</sup> For the significance of the *pr-dt* see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 158ff.

<sup>42</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>43</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 198:17.

<sup>44</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 35, 40.

<sup>45</sup> Jones, *Index*, 276 [993].

<sup>46</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 199:20.

<sup>47</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 38, pl. 46 (b).

<sup>48</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 35, 40, 44, 46.

<sup>49</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 244:24.

<sup>50</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>51</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 18:15.

*zš md3t-ntr pr-ʿ3* ‘scribe of the divine books of the palace’.<sup>52</sup> As perhaps the youngest, Iuhu is positioned as the last among his brothers, but he may also be the one who appears behind his mother on the façade of the tomb, although unfortunately the inscription identifying him is partly destroyed. This reads: *z3.s ... pr-ʿ3 ...* ‘her son, the...of the palace,...’.<sup>53</sup> It should be noted that in addition to Iuhu, the only other person depicted in this tomb who bears a title related to the palace is Heneni, who was *hry-tp nswt pr-ʿ3* ‘royal chamberlain of the palace’,<sup>54</sup> yet his place on the east wall suggests that he was the second eldest,<sup>55</sup> which would make it less likely to show him behind his mother on the façade. It appears therefore that notwithstanding the caption written above the offering bearers on the east wall, five of the depicted men were the tomb owner’s sons and the sixth was his brother.

**Daughters:** One daughter, *Z3ti* ‘Sati’,<sup>56</sup> with the beautiful name *ʿnš* ‘Anesh’<sup>57</sup> is clearly designated as *z3t.f* ‘his daughter’.<sup>58</sup> However, three other girls, the last in the row of offering bearers on the east wall<sup>59</sup> are labeled *msw.f nw ht.f* ‘his children of his body’.<sup>60</sup> They are: *Dw3t-Hwt-hr* ‘Duathathor’,<sup>61</sup> *N(y)-ʿnh-Hwt-hr* ‘Niankhathor’,<sup>62</sup> and *Htp-Hwt-hr* ‘Hotephathor’.<sup>63</sup> All four daughters held the rank of *špst nswt* ‘noblewoman of the king’,<sup>64</sup> and with the exception of Duathathor, they held the title of *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* ‘*hm(t)-ntr*-priestess of Hathor’.<sup>65</sup>

Apart from the tomb owner, who is represented three times at the offering table,<sup>66</sup> the only other individual, male or female, who is shown at an offering table in the tomb, is his daughter, Sati.<sup>67</sup> This is on a panel to the left of Khewenwekh’s statue niche in the south wall of the chapel (Figures 2, 3a), where three generations of female members of the family are represented: Khewenwekh’s wife, his daughter and granddaughter, each in a separate register.

<sup>52</sup> Jones, *Index*, 858 [3134]. For a reconsideration of the responsibilities of this title see Chapter III.

<sup>53</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 34.

<sup>54</sup> Jones, *Index*, 789 [2878].

<sup>55</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>56</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 295:10.

<sup>57</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 69:1.

<sup>58</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 38, 46.

<sup>59</sup> See Figure 1.

<sup>60</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>61</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 398:22.

<sup>62</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 171:18.

<sup>63</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 258:23.

<sup>64</sup> Jones, *Index*, 990 [3664].

<sup>65</sup> Jones, *Index*, 540 [2012].

<sup>66</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 39-40, 43.

<sup>67</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 45-46 (a).

However, while the wife and the granddaughter are shown standing and smelling a lotus flower, perhaps a symbol for the pleasures of life, Sati sits at an offering table and is described as *z3t.f špst nswt ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr im3ḥwt ḥr ḥnwt.s ḥr Wsir ḥr Inpw tpy dw.f imy wt Z3ti* ‘his daughter, the noblewoman of the king, the *ḥm(t)-ntr*-priestess of Hathor, the honoured one before her mistress,<sup>68</sup> before Osiris and before Anubis, who is on his hill, who is in the embalming place, Sati’. Neither the depiction of an individual before an offering table nor the reference to being honoured before Osiris and Anubis should automatically indicate that the person is already dead at the time the tomb was decorated, even if they may hint at future hopes, since tomb owners regularly referred to themselves as such when they decorated their tombs during their lifetime. However, the singling out of Sati for such a theme to the exclusion of all others, including Khewenwekh’s own wife, is suggestive. It seems likely that Sati was already dead, which may also explain her absence in any other scene showing members of the family together. Sati’s representation before an offering table probably aimed at allowing her to partake in offerings presented for her father/ parents. This may also be the reason why, contrary to the situation on the right panel, the figures on this panel are facing away from the statue niche and towards the offering bearers on the east wall.<sup>69</sup> The purpose of this representation is presumably not dissimilar from the depiction of Pepyankh the middle of both his parents in his chapel, each at a separate offering table.<sup>70</sup> If that is the case, perhaps Pepyankh the middle’s representation was inspired by that of Khewenwekh.

**Grandchildren:** One granddaughter, *Hwt-ḥr-m-ḥ3t* ‘Hathoremhat’,<sup>71</sup> appears twice in the tomb, once shown as an adolescent with the pigtail and disc hairstyle<sup>72</sup> accompanying her grandfather in his spearfishing trip<sup>73</sup> and described as daughter of Sati,<sup>74</sup> while in the second scene she appears as an adult and occupies the bottom register,<sup>75</sup> with her mother and grandmother shown in the two registers above.<sup>76</sup> There, like other female members of the family, she is designated as:

<sup>68</sup> Most probably a reference to Hathor.

<sup>69</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 44-45. Also see Figures 1-3.

<sup>70</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl.15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>71</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 235:12.

<sup>72</sup> For this hairstyle see Kanawati, in: *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien*, 292ff.

<sup>73</sup> See Figure 4.

<sup>74</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Figure 3a.

<sup>76</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46 (a).

*špst nswt ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr* ‘the noblewoman of the king, the *ḥm(t)-ntr*-priestess of Hathor’ and is also described as *im3ḥwt* ‘the honoured one’.

No male figure in this tomb is explicitly labelled as grandson. However, the design of the south wall is curious (Figures 2-3). A panel divided into three superposed registers, each depicting one individual, is on either side of the statue niche holding the engaged standing statue of the tomb owner.<sup>77</sup> As discussed above, the left panel shows three generations of female members of Khewenwekh’s family, i.e., his wife, daughter and granddaughter. On the right panel (Figure 3b) his son Nofersefekhwekh is shown in the top register, followed in the second register by a man described as *mniw iḥw Ny-ḥ-Mry-r* ‘the herdsman of cattle,’<sup>78</sup> Niankhmeryre,<sup>79</sup> followed by an unnamed woman offering bearer.<sup>80</sup> The identity of Niankhmeryre is not clear, but his title should not be taken to indicate a workman’s position. The tomb owner himself held the title of *imy-r tzt n(t) tntt* ‘overseer of the herd of *tntt*-cattle’,<sup>81</sup> a position reserved at Dendera, another major centre for the cult of Hathor, for the overseers of the priests of Hathor.<sup>82</sup> Being the overseer of priests at El-Qusiya and of the temple of Hathor, Khewenwekh was probably in charge of the administration of the wealth of the temple and the province. Although the size of his tomb did not allow him to commemorate the activities he was responsible for,<sup>83</sup> these are clearly illustrated in the large tombs of his successors,<sup>84</sup> Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black.<sup>85</sup> Khewenwekh’s two sons Noferhotepwekh and Nofersefekhwekh held the office of *imy-r tzt* ‘overseer of cattle’,<sup>86</sup> the title in the case of the former being qualified as ‘of his father’.<sup>87</sup> Niankhmeryre’s title appears therefore directly related, although perhaps at a more junior level, to Khewenwekh’s responsibilities. This, together with his place on the wall among close members of the tomb owner’s family and the fact that his name is formed with the cartouche of a

<sup>77</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 22-23, 45-46.

<sup>78</sup> Jones, *Index*, 432 [1590].

<sup>79</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 171:13.

<sup>80</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46 (b).

<sup>81</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33, pl. 38; Jones, *Index*, 277 [997].

<sup>82</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 26-27.

<sup>83</sup> The small size of tombs of important officials is characteristic of Pepy I’s reign (Strudwick, *Administration*, 68-69 [22]).

<sup>84</sup> See below for chronology.

<sup>85</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl.16; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 82; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 41; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 82.

<sup>86</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 35, 44, 46 (b).

<sup>87</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 35, 44; Jones, *Index*, 276 [992].

king,<sup>88</sup> show his importance and suggest some relationship to the tomb owner. Since the grandson of Khewenwekh, as will be demonstrated later, was named Niankhpepy, a name which frequently alternated with that of Niankhmeryre as is evident with later members of this family, I propose that the offering bearer depicted on the south wall of Khewenwekh's chapel with this name was probably his grandson. Thus on the same wall, Khewenwekh represented perhaps the favourite members of his family; his wife, one daughter (presumably deceased), a particular son whom he describes as *mry n it.f hz(y) n mwt.f* 'beloved of his father and favoured of his mother', in addition to a granddaughter and a grandson.

Below the spear fishing scene on the west wall, where Khewenwekh's granddaughter accompanies him (Figure 4), is a row of offering bearers, headed by a man labelled as *imy-r tzt N(y)-nḥ*....<sup>89</sup> The space above *N(y)-nḥ* allows for a cartouche, which if it was that of *Mry-r*, then the same grandson would have been represented as the leading offering bearer. In this case he holds the title *imy-r tzt* 'overseer of cattle' like two of the sons of Khewenwekh. He is followed by a man name *špsi* 'Shepsi',<sup>90</sup> who is described as 'overseer of cattle'. Could he also be another grandson? The third man in the row is described as *hrp zḥ Hnn* 'the director of the dining-hall',<sup>91</sup> Henen'. Henen may have been an abbreviated form of Heneni, but the title is too modest to ascribe to Heneni, the tomb owner's probable son, who appears on the east wall<sup>92</sup> with the title *hry-tp nswt pr-ḥ* 'royal chamberlain of the palace'.<sup>93</sup> With this name being common among members of the family as will be demonstrated later, could Henen have also been another grandson?

The study of the scenes in Khewenwekh's chapel reveals a very closely bonded family, for despite the limited wall space available, three generations, males and females, were portrayed. It appears that Khewenwekh devoted the offering scene on the east wall for the representation of his own children<sup>94</sup> and the fishing scene on the west wall, a pleasurable and entertaining activity,

<sup>88</sup> According to Martin-Pardey names formed with the cartouche of a king represent a special honour granted by the king (Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 135ff.).

<sup>89</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

<sup>90</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 326:15.

<sup>91</sup> Jones, *Index*, 736 [2682].

<sup>92</sup> See Figure 1.

<sup>93</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44; Jones, *Index*, 789 [2878].

<sup>94</sup> Figure 1.



for the inclusion of his grandchildren, males and female.<sup>95</sup> Grandchildren are also included on the south wall, where their grandmother is also shown.<sup>96</sup> Such family ties are equally evident in the chapels of the succeeding generations of El-Qusiya nobles.<sup>97</sup>

### 2.1.1 Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder

Khewenwekh was the first known ‘overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qusiya’ to hold office, reside and be buried in the 14<sup>th</sup> province of Upper Egypt, probably under Pepy I.<sup>98</sup> This date was first challenged by Gillam<sup>99</sup> and more recently by Polet,<sup>100</sup> yet Gillam later accepted a date under Pepy I for Khewenwekh.<sup>101</sup> In a recent article devoted to the chronology of the nobles of El-Qusiya, Kanawati has discussed the relevant criteria and reaffirmed his earlier dating of the tomb to Pepy I’s reign,<sup>102</sup> which is accepted here. The name Khewenwekh is common at El-Qusiya,<sup>103</sup> both in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and is attested in a number of tombs at Meir, but the relationship, if any, between the two nobles buried at Quseir el-Amarna, Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder remains unknown.<sup>104</sup> The decoration of Khewenwekh’s tomb is completely preserved and we know that Khewenwekh was not a young man since he was depicted as a portly figure on the thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel<sup>105</sup> and represented a number of his children and grandchildren in his tomb. His eldest son, who bore the same name, Khewenwekh, must have been of age, but he did not hold any title which definitely entitled him to follow his father in his responsibilities,<sup>106</sup> and we are not informed what became of him. It also seems highly unlikely that Khewenwekh, owner of the tomb, was a son of Pepyankh the middle of Meir, as suggested by Polet,<sup>107</sup> or that he was a later overseer of priests who decided to return to the older cemetery. It is hardly plausible that a man of a different background would have

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<sup>95</sup> Figure 4.

<sup>96</sup> Figure 3.

<sup>97</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4 and 5, passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, passim.

<sup>98</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 14-25.

<sup>99</sup> Gillam, *DE* 20 (1991), 75-87.

<sup>100</sup> Polet, *Studi di Egittologia* 5 (2008), 88-89.

<sup>101</sup> Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 229 n. 194.

<sup>102</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 209, 217.

<sup>103</sup> Names formed with the *wḥ* fetish, which is linked to the cult of Hathor, lady of El-Qusiya, are common in the province, see (Blackman, *Meir* 6 vols, passim).

<sup>104</sup> Kanawati writes that ‘the relationship of Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna to his successors, the Pepyankh family is totally unknown’ (Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 209).

<sup>105</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 36. Also see the discussion under Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>106</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 35.

<sup>107</sup> Polet, *Studi di Egittologia* 5 (2008), 88-89.



interrupted the succession of the strong family of Pepyankh/ Niankhpepy, and it is equally unlikely that once the family moved to the new and more impressive cemetery at Meir, that one member would return to the earlier, less elevated and rather ‘flat’ site of Quseir el-Amarna. On the surface, the evidence may suggest that Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder did not belong to the same family and that the appointment of the latter may have been a part of a coordinated move by kings of the Sixth Dynasty to place royal relatives in the top positions in the provinces,<sup>108</sup> occasionally replacing already existing nomarchic families.

Looking at the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi for comparison, it is clear that one group of governors succeeded another during the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>109</sup> The first group probably started with Henqu I in the reign of Teti and ended with Hemre/ Isi II towards the end of Pepy I’s reign and was buried in the Northern cliff. The tomb of the last nomarch was unusually small for a man in his position,<sup>110</sup> even much smaller than that of Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna.<sup>111</sup> He also lost the prestigious office of the vizier held by his two predecessors, Hemre/ Isi I and Henqu II.<sup>112</sup> This office probably moved to the 14<sup>th</sup> province.<sup>113</sup> The governorship of Deir el-Gebrawi went to a new family, which moved to a completely new cemetery (the Southern cliff) and which held totally new names, such as Ibi, Djau, Shemai, Khui, Idi, etc., many of which are common among the royal in-laws of Abydos. A link with the family at Abydos may also be conjectured from the highly unusual fact that the nomarchs of Deir el-Gebrawi now also governed Abydos, and that the first of them, Ibi, was described as ‘possessor of love before Onuris’ of the 8<sup>th</sup> nome’.<sup>114</sup> It is also unlikely that with the strong presence of the royal in-laws at Abydos the province would be governed by one who did not belong to this distinguished family and who resided in a far distant province. However, the relationship of the governors buried in the Northern cliff to those buried in the Southern cliff is not entirely clear. The name of Ibi’s wife, Hemre, a name common among the earlier nomarchic family, may hint that Ibi’s

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<sup>108</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39-59.

<sup>109</sup> For a complete record of this province see Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 2 vols. For a recent record and a discussion of dating see Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, 3 vols.

<sup>110</sup> However, this is typical of important officials during Pepy I’s reign, see (Strudwick, *Administration*, 68-69 [22]; also see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 62 [78]).

<sup>111</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 80, pl. 58a; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 39-41, pls. 29-31.

<sup>112</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 79-82, pl. 58.

<sup>113</sup> See Chapter II, discussion under 3.1 Office of the Vizier.

<sup>114</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 18; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 19-20.

appointment to his office was aided by his marriage to perhaps a daughter of an earlier nomarch of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>115</sup>

That the king or the central government around the middle of the Sixth Dynasty was still able to interfere in the succession of the nomarchs by terminating the rule of one family and appointing another is questionable. A study of the succession of the governors in different provinces does not produce any unequivocal example of such a practice.<sup>116</sup> On the other hand the trend to appoint royal relatives in top positions in the capital and the provinces or to establish marriage alliances with individuals holding such offices is unmistakable. A clear example for such a trend may be seen in the appointment of Pepy I's mother-in-law, Nebet, as a vizier in the South,<sup>117</sup> an office in which she was followed by a number of her descendants.<sup>118</sup>

We have no information on Khewenwekh's background, nor on that of his wife, Mereri, who is prominently depicted on the façade of the tomb in an equal size to her husband,<sup>119</sup> and who appears also on his false door and on the south wall.<sup>120</sup> The name Khewenwekh is formed with the *wh* fetish of El-Qusiya, but that should not automatically indicate an origin from the province,<sup>121</sup> for he may have acquired the name on his appointment,<sup>122</sup> while his 'beautiful name' was *Ttj* 'Tjetji'.<sup>123</sup> Many of Khewenwekh's titles demonstrate his close association with the king and the palace. Among these titles are *iwn Dšrt ḥm-ntr ḥwy Hr ḥm-ntr Dšrt ḥry-sšt3 n wdt nbt smsw n db3t*<sup>124</sup> 'pillar of the Red Crown, priest of the two children of Horus, priest of the Red Crown, privy to the secrets of all commands, elder of the robing-room'.<sup>125</sup> Khewenwekh almost certainly originated from Memphis<sup>126</sup> or at least spent a period of employment there. He was

<sup>115</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 22.

<sup>116</sup> For examples of continuous succession see Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, passim; For dating see Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 78-79, 122-124; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, 10 vols., passim.

<sup>117</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59-60, pl. 76 (CG1578); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 525.

<sup>118</sup> See Chapter II, discussion under 3.1 Office of the Vizier.

<sup>119</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 34-35.

<sup>120</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 39, 45.

<sup>121</sup> The same applies to the vizier Nebet, mother-in-law of Pepy I, who is now believed to have originated from the capital and did not belong to a strong provincial family (Kanawati, in: *Thebes and Beyond*, 115ff.). Also See Chapter II, discussion under 3.1 Office of the Vizier.

<sup>122</sup> Compare for instance with the frequent names formed with the name of the God Min at Akhmim, such as Minankh, Hemmin, Shepsipumin, etc. (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, 10 vols., passim).

<sup>123</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 43; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 395:24.

<sup>124</sup> See El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33-34.

<sup>125</sup> Jones, *Index*, 7 [26], 565 [2086], 586 [2146], 619 [2269], 905 [3321], respectively.

<sup>126</sup> See Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 132. Also see discussion of Khewenwekh's titles in Chapter II.

presumably the founder of the governing family at El-Qusiya,<sup>127</sup> and his name remained popular, not only among members of this family in the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty, but also among the nobles of the Middle Kingdom, who considered themselves as the descendants of the Old Kingdom rulers.<sup>128</sup>

We do not know why Khewenwekh's eldest son, also called Khewenwekh, did not succeed his father in his position and it may be argued that he died after the decoration of the tomb of his aged father was completed. In such a case one would expect the top position to pass on to the second eldest son, probably Heneni.<sup>129</sup> The only other known tomb at Quseir el-Amarna belongs to Pepyankh the elder, who most probably succeeded Khewenwekh in his responsibilities. The name Pepyankh (the elder) may well have been acquired at a later stage of the tomb owner's life/ career; could Heneni have been his earlier name although this cannot be verified due to the unfinished and poorly preserved decoration of his chapel? If so, he may have been the father of Niankhmeryre (later Niankhpepy) who was represented in Khewenwekh's tomb,<sup>130</sup> perhaps being known as the one destined to be a future governor of the province. In fact the granting to this grandson of the right to form a name with Meryre's cartouche at probably a young age is in itself curious (see below).

## 2.2 Pepyankh the elder (Quseir el-Amarna)

*Ppy-ꜥnh wr* 'Pepyankh the elder'<sup>131</sup> excavated a good sized rock cut tomb formed of a chapel 11.20m. x 7.15m. and an offering room 4.20m. x 3.15m.<sup>132</sup> in the near vicinity of that of Khewenwekh, but the chapel received very little decoration. Only the entrance area, the west faces of the two pillars facing the doorway and a false door are decorated, with all walls left blank.<sup>133</sup> Although well cut, the walls are not entirely smoothed or prepared for decoration and

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<sup>127</sup> See Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 207ff.

<sup>128</sup> Blackman, *Meir*, 6 vols., passim. Wekhhotep son of Wekhhotep of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty represented his ancestors beginning with those of the Old Kingdom (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 10-11).

<sup>129</sup> Heneni, the second offering bearer represented in Figure 1.

<sup>130</sup> See Figure 3b.

<sup>131</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 131:21.

<sup>132</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 28-29, pls. 24-25.

<sup>133</sup> Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 250-258; Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 128-142; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 27-32, pls. 5-8, 24-28.

the limited amount of existing figures and inscriptions are rather cursorily executed in incised relief and no colours. This may well suggest that the tomb owner did not remain in office for a long period, and therefore was unable to complete or at least advance the decoration of his chapel.

The designation of *wr* 'elder' after the name of Pepyankh certainly distinguishes him from others bearing the same name, yet its exact significance is disputed. Blackman, based on this designation and that of *hry-ib* 'the middle' in the name of Pepyankh the middle of Meir, assumed the presence of three similarly named brothers: Pepyankh the elder, Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black.<sup>134</sup> This opinion has influenced the studies devoted to this family by many scholars,<sup>135</sup> yet it was presumably built on a wrong premise, for succession in ancient Egypt usually passed from father to son, or to the eldest son in particular and not from one brother to the next, even if the latter occurred in exceptional circumstances.<sup>136</sup> A study of the succession in the well documented provinces of Edfu, Akhmim and in most cases at Deir el-Gebrawi confirms this fact.<sup>137</sup>

The chronology of the nobility of El-Qusiya has been re-examined in a recent study, in which it was concluded that Pepyankh the elder was the first of this family to hold office in the province.<sup>138</sup> It has also been suggested that he may have been the son of the vizier Mereruka by his first marriage and that like his father, Pepyankh married a princess, perhaps the daughter of Teti, named Seshseshet.<sup>139</sup> This proposition was based on the fact that Mereruka had an eldest son named Pepyankh, or more accurately he changed his name to that of Pepyankh when Pepy I acceded to the throne.<sup>140</sup> A likely dispute occurred between this son and his younger half-brother Meryteti, son of princess Waatetkhethor/ Seshseshet, over the ownership of the chapel and burial chamber which form an extension to Mereruka's mastaba. The inscriptions in the chapel and

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<sup>134</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 1, 9-10.

<sup>135</sup> For some examples see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 70, 84, 278 [132-134, 212]; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 52-54; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 123-125; Fisher, *Dendera*, passim; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 102-105; Strudwick, *Administration*, 176, 201, 253-254; Harpur, *Decoration*, 280.

<sup>136</sup> As for example in the case of Hemre and Henqu of Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 25; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 73, pl. 67; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 269).

<sup>137</sup> For a study of the succession in these provinces and others see Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, passim.

<sup>138</sup> See Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 207ff.

<sup>139</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 209-210; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28 (b).

<sup>140</sup> The name of this son appears as an alteration in Mereruka's chapel (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 155; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 73).

burial chamber clearly indicate that they changed ownership more than once, indicating some kind of family strife.<sup>141</sup> It has therefore been suggested that in order to solve the problem between the two brothers, Pepyankh was appointed to the important position at El-Qusiya, where he prepared his tomb at Quseir el-Amarna.<sup>142</sup>

While the above interpretation of the evidence is attractive, it should remain as mere speculation since the name Pepyankh was reasonably common at the time and there is no-one in Pepyankh the elder's tomb or in those of his successors who bears the name of Mereruka. According to the Egyptian tradition of naming sons after the father or grandfather, this would be expected if Pepyankh the elder was indeed the son of this distinguished vizier, although we should at the same time take into account the fact that the decoration of Pepyankh the elder's tomb is highly unfinished and poorly preserved. It has also been suggested that the eldest son of Mereruka changed his name from Memi to Pepyankh,<sup>143</sup> and that the earlier name appears to have deliberately been damaged in Mereruka's tomb.<sup>144</sup> However, the name Memi is equally unattested in the tombs at Quseir el-Amarna or Meir.<sup>145</sup>

A personal examination of the name of Pepyankh in Mereruka's tomb, on the north wall of the pillared hall, A13, clearly shows that the name was carefully erased and smoothed over.<sup>146</sup> It is difficult to think that this eldest son of Mereruka, presumably by a previous marriage, could virtually 'usurp' a tomb initially made by/ for Meryteti, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Teti, and accordingly the nephew of the then reigning king, Pepy I, and in consequence be rewarded with the top position at El-Qusiya. It seems more likely that the erasure of Pepyankh's name in his father's tomb represents a punishment inflicted on him, perhaps for taking part in a conspiracy against Pepy I.<sup>147</sup> In this respect he appears to have received the same punishment as many of the sons of the top officials who served under Teti and who later conspired against Pepy

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<sup>141</sup> Nims, *JAOS* 58 (1938), 638ff; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, 11-12, pl. 38, and passim.

<sup>142</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 209-210.

<sup>143</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 53, pl. 101; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 38.

<sup>144</sup> See Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 23, 65, 88; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 41 (a), 72 (c), 88; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 30 (b), 85.

<sup>145</sup> The name of Mereruka's son is *Mmi* 'Memi' (see Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, 24, pls. 72 (c), 88, 97; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 149:18), while a different name, that of *Mmy* 'Memy' is recorded as a second name for a physician called Niankhkhnum represented in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle (see Blackman, *Meir* 4, 12, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 21, pl. 81; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 149:25).

<sup>146</sup> See Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 13, 73.

<sup>147</sup> Kanawati, *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 203-217.

I.<sup>148</sup> An examination of the west wall of the same pillared hall, A13, in Mereruka's tomb shows the vizier walking with his hands touching the shoulders of two men, one in front of him and the other behind him, presumably indicating that they are by his sides. His attitude may well suggest that they are his sons. At a later stage the figure of the man in front of him has been chiselled out and smoothed over as was done with the name of Pepyankh on the north wall.<sup>149</sup> That the son's figure on the north wall was not erased may be due to the fact that Mereruka was shown and described as leaning on the hands of his son and an official and thus the erasure of the son's figure would have spoiled the scene and made it 'imbalanced'; hence the figure was left intact while the name was erased.<sup>150</sup> Pepyankh, Mereruka's son, probably usurped the tomb of his younger half-brother, but was later punished and lost the tomb which was returned to Meryteti, and there is no evidence that Pepyankh, Mereruka's son, married the sister of his step-mother. It seems therefore unlikely that Pepyankh the elder was Mereruka's son.

It has reasonably been suggested that names formed with the cartouche of a king represent an honour bestowed by the king and perhaps a period of residency in the capital.<sup>151</sup> However, except in special cases such an honour is expected to have been attained at a rather advanced stage of an official's career. Pepyankh the elder must have had earlier names prior to acquiring that of Pepyankh, but no other names are attested in his poorly preserved tomb. At the same time all members of this family bore more than one name and most of these names alternate by generation. In his re-publication of the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, grandson of Pepyankh the elder, Kanawati has noticed that the name of the tomb owner was written once on the north thickness of the entrance to the chapel as *Hny hry-ib* 'Heny the middle'.<sup>152</sup> The position of *hry-ib* in the text suggests that it applies to both names, Heny and Pepyankh (Figure 6). The name Heny is also recorded in Pepyankh the middle's burial chamber<sup>153</sup> while his coffin bears both names Heny and Heneni.<sup>154</sup> It is therefore likely that the grandfather was similarly named as Heny or Heneni, since the name is also written in its variant forms (Heny, Henyt, Heneni,

<sup>148</sup> Evidence for the erasure of the names and/ or figures of the tomb owners or their sons in the Teti cemetery has been collected and analyzed by Kanawati in: (Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, passim).

<sup>149</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 138; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 6 (b), 65.

<sup>150</sup> Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 13, 73.

<sup>151</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 135ff.

<sup>152</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 11, 36, pl. 78. The name *Hny* is also recorded in (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6 (1))

<sup>153</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 19 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 90.

<sup>154</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 254-255.

Henenit, etc) by another individual in this family.<sup>155</sup> The name Heneni coincides with that of the second eldest son of Khewenwekh,<sup>156</sup> and as Khewenwekh was presumably of advanced age, it would not be surprising if his eldest son, also named Khewenwekh, had died and the second son succeeded to his father's position. There is no compelling reason therefore to believe that Khewenwekh's family was removed from office and that Pepyankh the elder established a new ruling family at El-Qusiya.

It is known that sons of the provincial nobility were educated/ trained *km3t* in the capital,<sup>157</sup> with much of our direct evidence for this tradition dating to the reign of Pepy I (see below). Thus Heny/ Heneni probably spent a period of his career at Memphis, where he acquired the name Pepyankh (the elder)<sup>158</sup> and married Seshseshet, presumably a princess.<sup>159</sup> To understand the significance of the designation of 'elder', instances of this epithet were collected and analyzed.<sup>160</sup> It appears that the epithet was used to distinguish the grandfather whose grandson bore the same name and who was expected to succeed him in the same office. The epithet could be used by an individual during his lifetime or could be inscribed for him after his death, probably by a son or grandson to distinguish the latter from his grandfather.<sup>161</sup> Pepyankh the elder was presumably of advanced age when he took up his position at El-Qusiya. This may be deduced from the fact that after a very short period in office, judging by the highly incomplete condition of his tomb, his grandson, Pepyankh the middle, was able to replace him. The latter was himself a mature age man who had grandchildren represented in his chapel, assuming that he prepared his tomb shortly after his appointment as would be expected.<sup>162</sup> The old age of Pepyankh the elder and the mature age of Pepyankh the middle may also be deduced from their

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<sup>155</sup> Pepyankh the black used all forms of this name; see Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 37-40; Kanawati, *Meir* 2, 11, pls. 75-78.

<sup>156</sup> See Figure 1.

<sup>157</sup> See the inscriptions of Meryrenofet/ Qar of Edfu (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1-4).

<sup>158</sup> See family tree in Figure 5.

<sup>159</sup> The name Seshseshet was almost exclusively held at this time by female members of the Teti family. See (Stasser, *Seshseshet*, passim).

<sup>160</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study A).

<sup>161</sup> See the case of Ptahhotep the elder, where the epithet 'elder' seems to have been posthumously inscribed by his similarly named grandson, see Hassan, *Giza* 5, 183-184; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 70-71, pl. 64 (b); and also discussion in Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study A).

<sup>162</sup> See discussion below under 2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2) and 2.4.1 Date of Building the Tomb.



depictions as portly figures.<sup>163</sup> Such representations have generally not been considered as indicative of actual age, but only as a wishful good old age. Such a wish must have been a common one, yet only a few are shown in this mature stage of their life. A study of such cases however suggests that the depiction of some men in this form reflects their actual age.<sup>164</sup>

With Pepyankh the elder's possible old age, it seems unlikely that he would have not prepared a tomb for himself until he was appointed at El-Qusiya. If he spent a good part of his career at the capital, as seems likely, he probably constructed a tomb there, perhaps at Saqqara where other provincial officials, who were educated and served for a period in the capital under the Sixth Dynasty kings, were buried. During the reign of Teti and the earlier part of that of Pepy I, favoured officials appear to have been allocated burial plots in the Teti cemetery, while in the latter part of Pepy I's reign officials were buried in the available spaces in the Wenis cemetery and elsewhere.<sup>165</sup> Considering his age and his probable marriage to a princess (Seshseshet),<sup>166</sup> one would expect Pepyankh the elder to have built his tomb in the Teti cemetery, but with the excavations of this cemetery now completed, no tomb belonging to a man with this name has been discovered. However, Pepyankh the elder may have used his likely earlier name, Heneni, which is attested in the cemetery.

A recently discovered false door associated with a very badly destroyed mud-brick mastaba and lying *in-situ* in the northernmost street of tombs in the Teti cemetery belongs to a man named *Hnni* 'Heneni',<sup>167</sup> who bears the titles *ḥk3 ḥwt smr wꜣty* 'estate manager, sole companion'.<sup>168</sup> This is almost certainly not a complete list of his titles and others may have been

<sup>163</sup> See El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 27; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 77-78.

<sup>164</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>165</sup> It is surprising that the higher officials, even the viziers, of Pepy I are not buried around his pyramid. For the viziers of Pepy I and immediately after see Strudwick, *Administration*, 300ff, and recently Myśliwiec, et al., *Merefnebef*, passim.

<sup>166</sup> In addition to the most powerful officials, such as Kagemni, Mereruka, Noferseshemtah and Shepsipuptah, who were probably married to Teti's daughters and buried in his cemetery, other lesser and slightly later officials were also married to princesses and buried in the same cemetery. See for example the tomb of Remni (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, passim). For other officials married to possible princesses with this name and buried elsewhere at Saqqara, see Merefnebef and Niankhnofertem (Myśliwiec, et al., *Merefnebef*, passim; Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz, *Nyankhnefertem*, passim).

<sup>167</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 244:24. I am grateful to professor Kanawati for providing me with a copy of this unpublished false door from the archive of the Australian Centre for Egyptology. See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study E).

<sup>168</sup> Jones, *Index*, 670 [2543], 892 [3268].



written on his sarcophagus or coffin.<sup>169</sup> The location of Heneni's mastaba is suggestive, as this section of the cemetery was probably used during the reign of Pepy I and the mastaba lies in the immediate vicinity of two other mastabas, also constructed of mud-brick with stone false doors, belonging to provincial officials who after serving and building their tombs in the capital were sent to the provinces in the position of *hry-tp ʿ3* 'great overlord'. These are Merynofer/ Qar of Edfu,<sup>170</sup> and Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim.<sup>171</sup> The two titles inscribed on Heneni's false door, those of estate manager and sole companion, are identical to the first two of three titles inscribed on the false door of Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (see Figures 11, 94) probably the son of Pepyankh the elder (see below), who died and was buried in the capital in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara.<sup>172</sup> It is likely therefore that both Pepyankh the elder (Heneni) and later his son served at Memphis, probably close to each other in time, and constructed mastabas at Saqqara in available spaces, the former in the Teti cemetery and the latter in that of Wenis. However, only the son's tomb appears to have been used.<sup>173</sup>

A study of the decoration of Pepyankh the elder's chapel reveals some unusual features. It is highly unlikely that a man of his position and rank would have no intention of decorating all the walls of his chapel in good quality painted relief and/or painting. This was the case with all his descendants at Meir and with his predecessor, Khewenwekh, at Quseir el-Amarna, as well as with his close neighbours at Deir el-Gebrawi. We should also take into account the fact that unlike all burial chambers of the members of Pepyankh the elder's family at Meir,<sup>174</sup> his burial chamber is devoid of any decoration. It is true that Khewenwekh's burial chamber was equally undecorated, yet it appears that the position and the wealth of this family took a dramatic upward

<sup>169</sup> Compare with 2.3 Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).

<sup>170</sup> Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 217-231; Kanawati, in: *Ancient Memphis*, 238ff.

<sup>171</sup> Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.; Kanawati, in: *Ancient Memphis*, 239ff.

<sup>172</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49ff., fig. 2. The third title of Niankhpepy, that of 'royal chamberlain of the palace' is also attested for Heneni in the tomb of his father, Khewenwekh, at Quseir el-Amarna (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44). See Figure 1.

<sup>173</sup> See Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49ff, figs. 1-3.

<sup>174</sup> All the burial chambers of the governors of El-Qusiya who are buried at Meir are decorated. For Pepyankh the middle see (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 18-21; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 62-65, 90-93). For Pepyankh the black see (Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 64-67, 97-98). The burial chamber of Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep of Meir is also decorated (personal examination and Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 3, forthcoming). Also see below under 2.5 (b) Hepi the black (Meir, tomb A4).

turn after the marriage of Pepyankh the elder to Seshseshet.<sup>175</sup> However, the quality of the relief in Pepyankh's chapel suggests that it was executed in haste, in mediocre incised relief, with minimum or no details.<sup>176</sup> Despite the fact that all the walls of the chapel were left rather rough and blank, there is no evidence that any part of the smoothed and decorated areas being abandoned unfinished, as to suggest a sudden death of the owner. Furthermore, the locations and the contents of the accomplished decoration are curious. These are located on the entrance drum, the right door thickness, the west faces of the two pillars (facing the entrance) and the false door inside the offering room.<sup>177</sup> It seems unlikely that the door thickness and the pillars would be decorated before the walls of the chapel unless there was no intention of decorating the latter, thus it seems that from the outset the decoration in the chapel was meant to be very limited (see Figures 7-9).

The information recorded on the faces of the two pillars opposite the entrance and on the false door focuses on introducing Pepyankh the elder with his highest titles,<sup>178</sup> particularly those of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty-<sup>c</sup> hry-hbt hry-tp imy-r hm(w)-ntr* 'hereditary prince, count, chief lector priest, overseer of the *hm-ntr*-priests'.<sup>179</sup> Thus he emphasized his elevation to the highest rank title of 'hereditary prince' for the first time in the province, and his holding of the office of overseer of priests, held by his predecessor and successors and presumably entitling him to the highest income from the rich resources of the temple of Hathor at El-Qusiya.<sup>180</sup> On the other hand the title of *imy-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* 'overseer of Upper Egypt',<sup>181</sup> so characteristic of the members of this family buried at Meir, is lacking here and it is doubtful if it was ever inscribed. The title is equally lacking in the complete inscriptions of the tomb of Khewenwekh and also not claimed by many governors in other provinces during most of Pepy I's reign and the beginning of that of

<sup>175</sup> It is interesting that Remni, who was buried at Saqqara and who was probably married to two royal women owned a decorated burial chamber despite the relatively modest offices he occupied (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 11-12, pls. 38, 52).

<sup>176</sup> Personal examination.

<sup>177</sup> Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 250-258; Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 128-142; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 27-32, pls. 5-8, 24-28.

<sup>178</sup> See Figures 8-9.

<sup>179</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 27-28. For the reading of these titles see Jones, *Index*, 315 [1157], 496 [1858], 784 [2860], 171 [652], respectively.

<sup>180</sup> For the income of officials see Weeks, *Cd'É* 58 (1983), 5ff.

<sup>181</sup> Jones, *Index*, 246 [896].

Merenre's.<sup>182</sup> Even the viziers of the south did not add the office of overseer of Upper Egypt until early in the reign of Pepy II.<sup>183</sup>

**Wife and Son:** While publicizing such details about Pepyankh the elder in the most visible parts of the chapel is not unusual, the information recorded on the false door is curious (Figure 9). Although Pepyankh the elder's tomb contains one shaft leading to a burial chamber beneath the only false door in the tomb,<sup>184</sup> the inscriptions on the false door commemorate Pepyankh, his wife and his eldest son.<sup>185</sup> The inscriptions on the upper part of the false door are understandably devoted to the tomb owner, the only one buried in the tomb. Thus the upper and lower lintels contain the *hṭp di nswt* formulae wishing a good burial in the necropolis and requesting invocation offerings for Pepyankh. On the other hand, while the right outer jamb is inscribed for the *iry-pꜣt hꜣty-ꜣ smr wꜣty imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr Ppy-ꜣnh wr* 'hereditary prince, count, sole companion, overseer of the *ḥm-ntr*-priests, Pepyankh the elder', the left outer jamb is totally reserved for *hmt.f mrt.f hkrt nswt [wꜣtt]*<sup>186</sup> *ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr*<sup>187</sup> *imꜣhwt Zšzšt*<sup>188</sup> 'his wife, his beloved, the sole ornamented one of the king, the *ḥm(t)-ntr*-priestess of Hathor, the honoured one, Seshseshet'. Also while the left inner jamb is inscribed for the *smr wꜣty imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr Hwt-ḥr nbt Kṯs*<sup>189</sup> *Ppy-ꜣnh wr* 'sole companion, overseer of the *ḥm-ntr*-priests of Hathor, lady of Qusiya, Pepyankh the elder', the right inner jamb is reserved for *zꜣ.f smsw mry.f šps nswt*<sup>190</sup> *Sbk-ḥtp(w)*<sup>191</sup> 'his eldest son, his beloved, the noble of the king, Sobekhotep'.

<sup>182</sup> For instance the office of overseer of Upper Egypt was held by the nomarch Henqu I of Deir el-Gebrawi in the reign of Teti, then it was lost to Hemre/ Isi I, Henqu II and Hemre/ Isi II during the reign of Pepy I, despite the fact that Hemre/ Isi I and Henqu II were also viziers (Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, passim). The office was regained by Ibi and his successors during the reigns of Merenre and Pepy II (Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2-3, passim). Similarly, the nomarch Nehwet-deshor of Akhmim did not record the office of overseer of Upper Egypt during Pepy I's reign (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 7), but his successors Kaihep/ Tjti (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 7), Kaihep/ Tjti-iqer (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, 12) and Shepsipumin/ Kheni (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 7) enjoyed this office in the reign of Pepy II. For dating the officials at Akhmim see (Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 295-296). See also Chapter II, 3.2 Office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt.

<sup>183</sup> See Strudwick, *Administration*, 319, table 31.

<sup>184</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 30, pls. 24-25.

<sup>185</sup> Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 253; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 31-32, pl. 28.

<sup>186</sup> For this title see Jones, *Index*, 795 [2900]. The copying of *wꜣtt* as *nbt* by Chabân in (Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 253) is most probably an error, but unfortunately this part of the door has since been damaged.

<sup>187</sup> Jones, *Index*, 540 [2012].

<sup>188</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 298:1. It is uncertain whether the standing figure after Seshseshet's name was a determinative for the name or should also indicate the epithet 'elder'. The former alternative seems more likely, yet this part of the text is now missing and no verification is possible, see Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 253; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28 (b).

<sup>189</sup> Jones, *Index*, 175 [669].

<sup>190</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3648].

The inclusion of both the wife and the son on the false door is unattested with any of Pepyankh's successors at Meir, or in any tomb in the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>192</sup> It is true that Pepyankh's predecessor, Khewenwekh, devoted the right inner jamb to his wife Mereri, yet this wife was almost certainly buried in the tomb which has two shafts and only one false door.<sup>193</sup> In the case of Pepyankh the middle, and despite the fact that his wife, Hewetiaah, is very prominently represented in the chapel and also possesses a beautifully decorated burial chamber, she does not appear on his false door, nor does she own a separate one in the tomb.<sup>194</sup> As the outer jamb is considerably taller and more prominent than the inner one, the allocation of the left outer jamb of Pepyankh the elder's false door to his wife Seshseshet may be significant. Thus on the right side of the false door, Pepyankh is shown in the outer jamb and his eldest son, Sobekhotep in the much shorter inner jamb. This appears in agreement with the usual representations of sons in front of and smaller than their fathers, a relationship of a junior to a senior. Contrary to this, Seshseshet was given the left outer jamb, while Pepyankh himself was depicted in the shorter left inner jamb.<sup>195</sup> Furthermore, it appears that the left side was generally more important than the right one. Thus if two false doors existed in the same wall of a chapel, the left one appears to be the more important,<sup>196</sup> and also the tomb owner was usually shown at the left side of the offering table while his wife, if represented with him, was usually at the right side.<sup>197</sup> When a husband and wife are depicted on separate jambs of the same false door, as is the case with Pepyankh the elder and Seshseshet, it was customary for the left side to be reserved for the husband.<sup>198</sup> Does the representation of Seshseshet on the left side reflect her more elevated status vis-à-vis her husband? And if Pepyankh the elder is identified

<sup>191</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 305:6.

<sup>192</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 11; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 10, 33; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 86; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 94; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 2 vols., passim; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, 3 vols, passim.

<sup>193</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 41, pls. 29-31, 39.

<sup>194</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, passim.

<sup>195</sup> See Figure 9.

<sup>196</sup> See for example Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 18; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 16; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 42; Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, fig. 3; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 244-249.

<sup>197</sup> For some examples see Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 28; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 42; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 32, 36, 38-39; Lashien, *Kahai*, pls. 85-86; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 39, 43, 46; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, fig. 15.

<sup>198</sup> For the positioning on the left and the right jambs of the false doors, see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study C). For some examples see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 32; Lashien, *Kahai*, pl. 86; Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 28; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 39; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 43, 46, 62; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, fig. 15. In the tomb of Kaiemankh at Giza, he is depicted on the right jamb and the wife on the left jamb, but that is on the wife's false door. On Kaiemankh's false door the wife is not represented at all (Junker, *Giza* 4, figs. 6, 11; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pls. 30, 32).

with Heneni as has been suggested above (see Figure 5), could his marriage to a likely princess have been the reason for his succession ahead of his brother, Khewenwekh, the eldest son of Khewenwekh, if this elder brother was not already dead? And could this marriage explain the granting to Heneni/ Pepyankh of the right to form a name incorporating the king's cartouche, and perhaps more significantly allowing his own son, Niankhmeryre,<sup>199</sup> to bear a name with the cartouche of the reigning king, despite his likely young age during the life of his grandfather, Khewenwekh?<sup>200</sup>

The name Seshseshet certainly brings to mind the name of the mother and many daughters of King Teti,<sup>201</sup> and it has been suggested that the wife of Pepyankh the elder was probably a princess, perhaps the daughter of King Teti.<sup>202</sup> While this kinship could not be verified with certainty because of the apparent general reluctance to inscribe titles of royal kinship in provincial tombs,<sup>203</sup> her royal descent should not be dismissed. In fact her elevated status may have been the very reason for her prominent depiction on her husband's false door, since his high status would have, at least in part, been due to her heritage.<sup>204</sup> Seshseshet is almost certainly not buried in her husband's tomb as no shaft was prepared for her, and it is possible that she was already dead and buried elsewhere, perhaps at Saqqara, or that she outlived him and returned to Memphis, where her own son was buried.<sup>205</sup> Pepyankh the middle of Meir represented himself seated on a block chair with the side decorated with the *hwt*-sign.<sup>206</sup> This type of throne-like seat was used by royalty, including the king himself.<sup>207</sup> It seems likely that

<sup>199</sup> See Figures 3b, 5.

<sup>200</sup> For the name of Niankhmeryre in the tomb of his grandfather, Khewenwekh, see El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46 (b).

<sup>201</sup> See Stasser, *Seshseshet*, 91-94 and *passim*.

<sup>202</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 209ff.

<sup>203</sup> For example the title 'king's son/ daughter' was inscribed for both Kaikhent and his wife Iufi of El-Hammamiya, but was subsequently deliberately chiselled out and painted over (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, 17-18, pls. 38, 43ff.; Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 210). It is even possible that describing someone as 'king's son/ daughter' was undesirable when he/ she was buried outside the cemetery of his/ her father/ ancestor (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 16-17).

<sup>204</sup> This may be compared with the vizier Mereruka, who was also married to a daughter of Teti, equally called Seshseshet (Waatetkhethor) and who, probably for the same reason, was depicted with him wherever he appeared on the walls of his chapel (Duell, *Mereruka*, *passim*; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1-2, *passim*). It is interesting that on the façade of his tomb Mereruka represented his wife with him, and although her figure is much smaller than his, her feet were allowed to hide part of his, rather than vice versa (Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 7 (c), 8 (b), 9 (a), 64 (a-b)).

<sup>205</sup> See 2.3 Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).

<sup>206</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>207</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 214. For the significance of the block chair with the *hwt*-sig see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study D).

Pepyankh the middle, the grandson of Pepyankh the elder, claims his royal descent through his paternal grandmother, Seshseshet, wife of Pepyankh the elder.<sup>208</sup>

With the type and locations of information recorded in Pepyankh the elder's chapel, the apparent haste in which the decoration was executed and the fact that the burial chamber was left blank,<sup>209</sup> it seems likely that Pepyankh the elder died soon after cutting his tomb and that the inscriptions in his chapel were added by his successor. As his eldest son, Sobekhotep, was dead and buried in the capital,<sup>210</sup> the most likely person to have decorated the tomb is Pepyankh the middle. The stress the latter placed on Pepyankh the elder's wife, Seshseshet (Pepyankh the middle's grandmother), and his son, Sobekhotep (Pepyankh the middle's own father), was probably to emphasize his own royal lineage, which he stressed again in the prominent representation of his father Sobekhotep and his mother Pekhernofert in his own chapel,<sup>211</sup> as well as in showing himself seated on a 'royal chair'.<sup>212</sup>

Pepyankh the elder was probably appointed at El-Qusiya at an advanced age and this curiously appears to coincide with many other appointments of royal relatives in the provinces by Merenre. Probably at this same time Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi,<sup>213</sup> Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim,<sup>214</sup> Meryrenofert/ Qar of Edfu,<sup>215</sup> Harkhuf of Aswan,<sup>216</sup> and perhaps others who are less specifically dated, were sent to their respective provinces. The biographies of these officials clearly date their appointments to the rather short reign of Merenre.<sup>217</sup> As presumably a mature-aged man, Pepyankh the elder served for a very short time, during which he excavated his tomb but did not live to see it decorated. This was probably done by his grandson and successor, Pepyankh the middle, since Pepyankh the elder's own son, Sobekhotep, was probably already dead and buried

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<sup>208</sup> See Figure 5, and for a discussion on the background and lineage of Pepyankh the middle see below under 2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2).

<sup>209</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 18-21; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 62-65, 90-93; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 64-67, 97-98. The burial chamber of Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep of Meir is also decorated (personal examination and Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 3, forthcoming).

<sup>210</sup> See below, under 2.3 Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).

<sup>211</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>212</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>213</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 33; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 54, pl. 54; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:9-10.

<sup>214</sup> McFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63-70; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 270-273.

<sup>215</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:3-4.

<sup>216</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 124:9-17.

<sup>217</sup> At this same time Weni was also appointed as overseer of Upper Egypt for the entire South (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 105:11-13).



in the capital.<sup>218</sup> Shortly after decorating his grandfather's tomb, or perhaps during his work on it, Pepyankh the middle must have begun the preparation of his own resting place, thus the two tombs were presumably not far separated from each other in time. That Pepyankh the elder was of old age may be understood from his depiction on pillar 2 in his chapel (Figure 8) with bulging stomach and breast and wearing a long kilt.<sup>219</sup> It may also be deduced from the fact that in the original decoration of Pepyankh the middle's tomb, shortly after the death of his grandfather, he depicted his own children and grandchildren.<sup>220</sup> This family apparently enjoyed unusual longevity, with probably five generations alive simultaneously. This may clearly explain the reason for the use of the epithets 'elder', 'middle' and 'black' by the three Pepyankhs.<sup>221</sup>

### 2.3 Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara)

The eldest son of Pepyankh the elder is represented on his father's false door,<sup>222</sup> with the name *Sbk-ḥtp(w)* 'Sobekhotep' and the designation of *šps nswt* 'noble of the king'.<sup>223</sup> The father of Pepyankh the middle is shown in his chapel (Figure 10) described as *it.f ḥry-tp nswt imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr n Hwt-ḥr*<sup>224</sup> *rn.f ʿ3 Sbk-ḥtp(w)*<sup>225</sup> *im3ḥw ḥr ntr rn.f nfr Ḥpi*<sup>226</sup> 'his father, the royal chamberlain, the overseer of the ḥm-ntr-priests of Hathor, his great name, Sobekhotep, the honoured one before the god, his beautiful name, Hepi'.<sup>227</sup> It is very likely that the son of Pepyankh the elder and the father of Pepyankh the middle is one and the same man, and although the titles in the two tombs are different, they probably do not represent a complete list of Sobekhotep's titles and may refer to different stages of his career. No tomb belonging to a Sobekhotep was found at Quseir el-Amarna or at Meir.

A small mastaba belonging to a man named *Ny-ḥḥ-Ppy* 'Niankhpepy', also with the name *Sbk-ḥtp(w)* 'Sobekhotep' and the beautiful name *Ḥpi* 'Hepi' was discovered by Hassan in

<sup>218</sup> See below 2.3 Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).

<sup>219</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 27 (b). Also see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>220</sup> See Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 17-19.

<sup>221</sup> For the significance of the epithet 'elder', see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study A).

<sup>222</sup> Figure 9.

<sup>223</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28.

<sup>224</sup> For these titles see Jones, *Index*, 788 [2874], 174 [665], respectively.

<sup>225</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 305:6.

<sup>226</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 237:24.

<sup>227</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

the Wenis cemetery (Figures 11-12). The mastaba remained unpublished<sup>228</sup> until recently when it appeared in an article by Kanawati, who dated it to the reign of Pepy I and suggested that the owner was the son of Pepyankh the elder and the father of Pepyankh the middle of Meir.<sup>229</sup> With his three names being identical, except for the epithet ‘the black’, to those of Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep, son of Pepyankh the middle, and with the usual tradition of alternating names by generation in this and other families,<sup>230</sup> the identification of the owner of the Saqqara tomb with the missing member of the noble family at Meir seems very likely.<sup>231</sup>

That this member of the family was buried at Saqqara is not surprising, for the family presumably lived at the capital, where Pepyankh the elder was educated, employed and probably married a princess. It is even possible that our tomb owner was born at Memphis where he spent his entire career. Even if he were born at El-Qusiya, which seems unlikely, the sons of the provincial nobility, and perhaps the higher officials in general, were trained/ formed ‘*km3t*’ in the capital.<sup>232</sup> In a recent article Kanawati has studied the interrelationship between the capital and the provinces in the Sixth Dynasty by examining evidence from Edfu, Abydos and Akhmim. He showed that the sons of provincial governors were not only educated in the capital, but were employed for lengthy periods until they replaced their fathers in their provincial posts. As such, many of them, having reached a mature age, built tombs at Saqqara.<sup>233</sup> An examination of the evidence shows that this tradition, which may have aimed at training or indoctrinating future administrators of distant provinces, was widespread.

One may add to the above evidence the case of *Mni/ Mn-ḥ-Ppy* ‘Meni/ Menankhpepy’,<sup>234</sup> whose offering table was found at Saqqara. On it he is described as overseer of priests and as ‘one who is honoured before Hathor, lady of Dendera, while his wife, *Ny-ḥ-Ḥwt-Ḥr* ‘Niankhathor’,<sup>235</sup> was described as ‘one who is honoured before Hathor, lady of

<sup>228</sup> See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 84 [209].

<sup>229</sup> See Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49-61, figs. 1-3.

<sup>230</sup> See also Brovarski, in: *Mélanges* 1, 133.

<sup>231</sup> See Figure 5.

<sup>232</sup> See the biography of Merynofer/ Qar of Edfu (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1).

<sup>233</sup> Kanawati, in: *Ancient Memphis*, 237ff.; Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 217ff.

<sup>234</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 151:2, 132:2, respectively.

<sup>235</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 171:18.



Dendera and before Horus in Dendera'.<sup>236</sup> A connection with Dendera and the nobility of this province is almost certain. In fact an offering slab from Dendera belongs to a 'great overlord of the province' named Meni,<sup>237</sup> and a tomb in the same province belongs to a higher official with the names 'Meni/ Menankhpepy'.<sup>238</sup> Whether the monuments at Saqqara and Dendera belong to the same individual is arguable, but the office of overseer of priests was only held by the top administrators at Dendera, as was the case at Meir and the other provinces. Therefore, the monument of Meni/ Menankhpepy of Saqqara may either appertain to a son of the governor of Dendera buried in the capital, or an earlier tomb built by Meni/ Menankhpepy of Dendera during his training/ formation/ service in the capital.

A study of the titles of most provincial governors clearly demonstrates that they spent a period of employment in the capital. Titles such as *imy-r hnty-š pr-ꜥ3* 'overseer of the palace guards',<sup>239</sup> held by Idu/ Seneni of Hamra Dom,<sup>240</sup> and *imy-r ipt nswt* 'overseer of the king's (private) apartment/ harem' and *wr m3w* 'great of seers' (i.e. high priest of Re)<sup>241</sup> recorded in the tomb of Kaihep/ Tjeti, the nomach of Akhmim,<sup>242</sup> could only be held at Memphis. Weni of Abydos spent part of Teti's reign and all that of Pepy I's in the capital,<sup>243</sup> and during this time he was also responsible of the *ipt nswt* 'the king's (private) apartment/ harem' as well as being 'overseer of the palace guards'.<sup>244</sup> The title *imy-r niwt mr* 'overseer of the pyramid town',<sup>245</sup> held by some viziers in Upper Egypt like Hemre/ Isi I and Henqu II of Deir el-Gebrawi<sup>246</sup> was most probably performed at Memphis, and so were presumably the titles of *hrp nsty* 'director of the two thrones'<sup>247</sup> held by Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi<sup>248</sup> and *zš ꜥ(w) nswt hft-hr* 'scribe of the royal records in the presence'<sup>249</sup> held by Pepyankh the middle of Meir.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>236</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 27-28, fig. 6.

<sup>237</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 107, fig. 19.

<sup>238</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 170ff.; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pls. 1-3. This official is probably much earlier than the First Intermediate Period, the date suggested by Fischer.

<sup>239</sup> For the responsibilities of the office see Roth, *Palace Attendants*, 40-43. For the above translation of the title see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24. For earlier translation of the title as 'overseer of the land tenants of the palace' see Jones, *Index*, 189 [710].

<sup>240</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 7-8.

<sup>241</sup> Jones, *Index*, 56 [271], 386 [1428].

<sup>242</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, figs. 8-9.

<sup>243</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98ff.

<sup>244</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 99:6.

<sup>245</sup> Jones, *Index*, 148 [577].

<sup>246</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 19-20; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 37-38, 60.

<sup>247</sup> Jones, *Index*, 724 [2637].

Bearing in mind the hazard and uncertainty of using names as sole evidence for identification, it is noticeable that the name Sobekhotep is recorded in the Teti cemetery in the tomb of Mereruka. There, he is depicted twice in the same room (room A10), where aspects of Mereruka's intimate life, including the episode of his wife entertaining him by playing the harp on a couch, are represented.<sup>251</sup> Sobekhotep is shown once on the north wall as a youth with the pigtail and disc hairstyle<sup>252</sup> and another time on the east wall as an adult,<sup>253</sup> described in both cases as *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. There is no compelling reason to regard the two figures as belonging to two different individuals, for Mereruka's own son, Meryteti, is represented four times with the same youthful hairstyle,<sup>254</sup> yet once in (room 10) as an adult.<sup>255</sup> Such hairstyle does not necessarily indicate childhood, but probably youthfulness, for the wives of the viziers Kagemni and Inumin for example are depicted with the same hairstyle.<sup>256</sup> Young individuals represented with this hairstyle were usually related to the tomb owner, such as wives, sons, daughters, or grandchildren.<sup>257</sup> It has been argued above that Pepyankh the elder is unlikely to have been the son of Mereruka, but we know that he was married to a woman named Seshseshet, who may well have been Teti's daughter. If so, and assuming that Sobekhotep in Mereruka's tomb was the son of Pepyankh the elder and was probably the one later buried in the Wenis cemetery, then Sobekhotep was the nephew of Mereruka's wife. Perhaps having a young son,<sup>258</sup> Meryteti, Mereruka represented himself watching young men and women playing games,<sup>259</sup> or young men bringing offerings to him.<sup>260</sup> But these young yet named men probably belonged to the nobility. Two men, both named Sobekhotep, follow each other in a row of offering bearers in the tomb of

<sup>248</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 12.

<sup>249</sup> Jones, *Index*, 839 [3063]. The title presumably refers to the performance of the office in the presence of the king.

<sup>250</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 2; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75 (a), 79.

<sup>251</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 94; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 99.

<sup>252</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 82; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 96.

<sup>253</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 87; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 94.

<sup>254</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 8, 23, 48, 177; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 66, 76, 84; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 89.

<sup>255</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 88; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 97.

<sup>256</sup> Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, photographs 240, 242; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 44, respectively.

<sup>257</sup> Kanawati, in: *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 292.

<sup>258</sup> A daughter named *Tb-nbw* 'Ibnebu' is represented once in section B of Mereruka's mastaba, which was reserved for his wife Waatetkhetor/ Seshseshet (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 2, pl. 57). As this daughter does not appear elsewhere in her mother's chapel or in Mereruka's own chapel, Kanawati has suggested that 'it is likely that she was born after the decoration of these walls was completed, or perhaps even after the death of her father' (Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 72).

<sup>259</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 162, 164; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 76.

<sup>260</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 82; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 96.

Khentika, the vizier of Teti and Pepy I.<sup>261</sup> Could they have been the owner of the Saqqara tomb and a brother?, or perhaps two sons of this tomb owner who bear his name? In this respect we may note that two brothers of Pepyankh the middle are depicted in his tomb, both named Sobekhotep.<sup>262</sup>

On his sarcophagus our tomb owner<sup>263</sup> (Figure 12) inscribed the name Sobekhotep<sup>264</sup> and the beautiful name Hepi and the titles of *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-ḥbt hry-tp nswt pr-ḥ imy-r ḥnty-š (pr-ḥ)*<sup>265</sup> ‘sole companion, lector priest, royal chamberlain of the palace,’<sup>266</sup> overseer of the palace guards’.<sup>267</sup> On the false door however (Figure 11) he gives his name as *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy* ‘Niankhpepy’, with the beautiful name *Hpi* ‘Hepi’, and his titles as *ḥkḥ ḥwt smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-tp nswt pr-ḥ* ‘estate manager,’<sup>268</sup> sole companion, royal chamberlain of the palace’.<sup>269</sup> If, as suggested, this Niankhpepy was the grandson represented in Khewenwekh’s chapel, then he was also named Niankhmeryre.<sup>270</sup> The foremost and possibly highest titles listed by Niankhpepy, those of estate manager and sole companion are identical with those claimed by Heneni of the Teti cemetery,<sup>271</sup> whom I have suggested may be the former’s father (later named Pepyankh the elder). The third title of Niankhpepy, that of ‘royal chamberlain of the palace’, is also attested for Heneni, in the tomb of his father, Khewenwekh, at Quseir el-Amarna.<sup>272</sup> The title of *ḥkḥ ḥwt* ‘estate manager’ ranks relatively high among other administrative titles,<sup>273</sup> and is attested with many provincial governors. Thus ‘estate manager’ is held for example at Hamra Dom by the nomarchs Idu/Seneni and Tjawti, and by the eldest son of the former,<sup>274</sup> as well as by the nomarchs Ibi, Djau/Shemai and Djau and their sons at Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>275</sup> One wonders if the title reflects earlier,

<sup>261</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 14.

<sup>262</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 88.

<sup>263</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), fig. 3.

<sup>264</sup> Being in the burial chamber, the name on the sarcophagus is written phonetically, without using the crocodile sign (Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 53, fig. 3). For the elimination of figures or hieroglyphic signs that could cause harm to the deceased see Kanawati, *Burial Chambers*, 51ff.

<sup>265</sup> (*pr-ḥ*) is probably written once for both titles *hry-tp nswt* and *imy-r ḥnty-š*. See Figure 12.

<sup>266</sup> Jones, *Index*, 892 [3268], 781[2848], 789 [2878].

<sup>267</sup> On the responsibilities and translation of this office see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24.

<sup>268</sup> Jones, *Index*, 670 [2453].

<sup>269</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), fig. 2.

<sup>270</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46 (b). Also see Figure 3b and suggested family tree in Figure 5.

<sup>271</sup> See Figures 11, 94 and see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study E).

<sup>272</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44. Also see Figure 1.

<sup>273</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 199-201.

<sup>274</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 7, 19, 31, 36, 38, 41, respectively.

<sup>275</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3-5ff.; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 4-6ff.; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 12-14; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 12-17.

more limited duties before these officials were elevated to the top position in their provinces. The office appears to represent responsibilities for land and/ or animal production, and holders are occasionally shown rendering accounts in a rather submissive attitude.<sup>276</sup> It is astonishing that a number of holders of this office are shown in the tombs of Mereruka and Khentika at Saqqara, not only in a submissive attitude before seated scribes, but some of them are even held against whipping posts and beaten.<sup>277</sup>

The title of *imy-r hnty-š* (*pr-š*) inscribed on the lid and on both long sides of the sarcophagus of Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi<sup>278</sup> (Figure 12) was held during the reigns of Teti and Pepy I by the sons and relatives of the top officials, who were presumably expected to be the most loyal to the palace, particularly since many of the top officials were directly or indirectly related to the royal family.<sup>279</sup> Thus most of Mereruka's numerous brothers, three sons of Noferseshemre, a brother and a son of Ankhmahor, the son of Noferseshemtah, and Remni who apparently married into the royal family, held one office or another in the hierarchy of the *hnty-š* department.<sup>280</sup> Furthermore, Meryrenofet/ Qar, the possible son of Isi of Edfu, served in the same department and probably built a tomb at Saqqara before he was sent back to replace his father as a provincial governor.<sup>281</sup> Weni, son of the vizier Iuew of Abydos, spent most of his career in the same department at Memphis, where he may have built a tomb before he was sent back to Abydos either as overseer of Upper Egypt or later as vizier.<sup>282</sup> The nomarch Idu/ Seneni of Hamra Dom inscribed the title 'overseer of the palace guards', an office which he could only have held in the capital,<sup>283</sup> and Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, the eldest son of Pepyankh the black of

<sup>276</sup> See Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 53 (e).

<sup>277</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 36; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 78; James, *Khentika*, pl. 9.

<sup>278</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), fig. 3.

<sup>279</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24.

<sup>280</sup> Respectively Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, 20-22; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, 13-14; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, 14-15; Lloyd, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 3, pl. 24 (for the identification of the owner of the extension to the mastaba as the son of the tomb owner see Kanawati, *JEA* 96 (2010), 290-293; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 11.

<sup>281</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1-4. For his Saqqara tomb see Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 217-231.

<sup>282</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98-99, 105; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 33ff.; Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 93. See also Chapter II, 3.1 Office of the Vizier.

<sup>283</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 8.

Meir also recorded the same title.<sup>284</sup> The title of *imy-r hnty-š (pr-š)* was therefore not unexpected for the son of a noble, including a provincial noble in this period.

The title *imy-r hm(w)-ntr n Hwt-hr* ‘overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests of Hathor’ recorded for Sobekhotep/ Hepi in the tomb of his son, Pepyankh the middle,<sup>285</sup> (Figure 10) is not attested in his own tomb at Saqqara, nor in that of his father, Pepyankh the elder, at Quseir el-Amarna. However, the inscriptions in both tombs are poorly preserved and the title may have been originally written on his false door,<sup>286</sup> now partly obliterated.<sup>287</sup> The office of *imy-r hm(w)-ntr* ‘overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests’ was the prerogative of the *hryw-tp ʿ3* ‘great overlords’ of the provinces. In some provinces such as Meir and Dendera where at certain times no ‘great overlords’ held office, the administrative responsibilities were presumably placed in the hands of the ‘overseer of priests’.<sup>288</sup> The office probably entitled its bearer to an income from the local temple and its resources at the highest level.<sup>289</sup> However, in addition to the provincial governor, the title was occasionally also held by his eldest son. Thus for example Tjeti, the eldest son of the nomarch Shepsipumin/ Kheni of Akhmim, held this office concurrently with his father,<sup>290</sup> while a similarly named brother held the lesser title, with probably more restricted income, of *shd hm(w)-ntr* ‘inspector of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests’.<sup>291</sup>

At Meir, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, the eldest son of Pepyankh the middle, occupied the office of *imy-r hm(w)-ntr* ‘overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests’ concurrently with his father,<sup>292</sup> while five other men, including one of the tomb owner’s brothers held the position of *shd hm(w)-ntr* ‘inspector of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests’ and one was merely a *hm-ntr*-priest.<sup>293</sup> The same may be observed in Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black’s own tomb, where both he and his

<sup>284</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 84. Although the man holding the spare spear in the spear fishing scene is not designated as the tomb owner’s son, his attitude and name, which coincides with that of the eldest son of Pepyankh the black, suggest a kinship (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87-88).

<sup>285</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4, 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 76 (b), 83.

<sup>286</sup> Figure 11.

<sup>287</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 51, fig. 2.

<sup>288</sup> For the situation at Dendera see Fischer, *Dendera*, 187-188, and *passim*.

<sup>289</sup> See Weeks, *Cd’É* 58 (1983), 5ff.

<sup>290</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 26.

<sup>291</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 25. For the reading of the title see Jones, *Index*, 392 [3437].

<sup>292</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>293</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 14-24.

own son, Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black concurrently held the office of *imy-r hm(w)-ntr*.<sup>294</sup> It is curious that while the lower title of *shd hm(w)-ntr* is attested for two officials represented in the tomb of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black,<sup>295</sup> the title of *imy-r hm(w)-ntr* is not recorded for the tomb owner's son, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, despite the fact that he was the first to enjoy the office of *hry-tp ʿ3* 'great overlord' of nome 14.<sup>296</sup> We may conclude that while the title of 'overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' was regularly held by the provincial administrator, it was occasionally given also to his eldest son, probably at reaching a certain age while his father was still alive and in order to provide the son with a high level income. As the noble family of El-Qusiya appears to have enjoyed longevity, the title was held a number of times by both father and son at the same time.<sup>297</sup> That the eldest son of a provincial governor would enjoy the title of 'overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' and its prerogatives once he reached a certain age, even during his formation/ employment in the capital may be judged by the case of Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim. This man apparently spent a long period in the capital and reached the important position of *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt* 'overseer of all works of the king'.<sup>298</sup> He constructed a tomb at Saqqara<sup>299</sup> before he was sent back to Akhmim as 'great overlord of the province'.<sup>300</sup> In his Saqqara tomb he claimed the title of 'overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' and in order to eliminate any doubt as to its association with his province it was qualified as 'overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests of Min of Akhmim'.<sup>301</sup> Such a specific and unusual reference was of course unnecessary for anyone buried in the provinces, since the association with the local deity was clearly understood. Accordingly, Sobekhotep/ Hepi is designated as simply 'overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' in the tomb of his son, Pepyankh the middle, at Meir.

**Wife:** No image or name of Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi's wife is found in the surviving decoration in his tomb at Saqqara, or in the tomb of his father, Pepyankh the elder, at Quseir el-Amarna. However, the couple is depicted facing their son, Pepyankh the middle, in the latter's

<sup>294</sup> Blackman 5, *Meir*, pls. 12, 14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a).

<sup>295</sup> Blackman 5, *Meir*, pls. 22, 33; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 83, 94.

<sup>296</sup> Blackman 5, *Meir*, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87-88.

<sup>297</sup> See Chapter II, discussion under 2.1 Office of the Overseer of Priests.

<sup>298</sup> Jones, *Index*, 262 [950].

<sup>299</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 15 (2004), 51ff., fig. 1. The tomb was reallocated/ reused presumably after his return to his province.

<sup>300</sup> On the identification of the owner of the Saqqara tomb as the Akhmim nomarch Kaihep/ Tjeti, see Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.

<sup>301</sup> The reference to Min of Akhmim eliminates any confusion with other localities for the cult of this deity, such as Coptos.



tomb,<sup>302</sup> (see Figure 10) where she is described as *mwt.f rht nswt hmt-ntr Hwt-hr im3hwt hr hnwt.s Phr-nfrt rn.s nfr Bbi* ‘his mother, the acquaintance of the king, the *hmt-ntr*-priestess of Hathor, the honoured one before her mistress, Pekhernofert, her beautiful name, Bebi’.<sup>303</sup> This representation is very rare, as it shows a living man with his two almost certainly dead parents, with the apparent rules of representing the living with the dead being observed.<sup>304</sup> Kanawati suggests that the reason for the inclusion of the parents’ figures in Pepyankh the middle’s tomb was their likely burial at Saqqara ‘and his desire for them to partake in the offerings presented to him, thus fulfilling his filial duties’.<sup>305</sup> This interpretation is supported by the fact that each of the parents is depicted at an offering table as well as by the demonstrably strong filial affection among members of this family, which is again exhibited in the case of Pepyankh the middle’s son and grandson.<sup>306</sup> However, without doubting Pepyankh the middle’s benevolent intentions towards his parents, their depiction may have served an additional purpose, namely to publicize and emphasize his royal background. This would be particularly so if, as suggested above, he was the one who inscribed his grandfather’s tomb, where the position of his grandmother, Seshseshet, was highlighted.

It has already been noticed that the figures of the tomb owner and his parents are of different proportions,<sup>307</sup> the biggest was that of Pepyankh the middle, followed by that of his mother (74% of his figure), and finally by that of his father (61% of his figure).<sup>308</sup> With size representing status/ importance in Egyptian art, it is understandable that Pepyankh the middle would be the largest of the three, since like his father he presumably had the royal lineage, but unlike the latter he reached the top administrative position of the vizier. However, the reason for representing the mother in a larger proportion than the father is difficult to understand, but may reflect her special status. Her name *Phr-nfrt* ‘Pekhernofert’ is as far as I know unattested elsewhere,<sup>309</sup> and her beautiful name *Bbi* ‘Bebi’ is common for both men and women,<sup>310</sup> thus it

<sup>302</sup> The father and mother of Pepyankh the middle are also mentioned in the inscriptions recorded on the façade of his tomb (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 76 (b)).

<sup>303</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>304</sup> Kanawati, *SAK* 9 (1981), 213-225.

<sup>305</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 45.

<sup>306</sup> See below the discussion under 2.5 (a) Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep (Meir, tomb A1) and 2.5 (b) Hepi the black (Meir, tomb A4).

<sup>307</sup> See Figure 10.

<sup>308</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 47, pl. 83.

<sup>309</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 136:5.

<sup>310</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 95:16.

is impossible with our present knowledge to trace her background. But with Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi's royal background, presumably through his mother, Seshseshet, and his residence at Memphis, it would not be surprising if his wife belonged to the royal family.

## 2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2)

Although the name this official used most frequently in his tomb is *Ppy-ḥ(w) ḥry-ib* 'Pepyankh the middle', he alternates it on his false door with that of *Nfr-k3(.i)* 'Noferkai'.<sup>311</sup> However, in an inscription above the tomb owner's figure to the right of the entrance to the offering chamber (room 3) he gives Noferkai as his name and 'Pepyankh the middle' as his 'beautiful name'.<sup>312</sup> As names formed with the cartouche of a king presumably represent an honour bestowed by the monarch,<sup>313</sup> we may assume that the name 'Pepyankh the middle' was acquired at a later stage of this man's career. It is curious that unlike the case in the chapel, the name was consistently written (seven times) on the coffin as *Mry-rḥ(w) ḥry-ib* 'Meryreankh the middle',<sup>314</sup> (see Figures 13-14). Blackman's suggestion that the name 'Noferkai' indicates that the bearer was born during the reign of Pepy II,<sup>315</sup> seems unlikely. Our tomb owner was presumably already of mature age and honoured under Pepy I, probably during his stay at Memphis where he and his father, Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi, served. If we accept Kanawati's suggestion that Noferkai might echo that of Pepy II (Noferkare),<sup>316</sup> then the name might have been acquired at a later stage of his life, perhaps just before building his tomb. It should also be noticed that the name Noferkai is unattested on the coffin or in the burial chamber and was infrequently used in the chapel.<sup>317</sup> On the other hand the consistent change of the name from 'Meryreankh the middle' on the coffin to 'Pepyankh the middle' in the chapel might have

<sup>311</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 132:1, 200:16; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 11; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 86.

<sup>312</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 76 (b).

<sup>313</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 135.

<sup>314</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 252-256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 72 (a); Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 160:25.

<sup>315</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 18.

<sup>316</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 26.

<sup>317</sup> The name Noferkai is only recorded on the façade of the tomb and on the false door (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4, 11; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 76 (b), 86).



coincided with the accession of Pepy II. If this assumption is correct, then the coffin may have been manufactured just before the decoration of the chapel, perhaps even during its excavation, or that it was made in the capital immediately before the owner's return to his province. In fact the type of wood used in making the coffin and the quality of its engraved decoration may well suggest that it is the work of the royal workshop<sup>318</sup> (Figure 13). It seems possible that Pepyankh the elder was equally called Meryreankh the elder,<sup>319</sup> but as his chapel was presumably decorated by his grandson, Pepyankh the middle,<sup>320</sup> the name was similarly changed to Pepyankh the elder. A second name inscribed twice on Meryreankh the middle's coffin<sup>321</sup> is written once as *Hnni*<sup>322</sup> 'Heneni' and once as *Hny*<sup>323</sup> 'Heny' (Figure 14). The name Heny is the only one written in the tomb owner's burial chamber<sup>324</sup> but appears only once in the chapel, as a later alteration after the enlargement of the chapel entrance<sup>325</sup> where Heny was added on the right thickness<sup>326</sup> (Figure 6).

Pepyankh the middle must have been of mature age when he built his tomb, which may be deduced from his depiction as a rather portly man<sup>327</sup> on the entrance thickness of his chapel,<sup>328</sup> and from the fact that he represented his grandchildren in the original decoration of his tomb.<sup>329</sup> As a mature-aged man on his appointment at El-Qusiya, it is not surprising that his father, Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi was already dead and buried at Saqqara and accordingly Pepyankh the middle directly succeeded his grandfather, Pepyankh the elder. In his biographical inscription on both sides of the entrance to the offering chamber Pepyankh the middle says: *iw ir.n(.i) ḥꜥw r rnpt 100 m-m im3ḥw ḥnḥw ḥr k3w.i* 'I spent a lifetime of 100 years among the honoured living ones in possession of my kas'.<sup>330</sup> Studwick is right in stating that 'we have no way of knowing how true this is. This may be very much the ideal age that an Egyptian

<sup>318</sup> See Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 72 (a-b).

<sup>319</sup> This would be particularly true if his own son was Niankhmeryre, the grandson of Khewenwekh, who is represented in his grandfather's tomb (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46), also see Figures 3b, 5.

<sup>320</sup> As has been suggested under 2.2 Pepyankh the elder (Quseir el-Amarna).

<sup>321</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 254-255.

<sup>322</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 244:24.

<sup>323</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 241:23.

<sup>324</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 19 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 90.

<sup>325</sup> For the entrance modification, see (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 28).

<sup>326</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6 (1); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 78.

<sup>327</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>328</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 77-78.

<sup>329</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 19. Personal examination shows that figures and names of the tomb owner's children and grandchildren do not represent later alteration to the wall decoration.

<sup>330</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 76 (b).

wished to attain'.<sup>331</sup> However, due to the rarity of such a statement which should have been more common if it were only a wish, even if 100 years should not be taken literally, it should probably indicate a relatively old age, and it appears that members of this family enjoyed longevity. On the other hand it is uncertain whether this text was written during the initial decoration of the tomb or at a subsequent stage, perhaps when the stone built pillared hall was later constructed/ added in front of the entrance to the offering chamber.<sup>332</sup> After mentioning that he lived to the age of 100 years, Pepyankh the middle says: *ir.n(i) bw 3 n h'w pn m imy-r hm(w)-ntr n Hwt-hr nbt K'is sk w(i) k hr Hwt-hr nbt K'is hr m33.s hr irt n.s ht m 3.wy(i)* 'I spent a great part of this time as overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests of Hathor, Mistress of Qis, when I entered at Hathor, Mistress of Qis, seeing her and presenting offerings for her with my hands'.<sup>333</sup> Unless we take this statement to be simply wishful thinking, the very mention of the fact that he 'spent a great part of this time' should indicate that the biography was written sometime after he probably returned from Memphis and started serving in his office at Meir.

Pepyankh the middle is depicted twice on the architrave above the entrance to his offering chamber (room 3) seated on a block chair with the side decorated with the hieroglyphic sign for *hwt*,<sup>334</sup> a type of seat used by royalty.<sup>335</sup> His use of such a chair is understandable considering the fact that his father was probably the son of a princess, Seshseshet, perhaps a daughter of Teti. On the other hand we do not know the background of Pepyankh the middle's mother 'Pekhernofert/ Bebi',<sup>336</sup> who is depicted in his tomb larger in size than his father.<sup>337</sup> She may also have been of royal descent, and one would expect much intermarriage between members of the extended royal family.

**Wife:** The background of Pepyankh the middle's wife, *Hwt-i'h* 'Hewetiaah',<sup>338</sup> with the beautiful name *Hwti* 'Hewti',<sup>339</sup> is also not clear. In a family scene on the south wall of (room 3)

<sup>331</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 369, 378 n.49.

<sup>332</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 27ff. On the other hand the façade inscriptions were almost certainly written before the entrance to room 3 of the chapel was expanded to the north, since the north side of the entrance, unlike the south one, became too close to the text (personal examination).

<sup>333</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35, pl. 76 (b); Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 369; Kloth, (*auto-*)*biographischen*, 142-143.

<sup>334</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>335</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study D).

<sup>336</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4, 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 76 (b), 83.

<sup>337</sup> See Figure 10.

<sup>338</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 234:28.

<sup>339</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 235:5.

six individuals behind the wife are each provided with a small offering table.<sup>340</sup> The two on the bottom register are identified as *Dmit z3.s hry-tp nswt Hwi* ‘Djemit’,<sup>341</sup> her son, the royal chamberlain, Khewi’,<sup>342</sup> and behind him *rht nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr mwt.s Nfr-irw.s rn.s nfr Ffi* ‘the acquaintance of the king, the *hm(t)-ntr*-priestess of Hathor, her mother, Neferirues’,<sup>343</sup> her beautiful name, Fefi’.<sup>344</sup> These two individuals may be the wife’s parents,<sup>345</sup> yet we are still no closer to finding out if they had any royal heritage. However, Hewetiaah’s special status may be judged by her very prominent representation on the façade and in the offering chamber of equal size to her husband<sup>346</sup> and by the fact that her burial chamber is more elaborately decorated than that of the tomb owner himself.<sup>347</sup> More significant in this respect is perhaps her depiction once on the architrave above the entrance to (room 3)<sup>348</sup> seated next to her husband on the block chair with the *hwt*-sign on the side, which was usually reserved for royalty. The name *Hwt-iꜥh* is unattested elsewhere and, interestingly, it seems similar in its formation to *Hwt-hr*, with *Iꜥh* presumably referring to the moon deity.

**Sons:** Pepyankh the middle represented in his chapel many members of his family, including brothers, sons, daughters, grandchildren and in-laws.<sup>349</sup> Of particular importance for the study of the family genealogy and succession is the representation of his eldest son, *Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy km* ‘Niankhpepy the black’,<sup>350</sup> also called *Hpi km* ‘Hepi the black’,<sup>351</sup> who held the titles of *imy-r hm(w)-ntr hry-tp nswt (pr-ꜥ) smr wꜥty* ‘overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests, royal chamberlain of the palace, sole companion’.<sup>352</sup> The title of overseer of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests is usually held by the top administrator of the province, but seems to be held also by the eldest son of the governor when he reaches a certain age, even before succeeding to his father’s position. That Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black had already reached manhood may be judged from the fact that he is

<sup>340</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>341</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 406:27.

<sup>342</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 265:26.

<sup>343</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 195:5.

<sup>344</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 142:8.

<sup>345</sup> See also Blackman, *Meir* 4, 41-42, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 44-45, pl. 83.

<sup>346</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4-5, 9, 14-15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75 (a)-76, 83-84, 88.

<sup>347</sup> See Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 62-71.

<sup>348</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>349</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 6ff.; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 14ff.

<sup>350</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 171:10. This name, which is clearly recorded by (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 12) is now lost.

<sup>351</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 238:2; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7-9, 12, 14, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79-81, 84, 88.

<sup>352</sup> Jones, *Index*, 171 [652]; 789 [2878], 892 [3268], respectively.

represented in his father's tomb together with his wife,<sup>353</sup> whose name is damaged, and at least a daughter, *Dwft-ḥrt* 'Djufetheret',<sup>354</sup> who held the title *rḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king',<sup>355</sup> and a son, *Nfr-k3.i* 'Noferkai',<sup>356</sup> clearly named after his grandfather,<sup>357</sup> who holds no titles (Figure 15).

The second son of Pepyankh the middle bears names similar to those of his elder brother, but is distinguished by the epithet *dšr* 'the red'. Thus he was designated as *Ny-nḥ-Ppy* 'Niankhpepy', with the 'beautiful name' *Ḥpi dšr* 'Hepi the red'.<sup>358</sup> He held the titles of *smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt* 'sole companion, lector priest',<sup>359</sup> but also *ḥry-tp nswt pr-ꜥ3 z3b ʿd-mr* 'royal chamberlain of the palace, juridical ʿd-mr-official'.<sup>360</sup> Not only did these two brothers bear similar names but also regularly appear together, although Hepi the red follows Hepi the black.<sup>361</sup> Many other likely relatives are depicted in the chapel, but their relationship to the tomb owner is not specified and only those clearly described as sons are listed here. They include *Hwi-n-wh* 'Khewenwekh',<sup>362</sup> and *Wh-hnn* 'Wekhhenen'.<sup>363</sup>

**Daughters:** Two girls are represented on the north wall of (room 3) playing the harp near the figures of their parents at the offering table.<sup>364</sup> They appear as adolescents with the pigtail and disc hairstyle<sup>365</sup> and are clearly designated as *z3t.f mrt.f* 'his daughter, his beloved'. They are *Phr-nfrt* 'Pekhernofert',<sup>366</sup> who is named after her paternal grandmother, and *Mrt-it* 'Meretit'.<sup>367</sup> The same daughters appear again in family scenes on the south and west walls, where possible other children are portrayed.<sup>368</sup> These two are the only ones clearly identified as 'his daughter', but many others bear names which are characteristic of this family such as *Hwti* 'Hewti' and *Bbi*

<sup>353</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>354</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 406:3. For this reading see Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 19, pl. 84.

<sup>355</sup> Jones, *Index*, 327 [1206].

<sup>356</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 200:18.

<sup>357</sup> Names seem to alternate by generation. Brovarski made the same observation with regard the nomarchs of Akhmim (Brovarski, in: *Mélanges* 1, 133).

<sup>358</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 238:3.

<sup>359</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80, 84.

<sup>360</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 9, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 81, 88.

<sup>361</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 9, 14, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81, 84, 88. Also see Figures 15.

<sup>362</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 82.

<sup>363</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 14-15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 83-84; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 84:8.

<sup>364</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 88.

<sup>365</sup> For this hairstyle see Kanawati, in: *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 292ff.

<sup>366</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 136:5.

<sup>367</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 158:17.

<sup>368</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 14-15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 83-84.

‘Bebi’.<sup>369</sup> However, with sons and daughters identified as such, these are more likely to be grandchildren or mere relatives.

**Grandchildren:** In addition to the likely granddaughter *Dwft-hrt* ‘Djufetheret’ and grandson *Nfr-k3.i* ‘Noferkai’ who appear behind their probable father, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, on the west wall of (room 3),<sup>370</sup> some other individuals may have enjoyed the same relationship to Pepyankh the middle. Of particular interest among these is a man named *Hnni* ‘Heneni’,<sup>371</sup> described as *hry-tp nswt imy-r zš(w) 3ht* ‘royal chamberlain, overseer of the scribes of the field’.<sup>372</sup> He is placed as the first man in the bottom register behind the figure of the tomb owner who inspects the work in the marshlands, with the latter’s eldest son, Hepi the black, shown in the register immediately above. An offering bearer who carries the foreleg of an animal on the west wall of (room 3) is named *Hny* ‘Heny’,<sup>373</sup> and a man who left a graffito on the south wall of (room 1) of the chapel is named *Hnnit* ‘Henenit’, and is described as *shd hm(w)-k3* ‘inspector of ka-servants’.<sup>374</sup> Could the three representations be of the same individual, and could he be the tomb owner’s grandson? On his coffin, Pepyankh the middle writes his own name once as *Hnni* ‘Heneni’ and once as *Hny* ‘Heny’.<sup>375</sup> Two sons of Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, owner of tomb A1 and son of Pepyankh the middle, bear this name,<sup>376</sup> and the three forms in which the name is written clearly appear as variants of the same name used by Pepyankh the black, in tombs A1 and A2. It is true that the name Heny/ Heneni/ Henenit is mostly followed in his tomb by the epithet ‘the black’, but it is occasionally written without this epithet.<sup>377</sup> The two men shown behind Heneni in the marsh scene of Pepyankh the middle are both named *Hpi* ‘Hepi’,<sup>378</sup> a typical name among members of this family. One wonders if these are also the grandsons of the tomb owner, who may be the same as the two small figures added in red paint beneath the chair of the tomb owner’s wife on the north wall. One of these men is

<sup>369</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 235:5, 95:16, respectively; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 14-15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 83-84.

<sup>370</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84. Also see Figure 15.

<sup>371</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 244:24; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79.

<sup>372</sup> Jones, *Index*, 788 [2874], 206 [770], respectively.

<sup>373</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 241:23; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 12; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 85.

<sup>374</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (f); Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 244:25; Jones, *Index*, 943 [3475].

<sup>375</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 254-255.

<sup>376</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12, 14.

<sup>377</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 11, and passim.

<sup>378</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79.

named Hepi, while the name of the second is lost.<sup>379</sup> Finally, a man named *Twḥ.i* ‘Iuhi’,<sup>380</sup> who also left a graffito on the south wall of (room 1) of the chapel and who is designated as *šḥd ḥm(w)-k3* ‘inspector of ka-servants’,<sup>381</sup> is now believed to be the son of Niankhpepy the black/Hepi the black and accordingly the grandson of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>382</sup>

#### 2.4.1 Date of Building the Tomb of Pepyankh the middle

The date of Pepyankh the middle has been considered by many scholars with varying results. Baer for instance places him into his period VIE (Pepy II, years 35-55),<sup>383</sup> a date which is accepted by Martin-Pardey,<sup>384</sup> Strudwick,<sup>385</sup> and Gomaà,<sup>386</sup> while Harpur first used a date late in the Sixth Dynasty to the Eighth Dynasty,<sup>387</sup> and recently dated him to (Pepy II, years 35-85?).<sup>388</sup> Kanawati revised his dating of the tomb a number of times; dating it first to the very end of Pepy II’s reign or later,<sup>389</sup> he now places it in the early to middle part of Pepy II’s reign,<sup>390</sup> and suggests that the construction of the tomb started early under that sovereign.<sup>391</sup> Here, some indirect evidence for dating the tomb of Pepyankh the middle will be considered.

As mentioned above the consistent change of the tomb owner’s name from Meryreankh the middle on the coffin to Pepyankh the middle in the chapel, and the adoption of perhaps a new name, Noferkai, may suggest that some kind of a change had taken place between the decoration of the coffin and that of the tomb itself; the most likely event is the accession of the new king, Pepy/ Noferkare. We may compare Pepyankh the middle’s case with that of the official Weni, who was appointed as overseer of Upper Egypt by Merenre,<sup>392</sup> and was sent to Abydos,<sup>393</sup> where he built a tomb. He was later promoted to the vizierate, either under the same king or perhaps at

<sup>379</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 55 (a), 88.

<sup>380</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 18:14.

<sup>381</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (f).

<sup>382</sup> See discussion under 2.5 (a) Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep (Meir, tomb A1).

<sup>383</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 241, 289 [133].

<sup>384</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 125.

<sup>385</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 203 n. 2.

<sup>386</sup> Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 105.

<sup>387</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 34, 280 [650].

<sup>388</sup> See Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database

([http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe\\_ahrc\\_2006/queryTombs](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs)).

<sup>389</sup> Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 54; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 77.

<sup>390</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>391</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 26.

<sup>392</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 105ff.

<sup>393</sup> While Weni’s biography states that he was elevated to the office of overseer of Upper Egypt by Merenre, we are not told that he was sent to Abydos by the same king, although this seems possible.



the beginning of Pepy II's reign.<sup>394</sup> A new false door was added to the tomb to publicize his newly acquired post, on which his name was written as *Wni/ Nfr-nht-Mry-r* 'Weni/ Nofernakhtmeryre'.<sup>395</sup> Accordingly, until presumably sometime in the reign of Merenre Weni continued to use the cartouche of Meryre rather than that of Pepy in his name.<sup>396</sup> It is true that the cartouche of Pepy was used in the biography to describe events which took place under Pepy I, yet the entire biography was written under Merenre and the name Nofernakhtmeryre is not mentioned in it.

In considering the date of Pepyankh the middle it may be useful to examine the possible identification of some individuals mentioned in his tomb and their probable date. Bearing in mind the hazard of using names as sole evidence of identification, one of the prominently represented men in Pepyankh the middle's tomb is called *K3(.i)-m-tnnt* 'Kaiemtjenenet',<sup>397</sup> who held the titles of *hry-hbt zš pr-md3t ntr pr-53 šd zš(w) kdw* 'lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace, inspector of draughtsmen'.<sup>398</sup> Kaiemtjenenet is depicted facing Pepyankh the middle and his wife in their fowling boat and presenting them with some live birds and appears twice again heading rows of offering bearers, always carrying birds and once leading an ox. A man with the same name and the titles 'lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace' appears equally prominently in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara, either in the tomb owner's boat in a marshland trip, or heading the offering bearers and presenting fowl or a haunch of meat, also once burning incense and once reciting from a scroll as a lector priest.<sup>399</sup> Altenmüller draws attention to the fact that Kaiemtjenenet's name is formed with the *tnnt* sanctuary at Memphis, which was probably connected with Ptah as the god of workmen. He also noticed the similarity of the name and titles of Kaiemtjenenet in the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle at Meir, but concluded that the time difference between the two tombs eliminates such identification.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>394</sup> Having started his career under Teti, Weni must have already been an old man by the end of Merenre's reign.

<sup>395</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 82ff., fig. 15; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 33ff.

<sup>396</sup> The cartouche of Meryre was also used on his first false door in the title of inspector of priests of Meryre's pyramid (Fischer, *Varia*, pl. 20 (fig.5)).

<sup>397</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 340:1.

<sup>398</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 8-9, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79, 81, 88. For the reading of the titles see Jones, *Index*, 781 [2848]; 849 [3104]; 965 [3560].

<sup>399</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9, 52, 56, 60, 63, 66, 69, 100.

<sup>400</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 57.

Both Kaiemtjenenet's name and one of his main titles clearly link him to Memphis and the palace, thus the man of Meir most probably came from the capital.<sup>401</sup> As for the distance in time between the two tombs where Kaiemtjenenet is represented, the tomb of Pepyankh the middle is now believed to be much earlier than first thought. Such identification should be seriously considered, particularly since one of the important offering bearers depicted in the offering chamber of the vizier Meryreankh, who used a room in Mehu's chapel and is probably related to him and close to him in time, is named *Hnni* 'Heneni', and designated as *šps nswt* 'noble of the king'.<sup>402</sup> Could he be the same as Pepyankh the middle/ Heneni, who spent a good part of his career in the capital probably under Pepy I?

The title of *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3* 'scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace' is usually understood to be a scribal/ archival position, yet in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, Kaiemtjenenet combines this with the title of *šhd zš(w) kdwt* 'inspector of draughtsmen', which is clearly a painter's position. An examination of some holders of the title *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3* shows that they too were employed as painters.<sup>403</sup> Thus in a scene in the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara the scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace, scribe of the workshop, Mesi, heads a row of offering bearers, facing the tomb owner and presenting him with fowl, while in another scene he is shown painting a statue.<sup>404</sup> Seni, who decorated two tombs at Akhmim, held the titles of 'draughtsman' and 'scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace', and is once described as: 'the scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace, who decorated this tomb'. In both tombs he is represented accompanying the tomb owners on their trips to the marshes.<sup>405</sup> Special honours were given to an artist represented in the tomb of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black at Meir. Like the tomb owner and members of his family, he is referred to by both his name, *Thy-m-s3-Ppy* 'Thyemsapepy',<sup>406</sup> which contains a royal cartouche, and his beautiful name *Iri* 'Iri'.<sup>407</sup> He is also described as *im3hw* 'the honoured one' and depicted in a larger size than everyone else other than the tomb owner himself.<sup>408</sup> In one instance he is shown watching the hippopotamus hunt in the marshes, while seated before a table of food with two men preparing

<sup>401</sup> See discussion of the identification and origin of Kaiemtjenenet under Chapter III.

<sup>402</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 68, 70-71, 229, 240, pl. 85; Jones, *Index*, 988 [3649].

<sup>403</sup> Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 9ff.

<sup>404</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 40, 46.

<sup>405</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

<sup>406</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 44:25.

<sup>407</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 39:8.

<sup>408</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 18-19; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 73.



the food and serving him.<sup>409</sup> Ihyemsapepy is depicted once painting a statue, once painting a shrine/ stand and another time heading the funerary procession. He bears the titles ‘lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace’.<sup>410</sup>

Kaiemtjenenet was probably responsible for the decoration of the tombs of Mehu and Pepyankh the middle. Knowing him and his work in the tomb of the former, Pepyankh the middle presumably employed Kaiemtjenenet at Meir in order to decorate his tomb.<sup>411</sup> If this is correct, then the decoration of the two tombs must be reasonably close to each other in time. The date of Mehu has been discussed by many scholars,<sup>412</sup> who generally agree on a date in the reign of Pepy I, with a preference to its earlier part. This was mainly based on the priesthoods of the pyramids of Teti and Pepy I which Mehu holds and the fact that, like other viziers of Pepy I, Mehu did not construct his mastaba in the cemetery of the reigning monarch. However, while Baer initially suggested a date under Pepy I or slightly later,<sup>413</sup> after his analysis of the ranking of titles he wrote that Mehu was later than expected and placed him in his period VIE (Pepy II, years 35-55), saying that ‘the construction seems to have covered a much longer span of time than I had guessed’.<sup>414</sup> Similarly, on stylistic grounds, Harpur thinks that a date in the first half of Pepy I’s reign is too early for Mehu and prefers a date in mid-Pepy I to Merenre.<sup>415</sup> Accordingly, sometime in Merenre’s reign Kaiemtjenenet would have theoretically been free to move to El-Qusiya.

Another official prominently represented in Pepyankh the middle’s tomb is *Ppi* ‘Pepi’, also called *Ppy-snb(w)* ‘Pepyseneb’,<sup>416</sup> who held the titles *šps nswt šd ḥm(w)-ntr* ‘noble of the king, inspector of ḥm(w)-ntr priests’.<sup>417</sup> He appears three times in the tomb, facing the tomb owner and presenting him with some fowl or a written document, or in a row of important offering bearers including the tomb owner’s sons and brothers.<sup>418</sup> The same man is most probably the owner of one of the very few decorated tombs in this section of the cemetery,

<sup>409</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>410</sup> See discussion under Chapter III.

<sup>411</sup> See discussion under Chapter III.

<sup>412</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 82-83; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 34; Strudwick, *Administration*, 101-102 [69].

<sup>413</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 83 [202].

<sup>414</sup> See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 290 [202]; 288 [57].

<sup>415</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 40-41.

<sup>416</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 131:12; 131:17.

<sup>417</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3648]; 932 [3437], respectively.

<sup>418</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 9, 16; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80, 82, 88-89.

almost 100 meters to the north of that of Pepyankh the middle. In his tomb, D1, Pepi is depicted on a long couch with his wife playing the harp for him.<sup>419</sup> The scene is very much influenced by that of Mereruka and his wife at Saqqara.<sup>420</sup> It is important that a daughter of the couple was called Seshseshet,<sup>421</sup> a name which was characteristic of Teti's family. Could Pepi or his wife have been descendants of the royal family of Teti? This may not only explain the depiction of the wife playing the harp<sup>422</sup> and the daughter's name Seshseshet, but also the fact that apart from the Old Kingdom governors of the province, Pepi is one of the very rare officials who possessed a decorated tomb at Meir.<sup>423</sup>

In his inscription to the right of the entrance to the chapel, Pepyankh the middle alludes to some important events in his earlier career, most probably in the capital and in the presence of the *srw*-officials. He says: *n zp s3w.t(w.i) n zp hnr.t(w.i) r iht nb(t) ddt r(i) m-b3h srw pr.n(i) hr.s m htp sk hr hr ddw dr b3k(i) im m-b3h srw dr dd.sn is r(i) m sdw* 'never was I put under guard, never was I imprisoned. As for everything which was said against me in front of the *srw*-officials, I came out from it with success, while (the charge) was thrown back upon the accusers, since I was cleared in front of the *srw*-officials, since they indeed spoke against me in slander'.<sup>424</sup> The tomb owner does not give us any details of the nature of the accusations against him, which is probably understandable if these were of a sensitive nature and of such importance as to be tried by the *srw*-officials. This brings to mind Weni's reference to the trial of the queen 'in secret',<sup>425</sup> with neither her name nor the offence/ crime she presumably committed divulged.<sup>426</sup> The reign of Pepy I appears to have had some problems, with at least one conspiracy taking place, in which many of the sons of the higher officials were implicated and punished.<sup>427</sup> Pepyankh the middle was almost certainly in Memphis at the time and his titles

<sup>419</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 45.

<sup>420</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 94-95; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 52, 99.

<sup>421</sup> According to recent recording of the tomb by the Australian Centre for Egyptology, and personal examination.

<sup>422</sup> The interest of Teti's family in music may be seen in the fact that another possible daughter of his is represented in her husband's tomb with a harp on a couch placed in front of her (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 17-18, pls. 23, 48).

<sup>423</sup> Of the many officials represented in the chapel of Pepyankh the middle, *Nnki* 'Nenki' (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84) may be the owner of tomb E2 (Blackman, *Meir* 5, 60, pl. 49), and *Ttw* 'Tjetu' (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83) may be the owner of tomb E4 (Blackman, *Meir* 5, 60; Blackman, *Meir* 1, 7 n. 5).

<sup>424</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 33-34, pl. 76 (a); Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 370.

<sup>425</sup> Whether this queen was the wife of Pepy I or one of his predecessors is uncertain (Callender, *In Hathor's Image*, 254ff.).

<sup>426</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 100:13-101:2.

<sup>427</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 169ff.

indicate holding offices directly related to the king, most probably before his appointment at Meir.<sup>428</sup> It is possible that the charges against him were connected to one of these events.

The most likely date for the commencement of the excavation and decoration of Pepyankh the middle's tomb is early under Pepy II's reign, with the biographical inscription and the pillared hall in front of the offering chamber probably added at a later stage. In his biographical text the tomb owner said: *rdi.n(.i) hm ir.t(w) išt nt sr m imnt m w<sup>c</sup>rt Nbt-m<sup>3</sup>t m bw w<sup>c</sup>b m bw nfr n is ir.t(w) im n zp p<sup>3</sup> kiwi tpyw-<sup>c</sup> irt im ink wp w<sup>c</sup>rt tn i(w).s r sbt hr(.i) m hrt-ntr i(w).s r irt mrrt(.i) w<sup>3</sup>h.n ib(.i) r.s wrt m-m <sup>c</sup>nhw iyi.n(.i) r.s sk wi i<sup>3</sup>w.kw i<sup>3</sup>w.k(w) nfr wrt sk ir.n(.i) <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>w(.i) m-m <sup>c</sup>nhw m šw im<sup>3</sup>h(.i) hr nswt<sup>429</sup> 'I caused a property of a noble to be set up in the west in the desert-district of the 'Mistress of Righteousness', in a clear place and beautiful place, in which nothing had been done, in which the others before me had never done (work). It was I who opened up this desert-district, and it shall function for me as necropolis, and it shall do what I desire. I paid great attention to it while I was among the living, and (now) I have come to it having attained old age. I have reached very good old age, while I spent my lifetime among the living, in the shadow of my honour before the king'.<sup>430</sup>*

Pepyankh the middle's claim that he opened up the cemetery of Meir has now been corroborated. It is almost certain that he is the grandson of Pepyankh the elder, who is buried at Quseir el-Amarna, and the son of Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi, who is most probably buried at Saqqara. The fact that Pepyankh the middle's parents were buried away from the province may have helped his decision to abandon the burial ground of his grandfather and great-grandparents and move the family cemetery from Quseir el-Amarna to Meir which has better topographical features.<sup>431</sup> However, another reason for moving to the new site may have been that Meir is in a much more suitable location as a cemetery for Qis. It is situated on the west bank of the river at a short distance from this town, while Quseir el-Amarna is further to the north and on the east bank across the river.<sup>432</sup> There is no evidence that any tomb at Meir precedes that of Pepyankh the middle, and it is now clear that the main tombs in Group D are

<sup>428</sup> See Chapter II, under Uncommon Religious Titles.

<sup>429</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 76.

<sup>430</sup> For a number of translations and commentaries see Blackman, *Meir* 4, 24-25; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35; Roccati, *Littérature*, 235; Kloth, (*auto-*)*biographischen*, 125; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 370.

<sup>431</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 213. Also see discussion under Chapter II.

<sup>432</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 121; Helck, *Gaue*, 205.

earlier than those in Goup A. The reason for the later move from the southern end of the cemetery (Section D) to the extreme northern end (Section A) was presumably the discovery of a major fissure inside the mountain in (Section D). After excavating most of his chapel, Pepyankh the middle discovered a major fault in the rock formation, which required extensive restoration before some sections of the walls could be decorated.<sup>433</sup> Not only did this fissure cause the chapel plan to be irregular, but it badly affected the serdab and the burial chambers of the tomb owner and his wife.<sup>434</sup> When Pepi excavated his tomb (D1), some 100 meters to the north of that of Pepyankh the middle (D2), it was found that the same fissure extends much further to the north and so also affected his tomb.<sup>435</sup> Presumably as a result, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, son of Pepyankh the middle, had to abandon section D and to open up section A, at the north-eastern end of the cemetery.

## **2.5 (a) Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep (Meir, tomb A1)**

Niankhpepy the black went as far as possible to the north-east of the cemetery, since immediately north of the tombs of Group A the cliff turns sharply to the west, losing the advantageous north-easterly view overlooking the agricultural land and the river. As suggested above, the reason for the move was possibly to avoid the major fissure(s) in the rock formation where tombs of Group D were excavated. The choice of the new section of the cemetery was certainly successful, with a magnificent view and a better rock formation, suitable not only for the hewing of tombs but also for the cutting of good reliefs as in tomb A2.

Three tombs in section A (A1, A2 and A4) dominate the site<sup>436</sup> (Figure 16), with a large number of smaller, undecorated ones in their vicinity and even more in the bend of the cliff facing the less scenic north-west aspect. The largest rooms in the two communicating chapels,

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<sup>433</sup> Large sections of the south wall of (room 3) in the chapel and of the walls of the burial chambers of the tomb owner and his wife were filled with plaster which contained contemporary shards (personal examination).

<sup>434</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 1-2; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 28-31, pls. 12, 62, 65, 73-74; and personal examination.

<sup>435</sup> This is not indicated in Blackman's record, but he noticed that 'the west wall is left very rough and uneven, as are the west end of the north and south walls' (Blackman, *Meir* 5, 57, pl. 3). This is the result of encountering the fissure, so work had to be stopped (personal examination).

<sup>436</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 1, 68.

(room 1) in tomb A1 and (room 4) in tomb A2,<sup>437</sup> form what appears to be one large pillared hall, yet they are clearly defined on a north-south line, with a short partition wall followed by an opening characterized by an architrave supported by one pillar and a step up towards (room 4) in tomb A2 (see Figure 18). While the scenes and inscriptions in all the decorated tombs at Meir, including tomb A2, are executed in painted relief, those in A1, with the exception of the façade, the false door and the south faces of the three pillars, are in painting only, which is almost certainly a faster and less costly medium of decoration. It is reasonable to think that this chapel was prepared in haste, which could have been due to the old age of its owner when he started the preparation of his tomb or as a result of his death and the need for speed to finish his resting place, presumably by his son, Pepyankh the black.<sup>438</sup> Furthermore, the decoration does not show great merit and is restricted to the northern section of the chapel,<sup>439</sup> almost one third of the wall space in room A. The remaining sections are left blank, although the walls have been smoothed and received a thin layer of plaster in preparation for painting.<sup>440</sup>

There is no inscription in either tomb A1 or A2 stating that the son made, completed or decorated the father's tomb,<sup>441</sup> yet the architectural design of the two communicating tombs, the hastily completed decoration of the father's chapel, A1, and the presence on the partition wall separating the two chapels of a scene of Pepyankh the black facing his father and burning incense for him,<sup>442</sup> are suggestive (Figure 17). If the son took entire charge of the decoration of the tomb for his dead father, this would be a good example of filial affection, but if the father died before even cutting his own tomb and the son was responsible for cutting and decorating the two adjoining tombs, A1 and A2, this would represent an unusual case of a son's extreme devotion to his father,<sup>443</sup> but would also suggest that the father had an unusually short period in the top office (see below).

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<sup>437</sup> The numbering of the rooms in tombs A1 and A2 is according to the recent recording of the tombs by the Australian Centre for Egyptology (see Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 69; and Figure 18).

<sup>438</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 216.

<sup>439</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 8-13.

<sup>440</sup> Personal examination.

<sup>441</sup> It should be mentioned that an inscribed text on the façade of tomb A1 is now almost completely obliterated.

<sup>442</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a).

<sup>443</sup> A likely similar example may be found in the case of Sabni and his father Mekhu (Morgan de, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 143ff.; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1:1, 9ff., pls. 1-15). Sabni brought back the body of his dead father from Nubia and the two were buried in adjoining tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa in Aswan. For Sabni's biography see Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 335-339.

## 2.5 (b) Hepi the black (Meir, tomb A4)

In the immediate vicinity of tomb A1 is tomb A4<sup>444</sup> (Figures 16, 18), described by Blackman as a large hall, with four pillars, approached by a small ante-room and having an inner room with unfinished false door and two burial pits. ‘In the hall, besides six pits, there is a chamber under the floor containing, apparently, another such pit, which is now filled with debris. Neither the ante-room, hall, nor inner room is decorated, but on the south and west walls of the subterranean chamber there are drawings of offerings and funerary furniture surmounted by a line of inscription. This writing and drawings have been disgustingly befouled by the bats, and it proved a difficult task even to decipher the name of the owner’.<sup>445</sup> However, Blackman was able to read the name of the owner as *Hpi-km* ‘Hepi the black’ and his titles as *imy-r Šmꜥw ḥtmty-bity smr wꜥty hry-ḥbt imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr*<sup>446</sup> ‘overseer of Upper Egypt, sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole companion, lector priest, overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests’.<sup>447</sup> Blackman also noticed the similarity between the name of Hepi the black owner of tomb A4 and that of the owner of the neighbouring tomb A1, but concluded that ‘it is indeed most improbable that one man would have excavated for himself two large chapels side by side’. He then suggested that the owner of A4 may have been a successor of the last Pepyankh and that the large size of his tomb agrees with the grand manner of the reign of Pepy II and that the lack of decoration was due to the anarchy after that aged sovereign’s death.<sup>448</sup> Blackman’s copying of the title *imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr*, with three *ḥm*-signs is certainly unfamiliar in the Old Kingdom as already observed by Martin-Pardey.<sup>449</sup> This writing has influenced the dating of tomb A4 to the end of the Old Kingdom and resulted in placing its owner as the last member of the family to hold office.<sup>450</sup> This was however an error by Blackman, probably caused by the lack of clarity of the inscriptions at the time and perhaps his simultaneous work at the Middle Kingdom tombs where the title is written with the three *ḥm*-signs.<sup>451</sup>

Tomb A4 has since been completely covered by the fast drifting sand, but was recently re-cleared as part of the Australian Centre for Egyptology’s project to rerecord and publish the cemetery of Meir. Tomb A4 proved to be the largest tomb on the cliff and one of the largest rock-cut tombs in

<sup>444</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 1.

<sup>445</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 1, 6.

<sup>446</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 1, 10-11.

<sup>447</sup> Jones, *Index* 246 [896], 763 [2775], 892 [3268], 781 [2848], 171 [652].

<sup>448</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 1, 10-11.

<sup>449</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 125.

<sup>450</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 22, 26; Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 133.

<sup>451</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* vols. 1-3, passim.

Upper Egypt in the Old Kingdom.<sup>452</sup> Formed of an ante-chamber and a pillared hall, it reaches a total depth inside the mountain of approximately 25m. and is about 11m. in its widest section. It has in addition a small offering room in the north-west corner, where an unfinished false door and two unfinished shafts are located<sup>453</sup> (see tomb A4 in Figure 18).

The room described by Blackman as a 'chamber under the floor containing, apparently, another such pit',<sup>454</sup> is actually a burial chamber containing a rectangular burial pit, of the type usually made to accommodate the wooden coffin containing the mummy of the deceased (see shaft III and its burial chamber in tomb A4, Figures 18, 19). The same feature is found in the burial chambers of Pepyankh the middle and his wife and in that of Pepyankh the black.<sup>455</sup> What misdirected Blackman from identifying this room as a 'burial chamber' was perhaps the fact it is cut at an unusually shallow depth, approximately 30cm. beneath the chapel floor. A square opening into the floor of the chapel, 80cm. x 80cm., leads directly down into the south-west corner of the chamber. A well-defined ledge cut around the four sides of the opening and the remains of mortar suggest that the mouth was closed and sealed with a kind of a plug, perhaps formed of one piece of stone originating from the cutting of the tomb and accordingly indistinguishable from the chapel floor (see shaft III in tomb A4: Figure 18). The opening is certainly too small to introduce a large wooden coffin, which may have been placed in the burial pit, but such a coffin could have been assembled in the burial chamber itself. On the other hand it is possible that no wooden coffin was provided and that the mummy was placed directly in the burial pit. Evidence of repairs to the upper west side of the burial pit with pieces of stone and mortar may indicate that this was done in order to support a lid.<sup>456</sup> However the small size of the entrance opening in the roof of the chamber, the absence of a shelf to the west of the burial pit to support the lid before it was moved to close the pit and the presence of smashed long, narrow

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<sup>452</sup> Compare with the large tomb of Hemmin of Akhmim (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, 12-15, fig. 1). Gillam's description of tomb A4 as 'modest and poorly preserved' (Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 133) is certainly inaccurate.

<sup>453</sup> All the information and measurements of tomb A4, its shafts and burial chambers are according to the architectural record of the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>454</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 1, 6.

<sup>455</sup> See the recent architectural records (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 30-31, pl. 74; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 21-22, pl. 70).

<sup>456</sup> Personal examination.



slabs of stone on the floor of the chamber may indicate that the lid of the burial pit was formed of a number of narrow slabs.<sup>457</sup>

The burial chamber measures approximately 5.10m. x 2.60m., with a recess in its western side, 3.00m. x 1.50m., containing the burial pit (Figure 19). Not only were the south and west walls decorated as mentioned by Blackman, but in fact all the walls of this chamber, including those of the western recess, were covered with painted scenes and inscriptions, although the parts close to the opening have been badly affected by the excrement of bats and the rest of the walls have suffered the devastating effect of salt. The decoration includes chests, different cloths, granaries, jars of oils and drinks, slaughtered animals and an extended offering list.<sup>458</sup> Despite the very poor condition of most of the decoration, the Australian expedition was able to record most of its contents.<sup>459</sup>

Inscriptions on several parts of the different walls of the chamber confirmed Blackman's reading of the owner's name as *Hpi-km* 'Hepi the black', as well as all the titles he copied. However, as mentioned above the title *imy-r hm(w)-ntr* is written with one *hm*-sign and not three as copied by Blackman. In addition the name *Ny-nh-Ppy km* 'Niankhpepy the black' is found inscribed a number of times on the different walls of the chamber, and the name *Sbk-htp* 'Sobekhotep' is also attested (see Figures 22-25). The owner of tomb A4 therefore had the same names, 'beautiful name' and titles of the owner of the neighbouring tomb A1. The greatest surprise was to find a doorway in the south-east corner of the burial chamber, .85m. wide x .92m. high, leading to an ascending passage which in turn leads to (room 1) in tomb A1,<sup>460</sup> with the passage entrance not far from the false door of the Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black (see Figure 19 and passage II in (room 1) of tomb A1, Figure 18). This discovery removes any doubt that both A1 and A4 belong to the same individual.

## 2.5 (b).1 Interpreting the Evidence

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<sup>457</sup> Similar methods are often used in the roofing of mastabas, as is evident in the almost completely preserved roof of the mastaba of Seankhuiphtah at Saqqara (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, 42).

<sup>458</sup> Figures 22-25 show parts of the burial chamber's wall scenes.

<sup>459</sup> Mr. Gamal Abd el-Malek of the Department of Conservation, Ministry of State for Antiquities was able to treat the walls and to recover large parts of the scenes and inscriptions.

<sup>460</sup> The mouth of this sloping passage as well as that of a second passage presumably belonging to the wife were found blocked and plastered by modern restoration, but have now been reopened. (see passages II and III in (room 1) of tomb A1, Figure 18, and also see Figures 19-20). Also see Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 1 (C&D), 52 (1). Also personal examination.



Any thought that Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep, son of Pepyankh the middle, died before commencing the preparation of his own tomb should now be discarded. In fact he excavated the largest tomb at Meir and one of the largest Old Kingdom rock cut tombs, and he smoothed all its walls in preparation for decoration.<sup>461</sup> He also cut a false door and two unfinished shafts in the inner room.<sup>462</sup> One shaft in front of the false door, presumably for him, reached a depth of 4.10m. deep but with a rough floor and no burial chamber.<sup>463</sup> The excavation of the second shaft, presumably for his wife, progressed only a few centimetres before it was abandoned. The tomb owner probably died before the tomb was completed, and the fact that he succeeded his very old (centenarian?) father, Pepyankh the middle, suggests that he was already of age when he started the cutting of his tomb. His depiction on the west thickness of the entrance to his chapel, A1, as a portly man with enlarged stomach and pendulous breast might confirm his old age.<sup>464</sup> If the degree of bodily expansion of the tomb owner's figure was an indication of his age at the time the tomb was decorated,<sup>465</sup> then Pepyankh the middle presumably decorated his tomb when he was a man of middle age or slightly more,<sup>466</sup> but he presumably lived long afterwards. As a result his son, Niankhpepy the black was an old man when he succeeded him.

An examination of the design of tomb A2 of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black clearly shows that the chapel was cut in two stages and is formed of two separate sections, which were probably later linked via the doorway between rooms 1 and 4 of the chapel.<sup>467</sup> The first section comprises (room 1), which leads northward to an offering room, (room 2), with an unfinished false door and a shaft, and eastward to a serdab which was later expanded to form (room 3). The second section is formed of (room 4), which gives access to the main sloping passage and to (room 5) containing the false door.<sup>468</sup>

It appears that perhaps due to the old age of Niankhpepy the black, his son Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black was entrusted with many important responsibilities in order to assist his

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<sup>461</sup> Personal examination.

<sup>462</sup> All the other shafts in tomb A4 are probably later additions (see below, under 2.7 Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai (Meir)).

<sup>463</sup> See shaft X in (room 3) of tomb A4, Figure 18.

<sup>464</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 5 (2). It is true that tomb A1 was presumably decorated by Niankhpepy the black's son, but that was probably not long after the father excavated his tomb, A4, since he did not live to see it decorated.

<sup>465</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>466</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 77-78.

<sup>467</sup> See tomb A2, Figure 18.

<sup>468</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 19-22, pl. 69. Also see tomb A2, Figure 18.

old father.<sup>469</sup> As a result Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black excavated his resting place, i.e., the first stage of tomb A2, at the same time as his father Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black excavated his own tomb, A4. The latter however did not live to see his tomb completed.

What happened after the father's death may be reconstructed as follows. Rather than completing the shafts and burial chambers of his parents and decorating all or part of the walls of their chapel (A4), Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black had another plan: a) excavate in the empty space between A4 and A2 (first stage) two adjoining and communicating chapels for his parents and himself;<sup>470</sup> b) link the first stage of his tomb A2 (rooms 1-3) to the new part (rooms 4 and 5, with the link between rooms 1 and 4 clearly creating an awkward design);<sup>471</sup> c) to quickly prepare a suitable burial chamber, befitting the dignity of his dead father, probably during the embalming period. Perhaps this project and that of the adjoining chapels progressed simultaneously. Yet rather than cutting the burial chamber at the bottom of the main shaft in the offering room of tomb A4,<sup>472</sup> at a considerable distance from the planned joint tomb A1 and A2, a burial chamber was excavated in the outer section of the chapel A4, in a position which enabled him to link it later to chapel A1 via a short sloping passage, only 6.00m. in length.<sup>473</sup> The haste in preparing this burial chamber may be gauged by the extreme shallowness of the chamber beneath the chapel floor of A4 and the small height of the chamber, 1.35m., compared with the later chambers of Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black's own wife<sup>474</sup> and of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black himself.<sup>475</sup>

It is reasonable to think that the sloping passage was excavated from (room 1) in the chapel A1 and down towards the burial chamber of chapel A4,<sup>476</sup> and it is interesting to notice that the passage joined the chamber slightly below its floor, missing its target by only 20cm.<sup>477</sup> It is also noticed that the sloping passage opened precisely into the south-east corner of the burial

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<sup>469</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>470</sup> See Figure 18.

<sup>471</sup> See (room 1) of the first stage and (room 4) of the second stage in tomb A2, Figure 18.

<sup>472</sup> See (room 3) in tomb A4, Figure 18.

<sup>473</sup> See shaft III in tomb A4, its burial chamber and passage II in tomb A1, Figures 18- 19.

<sup>474</sup> A sloping passage (passage III), to the south of (passage II) in chapel A1, leads to the burial chamber of the wife, see Figures 18, 20.

<sup>475</sup> For the burial chamber of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black see (Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 21-22, pl. 70).

<sup>476</sup> See passage II in tomb A1 and the burial chamber of chapel A4 of (shaft III) Figures 18-19.

<sup>477</sup> This is a great testimony to the Egyptian architectural precision considering the absence of advanced surveying equipment (personal observations).

chamber.<sup>478</sup> In the case of the later adjacent sloping passage, presumably of the wife,<sup>479</sup> as well as in that of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black (tomb A2),<sup>480</sup> the burial chambers are reached by a step down from the sloping passage.<sup>481</sup>

It is most probable that due to time constraints the excavation and decoration of the burial chamber were conducted through the opening into the floor of A4 before the chapel A1 and subsequently the sloping passage were excavated. But whether the actual burial took place from the opening into the floor of A4 or from the entrance of the sloping passage in (room 1) in tomb A1 is uncertain, although the latter is more likely considering the haste with which the decoration of A1 was also completed.<sup>482</sup> Both entrances to the burial chamber were later sealed. The ledge and mortar around the opening into the floor of A4 indicates that this was closed and sealed with some kind of stone plug. The entrance opens into the burial chamber from the sloping passage was probably blocked.<sup>483</sup> Tomb robbers, perhaps in modern times, tried to reach the chamber through this entrance by removing the blocking stone and caused some damage to the south side of the entrance, noticeable by the lighter colour of the rock on this side of the entrance and the difference in the chisel marks from the rest of the chamber or the passage.<sup>484</sup> Moreover, the mouth of the passage from chapel A1 was blocked by a huge cubic block of stone which is still

<sup>478</sup> See Figures 18-19.

<sup>479</sup> If this sloping passage, (passage III in tomb A1), belonged to Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black's own wife, which seems likely, then their son, Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black, must have aimed at fulfilling the couple's wish of being buried close to each other (see passages II and III in tomb A1, Figures 18-20). We notice that despite the small size of the offering room, (room 3), in A4, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black had planned to cut two shafts side by side, the second being presumably for his wife. The importance and status of the wife in this family may also be judged from the prominent representations of Pepyankh the middle's wife in his chapel and from the size and magnificent decoration of her burial chamber (Blackman, *Meir* 4, passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 66-71 and passim). However, the same is not evident in the scenes in tombs A1 and A2 (see Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13, 27-28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88).

<sup>480</sup> Judging by the location of the sloping passage, (passage II), which opens in (room 4) of tomb A2, and the position of its burial chamber vis-à-vis the small offering room, (room 5), and the false door on the one hand, and the tomb owner's seated statue in the north wall on the other, this burial apartment was believed to belong to Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black (see section/ stage 2 of tomb A2, Figure 18). The recent conservation work and republication of the burial chamber by The Australian Centre for Egyptology left no doubt of its ownership by Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black. That this burial chamber, which was once entirely decorated, was a later addition to the original design of the tomb may be gleaned from the fact that the mouth of the sloping passage was cut into the already decorated north wall of (room 4), causing damage to some figures of offering bearers but not to the main figure of the tomb owner (see Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 20-22, pls. 43, 69, 89).

<sup>481</sup> See Figure 20. For the case of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black see (Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 21-22, pl. 70).

<sup>482</sup> The possibility that a wooden coffin, if one was used, was introduced through the sloping passage should also be considered.

<sup>483</sup> See Figure 19 for the entrance that opens into the burial chamber from the sloping passage.

<sup>484</sup> Personal examination.

*in situ*. However, the block does not occupy the full mouth of the passage and the space between the stone block and the passage walls allows a small man to pass through. The passage itself was found empty, but it is uncertain if it was originally filled with debris or if the blocking stones at both ends were deemed sufficient for protection.

The case of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black and his parents represents an example of extraordinary filial affection. Pepyankh the black went through a costly and rushed project of cutting two adjoining and communicating chapels, one for his parents and one for himself. When the fact that a tomb (A4) already existed for the parents and probably another for Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black (first stage of A2) is taken into account, the significance of the latter's action takes different dimensions. Pepyankh the black could have fulfilled his filial duties with much less effort and cost, for example by inscribing the available false door in the offering room, (room 3), of tomb A4 and excavating a burial chamber at the bottom of the existing shaft in this room. A comparison with a well known case of a filial affection, that of Djau, of the neighbouring province, Deir el-Gebrawi, is needed here.

## 2.5 (b).2 Comparison with Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi

In the nearly complete autobiography of Djau, a nomarch of Deir el-Gebrawi under Pepy II, he says: 'I have buried my father, the count Djau, more splendidly and more beautifully than any equal of his who is in this Upper Egypt. I have requested as a favour from the majesty of my lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Noferkare, may he live forever, that a coffin, cloth, *stj-hb*-oil be issued for this Djau. His majesty had a coffin of Lebanese cedar wood,<sup>485</sup> *stj-hb*-oil, *sft*-oil, 200 pieces of the *h3tjw*-linen and *šm<sup>c</sup>t-nfrt*-linen to be brought for bandaging, which were issued from the two treasuries of the Residence for this Djau. Never had it been done for another of his equals'. Djau then makes an unusual statement, saying: *rdi.n(.i) swt krs.t(w.i) m iz w<sup>c</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> D<sup>c</sup>w pn n-mrwt wnn(.i) hn<sup>c</sup>.f m st w<sup>c</sup>t n is n tm wnn hr-<sup>c</sup> n irt izwy snw hr ir.n(.i) nw n-mrwt m33(.i) D<sup>c</sup>w pn hrw nb n-mrwt wnn(.i) hn<sup>c</sup>.f m st w<sup>c</sup>t* 'I have arranged that I should be buried in one tomb together with this Djau, in order that I be with him in one place, and not, indeed, because of the

<sup>485</sup> For the translation of *hnty-š* as Lebanese cedar wood, see Hannig, *Wörterbuch* I, 959.

lack of means to build a second tomb, but I have done this in order that I see this Djau every day, and in order that I be with him in one place'.<sup>486</sup>

Djau/ Shemai and Djau present us with a unique case of two nomarchs, father and son, buried together in one and the same tomb.<sup>487</sup> The biography suggests that Djau/ Shemai did not enjoy a long period in office as a nomarch, as may be inferred from the fact that he died even before receiving the rank of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* 'count', which was obtained for him from the king by his son posthumously.<sup>488</sup> It may also be deduced from the biography that the father died before starting the preparation of his eternal resting place since his son took charge of preparing one joint tomb for both of them.<sup>489</sup> While such a deduction is not impossible, we must bear in mind that Djau/ Shemai was not a young person, since his own son, Djau, was of an age that allowed him to succeed his father in all his important responsibilities, including those of nomarch of both Abydos and Deir el-Gebrawi and overseer of Upper Egypt, as well as, presumably immediately, receiving the high ranks of 'hereditary prince' and 'count' which are recorded in the original decoration of the tomb.<sup>490</sup> Djau was also married and had a number of children holding responsible offices.<sup>491</sup> With his probable old age one would expect Djau/ Shemai to have started the preparation of his tomb as soon as he acceded to his office, unless he occupied it for virtually a few days!

We should now re-examine the cemetery of Deir el-Gebrawi, particularly in the light of the new discovery at Meir that Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black did indeed cut a tomb (A4) for himself, even though he did not live long enough to decorate it. In the immediate vicinity of the tomb of Ibi (No. S8), father of Djau/ Shemai, is a similarly designed, but undecorated tomb (No. S10), the two being separated by the small, irregular and perhaps later tomb (No. S9).<sup>492</sup> Davies has already noticed the similarity between tomb No. S10 and that of Ibi (No. S8),

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<sup>486</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 146:3-147:6. For recent translations of the text see Roccati, *Littérature*, 227; Kloth, (*auto-biographischen*), 216-218; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 365; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 55-56, pls. 34, 68, 79.

<sup>487</sup> For the identification of the representation of each in this joint tomb see Kanawati, *JEA* 63 (1977), 59-62.

<sup>488</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 147:13-16.

<sup>489</sup> See also Baer, *Rank and Title*, 157 [592]; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 51, 138 n. 73.

<sup>490</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 13-14, pl. 60. The cutting and decoration of this joint tomb must have taken place immediately on Djau's appointment to the office and during the embalming period of Djau/ Shemai, since the tomb was to receive the body of the dead father. The haste in its preparation may be seen in the rather poorer quality of its decoration compared with that of Djau/ Shemai's father Ibi (see Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, *passim*; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, *passim*).

<sup>491</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 61.

<sup>492</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 1, 22; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 1 (a), 83.

particularly with regard to the use of the sloping passage to reach the burial chamber.<sup>493</sup> Other similar features between the two tombs include the cutting of an entrance recess, the rectangular shape of the chapel, and an offering recess opposite the entrance doorway.<sup>494</sup> While these features are found in three chapels at Deir el-Gebrawi (No. S8 of Ibi, the undecorated tomb No. S10 and No. S12 of Djau)<sup>495</sup>, the sloping passage leading to the main burial chamber is restricted to tombs S8 and S10. As the cemetery appears to have progressed from east to west, tomb No. 10 was probably later than that of Ibi (No. S8) and earlier than that of Djau (No. S12). Ibi who was first appointed as nomarch of Deir el-Gebrawi under Merenre,<sup>496</sup> must have been an elderly man when he died, if shortly after his death his great grandchildren were already in responsible positions.<sup>497</sup> We may conjecture that having reached a mature age, Djau/ Shemai must have started excavating a tomb for himself immediately after his father's death, or even before he died. We know that Djau/ Shemai held the title of 'great overlord of nome 12' during his father's lifetime and while the latter held the nomarchies of both Nomes 8 and 12.<sup>498</sup> This was presumably to assist the aged father in his multiple duties and perhaps to allow the already mature-aged son and successor to receive high income. If Djau/ Shemai built a tomb, one would expect it to be close to that of his father and architecturally similar to it. Tomb No. S10 would be the most probable and its relatively small size would be in agreement with Djau/ Shemai's status at that time.<sup>499</sup> This may be compared with the first stage of tomb A2 of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black at Meir, which was built in two stages, a small tomb during his father's lifetime and a much bigger one after the latter's death.

A comparison between the cemeteries of Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi is essential. Despite our numbering of these provinces, 14 and 12, the two provinces are immediate neighbours, since Nome 12 occupies the east bank of the river opposite Nomes 11 and 13, and is therefore the direct neighbour of Nome 14 to the north.<sup>500</sup> The nobles of both provinces started to be buried in their respective provinces early in the Sixth Dynasty and moved to new cemeteries during the

<sup>493</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 5.

<sup>494</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 2-2A; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 41-42; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 83.

<sup>495</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 53-54.

<sup>496</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 23; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:9-10; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 363.

<sup>497</sup> As seen in the tomb of Djau, son of Djau/ Shemai, son of Ibi (see above).

<sup>498</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 46-47.

<sup>499</sup> See discussion in Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 21ff.

<sup>500</sup> Helck, *Gaue*, 205, fig. 2; Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 121.



reign of Merenre or early in the reign of Pepy II; thus we have Quseir el-Amarna and Meir for Nome 14,<sup>501</sup> and the Northern and the Southern cliffs for Nome 12.<sup>502</sup> Members of the governing families in both provinces appear to have enjoyed longevity and both apparently had royal connections.<sup>503</sup> It is interesting that the kings of this period, Pepy I and Pepy II, probably had also long lives.

The use of a sloping passage to reach the burial chamber needs to be studied, for the commonly used access to burial chambers in both Meir and Deir el-Gebrawi was the vertical shaft. In Nome 14, both Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder of Quseir el-Amarna excavated vertical shafts.<sup>504</sup> Pepyankh the middle of Meir also excavated vertical shafts for both his wife and himself,<sup>505</sup> and so did Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black in his tomb A4, even although the shafts were never completed. The sloping passage was first introduced at Meir to reach Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black's burial chamber beneath the floor of A4 from his new chapel, (room 1) in tomb A1. Even Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black initially cut a rectangular vertical shaft for himself in (room 2) of his tomb A2.<sup>506</sup> Later this was abandoned and a sloping passage leading to a new burial chamber was excavated, with its entrance cut into the north wall of (room 4), damaging some of its existing decoration.<sup>507</sup> This was probably done by Pepyankh the black to emulate the burial apartments he made for both his parents. However, his own eldest son, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, who was the first to hold the office of *hry-tp ʿ3 Ndfit* 'great overlord of *Ndfit*-nome',<sup>508</sup> most probably used the chapel of his grandfather, A4, to excavate his shaft<sup>509</sup>

<sup>501</sup> Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, passim; Blackman, *Meir*, vols. 4 and 5, passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, passim.

<sup>502</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, vols. 1 and 2, passim; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vols. 1-3, passim.

<sup>503</sup> For a possible link of Ibi and his successors at Deir el-Gebrawi to the royal in-laws at Abydos see (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 29ff.; Pirenne, *Institutions* 3, 181; Stock, *Erste Zwischenzeit*, 9-11; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 19-22).

<sup>504</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pls. 31, 25, respectively.

<sup>505</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 74.

<sup>506</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 21, pl. 69. Also see tomb A2, Figure 18.

<sup>507</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 21-22, pls. 69-70.

<sup>508</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88; Helck, *Gaue*, 104-105. It is likely that the man named Henenit who is facing Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black and handing him a spear in the spear fishing scene (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 84) is the same son. His action may be compared to that of the eldest son of Shepsipumin/ Kheni of Akhmim (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18). If this was the case, then it is interesting to notice that he holds the title of *imy-r hnty-š pr-ʿ3* 'overseer of the palace guards' (for this translation and a study of the responsibilities of the office see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24), which indicates a period of service in the capital (see Chapter II). The same title was held by many sons of nomarchs and viziers during their education/ formation in the capital.

<sup>509</sup> His shaft is (shaft VII) in chapel A4, Figure 18. For the finds of this shaft see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

and perhaps those of members of his family, all being rectangular vertical shafts, with two very short sloping passages possibly for two contemporaries.<sup>510</sup>

The fact that Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai used his grandfather's chapel rather than excavating a new tomb for himself and his family probably is due to the unsettled conditions at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or shortly after. These same conditions may have necessitated the creation of the office of the great overlord of the province in nome 14 after the province had been governed throughout the Sixth Dynasty by the overseers of priests.<sup>511</sup> It has been suggested that the writing of *Ndfit* without specifying it as *ph̄tt* may indicate either Nome 14 or 13 or both.<sup>512</sup> However, the recently discovered fragments of his gilded coffin do not suggest a lack of means, even if the political stability of the country was lacking.<sup>513</sup> Perhaps due to its geographical position in the most fertile region of the country,<sup>514</sup> El-Qusiya might not have suffered to the same extent as other provinces as a result of the likely climatic changes<sup>515</sup> and of the instability of the central government at the end of the Old Kingdom. Not only did the Middle Kingdom provincial governors of Nome 14 continue to be buried in the same cemetery as the Old Kingdom administrators and in their vicinity, but some names remained common in both periods. Furthermore, Wekhhoteḫ son of Wekhhoteḫ (tomb B4) of the Twelfth Dynasty represented the nobles of the province and their wives from the Old Kingdom down to his time,<sup>516</sup> suggesting that they were his ancestors. This can only happen if the province did not fall into complete anarchy.

Vertical shafts were consistently used at the Northern cliff in Nome 12,<sup>517</sup> but when Ibi inaugurated the Southern cliff of Deir el-Gebrawi he excavated a sloping passage in his tomb.<sup>518</sup> Ibi almost certainly started his career before Niankhpepy the black/ Hefi the black; perhaps he was even a contemporary of Pepyankh the middle and it seems unlikely that he would have waited for long period before preparing his resting place. In addition, the tomb of Ibi was

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<sup>510</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>511</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 171-172. Also see discussion under Chapter II.

<sup>512</sup> Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 99.

<sup>513</sup> The fragments of this coffin were found in (shaft VII) of chapel A4, see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>514</sup> Fisher, *The Middle East*, 496ff., fig. 19.6; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 5ff., figs. 1-2.

<sup>515</sup> Bell, *AJA* 75 (1971), 1-26; Hassan, in: *Archaeology and Art* 1, 357-374.

<sup>516</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 10-11.

<sup>517</sup> See the recent record of Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 36, 42, 52, 59.

<sup>518</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 24ff., pl. 42.



planned at a somewhat larger scale than the first stage of Pepyankh the middle's chapel, i.e. (room 3),<sup>519</sup> and its design shows some almost royal features. This may be seen in the division of the floor of the chapel into two levels,<sup>520</sup> the upper one of which is reached by a small ramp, .52m. wide x 1.00m. long. The ramp is positioned opposite the entrance, leading directly to the offering recess and the mouth of the sloping passage of the main burial apartment.<sup>521</sup> The design is reminiscent of royal burial complexes, but on a miniature scale. However, despite the closeness of Nomes 12 and 14 and the likelihood of the governors of the two provinces being aware of each other's designs, it is uncertain whether the inspiration to design a sloping passage came from the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi or from elsewhere. A number of important officials in the capital, particularly viziers, used sloping passages in their main burial apartments in the late Fifth Dynasty,<sup>522</sup> a trend which was much less common in the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>523</sup> On the other hand at Akhmim, Nome 9, a combination of a long sloping passage followed by a vertical shaft leading to the burial chamber was used late in the Fifth Dynasty in tombs of the governors of the province,<sup>524</sup> but was replaced by a sloping passage only in the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>525</sup> It is interesting however that the nobles of both Nome 14 (Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai)<sup>526</sup> and Nome 12 (Djau)<sup>527</sup> reverted to the vertical shaft at the end of the Old Kingdom, perhaps for more security.

While Djau's wish to be buried in one tomb together with his father and his desire to be with him in one place and to see him every day may be totally genuine, his emphasis on the fact that these were his reasons for building one tomb 'and not, indeed, because of the lack of means to build a second tomb' is very curious. Djau's denial of his inability to build a second tomb was totally unnecessary, and may even be questioned on the basis of the relatively small size of the

<sup>519</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 22-24, pl. 41; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 27-30, pl. 73.

<sup>520</sup> It is interesting that the floors of the chapels in tombs A1 and A2 at Meir are also cut at two levels (see Figure 18).

<sup>521</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 23, pls. 3-6, 41-42.

<sup>522</sup> As for instance in the tombs of Senedjemib/ Inti, Khnumenti and Senedjemib/ Mehi at Giza (Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 7, 93, 130), Ptahhotep I and Nyankhba at Saqqara (Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 56-57; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 45).

<sup>523</sup> While the viziers Idu/ Nofer I of Giza (Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 25) and Mehu of Saqqara (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, plans B-C), both from Pepy I's reign, used sloping passages to reach their burial chambers, none of the mastabas in the Teti cemetery for example possesses such a feature.

<sup>524</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, fig. 3; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, figs. 2, 14.

<sup>525</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 5; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, figs. 2-3; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, figs. 4, 22, 24-25.

<sup>526</sup> See shaft VII in tomb A4, Figure 18 and its section in Figure 21.

<sup>527</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 53-54.

single tomb he built and the poorer quality of its painted scenes and inscriptions compared to that of his grandfather and neighbour, Ibi. To understand Djau's claim it may be useful to compare it to that of the vizier Hesi of Saqqara, dated to the end of Teti's reign or immediately after.<sup>528</sup> Hesi's chapel was formed of a portico and one rather small offering room,<sup>529</sup> a drastic difference between his resting place and the impressive, multi-roomed ones of his equals, who are buried in the near vicinity, such as Noferseshemre, Ankhmahor, Mereruka, Kagemni, Khentika and Inumin.<sup>530</sup> Although such reduction in the size of tombs is evident in the case of other contemporaries of Hesi,<sup>531</sup> which might have been due to economic factors or central policy, Hesi felt the need to justify his relatively minuscule chapel. He says: *rdi.n(.i) ir.t(w) ʕt wʕt m iz pn n-mrwt prt-hrw n(.i) im.s shm.k(wi) m irt.f m ʕwt ʕš3wt* 'I have arranged that one room be built in this tomb in order that invocation offerings may come forth for me in it, (although) I was capable of building it of numerous rooms'.<sup>532</sup> While Hesi's statement might be in direct reference to the magnificent tombs of his neighbours, Djau's denial of his lack of means to build two tombs may be a direct comparison with his richer neighbour Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black. The latter's achievement in burying his father must have been well known at the time and in this vicinity as a model in filial responsibility and affection and in the demonstration of status and wealth.

The relative chronology of Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black and Djau is difficult to ascertain, but perhaps the latter was closer in date to the former's son, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai.<sup>533</sup> In favour of a later date for Djau is the writing in his chapel of the epithet of Anubis *imy-wt* with the city determinative,<sup>534</sup> but also once with the pustule determinative (Gardiner Aa2).<sup>535</sup> The latter determinative is a later development which appeared at the very end of the Sixth Dynasty

<sup>528</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, 16.

<sup>529</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, 16ff., pl. 47.

<sup>530</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 39; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 31; Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 1; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 3; James, *Khentika*, pl. 3; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 35, respectively.

<sup>531</sup> The small size of his tomb is comparable to tombs of some of Pepy I's viziers, such as: Idu/ Nofer I (Junker, *Giza* 8, 61, 66ff.); Mereri (Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 25ff.) and Rawer (El-Fikey, *Rē'-wer*, passim). The same phenomenon is found in the case of Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna, whose tomb is the smallest among those of the overseers of priests of El-Qusiya (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 29) and in the case of the vizier Bawi of Akhmim from the reign of Pepy I (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 20-22, fig. 6).

<sup>532</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 5, 38, pl. 59; Kloth, (*auto-biographischen*, 126; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 277.

<sup>533</sup> It is noticed that unlike their fathers who excavated sloping passages, both Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai and Djau cut vertical shafts.

<sup>534</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 11-12; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 66-67.

<sup>535</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 64.

and during the First Intermediate Period.<sup>536</sup> The probable later date for Djau would place him closer to the troubled time at the end of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>537</sup> which might explain the smaller size of his tomb in comparison with that of his grandfather and his possible lack of means, which he strenuously denies. Such a date would also make it likely that he was aware of the earlier funerary complex (A1 and A2) established by Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black at Meir and was possibly referring to it in his denial of the lack of means to build a second tomb.

### 2.5 (b).3 The Owner of Tombs A1 and A4

The owner of tombs A1 and A4 is mostly identified in his tombs by the names Niankhpepy the black and/ or Hepi the black,<sup>538</sup> and was similarly designated on two statues<sup>539</sup> and in his father's tomb.<sup>540</sup> He was however referred to as Sobekhotep once on the west thickness of the entrance to his chapel (A1), another on the north wall of (room 1) opposite the entrance,<sup>541</sup> and a third time in the burial chamber.<sup>542</sup> He is once referred to in the published drawings as Niankhmeryre the black, which is inscribed on the central pillar immediately facing the visitor to the tomb.<sup>543</sup> Yet the recent re-recording of the chapel by the Australian Centre for Egyptology, clearly shows that he is equally called Niankhmeryre the black on the west wall of (room 1) (Figure 26), and that the cartouche in his name has been altered twice from Meryre to Pepy on the east wall (Figure 27). Thus like his father, Niankhpepy the black originally had his name formed with the cartouche of Meryre and it may be conjectured that both men acquired the right to carry such a name under this sovereign.<sup>544</sup> However, while Pepyankh the middle did not use the name Meryreankh at all in his chapel, his son Niankhpepy used a mixture of the cartouches of Pepy and Meryre.

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<sup>536</sup> Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 40, 107; Fischer, *Dendera*, 84; Brovarski, in: *Mélanges* 1, 127, 135. In the above references the pustule sign is taken to be indicative of a date in the First Intermediate Period. While it is true that the sign became common in this period, it probably made some earlier appearances at the very end of the Sixth Dynasty, as in the case of Djau and also of Hotep, the wife of Shepsipumin/ Kheni of Akhmim (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 23).

<sup>537</sup> Kanawati dates Djau to around mid Pepy II (Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 23-24), for the consideration of the date of Djau/ Shemai and Djau see (Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 19-25).

<sup>538</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 5-14. Also see tomb owner's burial chamber of tomb A4 Figures 22-25.

<sup>539</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen*, 52-53 [60], 154-155 [236].

<sup>540</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7-9, 12, 14, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79-81, 84, 88.

<sup>541</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 5, 12.

<sup>542</sup> See Figure 24.

<sup>543</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 6 (2).

<sup>544</sup> Agreeing with Martin-Pardey that carrying a name formed with a cartouche is an honour usually bestowed by the king (Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 135).

As discussed earlier, not only did Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi spend a long period in the capital, but he died there and was buried at Saqqara.<sup>545</sup> During that time one may assume that his son, Pepyankh the middle, and the latter's son, Niankhpepy the black, were most probably in the capital. A study of some of the titles held by Niankhpepy the black may hint at a period of service at Memphis,<sup>546</sup> which may be gleaned from offices such as *imy iz imy-r hwt-wrt 6 hrp i3wt nbt ntrt smsw snwt* 'councillor, overseer of the six great courts, director of every divine office, elder of the *snwt*-house'.<sup>547</sup> The same may be deduced from his epithet *im3hw hr Pth-Zkr* 'the honoured one before Ptah-Sokar', the Memphite deity,<sup>548</sup> inscribed on the south face of the left pillar facing the entrance to the tomb and on the false door.<sup>549</sup> With most provincial nobles presumably spending a short or long period at Memphis prior to being posted in the provinces, this epithet is found in other provinces, as for example in the tombs of Ihy at Thebes<sup>550</sup> and Nebet at Akhmim.<sup>551</sup> Evidence for closeness to the central government is attested in other manners. For instance, Pepyankh the middle is not described as honoured before Ptah-Sokar, but is designated as *im3hw hr nswt* 'the honoured one before the king' and *imy ib n nswt m st.f nbt* 'confidant of the king in his every place'.<sup>552</sup> The latter epithet is also held by Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi who is described as *im3hw hr Pth* 'the honoured one before Ptah'.<sup>553</sup> Ihy of Thebes is also described as 'the honoured one before the king' and *imy ib n nswt hnty idbwy.f* 'the confidant of the king, presiding over his two banks'.<sup>554</sup> At Deir el-Gebrawi Djau is also designated as *imy ib n nb.f* 'the confidant of his lord'<sup>555</sup> and Henqu II as *im3hw hr nb.f* 'the honoured one before his lord'.<sup>556</sup> That 'his lord' actually refers to the king may be clearly deduced from the biographical inscription of Djau himself, where he says 'I requested as a

<sup>545</sup> See above, under 2.3 Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).

<sup>546</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>547</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 6 (3), 8, 12; Jones, *Index*, 49 [247], 165 [630], 695 [2541], 904 [3318].

<sup>548</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 134ff.

<sup>549</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 6 (1), 10, respectively.

<sup>550</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, 24, pl. 17.

<sup>551</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 27. Also on the stele of Memi (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 34 (c)).

<sup>552</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (1, 3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75 (a), 76 (b); Jones, *Index*, 29 [135], 46 [239].

<sup>553</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 6, 18; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 48, 57. Jones, *Index*, 23 [112].

<sup>554</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, 25; Jones, *Index*, 45 [238].

<sup>555</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 8, 12; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 65; Jones, *Index*, 44 [231].

<sup>556</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 54; Jones, *Index*, 28 [129].

favour from the majesty of my lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Noferkare, may he live forever, that a coffin, clothing and *sti*-oil be issued for this Djau'.<sup>557</sup>

As Pepyankh the middle was presumably responsible for the decoration of his chapel and that of his grandfather, Pepyankh the elder, it is understandable that both names would be similarly written using the cartouche of Pepy, rather than a mixture of Pepy and Meryre. The same cartouche was also used in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle in the names of his children and other members of his family and dependents.<sup>558</sup> The problem is that Pepyankh the middle consistently (seven times) wrote his name on the coffin as Meryreankh the middle.<sup>559</sup> The complete change from one cartouche to the other of probably the same king seems deliberate and deserves to be investigated. To do this a few near contemporaries of Pepyankh the middle will be studied.

*Mry-r'(Ppy)-nfr / K3r* 'Meryre(Pepy)nofer/ Qar of Edfu was brought to Memphis by Pepy I to be 'formed' *kṃ3t* and was sent back to Edfu by Merenre to head the administration in the province.<sup>560</sup> As he was already a youth under Teti,<sup>561</sup> he must have been an elderly man by the time Merenre succeeded to the throne and one would expect him to have built a resting place for himself in the capital. The Australian excavations in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara discovered a tomb which most probably belonged to this man, and in a recent article Kanawati has demonstrated that Qar probably removed certain decorated stone elements from this tomb at Saqqara and reused them at Edfu. His rather small, unfinished false door was abandoned at Saqqara, while the beautifully inscribed entrance lintel was transported and used as part of the stone recess with a false door which was embedded into the mud brick structure of his mastaba.<sup>562</sup> Being obviously old, Qar must have completed his Edfu mastaba and false door in haste, presumably still in the reign of Merenre, which may be seen in the rather moderate quality of decoration on different parts of the false door and the two side pieces of the recess.<sup>563</sup> On all these pieces, both from Saqqara and Edfu, the name of the tomb owner was always (16 times)

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<sup>557</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* 2, pl. 13; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 68; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 146:6-9; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 365.

<sup>558</sup> See Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 14ff.

<sup>559</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 252-256. Also see Figures 13-14.

<sup>560</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1-4.

<sup>561</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 253:18.

<sup>562</sup> Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 217ff.

<sup>563</sup> El-Khadragy, *SAK* 30 (2002), 212, 219-220, figs. 4, 7-8, pls. 8-10.

written as Meryrenofer. A new architrave was added to the tomb, perhaps for the entrance or the false door recess, which shows members of Qar's family at a later stage of their lives.<sup>564</sup> This architrave was probably made slightly later, perhaps very early under Pepy II, as due to the owner's age the whole tomb must have been completed within a relatively short period of time. On this architrave the cartouche of Pepy was written seven times, while that of Meryre was never used. An examination of the inscriptions on Qar's offering recess clearly shows a sudden shift at the beginning of Pepy II's reign from the use of the cartouche of Meryre to that of Pepy.

The official Weni also spent most of his career in the capital under Pepy I, was elevated to the position of overseer of Upper Egypt by Merenre and perhaps shortly after was sent to Abydos to succeed his father Iuew as vizier.<sup>565</sup> It is important to note that Weni's biography states that he was appointed to the office of overseer of Upper Egypt by Merenre, but not that he was sent to Abydos by this king, nor should we assume it. As overseer of Upper Egypt he assessed everything which needed assessing for the Residence and was also sent on expeditions to Ibhāt, Elephantine and Hatnub. There is no mention of Abydos in the biography and it seems likely that Weni held the office of overseer of Upper Egypt in the capital,<sup>566</sup> and accordingly was responsible for the entire South.<sup>567</sup> Weni was probably sent to Abydos only to succeed his father, the vizier Iuew, as vizier, which was presumably after the biography was written.<sup>568</sup>

Like Meryrenofer/ Qar of Edfu and other provincial nobles who built tombs in the capital,<sup>569</sup> Weni probably transported some decorated elements from his Memphite tomb and reused them in his new tomb at Abydos.<sup>570</sup> Being of advanced age Weni must have completed his tomb immediately following his appointment to the vizierate, presumably at the end of Merenre's reign or the very beginning of that of Pepy II.<sup>571</sup> In his biography Weni refers to his promotion under Pepy (I),<sup>572</sup> but uses the cartouche of Meryre in writing the name of this king's

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<sup>564</sup> El-Khadragy, *SAK* 30 (2002), 227; Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 223ff.

<sup>565</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98ff.; Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 78ff., fig. 15; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 33ff.

<sup>566</sup> For a slightly earlier overseer of Upper Egypt buried at Saqqara see the tomb of Hesi in the Teti cemetery (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Saqqara* 2, 18-22, pls.10-13).

<sup>567</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 105:12-13.

<sup>568</sup> See discussion in Chapter II, under 3.1 Office of the Vizier.

<sup>569</sup> See for example the nomarchs Kaihep/ Tjeti (Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.). For nomarchs who were probably buried in the capital, see Iri of Akhmim (Jéquier, *Deux pyramides*, 40-41) and Khewbau of Abydos (Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, 27, fig. 34). See also Fischer, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 26ff.

<sup>570</sup> Kanawati, in: *Ancient Memphis*, 245ff.

<sup>571</sup> Also see 3.1 Office of the Vizier, Chapter II.

<sup>572</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98:15.



pyramid as *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-mn-nfr* on his first false door (probably made at Memphis)<sup>573</sup> and in Weni's own name, *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-nfr-nht*, on his second false door (probably made at Abydos).<sup>574</sup>

From the beginning of Pepy I's reign, officials used the cartouche of Pepy in names and titles, as is the case in the tomb of Khentika who served under Teti and Pepy I and was a priest in the pyramids of both kings. His son also changed his name from *Tti-ddi* 'Tetidjedi' to *Ppy-ddi* 'Pepydjedi', presumably on the accession of Pepy I.<sup>575</sup> Inumin, who served early under the same sovereign, used the cartouches of Pepy and Nofersahor. But when Pepy I changed his throne name early in his reign from Nofersahor to Meryre,<sup>576</sup> Inumin went as far as chiselling out the old cartouche and replacing it with the new one in red paint.<sup>577</sup> This probably demonstrates the desire/ insistence of Pepy I at a certain time on the use of his new name, and accordingly the cartouche of Meryre became that most frequently used by the officials.<sup>578</sup> Thus the vizier Mehu was *shd hm(w)-ntr Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-mn-nfr* 'inspector of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests of the pyramid Meryre is established and beautiful',<sup>579</sup> a title also held by his successor and probable relative *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-nh* 'Meryreankh'.<sup>580</sup> On the other hand, a likely son of the latter used the inner court of the same mastaba as his chapel, where he used the cartouche of Pepy in his priesthoods of the pyramids of both Pepy I and II, *shd hm(w)-ntr Ppy-mn-nfr* and *shd hm(w)-ntr Nfr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>-mn-nh*.<sup>581</sup> This shows that the cartouche of Meryre was favoured from the time Pepy I adopted that name until early in the reign of Pepy II when that of Pepy became more commonly used. However, as time progressed into Pepy II's reign, preference regarding the cartouches of Meryre and Pepy seems to have become somewhat more relaxed and both cartouches were used in the same tomb or alternated in the name of the same individual, but with an apparent preference for the cartouche of Pepy. Many of the individuals buried in the cemetery of Pepy II bear names formed with the cartouche of Pepy, including a man named *Nb.i-pw-Ppy* 'Nebipupepy',<sup>582</sup> yet one of the latter's titles is written as *hnty-s-mn-nfr-Mry-r<sup>c</sup>* 'guard of the pyramid Meryre is established and

<sup>573</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, pl. 20 (fig.5).

<sup>574</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 93, fig. 15.

<sup>575</sup> James, *Khentika*, pls. 7, 12, 28, 42.

<sup>576</sup> von Beckerath, *LÄ* 4, 926-927.

<sup>577</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 4 (b), 7 (a), 42, 44.

<sup>578</sup> See for instance the names of members of an expedition to Wadi Hammamat (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 94-95).

<sup>579</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 76-78.

<sup>580</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 81, 86, 95, 103. Although he is buried in Mehu's mastaba and used one of its rooms as his chapel, the exact relationship of the two men is uncertain.

<sup>581</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 72, pls. 96-97.

<sup>582</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 2, 296:18.

beautiful'.<sup>583</sup> Similarly, while many of the officials represented in the funerary temple of Pepy II<sup>584</sup> and presumably born under Pepy I bear names formed with the cartouche of Pepy, the names of a few others are written with that of Meryre.<sup>585</sup> One of Pepy II's viziers writes his name alternately as *Mry-rꜥ-imꜣ* and *Ppy-imꜣ* 'Meryreima' and 'Pepyima'.<sup>586</sup>

As Niankhpepy the black's tomb was probably constructed and decorated after the middle of Pepy II's reign, his name was written alternately as Niankhpepy the black/ Niankhmeryre the black. According to the recent rerecording of tomb A1 by the Australian Centre for Egyptology the name Niankhpepy (the black) is attested in the reasonably well preserved inscriptions nine times, while the name is twice written as Niankhmeryre the black. However, evidence shows that two of the nine cartouches of Pepy were originally written as Meryre and corrected to Pepy<sup>587</sup> (Figure 27), which hints at certain preference for the latter. Names of Niankhpepy the black and Hepi the black are used in the burial chamber in tomb A4,<sup>588</sup> while the tomb owner is most commonly identified as Hepi the black, used eighteen times, in the chapel A1.<sup>589</sup> When this is compared with the names used in the surviving inscriptions of his father's chapel, twenty-two times Pepyankh the middle, six times Noferkai and once Heny, the last being also the only name written in the burial chamber,<sup>590</sup> one wonders if such a decline in the frequency of writing names formed with a royal cartouche reflects the diminishing level of closeness these officials had with the monarchy and the decline in the pride they had in bearing names formed with a royal cartouche.

## 2.5 (b).4 Family Members of Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black

<sup>583</sup> Jéquier, *particuliers*, 105, fig. 119, and passim.

<sup>584</sup> Baer concludes that the decoration of Pepy II's temple was completed at a point in about the second quarter of the ninety-four years that this king reigned (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 61-62 [73A]). The length of Pepy II's reign is questionable (von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 150-152) and the length of time suggested by Baer for the completion of the temple seems unrealistic. It is unlikely that a king would allow over 25 years passing before completing his funerary complex, even if he came to the throne at a very young age. It also remains possible that the names of certain officials were added at a later stage; probably replacing other names, yet that could not be checked in the available publications.

<sup>585</sup> Jéquier, *Monument funéraire*, 3 vols., passim.

<sup>586</sup> Jéquier, *Monument funéraire* 3, 53. For the reading of the name see Ranke, *Personennamen*, 131:19.

<sup>587</sup> The erasure of a cartouche and replacing it with another in one's name must have had some political implication, even if this is not entirely clear at present.

<sup>588</sup> See Figures 22-23.

<sup>589</sup> I would like to thank the Australian Centre for Egyptology for giving me access to these recent records.

<sup>590</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, passim. The name Heny is also recorded on the coffin of Pepyankh the middle (Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 255).



**Wives:** The recent recording of Niankhpepy the black's chapel (A1) shows that the tomb owner had two wives.<sup>591</sup> Standing behind his figure on the east wall is *hmt.f mrt.f Shnt*<sup>592</sup> 'his wife, his beloved, Sehnet' (Figure 27), while standing behind him on the north wall is *špst nswt [r ?] hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr im3hwt hr hi.s 'nh.s-n-Tti* 'the noble woman of the king, the *hm(t)-ntr*-priestess of Hathor,<sup>593</sup> the honoured one before her husband, Ankhesenteti',<sup>594</sup> (Figure 28). It is uncertain whether the tomb owner was a polygamist or successively married the two women.<sup>595</sup> The caption above Ankhesenteti may well suggest that she was the main, or the first wife, who may be the woman represented behind him in the tomb of his father, Pepyankh the middle.<sup>596</sup> At the same time, the lack of titles for Sehnet and her depiction holding birds in both hands may hint at her young age.<sup>597</sup> It is interesting that she is depicted behind the tomb owner on the lintel above the tomb entrance (Figure 29).

**Sons:** As is the case with some other men who had multiple marriages, two of Niankhpepy the black's sons were designated in the same scene as 'eldest' (Figure 28). They are *z3.f smsw mry.f smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-hbt imy-r hm(w)-ntr Hni-km* 'his eldest son, his beloved, the sole companion, the lector priest, the overseer of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests, Heni the black' and *z3.f smsw mry.f hk3 hwt smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-hbt Hnnit* 'his eldest son, his beloved, the estate manager, the sole companion, the lector priest, Henenit'.<sup>598</sup> The two men are presumably by different mothers,<sup>599</sup> with Heni the black being the real eldest. He is the only one, other than the tomb owner, who bears the title 'overseer of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' which probably entitled him to a high income from the local temple, perhaps having reached a certain age and being the expected successor of his father.<sup>600</sup> He appears on the chapel's north and east walls as well as on the partition wall separating tombs

<sup>591</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13.

<sup>592</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 317:25.

<sup>593</sup> Jones, *Index*, 990 [3664], 540 [2012], respectively.

<sup>594</sup> The name is unattested elsewhere.

<sup>595</sup> For some other examples of multiple marriages see Simpson, *JEA* 60 (1974), 100-105; Kanawati, *SAK* 4 (1976), 149ff.

<sup>596</sup> The name of the wife is missing in the father's tomb (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84).

<sup>597</sup> See Figure 27. Young sons and daughters are frequently portrayed in such a position. See for example (Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 28; Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 27-28; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8). On the other hand, the holding of birds may be explained by the fact that Sehnet is accompanying her husband while watching activities in the marshes, including the netting of birds.

<sup>598</sup> The inscriptions in Blackman's record are missing parts (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 12), but they are fully recorded in the recent record by The Australian Centre for Egyptology, see Figure 28.

<sup>599</sup> For the significance of having more than one child described as 'eldest' see Kanawati, *Cd'É* 51 (1976), 235ff.

<sup>600</sup> See above for other cases of eldest sons holding the title of overseer of priests while their fathers were still alive.

A1 and A2 burning incense before his father,<sup>601</sup> a task often performed by the eldest son.<sup>602</sup> He is also represented on the west wall presenting a goose to his seated father.<sup>603</sup> A man named Pepyankh, who appears in two scenes on the west wall (Figure 30) where he is once described as *z3.f hry-hbt smsw* ‘his son, the senior lector priest’,<sup>604</sup> may well be a different son.<sup>605</sup> Although Niankhpepy the black’s successor is called Pepyankh (the black), it is likely that Niankhpepy the black had more than one son named Pepyankh, and the abovementioned one is not designated as ‘eldest’. Another son is identified in the chapel with the inscription *z3.f zš md3t-ntr pr-3 Twhi* ‘his son, the scribe of the god’s books of the palace, Iuhi’.<sup>606</sup> Seated behind Hepi the black (Niankhpepy the black) in his father’s tomb is a man designated as ‘his son Noferkai’,<sup>608</sup> yet no man with this name appears in the tomb of Niankhpepy the black. We also know that the eldest son of Pepyankh the black is called Henyt/ Noferkai.<sup>609</sup> It is unlikely that the man seated behind Niankhpepy the black in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle and designated as ‘his son Noferkai’ was the same as Niankhpepy the black’s grandson. However, names seem to alternate by generation among members of this family, and the early death of one member of the family should not be surprising.

Two men left graffiti containing their figures and identifying inscriptions on the south wall of the pillared hall of Pepyankh the middle’s tomb (Figure 31). They are *shd hm(w)-k3 mrr(w) nb.f Hnnit* ‘the inspector of ka-servants, beloved of his lord, Henenit’ and *shd hm(w)-k3 Twhi* ‘the inspector of ka-servants, Iuhi’.<sup>610</sup> These may well be two of the above mentioned sons of Niankhpepy the black, recording their services for their grandfather. However, Henenit became a rather common name in the province and a number of similarly named officials appear

<sup>601</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-14. The missing inscriptions on the east wall appear in the recent record by The Australian Centre for Egyptology, see Figures 17, 27-28.

<sup>602</sup> See for example Junker, *Giza* 7, fig. 51; Junker, *Giza* 9, fig. 75; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 42.

<sup>603</sup> Not recorded by Blackman, but recently recorded by The Australian Centre for Egyptology, see Figure 26 (the son here uses the name Henyt).

<sup>604</sup> Jones, *Index*, 785 [2863].

<sup>605</sup> The name of this Pepyankh appears once in Blackman’s record (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 9) but it occurred twice in the recent record by The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>606</sup> Jones, *Index*, 858 [3134].

<sup>607</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 18:14. The name is missing in Blackman’s record (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 9), see Figure 30.

<sup>608</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84. Also see Figure 15.

<sup>609</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 87 (b), 88.

<sup>610</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (f).

in the tomb of Pepyankh the black,<sup>611</sup> where it is impossible to judge if any kinship existed. Another graffito on the north wall of Pepyankh the middle's pillared hall belongs to two officials named *Hwi-n-wh* 'Khewenwekh' and *Hm.i* 'Hemi',<sup>612</sup> who may be the same as the similarly named officials in the tomb of Pepyankh the black.<sup>613</sup> If these graffiti belonged to the men depicted in Pepyankh the black's chapel, it should indicate that they were added at a not much later date and that the funerary services of Pepyankh the middle was maintained at least during his grandson's tenure of office.

## 2.6 Pepyankh (the black)/ Heny (the black) (Meir, tomb A2)

Pepyankh the black probably built his tomb in two stages<sup>614</sup> (see Figure 18), the first simultaneously with tomb A4 of his father, shortly after the death of his grandfather, Pepyankh the middle.<sup>615</sup> His chapel consisted of an entrance room, an offering room and a serdab (rooms 1, 2 and 3 in tomb A2). The second stage followed the death of his father who died before completing his tomb, A4, when Pepyankh the black excavated two large adjoining halls (rooms 1 in tomb A1 and room 4 in tomb A2) between the original tomb A2 and tomb A4. A doorway was then opened between rooms 1 and 4 in tomb A2, thus linking his earlier chapel with the new halls for himself and his father.<sup>616</sup> When a sloping passage was cut between (room 1) in tomb A1 and Niankhpepy the black's burial chamber in tomb A4, a link was established between tombs A1 and A4. In tomb A2, an additional room, (room 5), was then added to replace the original offering chamber, (room 2), bringing it closer to the joint halls with his father. Consequently Pepyankh the black altered the design of his own burial apartment; the rectangular vertical shaft which opened into the floor of (room 2) of tomb A2 was abandoned and a sloping

<sup>611</sup> See references in Blackman, *Meir* 5, 20, 22.

<sup>612</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (d). For these names see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 266:20, 240:1.

<sup>613</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 21, 31; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 74, 91. The relative large size/ importance of Khewenwekh vis-à-vis other figures in the graffiti is confirmed by his accompanying inscription stating that he is *im3hw hr nb.f* 'the honoured one before his lord' (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (d)), and the fact that he is described in the tomb of Pepyankh the black as 'lector priest'.

<sup>614</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 1; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 19-22, pl. 69.

<sup>615</sup> Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black was probably old when he succeeded his certainly old father, Pepyankh the middle. Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black appears to have delegated some of his top responsibilities to his son, who apparently started the preparation of his resting place simultaneously with that of his father. Also see Chapter II.

<sup>616</sup> See tombs A1 and A2, Figure 18.

passage was opened into the north wall of (room 4),<sup>617</sup> damaging the scenes and inscriptions on this wall.<sup>618</sup> These changes may not have been made at a much later time. The serdab in tomb A2 was converted into a larger room, (room 3), accessible through a door also cut into the already decorated east wall of (room 1).<sup>619</sup> The same happened when (room 2) in tomb A1 was excavated, damaging parts of the offering list and the figures of offering bearers on the north wall of (room 1).<sup>620</sup>

Unlike his father, and his grandfather before him, Pepyankh the black never wrote his name with the cartouche of Meryre, and it is possible that he is the first holder of the top office at El-Qusiya to be born under Pepy II. However, his tomb shows a considerable decline in the use of the name formed with Pepy's cartouche. In the surviving inscriptions of the serdab for instance, the name Pepyankh (the black) is written 17 times, compared to 175 times where the name Heny and its derivatives (*Hny*, *Hny-km*, *Hnit*, *Hnit-km*, *Hnyt-km*, *Hnni*, *Hnni-km*, *Hnnit*, *Hnnit-km*, *Hnnt*) were used.<sup>621</sup> Similarly Pepyankh (the black) was used on eight occasions in the chapel, while that of Heny and its derivatives was written 33 times.<sup>622</sup> However, an artist who appears in a number of scenes in the tomb writes his name seven times as *Thy-m-s3-Ppy* 'Thyemsapepy',<sup>623</sup> but once as *Thy-m-s3-Mry-r* 'Ihyemsameryre'.<sup>624</sup> This man, also named Iri, is represented several times in the chapel, painting an object, carrying offerings, or in close proximity to the tomb owner. His importance may not only be gauged by his position in the scenes, but also by his relative size compared to others around him,<sup>625</sup> and by the fact that he is depicted squatting before a low table of food with a servant waiting on him and another roasting a goose on a brazier, he is shown in the marshes watching men fishing, fowling, gathering the papyrus and harpooning a hippopotamus, a situation usually reserved for the tomb owner and members of his family.<sup>626</sup> It should however be mentioned that the tomb owner is shown

<sup>617</sup> See shaft I and sloping passage II of tomb A2, Figure 18. Also see plan and sections in Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, 21-22, pls. 69-70.

<sup>618</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pls. 43, 89.

<sup>619</sup> See Figure 18, and also Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, 20, pls. 12 (b), 16-17, 69, 74.

<sup>620</sup> See tomb A1, Figure 18. In Blackman's publication, (room A) is (room 1), (room B) is (room 2) of tomb A1, see Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 1, 11.

<sup>621</sup> See Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 37-40; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pls. 75-78.

<sup>622</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, passim.

<sup>623</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 16, 18-19, 30, 33-34, 43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pls. 72-73, 79, 90, 94-95.

<sup>624</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, pl. 21; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pl. 74; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 44:25.

<sup>625</sup> See Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 18-19; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pl. 73.

<sup>626</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pl. 90; Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 13.

watching all the activities represented on this wall. Ihyemsapepy bears the titles of *hry-ḥbt zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3* ‘lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace’,<sup>627</sup> is described as *im3ḥw* ‘the honoured one’ and is consistently referred to by both his name and his beautiful name, *Iri* ‘Iri’. Probably Ihyemsapepy was not only distinguished, but also old, thus could have been born under Pepy I. Two other men bearing names incorporating the cartouche of Pepy are represented in the chapel. The first is Pepyankh, with the beautiful name Heny,<sup>628</sup> whose names suggest some kind of kinship to the tomb owner. The second is the *zwnw pr-ʿ3 mry.f Mr-Ppy* ‘palace physician,<sup>629</sup> his beloved, Merpepy’,<sup>630</sup> who is placed ahead of the artist Ihyemsapepy in a row of offering bearers.<sup>631</sup>

**Wife:** Pepyankh the black is depicted in two adjacent scenes on the west wall of (room 4) in tomb A2, each time accompanied by a woman. The inscription identifying the woman in the first scene, where the tomb owner is also followed by his eldest son, Henyt (Figure 32), is very badly preserved.<sup>632</sup> In the second scene the woman accompanies Pepyankh the black in a fowling trip in the marshlands and is designated as *ḥmt.f mrt.f ḥkrt nswt Zt-nt Ppy* ‘his wife, his beloved, the one ornamented by the king,<sup>633</sup> Setnetpepy’.<sup>634</sup> It seems likely that the two representations are for the one and the same wife. However, compared to the wives of Khewenwekh, Pepyankh the elder and Pepyankh the middle, the wives of Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black, all probably represented during the latter’s tenure of office, are depicted at a much reduced scale and less frequently in their husbands’ tombs. This may not only be attributed to a general trend in the relative size/ status of women vis-à-vis their husbands in Egyptian art,<sup>635</sup> for *Ny-sy-ḥnt* ‘Nisihenet’<sup>636</sup> the wife of Djau, the contemporary nomarch of the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi, is depicted of equal size to her husband in the most obvious location opposite the

<sup>627</sup> For the responsibilities of this title see Chapter III.

<sup>628</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 31; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 91.

<sup>629</sup> Jones, *Index*, 827 [3021].

<sup>630</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 156:8.

<sup>631</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 34; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 95. For other representations of the same individual see Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 22, 26; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 83 (a), 87 (b).

<sup>632</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88.

<sup>633</sup> Jones, *Index*, 794 [2899].

<sup>634</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88. For names similarly formed see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 280:4-7.

<sup>635</sup> For discussions of this concept see Roth, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 37-53; Swinton, *BACE* 14 (2003), 95-109; Roth, in: *Old Kingdom Art*, 281ff.

<sup>636</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 178:4.

entrance to the chapel.<sup>637</sup> The small size of Ankhesenteti, wife of Niankhpepy the black, is particularly surprising since she was described as ‘the honoured one before her husband’ and was presumably the mother of Pepyankh the black who was responsible for the decoration of the tomb,<sup>638</sup> most probably after the death of his father. Does this suggest that the later generations of administrators at Meir were not married to women of the same distinction as the wives of the earlier generations? Nevertheless, the two adjacent shafts occupying most of the floor of the small offering room, (room 3), in tomb A4 probably belonged to Niankhpepy the black and his wife,<sup>639</sup> or to one of his wives since he appears to have been married to two women. His son, Pepyankh the black, seems to have respected his father’s wish to have this wife buried near him, and accordingly a sloping passage accessed from the west wall of (room 1) in tomb A1 and leading to a burial chamber was excavated, presumably for her.<sup>640</sup> This is immediately next to that of Niankhpepy the black.

**Sons:** Two men specifically described as ‘sons’ appear in the tomb of Pepyankh the black. The first (Figure 32) is *z3.f smsw mry.f smr wꜥty hry-tp ʕ3 n Ndfit Hnyt*<sup>641</sup> *rn.f nfr Nfr-k3(.i)* ‘his eldest son, his beloved, the sole companion, the great overlord of *Ndfit*-nome, Henyt, his beautiful name, Noferkai’.<sup>642</sup> The second is *z3.f mry.f smr wꜥty hry-ḥbt Hpi* ‘his son, his beloved, the sole companion, the lector priest, Hepi’.<sup>643</sup> Many other officials are depicted in Pepyankh the black’s chapel, but of particular interest is a man labelled as *smr wꜥty imy-r hnty(w)-š pr-ʕ3 zš gs-dpt Hnnit* ‘the sole companion, the overseer of the palace guards,<sup>644</sup> the scribe of protection,<sup>645</sup> Henenit’.<sup>646</sup> This man bears a similar name to those of the tomb owner, his eldest son and some others shown in the tomb, which may suggest a close relationship to the tomb owner. He is also the only one represented in the papyrus boat with the tomb owner in his spear fishing trip (Figure

<sup>637</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* 2, pl. 12; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 67. For other cases of wives shown of equal size to their husbands at the end of the Old Kingdom see for example Fischer, *Dendera*, figs. 27, 31, 33; Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, pl. 43, Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 2, pls. 24, 26, 41, 43-44.

<sup>638</sup> See Figure 28, and also Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12.

<sup>639</sup> See tomb A4, Figure 18.

<sup>640</sup> See passage III in tomb A1 and the burial chamber of the wife, Figures 18, 20.

<sup>641</sup> The names as copied by Blackman (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27) are incorrect.

<sup>642</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87 (b), 88.

<sup>643</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>644</sup> For this office see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24.

<sup>645</sup> Jones, *Index*, 877 [3212].

<sup>646</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 84.



33), where he faces the latter holding a spear, a position frequently given to a son.<sup>647</sup> His position on the boat besides his name, Henenit, which is commonly alternated with the name Henyt, may suggest his identification with the eldest son of Pepyankh the black, Henyt. The title ‘overseer of the palace guards’ is almost certainly a Residence position and was held by sons of many provincial nobles during their period of ‘formation’ *km3t* in the capital.<sup>648</sup> However, recent translation of the title seems to suggest some police/ military responsibilities,<sup>649</sup> which may explain Weni’s leadership of the Egyptian army on a number of occasions while holding this title.<sup>650</sup> Whether related to our tomb owner or simply someone who bears a similar name, could the presence of Henenit in the boat with the tomb owner, as well as that of the men who accompany him from the shore, have aimed at least in part at his protection? Among the men surrounding King Sahure in his desert hunt expedition were the *hntyw-š pr-ʿ3* ‘the palace guards’.<sup>651</sup> It is interesting that a man named *Snb* ‘Seneb’<sup>652</sup> is also depicted in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle with the titles *imy-r st hnty(w)-š pr-ʿ3 imy-r zš(w)* ‘overseer of the department of the palace guards, overseer of scribes’.<sup>653</sup> He sits immediately opposite the tomb owner’s face while the latter is inspecting the count of the animals of the middle provinces, almost certainly in the open.<sup>654</sup> Seneb is certainly recording the count, but with his ‘previous?’ responsibilities/ training in the department of the palace guards, could his presence with Pepyankh the middle, like that of Henenit with Pepyankh the black, have been partly for security in addition to his scribal responsibilities?

## 2.7 Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai (Meir)

<sup>647</sup> See for instance Petrie and Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 6; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 100-101; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 31; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 5; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, fig. 7; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39. Sons are sometimes shown emulating their fathers’ actions as in Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, fig. 42; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 3; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 46; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, fig. 12; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pl. 46. The son rarely stands behind the father holding spears (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 54).

<sup>648</sup> See for example the careers of Merynofer/ Qar of Edfu (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 253:17-254:4) and Weni of Abydos (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98:12-14, 100:7). For a nomarch who writes the title *imy-r hnty(w)-š pr-ʿ3* before that of *hry-tp* ʿ3 see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 8.

<sup>649</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14ff.

<sup>650</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 101-102, 104.

<sup>651</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re* 2, pl. 17.

<sup>652</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 312:15.

<sup>653</sup> Jones, *Index*, 241 [882], 206 [769], respectively.

<sup>654</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 82.

No tomb is known for Henyt/ Noferkai, the eldest son of Pepyankh the black who was presumably the first man to hold the office of *hry-tp ʿ3 n Ndfit* ‘great overlord of *Ndfit*-nome’.<sup>655</sup> This has been attributed to the troubles at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or immediately after.<sup>656</sup> Fischer has noticed that the Sixth Dynasty overseers of priests at Coptos and to some extent at Dendera ultimately seem to have assumed charge of the province, but that the reverse of this situation occurred at Meir, since until Pepyankh the black, the top administrators held the office of ‘overseer of priests’ without being ‘great overlords’, while the son of Pepyankh the black became ‘great overlord’ but is not known to have been ‘overseer of priests’.<sup>657</sup> Martin-Pardey on the other hand thinks that a separation between the temple and the provincial administration existed at the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>658</sup> It should be noticed however that the titles given above for Henyt/ Noferkai are those inscribed in his father’s tomb and during the latter’s life, who was himself the overseer of priests. However, these titles are by no means complete and it is conceivable that Henyt/ Noferkai, like some eldest sons of governors,<sup>659</sup> may have held the position of overseer of priests at this or at a later stage of his life and perhaps simultaneously with his father.

It may also be noted that the only rank recorded for Henyt/ Noferkai in his father’s tomb is that of *smr wʿty* ‘sole companion’, a relatively modest rank for someone who had already reached such a high administrative position. However, it is likely that this was shortly after his appointment to the nomarchy. His case may be compared with that of Djau/ Shemai who died not long after his appointment as nomarch of both Abydos and Deir el-Gebrawi and whose son obtained for him the rank of *h3ty-ʿ* ‘count’ as a posthumous boon from the king.<sup>660</sup> This means that Djau/ Shemai may also have enjoyed only the rank of ‘sole companion’ early in his career.

When the tomb adjacent to A1 and A2, tomb A4, was re-cleared by the Australian Centre for Egyptology it was found to contain nine burial apartments in its chapel and offering chamber (see Figure 18). As mentioned above the main shaft opposite the un-inscribed false door in the offering room (room 3) was left unfinished, with no burial chamber or any evidence that it was

<sup>655</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87 (b), 88. See Figure 32.

<sup>656</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>657</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 20-21.

<sup>658</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 123.

<sup>659</sup> See for example the eldest sons of Pepyankh the middle (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 84) and Shepsipumin of Akhmim (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 26).

<sup>660</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 147:13-16.



ever used, while a second shaft, probably for the tomb owner's wife, was just begun when it was abandoned. Seven burials are cut into the floor of the chapel, two accessed through small square vertical shafts, two others through short sloping passages and three through rectangular vertical shafts. The last three are the largest, better positioned within the chapel and obviously the most important. The largest of the three is in the most central location of the chapel (see shaft VII, tomb A4, Figures 18, 21) and measures 2.91m. x 1.23m. x 8.95m. deep and leads to a burial chamber 3.10m. x 2.30m. x 1.15m. high. The other two are positioned to its north (shafts VIII, IX, Figure 18), are parallel and slightly smaller 2.85m. x 1.27m. x 4.95m. deep, with a burial recess 2.50m. x 1.15m. x 1.15m. high, and 2.35m. x 1.10m. x 3.10m. deep, with a very small recess.<sup>661</sup>

All shafts and burial chambers were found violated, with only fragments of objects abandoned by tomb robbers who did not find the objects worthy of removing. Of particular importance are some small fragments of a wooden coffin found in the burial chamber of the largest rectangular vertical shaft in the centre of the chapel (shaft VII). All the fragments appear to belong to the same coffin,<sup>662</sup> which was largely devoured by termites. Although small, the remaining fragments are very informative. The coffin was partly gilded, which indicates the importance of its owner. The limited inscriptions recovered from these fragments are also of great significance.<sup>663</sup> From these inscriptions we learn that the owner held the ranks of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty-<sup>c</sup> smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m3<sup>c</sup>* 'hereditary prince, count and true sole companion',<sup>664</sup> as well as the offices of *imy-r hm(w)-ntr imy-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* 'overseer of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests and overseer of Upper Egypt'.<sup>665</sup> Of his name the signs for *Hn...* and *Hni* now remain.<sup>666</sup> With such titles and name it may well be suggested that the owner succeeded to the administration of El-Qusiya and his name indicates that he belonged to the already established noble family in the province. That the tomb did not originally belong to him may be gathered from the fact that he did not use the main shaft opposite the only false door in the offering room (room 3). The burial chamber at the bottom of this shaft is even directed to the south, away from the offering room and the false door.<sup>667</sup> The

<sup>661</sup> According to the recent recording of The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>662</sup> For a report of these fragments see (shaft VII) in Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>663</sup> This was most probably the main reason for being abandoned by the tomb robbers.

<sup>664</sup> Jones, *Index*, 315 [1157], 496 [1858], 893 [3274], respectively.

<sup>665</sup> Jones, *Index*, 171 [652], 246 [896]. See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>666</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>667</sup> According to the recent recording of The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

most likely scenario is that the owner of the coffin was Henyt/ Noferkai, the eldest son and successor of Pepyankh the black and that instead of cutting a new tomb, he simply excavated a shaft for himself in his grandfather's almost unused tomb. The other two rectangular vertical shafts (shafts VIII, IX) may have been for his wife/ wives and/ or relatives.

If the above interpretation is correct, then the suggestions that a separation between the temple and the provincial administration existed at El-Qusiya,<sup>668</sup> would be unlikely. As Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai already held the office of 'great overlord of *Ndfit-nome*' during his father's life, we have no reason to believe that this office was lost at a later stage, even if it is unattested on the admittedly few fragments remaining of his coffin. But in addition we now know that he held the offices of 'overseer of Upper Egypt' and 'overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' as did his predecessors in the province. Yet, the creation of the position of 'great overlord of the *Ndfit-nome*' at this particular time must have had some administrative or political necessity and may be related to the situation at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or immediately after.<sup>669</sup> Troubles seem to have started at that time in two places: a) in the southern part of the country, mainly in Nomes 4 and 5 and b) in the middle provinces, particularly in Nome 13 at Dara in the immediate neighbourhood of El-Qusiya.<sup>670</sup> The situation in the two areas must be briefly examined to see if there are some similarities.<sup>671</sup>

While Thebes had residing 'great overlords of the province' during the Sixth Dynasty, no holders of this office are known from the Coptite nome in the same period.<sup>672</sup> At the end of Pepy II's reign or early in the Eighth Dynasty a coalition was established between Coptos and Thebes, or more likely the northern part of the latter province, which threatened the unity of the country. Ankhtifi, the nomarch of Moalla, was requested by the king to take over Edfu, which he did, becoming the nomarch of Nomes 2 and 3. He formed an alliance which included Nome 1 and probably Gebelein which had broken away from Thebes and he then attacked the coalition forces to the north.<sup>673</sup> The date of Ankhtifi has been studied by a number of scholars, with two different conclusions. Vandier, Fischer and Spanel for example place him in the Herakleopolitan

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<sup>668</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 20-21; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 123.

<sup>669</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>670</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 121. Dara is located on the west bank of the river to the south of Meir and opposite Deir el-Gebrawi.

<sup>671</sup> Also see discussion under 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord, Chapter II.

<sup>672</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, passim; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, passim.

<sup>673</sup> Vandier, *Moalla*, 163ff. For a study of these events see Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 141-42, 155ff.

Period,<sup>674</sup> while von Beckerath, Martin-Pardey, Gomaà and Kanawati convincingly argue for a date at the end of the Sixth or early in the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>675</sup>

In the middle provinces, a strong man named *Hwi* ‘Khui’<sup>676</sup> attributed to himself some royal prerogatives by building a tomb in the form of a huge mud brick pyramid<sup>677</sup> at Dara and by writing his name inside a cartouche, followed by the epithet *di(.w)* ‘*nh*’ ‘may he be given life’.<sup>678</sup> Based on monuments found near Khui’s pyramid, Kamal suggested a date in the Sixth Dynasty for this man,<sup>679</sup> Baer places him at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later,<sup>680</sup> but both Gomaà and Kanawati prefer a date in the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>681</sup> It appears therefore that the troubles in the southern part of the country were almost contemporaneous with those in the middle provinces.

Gomaà has already noticed that the writing of the *Ndfit*-nome’ in the title of Henyt (Henì)/ Noferkai without the specification of ‘the southern’ or ‘the northern’<sup>682</sup> could refer to either Nome 13 or 14 or both.<sup>683</sup> It appears that like Nome 14, Nome 13 was also governed by an overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests,<sup>684</sup> and that in order to combat the rising power of Khui, the central government created the office of ‘great overlord’ for both Nomes 13 and 14 and appointed the eldest son of Pepyankh the black to this position during his father’s lifetime. The central government’s reaction towards the two trouble spots appears similar, for at Moalla the first great overlord of the province and overseer of priests, Hotep, was also appointed and was succeeded by his son Ankhtifi.<sup>685</sup> It is curious that the problems occurred mainly in two locations, Nomes 5 and 13, where no residing ‘great overlords’ had previously existed. The reaction of the central government was to create centres of power next to the trouble spots and to entrust them to a loyal

<sup>674</sup> Vandier, *Moalla*, 35-44; Fischer, *Dendera*, 90 n. 409, 97 n. 443; Spänel, *GM* 78 (1984), 87-94.

<sup>675</sup> von Beckerath, *JNES* 21 (1962), 140-147; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 207, 229, 233; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 19, 24, 31ff.; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 105-107, 109-115, 119.

<sup>676</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 267:12.

<sup>677</sup> Although the height of this pyramid is now reduced to 4m., it measures 130m. on each side (information from the Department of Antiquities).

<sup>678</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 129ff.

<sup>679</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 128ff.

<sup>680</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 105 [338].

<sup>681</sup> Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 97ff.; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 113.

<sup>682</sup> In the royal decree of Noferkauhor to the vizier Shemai where the Upper Egyptian nomes are referred to by name, the southern-*Ndfit* and the northern-*Ndfit* are mentioned separately (Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 175, fig. 18).

<sup>683</sup> Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 99.

<sup>684</sup> A fragment of a coffin belonging to a hereditary prince, count, sole companion and overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests named Heny was found at Dara (Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 133-134). The similarity of the name to that of members of the ruling family at El-Qusiya may either suggest some kind of kinship, or that the owner was named after members of the distinguished family in the neighbouring province.

<sup>685</sup> Vandier, *Moalla*, 186.

man in order to deal with the insurgents. Thus the administration of Nomes 13 and 14 appears to have been amalgamated in the hands of Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai who, for the first time, became 'great overlord of *Ndfit-nome*'. Two power centres were also created to the south and north of the Theban-Coptite coalition, one combining Nomes 2 and 3 under Ankhtifi and the other combining Nomes 6, 7 and 8 under Abihu.<sup>686</sup>

According to the inscriptions on his coffin, Heni (Heny/ Noferkai) held the rank of hereditary prince which was missing from the titles of Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black, although it was earlier carried by both Pepyankh the elder and Pepyankh the middle.<sup>687</sup> The disappearance of the rank of *iry-p<sup>t</sup>* 'hereditary prince' from the nomarchs' titulary during the latter part of Pepy II's reign is attested in other provinces. After this rank was held by Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim,<sup>688</sup> it was lost for his successors, Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer, Shepsipumin/ Kheni and Tjeti-aa, and all three became *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* instead.<sup>689</sup> At Hamra Dom, *iry-p<sup>t</sup>* was enjoyed by Tjawti,<sup>690</sup> but was lost to Idu/ Seneni, whose highest rank was also that of *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*.<sup>691</sup> At Deir el-Gebrawi, the neighbouring province of Meir, *iry-p<sup>t</sup>* was held by Hemre/ Isi I, Henqu II and Ibi,<sup>692</sup> before it was lost by Djau/ Shemai in the latter part of Pepy II's reign, but regained by his son Djau at the end of the same reign or shortly after.<sup>693</sup> Djau's statement in his biography that he requested from his majesty (Pepy II) that the rank of *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* 'count' be conferred upon his father, Djau/ Shemai, and that the king issued a decree to this effect,<sup>694</sup> is generally taken to indicate the premature death of the father prior to receiving this honour. While this is not impossible, it should be noticed that in order for Djau (the son) to bury his father in his tomb he must have prepared it immediately on his appointment to the governorship following the death of his father and there, he is designated as 'hereditary prince'. Djau/ Shemai became a nomarch, even though for a very short period, yet he was not elevated to the rank of *iry-p<sup>t</sup>* 'hereditary prince', nor did his son, Djau, request the posthumous conferring of this rank on his father,

<sup>686</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 195ff.; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 169-170.

<sup>687</sup> See discussion under 1. The Ranking Titles, Chapter II.

<sup>688</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 7.

<sup>689</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, 12; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 7-8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 29.

<sup>690</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 13, 30.

<sup>691</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 6-11.

<sup>692</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 19, 27; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 37, 60; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 11.

<sup>693</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 60.

<sup>694</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 147:13-15.

asking instead for the lower rank of *ḥ3ty*-ꜥ ‘count’. Presumably he was requesting his father receive the customary rank attained by his contemporary equals.

In addition to its availability, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai’s decision to use tomb A4 may have been dictated by some other considerations. Tombs A1, A2 and A4 fully occupy an impressive spur on the cliff, facing the N-E aspect and overlooking the desert, the green land and the river.<sup>695</sup> With no remaining space for another major tomb on this spur, the succeeding governors of the Middle Kingdom had to move to a new section of the cemetery, section B, despite their publicized claim to be the descendants of the same nomarchic family of the Old Kingdom.<sup>696</sup> If Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai felt, or wanted to demonstrate, the same filial affection towards his father, as the latter had towards his own father, and if he wanted to be buried in close proximity to his father’s and perhaps also his grandfather’s tombs, the reuse of tomb A4 may have been an attractive option available to him. Moreover, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai probably held office at the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or slightly after, when the country was probably facing political and economic problems. The use of his grandfather’s chapel may therefore also have been dictated by the difficult financial conditions the country must have been experiencing. This may be supported by the fact that although Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai’s coffin appears to have been an expensive piece of funerary furniture, which could have been manufactured earlier or might have been received as a gift from the king,<sup>697</sup> no inscriptions were added for him in the chapel or in the burial chamber. No information on his possible wife/ wives<sup>698</sup> or children is available, but some of the other shafts in this chapel may have belonged to them.

The use of the rectangular vertical shafts in tomb A4 by Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, and presumably his wives, is curious,<sup>699</sup> as this type of shaft is almost twice as much the size of a square vertical shaft of similar width and is accordingly much more costly to excavate. This type of shaft was not common in the Old Kingdom and is mostly attested towards the end of this period, yet its use must be for valid reason(s). A study of the shafts in the tomb of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi may throw some light on the issue. Djau excavated a rectangular vertical shaft for his

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<sup>695</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 1. And personal examination.

<sup>696</sup> See the list of ancestors in the tomb of Wekhhoteḫ son of Wekhhoteḫ (Blackman, *Meir* 3, pls. 10-11).

<sup>697</sup> The quality of the workmanship and engraving as well as the fact that the coffin was gilded may suggest that it was manufactured in the royal workshop at Memphis. See the coffin fragments in Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F), see Figures 97-98.

<sup>698</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>699</sup> See shafts VII-IX of tomb A4, Figures 18, 21. The section of shaft VIII is not provided.

father and three square vertical shafts for himself and perhaps his wives.<sup>700</sup> It is astonishing for someone who strongly desired to be close to his father and who established a remarkable balance in the wall scenes of his chapel between his representations and those of his father,<sup>701</sup> to excavate two shafts so close to each other, yet of two totally different types. We learn from Djau's biography that he requested from King Noferkare/ Pepy II that a coffin and other funerary equipment be issued for his father, Djau/ Shemai, and that these items were actually granted.<sup>702</sup> No record of Djau/ Shemai's coffin is known, but being a gift from the king, the father's coffin must have been of superior quality and probably completely assembled and inscribed/ decorated in the royal workshops at Memphis. Djau did not state that he received a similar coffin for himself, nor should we assume it. The recent clearance of Djau's shaft and burial chamber demonstrated that his burial chamber is at almost exactly the same depth as that of his father, but that he was buried in an un-inscribed coffin made of very irregularly-shaped and rather rough planks of local wood.<sup>703</sup> Unlike the no-doubt precious piece of funerary furniture of Djau/ Shemai, Djau's coffin type could either be assembled in the burial chamber, or be repaired there after lowering it through the rather narrow shaft.

Even inscribed coffins were sometimes assembled in the burial chambers probably to facilitate their introduction there. That the different inscribed sides of the coffin of *Mry-ib* 'Meryib' of Giza, which was made of irregular planks of local sycamore wood, was assembled in the burial chamber may be deduced from the fact that its two short sides were clearly marked as *tp* 'head' and *rdwy* 'feet', presumably to avoid any confusion during their assembling.<sup>704</sup> In fact the stone sarcophagus of Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi, son of Pepyankh the elder, was most probably assembled in his burial chamber at Saqqara from six separate slabs; four sides, the lid and the base. The four sides were labelled as *hr* 'face', *s3* 'back', *tp* 'head' and *rdwy* 'feet', while the base was left blank and the lid was distinguished by a line of hieroglyphs inscribed along its centre.<sup>705</sup> It was certainly possible to introduce completed coffins and sarcophagi through vertical shafts, and we are not sure if the coffin of Pepyankh the middle was introduced in his

<sup>700</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 53-54.

<sup>701</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, passim; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, passim. Also see Kanawati, *JEA* 63 (1977), 59-62.

<sup>702</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 146:6-14.

<sup>703</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 27-28, pls. 1, 53-54.

<sup>704</sup> Junker, *Giza* 8, 140ff., figs. 66-72.

<sup>705</sup> See Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49-55.



burial chamber in its final shape or if it was assembled in its final destination.<sup>706</sup> However, to facilitate the introduction of one block sarcophagi or completely assembled coffins the Egyptians had the option of excavating a large shaft where the coffin/ sarcophagus would presumably be lowered head/ feet first or, alternatively and with less likelihood of damage, of cutting a rectangular vertical shaft or a sloping passage where the coffin would go down base first. The nomarch Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim used both types in his tomb, a sloping passage to reach his burial chamber and a rectangular vertical shaft presumably for that of his wife.<sup>707</sup> Both he and his wife possessed well-decorated coffins.<sup>708</sup> His likely predecessor, Nehwet-desh, also used both types and his coffin is of similar standard.<sup>709</sup> Many other officials opted for the sloping passage to reach their burial chambers, both in the capital<sup>710</sup> and the provinces,<sup>711</sup> and as mentioned earlier, Pepyankh the black changed his burial apartment from one reached by a rectangular vertical shaft to one accessed via a sloping passage.

The date of Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai is difficult to establish with certainty. Although only some fragments of his coffin have survived, this was made of good timber, partly gilded, with the inscriptions in good style and it seems probable that the coffin was manufactured in the royal workshops probably at Memphis.<sup>712</sup> The inscriptions on some fragments are executed in incised relief filled with thick green paint, while on other fragments they are in painting only. However, all fragments were found in the same burial chamber and the partly preserved name and titles suggest that they all belong to the same monument,<sup>713</sup> although perhaps the lid and one side (?) were executed in relief and the rest in paint only.<sup>714</sup> There is nothing in these inscriptions that helps to establish a date. A shallow rectangular vertical shaft belonging to a small tomb cut into the face of the cliff between tombs A1 and A4, (A1a),<sup>715</sup> produced a coherent group of inscribed

<sup>706</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 251-256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 72 (a-b).

<sup>707</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 16-17, figs. 1-4.

<sup>708</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, pls. 5-8, figs. 15-17; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, pl. 16, fig. 32.

<sup>709</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, pl. 11, fig. 25; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, figs. 1-2.

<sup>710</sup> For example Junker, *Giza* 8, figs. 30, 48; Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, fig. 23; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 56.

<sup>711</sup> For example Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 5; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, figs. 2-3; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 2-3; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 41-42.

<sup>712</sup> This may also be the case with the coffin of Pepyankh the middle (see Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1925), 251-256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 72 (a-b)).

<sup>713</sup> See the coffin fragments of (shaft VII), Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>714</sup> Wooden fragments with inscriptions have been found in the shaft of Heni but they are very thinner in thickness than those of the coffin, they seem to belong to a wooden chest possibly was used for the canopic jars. See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F), Figures 105-106 represent parts of this chest.

<sup>715</sup> See tomb (A1a) between tombs A1 and A4, Figure 18.

wooden fragments belonging to a man designated as *im3hy Hnw* ‘the honoured one, Henu’.<sup>716</sup> In a burial chamber reached by a short sloping passage excavated into the floor of tomb A4, at a short distance from Henyt (Heni)/ (Noferkai)’s shaft was found the upper part of one of the short sides of a coffin, together with a number of arrows and a model shield. The coffin belongs to the *im3hy hr Inpw Šdw* ‘the honoured one before Anubis, Shedw’.<sup>717</sup> These finds may also demonstrate the instability and the militaristic nature of the period.<sup>718</sup>

The writing of *im3hy* instead of the usual *im3hw* is assumed to be characteristic of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>719</sup> yet its use is attested rarely as early as the second half of the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>720</sup> but also during the First Intermediate Period.<sup>721</sup> The arrows found in the burial chamber of *Šdw* may also suggest a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom or in the First Intermediate Period.<sup>722</sup> If Henu the owner of the abovementioned coffin (of tomb A1a)<sup>723</sup> is the same as the man depicted as the second offering bearer, immediately behind the tomb owner’s son, Pepyankh, on the west wall of Niankhpepy the black’s chapel<sup>724</sup> (see Figure 30), his coffin could not have been much later than Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black’s tombs. Such identification seems likely considering Henu’s position among other offering bearers and the close location of his tomb (A1a) to that of Niankhpepy the black (A1).<sup>725</sup> An examination of the tombs A1, A2, A4 and the smaller tombs between tombs A1 and A4 including that of Henu<sup>726</sup> suggests that they form one group probably excavated simultaneously or within a short period of each other. The likely date for Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai is the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or during the Eighth Dynasty.

<sup>716</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 242:2. See tomb A1a, Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F), Figures 107-108.

<sup>717</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 331:18. See shaft IV of tomb A4, Figures 18, and the coffin fragments of shaft IV in Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F), Figures 95-96.

<sup>718</sup> Compare with the evidence from the tombs of the contemporary nobles of El-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 2-3, passim).

<sup>719</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages* 1, 108ff.; Blackman, *Meir*, vols. 1-3, 6, passim; Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, 19, pl. 5:1.

<sup>720</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 537 n. 126.

<sup>721</sup> See for instance Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, pl. 3 (1); Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 26-27, fig. 10. For a discussion on the writing of *im3hy* see under Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>722</sup> See for example Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 2, pl. 10 and passim. Also see the discussion under Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>723</sup> See tomb (A1a) between tombs A1 and A4, Figure 18, and also the finds of (tomb A1a) in Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F), Figures 107-108.

<sup>724</sup> This detail is clear in the new record of the tomb by The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>725</sup> Also see the analysis and conclusions in Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>726</sup> Figure 18.



### 3. Summary and Results

Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna was the founder of the governing family at El-Qusiya under Pepy I. A study of the individuals depicted in his tomb shows strong family bonds with his wife, children and grandchildren represented, a tradition which continued in the succeeding generations of the family. Contrary to the earlier belief that Pepyankh the elder started a new family, it now appears that he was Khewenwekh's son and probably the father of Niankhmeryre who is also depicted in his grandfather's tomb. Khewenwekh's eldest son, who was named after his father, did not succeed him and instead the top position went to the second son, Heneni, who presumably assumed the name of Pepyankh the elder (see family tree, Figure 5). This may have been the result of the death of the eldest son or the marriage of the second son to princess Seshseshet and the preference given at the time to royal relatives.

Pepyankh was designated as 'the elder' since his grandson, Pepyankh 'the middle', already existed. Like other sons of Upper Egyptian nobles, Pepyankh the elder spent an extended period of education and employment (*km3t* 'formation') in the capital, where he presumably built a tomb in the northern part of the Teti cemetery at Saqqara, in which he used his original name Heneni. However, at an old age he returned to the province to succeed his father, Khewenwekh, probably under Merenre, but he died after a short period in office and his tomb at Quseir el-Amarna was summarily decorated, apparently by Pepyankh the middle, who emphasized his grandfather's rank and the importance of his marriage to Seshseshet who gave birth to Sobekhotep. Like his father, Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi spent a long period of his life at Memphis and was buried in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara.

Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai also spent a long period at Memphis and was implicated in certain events probably under Pepy I, but was cleared and succeeded his grandfather at an old age, as is typical in this family. He inaugurated the cemetery at Meir, depicted his parents in his chapel and represented himself and his wife on the tomb façade seated on a block chair with the sign for *hwt*, thus indicating his/ their royal heritage. According to the representations in his tomb, his eldest son, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, was already married and had grown-up children. Pepyankh the middle presumably decorated his tomb early under Pepy II, with the work done by the artist Kaiemtjenenet, probably the same artist who earlier decorated Mehu's chapel in the Wenis cemetery, presumably under

Pepy I. In his biography, which may have been written at a later stage, Pepyankh the middle states that he lived to the age of 100, which should at least indicate an advanced age.

Like his predecessors, Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep spent a long period of employment in the capital, as appears in his titles. On his return to El-Qusiya he moved his burial ground from section D where his father is buried and where a major fissure in the rock formation exists to section A, at the north-eastern extremity of the cemetery. He excavated tomb A4, the largest at Meir and one of the largest rock-cut tombs of the Old Kingdom. Although the chapel walls were smoothed, they were never decorated and the cutting of the tomb owner's shaft was not completed, while that of his wife was just begun. His son, Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black appears to have also excavated a tomb for himself, the first stage of tomb A2. With the death of Niankhpepy the black, probably after mid Pepy II, his son excavated and fully decorated a very shallow burial chamber into the floor of the outer part of the chapel A4. He then excavated two adjoining and communicating pillared halls in the space between tombs A4 and A2, and connected his chapel, A2, to the eastern hall and his father's burial chamber to the western hall, tomb A1, via a sloping passage. This created two separate yet communicating tombs for Pepyankh the black and his father. When Djau of the neighbouring site of Deir el-Gebrawi wrote that he arranged to be buried in one tomb with his father in order to be with him in one place and in order to be able to see him every day and not indeed because of the lack of means to build a second tomb, he was probably referring to the action of his contemporary or very slightly earlier neighbor.

While all previous nobles of El-Qusiya wrote their names alternately using the cartouches of Pepy and Meryre, Pepyankh the black did not use the cartouche of Meryre and it seems likely that he was the first governor of Meir who was born under Pepy II. It is also noticeable that the frequency of using the name formed with the cartouche as against the other name(s) of the same individual had been steadily declining in each generation, perhaps reflecting the nature of the relationship between the provincial governors and the monarchy. The wives of both Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black are depicted at a much reduced scale compared with the wives of their predecessors at El-Qusiya as well as that of Pepyankh the middle at Meir. This may be due to a less distinguished background of these wives, although it has been suggested that the status of women has generally diminished in the period. Pepyankh the black changed the design

of his tomb a number of times, altering a serdab into a decorated room, and changing his burial apartment from one accessed via a rectangular, vertical shaft into one reached through a sloping passage. In both cases the changes resulted in damage to the scenes in the already decorated walls of his chapel.

Pepyankh the black's eldest son, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai was the first to hold the title *hry-tp ʿ3 n Ndfit* 'great overlord of the *Ndfit*-nome', which with no specification of 'the southern' and 'the northern' may well indicate his responsibility of both Nomes 13 and 14. The creation of this position may have been in response to the troubles in Nome 13 where a man named Khui claimed royal prerogatives, and was presumably contemporaneous with the events in the south where Ankhtifi was appointed nomarch of Nomes 2 and 3 in order to deal with the hostile coalition of Thebes and Coptos. Rather than preparing a tomb for himself, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai excavated a shaft in his grandfather's tomb, A4, where many fragments of his coffin were recently discovered. In addition to the office of 'great overlord of the *Ndfit*-nome', which he held during his father's life, he now became overseer of Upper Egypt and overseer of priests like his predecessors, and was elevated to the rank of hereditary prince, which was lacking in the case of his father and grandfather. The likely date for Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai is at the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or within the Eighth Dynasty.



## Chapter II

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## Chapter II

### Honorific, Religious and Administrative Titles of El-Qusiya Nobles

The aim of this chapter is to examine the special nature and importance of the province of El-Qusiya in comparison to the other Upper Egyptian provinces. A study of the honorific, religious and administrative titles which El-Qusiya nobles enjoyed at different times is expected to demonstrate the role the province played during the Sixth Dynasty and the development of the relationship between its governing family and the central government in this period.

#### 1. The Ranking Titles

The precise meaning and/ or responsibilities of the titles *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* and *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, which are classified as rank/ honorific titles, are not well-defined. *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*,<sup>1</sup> usually translated as ‘hereditary prince’, is considered as the highest honorific title which, according to Baer’s study precedes even that of *z3 nswt* ‘king’s son’ throughout the Old Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Moreno Garcia argues that the *p<sup>c</sup>t* were the people who formed a council at the royal palace, thus having a relationship with the king. The title was held by the highest dignitaries, including the royal council, the *srw*, usually in the capital.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand the somewhat lesser rank of *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, loosely translated as ‘count’,<sup>4</sup> always followed that of *z3 nswt*, but until very late in Pepy II’s reign preceded that of *t3ity z3b t3ty* ‘he of the curtain, chief justice and vizier’<sup>5</sup>, after which time it followed it.<sup>6</sup> With regard to the holding of these titles by the nobles of El-Qusiya, this may be divided into four phases. In the first phase Khewenwekh did not hold either title, while in the second Pepyankh the elder and his

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<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Index*, 315 [1157].

<sup>2</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201, 231-239.

<sup>3</sup> Moreno Garcia, *l’administration*, 128 ns. 399-400

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Index*, 496 [1858].

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Index*, 1000 [3706].

<sup>6</sup> Compare Baer, *Rank and Title*, 231-237 with 238-239.

grandson Pepyankh the middle enjoyed both titles.<sup>7</sup> In the third phase Niankhpepy the black and his son Pepyankh the black held only the lesser rank of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, before both titles were regained in the fourth phase at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later by Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, Pepyankh the black's son, who represents the final stage in the known succession of El-Qusiya nobles in the Old Kingdom.

As suggested in Chapter I, Khewenwekh who held, among other titles, that of 'overseer of the priests' at Qusiya<sup>8</sup> was probably the founder of the governing family of Nome 14. Evidence suggests that he originated from Memphis or less likely that he spent a prolonged period of education and employment there. Although his name *Hwi.n-wh* is directly related to Hathor and the *wh*-fetish used in her cult,<sup>9</sup> and the name remained popular in the province during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, he bore the *rn nfr* 'beautiful name' *Tti* 'Tjetji', which may well be of Memphite origin,<sup>10</sup> as may also be the case for the two names of his wife, *Mrri* 'Mereri' and *Ibi* 'Ibi'.<sup>11</sup> The name Khewenwekh may have been acquired on his appointment at El-Qusiya, and its use throughout the chapel, contrary to that of Tjetji which was written only once, although on the east wall opposite the entrance to the tomb,<sup>12</sup> was perhaps to emphasize his ties with his new hometown. Presumably for the same reason, many male members of his family were given names formed with the *wh*-fetish as an element, and the female members with Hathor as element.<sup>13</sup>

Khewenwekh's close link with the king and the palace is clearly demonstrated in the titles he held.<sup>14</sup> Yet despite this closeness to the palace, he did not receive a rank higher than the rather common one of *smr wꜥty* 'sole companion'. An examination of the rank titles in other

<sup>7</sup> Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi, son of the former and father of the latter, did not hold either of these titles as he died before succeeding to the top position and was buried in the capital (Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49ff.).

<sup>8</sup> For the titles of Khewenwekh see El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33-35.

<sup>9</sup> See Allam, *Hathorkult*, 29ff.; Bonnet, *Religionsgeschichte*, 841.

<sup>10</sup> See for example Mariette, *Mastabas*, 350; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 15, 141; Kanawati, et al., *Saqqara* 1, pl. 22 (the name is held by the owner of the false door and his son); de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 157 (although buried at Aswan, the tomb owner seems to be of Memphite origin).

<sup>11</sup> It is interesting that all three names, Tjetji, Mereri and Ibi are held by individuals, although all males, buried in the Teti cemetery at the end of this king's reign or during that of Pepy I (for Tjetji see Kanawati, et al., *Saqqara* 1, pl. 22; for Mereri see Davies, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 2ff.; for Ibi see James, *Khentika*, pls. 16, 20-21, 23, 30, 32; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pl. 45).

<sup>12</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 43.

<sup>13</sup> See El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 44-45.

<sup>14</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33-34; Jones, *Index*, 7 [26], 565 [2086], 586 [2146], 619 [2269], 783 [2858], 905 [3321].



provinces demonstrates that such a phenomenon was typical of the reign of Pepy I,<sup>15</sup> although its reasons are not entirely clear. Although Meryrenofer/ Qar of Edfu was later elevated to the rank of *h3ty-ꜥ*, probably in connection with the office of *imy-r Šmꜥw* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’, he was sent by Merenre to Edfu as *hry-tp ꜥ3* and *imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr* with the rank of *smr wꜥty*.<sup>16</sup> The three holders of the title *hry-tp ꜥ3 n sp3t* at Thebes, Wenisankh, Khenti and Ihy, also held the rather modest rank of *smr wꜥty*.<sup>17</sup> Tjemerery of Naga el-Deir was *hry-tp ꜥ3* and *imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr* probably under Pepy I, but did not rise above the rank of *smr wꜥty*.<sup>18</sup> At Akhmim the *imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr*, Webenu,<sup>19</sup> and the *hry-tp ꜥ3* and *imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr*, Nehwet-deshet<sup>20</sup> did not enjoy a higher rank than *smr wꜥty*. Niankhpepy of Zawiyet el-Maiyitin, who held the office of overseer of commission in nine provinces under Pepy I was merely a *smr wꜥty*.<sup>21</sup> This evidence adds weight to the dating of Khewenwekh to the reign of Pepy I and demonstrates that the lack of higher rank titles in his case does not reflect a strained relationship with the palace.

In the second phase, Khewenwekh’s probable son, Pepyankh the elder, prominently recorded in his tomb both ranks of hereditary prince and count,<sup>22</sup> held for the first time in the province, yet there is no reason to believe that he held more important administrative or religious positions than those held by his predecessor. Such a rise in the rank of provincial administrators was not restricted to El-Qusiya but was a general phenomenon in Upper Egypt, which perhaps coincided with widespread intermarriage between the governors and the royal family. It may be argued that Pepyankh the elder’s sudden rise to the highest rank of *iry-pꜥt* was due to his marriage to Seshseshet, a likely daughter or descendant of Teti. This monarch had a number of daughters with the same name who, presumably for political reasons, were given in marriage to some of the top and powerful officials.<sup>23</sup> Like other sons of provincial governors under Pepy I, Pepyankh the elder presumably spent a period of education and career at Memphis/ the palace,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For the dating of the officials mentioned below see Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 295-301.

<sup>16</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:3-4.

<sup>17</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, passim. The dating of the Old Kingdom administrators of Thebes needs further study.

<sup>18</sup> Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 81.

<sup>19</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, fig. 18 (b).

<sup>20</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, figs. 3-4.

<sup>21</sup> Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, passim.

<sup>22</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 27-28.

<sup>23</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 20-22; Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39-59.

<sup>24</sup> See the inscriptions of Meryrenofer/Qar of Edfu (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1-4).

where he married the princess.<sup>25</sup> His return to El-Qusiya may have coincided with the appointment of other royal relatives in important provinces by Merenre, such as Harkhuf of Aswan,<sup>26</sup> Meryrenofet/ Qar of Edfu,<sup>27</sup> Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi,<sup>28</sup> Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim,<sup>29</sup> and Weni of Abydos.<sup>30</sup> The trend to appoint royal relatives in top positions in the capital and the provinces or to establish marriage alliances with individuals holding such offices is unmistakable. The clearest example for such a trend may be seen in Pepy I's appointment of his mother-in-law Nebet, as a vizier in the South, an office in which she was followed by a number of her descendants. Nebet not only was granted the title of vizier but also the honorific titles *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*<sup>31</sup> and *h3tyt-<sup>c</sup>*<sup>32</sup>. According to Kanawati, Nebet was not only the mother-in-law of Pepy I, but probably was herself of royal descent, perhaps the daughter of Wenis, and if so, then Pepy I did not marry commoners as usually believed, but rather married his cousins.<sup>33</sup>

Like other governors of his time, Pepyankh the middle, grandson and successor of Pepyankh the elder, also held the ranks of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* and *h3tyt-<sup>c</sup>*. However, he probably had royal blood, being presumably the grandson of Seshseshet.<sup>34</sup> He may have also inherited the royal blood from his own mother, Pekhernofet/ Bebi, who is depicted in his tomb in a larger size than that of his father.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Pepyankh the middle's wife, Hewetiaah, may also have been a member of the royal family, judging by her very prominent representations on the façade and in the chapel of equal size to her husband and by the fact that her burial chamber is more elaborately decorated than that of the tomb owner himself.<sup>36</sup> More importantly, Hewetiaah is

<sup>25</sup> Her status is reflected in the allocation of the left outer jamb of Pepyankh the elder's false door for her. See El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28 (b). For discussion see Chapter I (2.2 Pepyankh the elder) and Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study C).

<sup>26</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 124:9-17.

<sup>27</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:3-4.

<sup>28</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 33; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 54, pl. 54; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:9-10.

<sup>29</sup> McFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63-70; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 270-273; Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.

<sup>30</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 105:11-13; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 33ff. Weni was appointed as overseer of Upper Egypt for the entire South, while his biography states that he was elevated to this office by Merenre, we are not told that he was sent to Abydos by the same king, although this seems possible

<sup>31</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59-60, pl. 76 (CG1578); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 525; Jones, *Index*, 338 [1247].

<sup>32</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59-60, pl. 76 (CG1578); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 525; Jones, *Index*, 496 [1858].

<sup>33</sup> Kanawati, in: *Thebes and Beyond*, 115ff. Fischer argues that Nebet's titulary is wholly honorific to enhance her commonplace background (Fischer, *Varia*, 75; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 37, fig. 27). For further discussion on the office of the vizier of the South see below, under 3.1 Office of the Vizier.

<sup>34</sup> As has been suggested in Chapter I, see under (2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2)).

<sup>35</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83. Also see Figure 10.

<sup>36</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4, 9, 14-15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 62-71, 76, 83-84, 88.

represented next to her husband on the architrave above the entrance to his offering chamber (room 3) seated on a block chair with the side decorated with the hieroglyphic sign for *hwt*,<sup>37</sup> a type of seat used by royalty.<sup>38</sup> With such probable royal heritage,<sup>39</sup> Pepyankh the middle most probably enjoyed the king's trust and was thus appointed to the highest administrative offices of vizier, overseer of the great court, overseer of the scribes of the king's documents and overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces.<sup>40</sup>

In the third phase *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* disappeared from the titulary of members of El-Qusiya ruling family. Thus the highest rank held by Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black, son and grandson of Pepyankh the middle, was that of *h3ty-c*.<sup>41</sup> It may be argued that their personal connection to the royal family became more distant. In addition, unlike the wives of the earlier governors who presumably were of royal descent, Niankhpepy the black was married to two women, Ankhesenteti and Sehnet, both depicted in a relatively small size,<sup>42</sup> perhaps reflecting their rather modest background. Similar drastic reduction in the size of the wife is also evident in the case of Setnetpepy, the wife of Pepyankh the black.<sup>43</sup> An examination of the administrative titles of Niankhpepy the black and his son may also suggest some decline in their responsibilities. Although Niankhpepy the black held the important post of 'overseer of the six great courts',<sup>44</sup> he did not succeed to the vizierate, as did his father, Pepyankh the middle, who held the same title.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the latter's far-reaching authority as overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces was lost by his successors, whose responsibilities became restricted to their province.<sup>46</sup> It is true that Pepyankh the black occupied the vizierate, at least during the earlier part of his career,<sup>47</sup> yet he did not attain the rank of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*.

<sup>37</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study D).

<sup>39</sup> It is not surprising to find much intermarriage between members of the extended royal family.

<sup>40</sup> For his titles see Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 11-13.

<sup>41</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, 1, pls. 4-6 and passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 12.

<sup>42</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13. See Figures 27-28.

<sup>43</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 27-28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88. See Figures 32.

<sup>44</sup> Jones, *Index*, 165 [630]. This title was held by Pepyankh the middle (Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 255), while it is unattested for other provincial governors (Strudwick, *Administration*, 176), with one possible exception at Akhmim, where it may have been held by the eldest son of Hemmin (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, 18, fig. 7).

<sup>45</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 255.

<sup>46</sup> It appears that after the first part of Pepy II's reign the responsibilities of the office of overseer of Upper Egypt were granted to most provincial governors, each in his province (Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 129).

<sup>47</sup> See below for discussion on (3.1 Office of the Vizier).

Our conclusion seems to agree with that of Baer, who thinks that early under Pepy II the titles of the Upper Egyptian nomarchs rose to their highest ranking and that the reverse of this situation occurred around the middle of the same reign, which he suggests may reflect a reassertion of the central authority.<sup>48</sup> The disappearance of the rank of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* from among the nomarchs' titles during the middle to the latter part of Pepy II's reign is attested in other provinces. At Hamra Dom, *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* was enjoyed by Tjawti,<sup>49</sup> but was lost to Idu/ Seneni, whose highest rank was also that of *h3ty-c*.<sup>50</sup> After the rank of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* was held by Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim,<sup>51</sup> it was lost for his successors, Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer, Shepsipumin/ Kheni and Tjeti-aa; rather all three held the rank of *h3ty-c*.<sup>52</sup> At Deir el-Gebrawi, the neighbouring province of Meir, *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* was held by Hemre/ Isi I, Henqu II and Ibi,<sup>53</sup> before it was lost by Djau/ Shemai in the latter part of Pepy II's reign, but regained by his son Djau at the end of the same reign or shortly after.<sup>54</sup> Djau's statement in his biography that he requested from his majesty (Pepy II) that the rank of *h3ty-c* 'count' be conferred upon his father, Djau/ Shemai, and that the king issued a decree to this effect,<sup>55</sup> is generally taken to indicate the premature death of the father prior to receiving this honour. While this is very likely to be true, the question remains as to why Djau requested that his father be posthumously granted the rank of *h3ty-c* 'count' and not the more distinguished one of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* 'hereditary prince', which he himself received before decorating their joint tomb. The answer is that he probably asked for his father to receive the customary rank that his contemporary equals were able to reach.

According to the inscriptions on the coffin of Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, the eldest son of Pepyankh the black and the last Old Kingdom noble known at Meir, he, like Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi, also held the rank of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* 'hereditary prince',<sup>56</sup> after it was missing from the titles of his father and grandfather. It seems likely that the abovementioned two nobles were close to each other in date, with Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai being slightly later.<sup>57</sup> The fragmentary inscriptions on the latter's

<sup>48</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 298.

<sup>49</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 13, 30.

<sup>50</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 6-11.

<sup>51</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, 7.

<sup>52</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, 12; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 7-8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 29.

<sup>53</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 19, 27; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 37, 60; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 11.

<sup>54</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 60.

<sup>55</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 147:13-15.

<sup>56</sup> See Figures 100, 102 and Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter I, under 2.7 Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai (Meir).

coffin and chest also refer to him as ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ and ‘overseer of priests’,<sup>58</sup> as were his predecessors in the province. However, in his father’s chapel, Henyt was described as ‘great overlord of the *Ndfit*-nome’,<sup>59</sup> possibly referring to being in charge of both Nomes 13 and 14.<sup>60</sup> The introduction of this position at Meir may reflect certain administrative or political necessities related to the situation at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or shortly after.<sup>61</sup> It may be conjectured that the creation of this office and the appointment of the eldest son of Pepyankh the black to it represents an attempt by the central government to combat the rising power of the official Khui in Nome 13, where he built a huge mud brick pyramid at Dara and wrote his name inside a cartouche.<sup>62</sup> One wonders if the granting of the rank of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* ‘hereditary prince’ to Henyt, Djau and others was an attempt by the central government to further guarantee the support and loyalty of some strong provincial governors and to prevent further widespread fragmentation of the country.<sup>63</sup>

## 2. The Religious Titles

### 2.1 Office of the Overseer of Priests

Located in the ‘Middle Provinces’, the most fertile area in the entire country, El-Qusiya was a particularly important province.<sup>64</sup> This fact was apparently recognised by the ancient Egyptians at least as early as the Sixth Dynasty when the nome became a major centre for the cult of the goddess Hathor, known for her fertility and nourishment attributes.<sup>65</sup> The importance of the nome and its local cult may be gauged from the regular holding of the title *imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr* ‘overseer of the *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests’, occasionally with reference to the cult of Hathor Mistress of El-Qusiya and/ or other Hathoric titles, by its successive Old Kingdom administrators buried at both Quseir el-Amarna and Meir. The same importance appears to have continued in the Middle

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<sup>58</sup> See Figures 102, 105-106.

<sup>59</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87 (b), 88.

<sup>60</sup> Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 99.

<sup>61</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>62</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 129ff.

<sup>63</sup> For discussion see below, under 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord.

<sup>64</sup> This will be considered in more detail under 3.2 Office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt.

<sup>65</sup> See for example Allam, *Hathorkult*, 23ff.

Kingdom.<sup>66</sup> The holder of the office of overseer of priests was probably responsible not only for the overall cult of the local deity but also for the management of the land attached to her temple. The inscriptions in the tomb of Nikaiankh I of Tehna (UE 16), dated to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, clearly demonstrate his responsibility in both spheres.<sup>67</sup> It is significant that Nikaiankh I was also an overseer of priests of Hathor and that Tehna lies in the same stretch of exceptionally fertile land in Middle Egypt.

Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna was most probably the first ‘overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qusiya’ to hold office, reside and be buried in Nome 14, probably under Pepy I.<sup>68</sup> This date was first challenged by Gillam<sup>69</sup> and more recently by Polet,<sup>70</sup> yet Gillam later accepted a date under Pepy I for Khewenwekh.<sup>71</sup> By carefully studying the tomb and the titulary of Khewenwekh, Gillam concluded that the layout of the tomb suggests that its builders were modifying the plan of a mastaba for a new medium and location. She also thinks that the tomb owner’s unusual titles and some features of the chapel decoration ‘suggest that Khuenekh moved to Cusae from the residence and brought artists and tomb builders with him’.<sup>72</sup> This suggestion has merit and an examination of Khewenwekh’s titulary shows that apart from his responsibilities related to the cult of Hathor, which he presumably assumed on his appointment at El-Qusiya, his other offices show very close ties to the king and the palace. The titles of *iwn Dšrt ḥm-ntr Hr ḳm3-ꜥ ḥm-ntr ḥwy Hr ḥm-ntr Dšrt ḥry-sš3 n wdt nbt ḥry-sš3 n ḥmt-ntr ḥry-ḥbt mit Hr d3t Hr ḥry-tp nswt smsw n db3t*<sup>73</sup> ‘pillar of the red crown, ḥm-ntr-priest of Horus strong/elevated-of-arm, ḥm-ntr-priest of the two children of Horus, ḥm-ntr-priest of the red crown, privy to the secrets of all commands, privy to the secrets of the god’s treasure, lector priest of the *mit*-bark of Horus and of the *d3t*-bark of Horus, royal chamberlain, elder of the robing-room’,<sup>74</sup> were almost certainly held in the capital and presumably in the palace. Moreover, some of these titles are infrequently attested and suggest a very special status and closeness to

<sup>66</sup> Blackman, *Meir*, vols. 1-3, 6, passim.

<sup>67</sup> Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 131ff.; Thompson, *Tehna* 1, 45-47.

<sup>68</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 14-25.

<sup>69</sup> Gillam, *DE* 20 (1991), 75-87.

<sup>70</sup> Polet, *Studi di Egittologia* 5 (2008), 88-89.

<sup>71</sup> Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 229 n. 194; Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 132.

<sup>72</sup> Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 132.

<sup>73</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33-34.

<sup>74</sup> For the reading of these titles see Jones, *Index*, 7 [26], 560 [2075], 565 [2086], 586 [2146], 619 [2269], 638 [2340], 783 [2858], 788 [2874], 905 [3321], respectively.



the crown, while other titles seem to have religious connotations, which may have qualified Khewenwekh for the post at the important cult centre of Hathor of El-Qusiya.

The name Khewenwekh, formed with the *wh*-fetish which is linked to the cult of Hathor, was common at El-Qusiya in both the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>75</sup> However, it is possible that this name was adopted on his appointment at El-Qusiya, and that his other name, Tjetji, written only once in large signs and in a prominent position opposite the entrance to the chapel and described as *rn.f nfr* 'his beautiful name',<sup>76</sup> was his original name.<sup>77</sup> The emphasis Khewenwekh placed on his presumably newly acquired name, may well have aimed at strengthening his ties with the new area and people under his jurisdiction. Not only did he bear a name incorporating the *wh*-fetish, but the same applied to most of his sons, *Hwi.n-wh*, *Nfr-htp-wh*, *Nfr-sfh-wh*, and to his brother, *Wh-m...f*. Three of his daughters also carried names formed with Hathor as an element, *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hwt-hr*, *Htp-Hwt-hr*, *Dw3-Hwt-hr*, and even his granddaughter was named *Hwt-hr-m-h3t*.<sup>78</sup> This unusual emphasis on the family's association with Hathor is attested earlier at her cult centre of Tehna (UE 16), where Nikaiankh I named his sons *Hm-Hwt-hr*, *Šps-s-w<sup>c</sup>b-Hwt-hr*, *Nsw-3ht-Hwt-hr*, *Špsi-Hwt-hr*, *W<sup>c</sup>b-k3w-Hwt-hr*, *K3-swt-Hwt-hr*, *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-Hwt-hr*, *Hnti-swt-Hwt-hr*.<sup>79</sup> However, this obvious connection with Hathor declined in the following generations, for although some individuals related to the rulers of El-Qusiya bore names formed with Hathor or the *wh*-fetish, the top administrators opted for names formed with the cartouche of the reigning kings, Meryre or Pepy.

A similar phenomenon may be observed at the province of Akhmim, a centre for the cult of another important national deity, Min. While the early governors of the province, dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, bore names formed with Min as an element, *Mnw-<sup>c</sup>nh*, *Hzy-Mnw* and *Hm-Mnw*, the names of their successors in the Sixth Dynasty alternated by generation between *K3.i-hp/ Tti* (with the addition of *ikr* or <sup>c</sup>3) and *Špsi-pw-Mnw/ Hni/ Hn-<sup>c</sup>nhw*. It is also noticeable that the names *Hni* and *Hn-<sup>c</sup>nhw* were used far more frequently within any tomb than *Špsi-pw-*

<sup>75</sup> See Blackman, *Meir*, 6 vols., passim; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 29ff; Bonnet, *Religionsgeschichte*, 841.

<sup>76</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 43.

<sup>77</sup> The name is attested in the capital. See for instance Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 15:15; Kanawati, et al., *Saqqara* 1, pl. 22. In the latter example from the Teti cemetery both the tomb owner and his son are called *Tj*.

<sup>78</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 35-38, pls. 34-35, 38, 44-45.

<sup>79</sup> Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 132, pl. 14; Thompson, *Tehna* 1, 22-23, pl. 56.

*Mnw.*<sup>80</sup> With presumably no earlier traditions in education and administration at El-Qusiya, as with all other provinces, it is likely that Khewenwekh and his family originated from Memphis and were sent by the central government/ king to administer the Fourteenth Upper Egyptian Province. It was hardly likely to appoint an uneducated and inexperienced administrator just because he was a local. The need for education and administrative training resulted as shown in Chapter I in the introduction of a policy of continued *km3t* ‘formation’ (perhaps education and training) of the sons of nomarchs in the capital.

Almost all the provinces had overseers of priests although there were a few exceptions, notably El-Qusiya and Dendera;<sup>81</sup> these also had great overlords (*hryw-tp ʿ3*) of the province. This arrangement may have aimed at combining the administration of the land belonging to the crown and the local temple into the hands of one man.<sup>82</sup> The late introduction of the office of *hryw-tp ʿ3* among the titulary of the governors of El-Qusiya may indicate that the overseer of priests was responsible for the management of all the land in the province, and by consequence that all the land of the province was owned or at least administered by the local temple. As Khewenwekh was also *imy-r tzt n(t) tntt* ‘overseer of the *tntt*-cattle’,<sup>83</sup> he was probably in charge of animal production as well. Two sons of Khewenwekh, Noferhotepwekh and Nofersefekhwekh, assisted him in his responsibilities as they held the office of *imy-r tzt* ‘overseer of cattle’,<sup>84</sup> which was qualified in the case of the first son as being ‘of his father’,<sup>85</sup> while Niankhmeryre, possibly Khewenwekh’s grandson,<sup>86</sup> was described as *mniw ihw* ‘herdsman of cattle’,<sup>87</sup> presumably with related responsibilities, although perhaps at a more junior level. It is interesting that the title ‘overseer of the *tntt*-cattle’ was held exclusively at Dendera by the overseers of priests of Hathor.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, 10 vols., passim.

<sup>81</sup> Dendera had great overlords at certain times, see (Fischer, *Dendera*, 72-73, 185, 187). Nome 16 was another centre for the Hathor cult, yet no great overlords are known from this province in the Old Kingdom. See Fraser, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 67-76, 122-130; Thompson, *Tehna* 1, passim; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, passim.

<sup>82</sup> See the study by Moreno Garcia, in: *Experiencing Power*, 198ff.

<sup>83</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33, pl. 38; Jones, *Index*, 277 [1997]; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 26ff., 55.

<sup>84</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 35, 44, 46.

<sup>85</sup> Jones, *Index*, 276 [1992].

<sup>86</sup> See Chapter I, under 2.1 Khewenwekh/ Tjetji (Quseir el-Amarna).

<sup>87</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46; Jones, *Index*, 432 [1590].

<sup>88</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 26-27.



Pepyankh the elder most probably succeeded Khewenwekh in his responsibilities as overseer of the priests of Hathor at El-Qusiya.<sup>89</sup> It has earlier been argued that he was the latter's son, Heneni,<sup>90</sup> who, like those of other nomarchs, possibly spent the early part of his life at Memphis,<sup>91</sup> where he acquired the name Pepyankh (the elder) and married Seshseshet, presumably a princess, before he was sent to El-Qusiya.<sup>92</sup> The unfinished state of his tomb and the very limited amount of scenes and inscriptions executed in it may well suggest that he did not remain in office for a long period. His son Sobekhotep (Niankhpepy/ Hepi), who was only designated as *šps nswt* 'noble of the king',<sup>93</sup> in his father's tomb,<sup>94</sup> presumably spent almost all his career at Memphis and was buried at Saqqara. Curiously, while the title 'overseer of the priests of Hathor' does not appear on his sarcophagus or his false door at Saqqara, although admittedly the latter is partly obliterated,<sup>95</sup> he is described as such by his son, Pepyankh the middle, in the latter's tomb at Meir.<sup>96</sup> It seems possible that Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi was awarded the title after he completed his tomb at Saqqara.

It was not unusual for eldest sons of provincial governors to be admitted to the office of overseer of priests presumably on reaching a certain age while their fathers were alive. This was probably to allow them all the privileges attached to the office, including the income from the local temple,<sup>97</sup> Examples of such cases may be found in the eldest sons of Pepyankh the middle and Niankhpepy the black of El-Qusiya itself and of Shepsipumin of Akhmim.<sup>98</sup> Younger sons of the same nomarchs as well as other individuals were then given the lesser rank of *shd hm(w)-ntr* 'inspector of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests', with probably more restricted income.<sup>99</sup> Thus a second son of Shepsipumin of Akhmim held the latter office,<sup>100</sup> while five other men in the tomb of

<sup>89</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 27-28.

<sup>90</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>91</sup> Kanawati, in: *Ancient Memphis*, 237ff; Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 217ff.

<sup>92</sup> See discussion in Chapter I, under 2.2 Pepyankh the elder (Quseir el-Amarna). For a different interpretation of the nomarchic succession see Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39-59.

<sup>93</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3648].

<sup>94</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28.

<sup>95</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), figs. 2-3.

<sup>96</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83. See Figure 10.

<sup>97</sup> Weeks, *Cd'É* 58 (1983), 5ff.

<sup>98</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12, 14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a); Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 26.

<sup>99</sup> For the reading of the title see Jones, *Index*, 392 [3437].

<sup>100</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 25.

Pepyankh the middle, including one of the tomb owner's brothers, held the position of 'inspector of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests' and one was merely a '*hm-ntr*-priest'.<sup>101</sup>

The title of overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests and all the privileges attached to it were presumably granted to the eldest sons of nomarchs whether they stayed at Memphis or were sent back to their provinces. Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim for instance recorded in his tomb at Saqqara, before he returned to his province, that he was the overseer of priests of Min of Akhmim and that he was honoured before the local deity of this nome.<sup>102</sup> Similarly, Meni/ Menankhpepy the owner of an offering table found at Saqqara, where he is described as overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests and as 'one who is honoured before Hathor lady of Dendera',<sup>103</sup> was probably also the owner of an offering slab from Dendera inscribed for a 'great overlord of the province' named Meni<sup>104</sup> and of a tomb in the same province of a high official with the names 'Meni/ Menankhpepy'.<sup>105</sup> With their earlier tombs built at Saqqara, far from their respective provinces, the specific reference to Min of Akhmim and Hathor lady of Dendera presumably aimed at eliminating any doubt as to which local cults/ temples they were attached.

Members of the governing family of El-Qusiya appear to have enjoyed longevity, and Pepyankh the middle was probably not young when he decorated his tomb at Meir. However, as he succeeded his grandfather, he was presumably not very old.<sup>106</sup> He emphasizes at the very beginning of his biography that he spent a lifetime of 100 years among the living honoured ones. Then says: *ir.n(i) bw ʕ3 n ʕhʕw pn m imy-r hm(w)-ntr n Hwt-ḥr nbt K̄is sk w(i) ʕk ḥr Hwt-ḥr nbt K̄is ḥr m33.s ḥr irt n.s ht m ʕ.wy(i)* 'I spent a great part of this time as overseer of *hm(w)-ntr*-priests of Hathor, Mistress of Qis, when I entered at Hathor, Mistress of Qis, seeing her and presenting offerings for her with my hands'.<sup>107</sup> Regardless of the exact significance of his spending one hundred years among the living, Pepyankh the middle must be referring to his old

<sup>101</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 14-24.

<sup>102</sup> Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff; Kanawati, *BACE* 15 (2004), 51-62, figs. 1-2; Kanawati, in: *Ancient Memphis*, 241ff.

<sup>103</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 27-28, figs. 6, 19.

<sup>104</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 107, fig. 19.

<sup>105</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 170ff.; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pls. 1-3. This official is probably much earlier than the First Intermediate Period, the date suggested by Fischer.

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter I, under 2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2).

<sup>107</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4 (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35, pl. 76 (b); Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 369; Kloth, *(auto-)biographischen*, 142-143.

age when he recorded his biography. As we have no reason to question his claim that he spent a great part of this time seeing Hathor and presenting offerings for her, this claim indicates that the biography, although not necessarily the chapel decoration, was recorded long after he returned from Memphis and started serving in his office at Meir.

It has been argued earlier that Niankhpepy the black was already old when he succeeded his father, Pepyankh the middle.<sup>108</sup> In his tomb, A1, his own son, Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black also held the office of ‘overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests’, while another official, Noferher, occupied the office of *shd ḥm(w)-ntr* ‘inspector of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests’.<sup>109</sup> In the tomb A2 of Pepyankh the black only the tomb owner is described as overseer of priests, while the lesser rank of *shd ḥm(w)-ntr* is attested for two officials.<sup>110</sup> The title of overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests is not recorded for the tomb owner’s eldest son, Henyt (Henj)/ Noferkai, despite the fact that he was the first to enjoy the office of *hry-tp ʿ3 n Ndft* ‘great overlord’ of the *Ndft*-nome’.<sup>111</sup> This may have been due to his relatively young age during his father’s tenure of office. However, later in his career, he was appointed as overseer of priests of El-Qusiya, as evident from the inscriptions preserved on the remains of his probable chest.<sup>112</sup> The absence of the title overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests, regularly held by the great overlords of the different provinces, from among the first/ only holder of the nomarchy at El-Qusiya, even though his father was still occupying the position, is not unparalleled. Djau/ Shemai was equally described in the tomb of his father Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi as ‘great overlord of Nome 12’ but not as ‘overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests’.<sup>113</sup> The creation of the office of great overlord in Nome 14, after the province had been governed throughout the Sixth Dynasty by the overseers of priests<sup>114</sup> may have been necessitated by the unstable political situation towards the end of Pepy II’s reign and the following period.<sup>115</sup>

The examination of the genealogy of the ruling family of El-Qusiya and the above study of the title of ‘overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests’ in the province show that this office passed from father to son throughout the Sixth Dynasty. This agrees with Galvin’s conclusions that the

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter I, under 2.5 (a) Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep (Meir, tomb A1).

<sup>109</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12, 14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a). See Figures 26, 28.

<sup>110</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 22, 33; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 83, 94.

<sup>111</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87 (b), 88.

<sup>112</sup> See Figures 105-106.

<sup>113</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5, 15, 18; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 14.

<sup>114</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 171-172.

<sup>115</sup> See discussion under 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord.

Hathoric administrative responsibilities were inherited during the Sixth Dynasty at El-Qusiya.<sup>116</sup> Galvin's study shows that the inheritance of the Hathoric titles was not a general trend in other Hathor cult centres, and that the case of El-Qusiya is 'a clear exception'.<sup>117</sup> Nome 16, another provincial cult centre of Hathor, where Nikaiankh I of Tehna was appointed as early as the end of the Fourth Dynasty as a residing 'overseer of priests of Hathor, mistress of the mouth of the valley',<sup>118</sup> and left a will inscribed on the walls of his tomb organising the roster of duties in the temple and the distribution of the income from the land attached to it.<sup>119</sup> However, there is no indication of the top office becoming hereditary at Tehna.<sup>120</sup> It is noticed that the most important officials at Dendera, another important cult centre of Hathor, were the overseers of priests, and it was towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty that the offices of 'overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests' and 'great overlord of the province' were combined into the hands of the same person,<sup>121</sup> as was the case at El-Qusiya. However, only one case of the responsibilities of the Hathor cult passing from a father to his son is attested at Dendera.<sup>122</sup> Thus while Mereri succeeded his father Nyibunesut in the offices of 'overseer of *ḥm(w)-ntr*-priests at Dendera, overseer of the herd of *tntr*-cattle, and supervisor of the wardrobe of Hathor, mistress of Dendera',<sup>123</sup> his own son and grandson did not hold any Hathoric title.<sup>124</sup>

## 2.2 Uncommon Religious Titles

Khewenwekh held two titles related to the Red Crown,<sup>125</sup> *īwn Dšrt* 'pillar of the Red Crown',<sup>126</sup> which possibly indicates that he was a support to the king of Lower Egypt,<sup>127</sup> and *ḥm-ntr Dšrt* 'priest of the Red Crown'.<sup>128</sup> Both titles were rarely held; as Iti who is dated to the

<sup>116</sup> Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 42-49. However, we disagree with her chronology which follows Blackman's.

<sup>117</sup> Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 49.

<sup>118</sup> Jones, *Index*, 175 [668].

<sup>119</sup> Fraser, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 67-76, 122-130; Thompson, *Tehna* 1, pls. 22-23, 56-57.

<sup>120</sup> Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 49.

<sup>121</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 72-73, 185.

<sup>122</sup> Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 48-49.

<sup>123</sup> See Fischer, *Dendera*, 137 n. 596; Jones, *Index*, 650 [2381]; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 53.

<sup>124</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 114, 116ff., 136, 187; Petrie, *Denderah*, 50, pl. 11; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 122-123; Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 48-49.

<sup>125</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33-34, pls. 34, 36.

<sup>126</sup> Jones, *Index*, 7 [26]. Also see Gillam, *DE* 20 (1991), 84.

<sup>127</sup> Fischer mentions that *Dšrt* may refer to the red crown or the red land (Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 39-40), but the title *ḥm-ntr Dšrt* makes the first alternative more likely.

<sup>128</sup> Jones, *Index*, 586 [2146]; also see Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 243.

Heracleopolitan period was granted the former title,<sup>129</sup> while Ipi of the Fifth Dynasty held the second.<sup>130</sup> Khewenwekh had many religious titles associated with Horus: *hry-hbt mit Hr d3t Hr* ‘lector priest of the mit-bark of Horus and of the d3t- bark of Horus’,<sup>131</sup> *imy-ht Hr it Kis* ‘under-supervisor of (the cult) of Horus, father of El-Qusiya’,<sup>132</sup> *hm-ntr hwy Hr* ‘priest of the two children of Horus’,<sup>133</sup> and *hm-ntr Hr km3-ε* ‘priest of Horus strong of arm’,<sup>134</sup> which may have originally referred to the priesthood of the king himself.<sup>135</sup> While Khewenwekh’s top position was that of overseer of priests, he was granted many religious titles that may suggest his special status and connection with the palace.<sup>136</sup>

Above the entrance to his offering room Pepyankh the middle inscribed different priesthoods that indicate his service at Memphis.<sup>137</sup> He recorded the titles *hm-ntr 3st Hwt-hr* ‘priest of Isis and Hathor’, *hm-ntr Hr Sth* ‘priest of Horus and Seth’ and *hm-ntr Nwt* ‘priest of Nut’,<sup>138</sup> which are rarely attested for other officials. He also held the Memphite title *hm-ntr M3εt* ‘priest of Maεt’<sup>139</sup>, which is related to his legal administrative office of *imy-r hwt-wrt 6*.<sup>140</sup> Such uncommon priesthoods reflect Pepyankh the middle’s special position, probably due to his royal kinship. In addition he is the only known official who held the office of *hm-ntr Psdt ε3t* ‘priest of the great Ennead’ in the Old Kingdom.<sup>141</sup>

Niankhpepy the black held the title *ε3 Dw3w* ‘assistant of the Duau’.<sup>142</sup> Until the reign of Noferirkare this title, associated with the god Duau, was held only by officials who were

<sup>129</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 64 n. 323, 38 (9), pl. 5.

<sup>130</sup> Schlögl, *Geschenk des Nils*, 35, figs. 116-117; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 238.

<sup>131</sup> Jones, *Index*, 783 [2858]. For other holders of this title see (Goedicke, *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 72; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 59, fig. 34 (b); Davies, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 1, 23, 28, figs. 27-29).

<sup>132</sup> Jones, *Index*, 294 [1074].

<sup>133</sup> Jones, *Index*, 565 [2086]. Fischer reads the title as ‘priest of Horus the two children (of Upper and Lower Egypt)’ (Fischer, *Egyptian Titles*, 21). Wernu of Saqqara was described as *hm hwy Hr* ‘servant of the two children of Horus’ (Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 1, 18).

<sup>134</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 34. Jones reads this title as *hm-ntr Hr (Thnw) k3-ε* ‘priest of Horus (of Lybia) elevated of arm’ (Jones, *Index*, 561 [2077]).

<sup>135</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 120 n. 3. For examples see (Simpson, *Kawab*, 12; Strudwick, *Administration*, 207).

<sup>136</sup> For all the mentioned titles of Khewenwekh see (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 33-34).

<sup>137</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 276.

<sup>138</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 12, pl. 76 (b). For the reading of these titles see Jones, *Index*, 507 [1898], 560 [2072], 524 [1956], respectively.

<sup>139</sup> Jones, *Index*, 615 [1930]; Blackman, *Meir* 4, 4A (1-2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 12, pls. 75 (b), 76 (a).

<sup>140</sup> The title *hm-ntr M3εt* was held by juridical officials. See Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 74 n. 74; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 276. Pepyankh the middle recorded the title *imy-r hwt-wrt 6* on his coffin (Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 255).

<sup>141</sup> See Jones, *Index*, 515 [1927]; Blackman, *Meir* 4, 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 12, pl. 76 (b). This title is also recorded on the coffin of Pepyankh the middle (Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 72 (a)).

<sup>142</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 6 (3); Jones, *Index*, 351 [1308].

designated as king's sons.<sup>143</sup> It is later held by many of the Memphite viziers,<sup>144</sup> such as Washptah/ Isi<sup>145</sup> and Ptahshepses<sup>146</sup> of the Fifth Dynasty, and Mereruka<sup>147</sup> and his son Meryteti<sup>148</sup> of the Sixth Dynasty, while in the provinces it is attested for the vizier Hemre/ Isi I of Deri el-Gebrawi.<sup>149</sup> Niankhpepy the black also held the title *smsw snwt* 'elder of the *snwt*-shrine/ house'.<sup>150</sup> Moreno Garcia shows that this title indicates a category of officials including viziers or dignitaries very close to the king who acted as advisors and were all educated in the palace from their infancy.<sup>151</sup> Unlike his father and grandfather, Pepyankh the black did not hold uncommon religious titles, nor did he possess any of the prestigious religious titles of his predecessor, Khewenwekh. The absence of such distinguished titles and the withdrawal of the vizier's office, may hint at the changing attitude of the palace towards the governing family at El-Qusiya.

### 3. The Administrative Titles

#### 3.1 Office of the Vizier

Two El-Qusiya nobles were entrusted with the highest administrative responsibility of the vizier, Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black. As this position was held at different times by certain governors of other provinces, their succession in office has been the subject of discussion by a number of scholars who have reached different conclusions. In order to study the place of El-Qusiya nobles in this succession, a general survey of all Upper Egyptian viziers will be undertaken, with each site examined separately before conclusions are drawn.

**Edfu (Nome 2):** The first known provincial vizier is Isi of Edfu. From his autobiographical inscriptions we learn that he served under kings Djedkare, Wenis and Teti, before the last king

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<sup>143</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 316, table 29 (column 15).

<sup>144</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 316, table 29 (column 15).

<sup>145</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, D38; Strudwick, *Administration*, 79 [37]; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 65 [105].

<sup>146</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 89 [52]; Baer, *Rank and title*, 76 [167].

<sup>147</sup> Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, 14.

<sup>148</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, 14.

<sup>149</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 19; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 37.

<sup>150</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 6 (3); Jones, *Index*, 904 [3318]. Also see Figure 26.

<sup>151</sup> Moreno Garcia, *l'administration*, 117.



sent him to Edfu as *hry-tp ʿ3 n sp3t* ‘great overlord of the province’.<sup>152</sup> While the title *t3ity z3b t3ty* is absent in his poorly preserved autobiography, it is attested elsewhere in the inscriptions of his chapel.<sup>153</sup> Isi also held the high titles of *iry-pʿt* and *imy-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt*<sup>154</sup> ‘hereditary prince, overseer of scribes of the king’s documents’.<sup>155</sup> He probably originated from Memphis, or at least spent a long period of time in the capital, where he acquired the epithets *im3hw hr Pth-Zkr* and *im3hw hr Pth rsy inb.f*<sup>156</sup> ‘the honored before Ptah-Sokar’<sup>157</sup> and ‘the honored before Ptah South-of-his-Wall’.<sup>158</sup> Isi claims that he was selected for the office due to his abilities and distinction among other officials.<sup>159</sup> However, his marriage to a woman called Seshseshet,<sup>160</sup> a common name among female members of Teti’s own family,<sup>161</sup> might have played a role in his appointment. Moreover, one of Isi’s wives is named *Z3t Hr* ‘Sathor’,<sup>162</sup> which literally means ‘daughter of Horus’. If this was another name for Isi’s wife Seshseshet, which seems possible, it would further hint at her royal descent. It has already been suggested that Teti established marriage alliances with his top officials with the aim of guaranteeing their loyalty.<sup>163</sup>

Isi may have remained as vizier and great overlord of the province until the reign of Pepy I, since a son depicted in his tomb with title *s(hd) hm(w)-k3* ‘inspector of ka-servants’ is named Pepyseneb.<sup>164</sup> Baer has suggested that the son’s figure could have been a later addition,<sup>165</sup> yet the position of Pepyseneb behind his father and above a sandal bearer suggests otherwise. The poor and shallow relief of the son’s figure and inscription are similar to those of the father, the sandal bearer and indeed the tomb relief in general<sup>166</sup> (Figure 34). Based on the representation of the

<sup>152</sup> Edel, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 13; Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937- 1938), 94; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 22; Ruszczyćówna, in: *Rocznik* 3, 548; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 340- 341; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 23ff.

<sup>153</sup> Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 24; Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937- 1938), 95, 113.

<sup>154</sup> Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937- 1938), 93, 95-96; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 24.

<sup>155</sup> Jones, *Index*, 315 [1157], 209 [780].

<sup>156</sup> Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 95; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 24-25.

<sup>157</sup> Jones, *Index*, 24 [114].

<sup>158</sup> Jones, *Index*, 24 [113].

<sup>159</sup> Edel, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 13; Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 94; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 22; Ruszczyćówna, in: *Rocznik* 3, 548; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 340-341.

<sup>160</sup> Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 23, 26, 28, pl. 8; Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 94, 96; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 78-81.

<sup>161</sup> It should be noticed that Isi had a number of wives, but that Seshseshet’s figures were given prominence in size and position over the others, see (Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 23, pl. 8)

<sup>162</sup> Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 25; Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 96.

<sup>163</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39- 59.

<sup>164</sup> Ruszczyćówna, in: *Rocznik* 3, 70; also see Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 94, 96; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 26.

<sup>165</sup> Baer, *Baer, Rank and Title*, 225 [62].

<sup>166</sup> See Ruszczyćówna, in: *Rocznik* 3, 64-65, 67-68, 70.

*wedjat*-eyes on the inner jambs of his false door, Brovarski dates Isi to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>167</sup> This feature however remained in use until the First Intermediate Period<sup>168</sup> and is found, for instance, on the false door of Isi's successor, Meryrenofor/ Qar,<sup>169</sup> dated to Merenre -early Pepy II.<sup>170</sup> Meryrenofor/ Qar, who is a possible son of Isi,<sup>171</sup> recorded in his own autobiography that he was brought to the capital by Pepy I to be formed '*km3t*' among the sons of nomarchs and was returned to Edfu as a great overlord of the province by Merenre.<sup>172</sup> As Isi started his career under Djedkare one wonders if he was still in office under Merenre. Whether another son of Isi preceded Meryrenofor/ Qar as nomarch, or that the position remained vacant until Qar was sent back by Merenre is uncertain, particularly due to the incomplete nature of the information from Edfu. Meryrenofor/ Qar did not hold the vizierate.

**Abydos (Nome 8):** Pepy I married two daughters of Nebet and sent her as vizier at Abydos, and the office remained in the hands of her family for the remaining part of the Sixth Dynasty. The suggestion that Nebet belonged to a strong local family and that the king's marriage to her daughters aimed at strengthening his control of Upper Egypt,<sup>173</sup> has been convincingly refuted by Martin-Pardey.<sup>174</sup> The granting of the title of vizier to Nebet was considered by Fischer as 'an attempt to enhance the otherwise commonplace background of a woman who became the grandmother of a king. In any case it seems likely that her titulary is wholly honorific'.<sup>175</sup> Elsewhere Fischer reaffirms this view by stating that Nebet's titles were 'designed to enhance the status of a commoner who became the mother-in-law of one king, and the grandmother of two others'.<sup>176</sup> If this was the reason behind the appointment the position would have presumably gone to her husband and father-in-law of the king, Khui, who held the titles *it ntr* 'father of the

<sup>167</sup> See Ruszczyćówna, in: *Rocznik* 3, 54, 63; Brovarski, in: *Old Kingdom Art*, 91-92, 108-109.

<sup>168</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40 and no. 1.

<sup>169</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 130-140; El-Khadragy, *SAK* 30 (2002), 203-228, pl. 9.

<sup>170</sup> Brovarski, in: *Old Kingdom Art*, 108-109.

<sup>171</sup> According to Isi's tomb inscriptions there are more than one son named Qar, with one born to a woman named *Int* and another born to *Tbj* (Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 96; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 25). It is noticed that in one instance a son with the name Qar is designated as *s3.f mry.f smsw* 'his son, his beloved, the eldest', see (Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938), 97; Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 27).

<sup>172</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 130-140; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254: 1-3.

<sup>173</sup> Stock, *Erste Zwischenzeit*, 2ff.

<sup>174</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 145- 146; Kanawati, in: *Thebes and Beyond*, 116.

<sup>175</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 74-75. Other scholars agree with Fischer, see Baud, *Famille royale* 1, 343; Strudwick, *Administration*, 303.

<sup>176</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 37-38, fig. 27.



God',<sup>177</sup> and *imy-r niwt mr* 'overseer of the pyramid town',<sup>178</sup> and who may have supported her in her responsibilities as vizier in the South.<sup>179</sup>

An examination of Nebet's titles as recorded on her stele<sup>180</sup> strongly suggests her royal ancestry,<sup>181</sup> she is described as *iryt-p<sup>c</sup>t z3t Gb ḥ3tyt-<sup>c</sup> z3t Mrḥw 3ity z3b 3ty z3t Dḥwty smrt bity z3t Hr* 'hereditary princess, daughter of Geb, countess, daughter of Merhu, chief justice and vizier, daughter of Thoth, companion of the king of Lower Egypt, daughter of Horus'.<sup>182</sup> Kees has rightly suggested that Nebet was probably the daughter of a king,<sup>183</sup> and more recently Kanawati has proposed that Nebet was not only the mother-in-law of Pepy I but may have been the daughter of Weni and the sister or half-sister of Iput, wife of Teti and mother of Pepy I, and as such she was Pepy I's aunt.<sup>184</sup> This may explain the trust the king had in her and his marriage to her daughters, in which case he married his cousins and not two commoners as frequently stated. Nebet was appointed as the vizier for the South at a very critical time for the monarchy, when the king relied heavily on close members of the royal family in filling most of the top administrative positions.<sup>185</sup>

It has been suggested that Nebet started her vizierate after the 21<sup>st</sup> count of Pepy I, and held office during the latter part of Pepy I's reign. This is based on the association of Weni's well-known claim that he tried a queen with no vizier present and the mention of Weni in a royal decree dated to the 21<sup>st</sup> count of Pepy I where the vizier's name has been erased.<sup>186</sup> The marriage of Pepy I to the first of the sisters was believed to have followed Weni's trial of the queen. We are not told that the queen tried by Weni was Pepy I's wife and as the trial took place early in

<sup>177</sup> Jones, *Index*, 345 [1283]. This title was granted to the father-in-law of the king. For a detailed study of the title see Birrel, *Father of the God*, passim.

<sup>178</sup> Jones, *Index*, 148 [577]. This title was usually held by viziers. For the titles of Nebet and Khui, see Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59-60, pl. 76 (CG1578); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 525.

<sup>179</sup> Kanawati, in: *Thebes and Beyond*, 116.

<sup>180</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59- 60, pl. 76 (CG 1578); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 525

<sup>181</sup> Kanawati, in *Thebes and Beyond*, 115ff.

<sup>182</sup> Jones, *Index*, 338 [1247], 824 [3009], 496 [1858], 817 [2987], 1000 [3706], 824 [3010], 897 [3292], 338 [1247], 824 [3007], respectively. *Innk/Inty*, a wife of King Pepy I, held similar titles to those of Nebet, which are *iryt-p<sup>c</sup>t z3t Gb ḥ3tyt-<sup>c</sup> z3t Dḥwty z3t Hr* and even the title *3ity z3b 3ty* (Labrousse, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 298-299), this also strongly suggests the royal background of Nebet.

<sup>183</sup> Kees, *Vezirats*, 42.

<sup>184</sup> Kanawati, in *Thebes and Beyond*, 119.

<sup>185</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39-59.

<sup>186</sup> Goedicke, *JAOS* 74:2 (1954), 88-89; Goedicke, *JAOS* 75:3 (1955), 180-183; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 1-11; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 103, 209.

Weni's career, the queen may well have been the wife of Teti or Weserkare.<sup>187</sup> Nebet's son Djau proudly recorded on his stele that he was born at Abydos to Nebet and Khui,<sup>188</sup> a statement which would have been totally superfluous unless the family had originated from elsewhere.<sup>189</sup> Yet if he were born after the 21<sup>st</sup> count of Pepy I he would have been too young to hold the vizierate in or before the 11<sup>th</sup> count of Pepy II.<sup>190</sup> It seems likely that Pepy I was a child when he came to the throne and that the marriage to the first of Nebet's daughters and the appointment of his mother-in-law as vizier took place then. Four men appear on the stele of Nebet and Khui, Idi, two named Khui and one named Niankhnoferkare/ Shemai.<sup>191</sup> However, the figure and inscription belonging to Niankhnoferkare/ Shemai appears to be squeezed between Khui's standing figure and his staff and may have been a later addition by this son himself aiming at publicizing his ancestry (Figure 35).<sup>192</sup>

It is likely that Nebet was followed in the vizierate by Iuew,<sup>193</sup> whose tenure of office was presumably in the latter part of Pepy I's reign and until that of Merenre.<sup>194</sup> He was not Nebet's son, but perhaps Khui's eldest son by an earlier marriage.<sup>195</sup> Yet he was careful to declare his relationship to Nebet's family by depicting himself on a false door sitting at an offering table opposite Queen Pepyankhnes I, daughter of Nebet and Khui and wife of Pepy I.<sup>196</sup> An examination of their representation led Kanawati to propose that he was a half-brother of the queen.<sup>197</sup> Weni was Iuew's eldest son,<sup>198</sup> which may explain the confidence Pepy I had in him and the special tasks he was entrusted with.<sup>199</sup> He finally succeeded his father Iuew in the office of the vizier at Abydos presumably in the period of end Merenre - early under Pepy II.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Agreeing with Callender, *In Hathor's Image*, 233ff.

<sup>188</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 111-112, pl. 24 (CG 1431).

<sup>189</sup> Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 43.

<sup>190</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, fig. 8.

<sup>191</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59-60, pl. 76 (CG1578).

<sup>192</sup> The figure of Niankhnoferkare/ Shemai appears well when zooming in the photograph on computer.

<sup>193</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 176; Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 540; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 121, pl. 31 (CG 1439); Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 57-58, pl. 75 (CG 1576); Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs*, 57-57 (I.I.a.4672 [1930]).

<sup>194</sup> Brovarski, in: *For his Ka*, 24-33; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 35.

<sup>195</sup> Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 43.

<sup>196</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 121, pl. 31 (CG 1439).

<sup>197</sup> Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 43.

<sup>198</sup> Richard, *JARCE* 39 (2002), fig. 16.

<sup>199</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98-110; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 90-116, pl. 83 (CG 1435); El-Khadragy, *GM* 188 (2002), 61-72.

<sup>200</sup> Richard, *JARCE* 39 (2002), fig. 15; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 35 ff.

Reaching the vizierate at an old age, Weni's tenure of the office was probably short. He was followed successively at Abydos by two of the sons of Nebet and Khui. The first was Djau who is the addressee in a royal decree dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> count of Pepy II,<sup>201</sup> although he may have started his vizierate at a somewhat earlier date. On his monuments from Abydos, Djau recorded his filial link to Nebet and Khui and his brotherly link to the two queens, Pepyankhnes I and II.<sup>202</sup> With these inscriptions Djau seems to claim his entitlement to the office of vizier based on his direct and strong royal descent, and after him the office was held, presumably due to his relatively young age, by probably his half-brother, Iuew, and the latter's son, Weni, who were less closely connected to royalty. This might explain the fact that despite Weni's distinguished career he was not followed by his own son. Djau is dated to early Pepy II by Strudwick<sup>203</sup> and to years 15-35 of Pepy II by Baer.<sup>204</sup> He possibly remained in office until the middle of Pepy II's reign, when he was followed by his brother Idi, who equally emphasized his direct link to Nebet and Khui on his false door.<sup>205</sup> The last vizier known from Abydos is named Pepynakht,<sup>206</sup> whose false door has been dated to the second half of Pepy II's reign.<sup>207</sup> Although the rise at Abydos of a vizier not linked to Nebet's family seems unlikely, no evidence of such a connection is currently available.

**Akhmim (Nome 9):** As with Edfu, only one vizier is known from Akhmim in the Sixth Dynasty; he is Bawi of tomb No. CA1. The available information from this tomb is very limited and accordingly little is known about his origin, background or marriage, but a similarly named son is attested in the inscriptions.<sup>208</sup> As a vizier he held the titles *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t imy-r niwt mr* 'hereditary prince, overseer of the pyramid town',<sup>209</sup> the latter title being commonly held by viziers, particularly the provincial ones in the reign of Pepy II.<sup>210</sup> It is uncertain whether his position at the pyramid town should hint at an origin from or a period spent in the capital or that provincial viziers were responsible for royal estates/ towns each in his province.

<sup>201</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 279.18, 280.15; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, fig. 8.

<sup>202</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 111-112, pl. 24 (CG 1431).

<sup>203</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 302.

<sup>204</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 295 [591].

<sup>205</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 55-57, pl. 75 (CG 1575).

<sup>206</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 51-52, pl. 75 (1573); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 531; Simpson, *Abydos*, 5-7, fig. 4, pls. 2-3.

<sup>207</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 303; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 89; Brovarski, in: *Old Kingdom Art*, 99, 115-116.

<sup>208</sup> Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 8, 20-23, pls. 3, 9, figs. 6-7.

<sup>209</sup> Jones, *Index*, 315 [1157], 148-149 [577], respectively.

<sup>210</sup> See: Strudwick, *Administration*, 317-318, tables 29, 31.

Baer places Bawi in the period from year 10 of Teti to Merenre,<sup>211</sup> Gomaà dates him to early Pepy I,<sup>212</sup> Kanawati suggests a date from early-mid Pepy I,<sup>213</sup> and Harpur, also dates the tomb to mid-Pepy I.<sup>214</sup> With the general reduction in tomb size under Pepy I,<sup>215</sup> Bawi's tomb seems to fit in this reign, and the fact that it was prepared for him by his son may explain its exceptionally small size for his position.<sup>216</sup> It seems therefore that Bawi held his offices including the vizierate in the earlier part of Pepy I's reign and that his tomb was prepared for him around the middle of the same reign. Bawi of Akhmim seems to have held the vizierate, at least for some time, concurrently with Isi of Edfu.<sup>217</sup>

**Deir el-Gebrawi (Nome 12):** Two viziers and nomarchs of Nome 12 are known, Hemre/ Isi I and Henqu II,<sup>218</sup> who were the sons of the first governor of the province, Henqu I,<sup>219</sup> buried in the Northern cliff of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>220</sup> Henqu I's background is unknown, but he was married to a woman called Bendjet, a very rare name attested otherwise at Memphis in the case of the daughter of Idu of Giza and the wife of the vizier Inumin of Saqqara,<sup>221</sup> both dated to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>222</sup> Bendjet's importance may be judged by her depiction next to her husband of equal size,<sup>223</sup> and one wonders if she belonged to the abovementioned distinguished Memphite family? The vizier, Hemre/ Isi I married a woman also named Hemre who is depicted with him of equal size.<sup>224</sup> A princess buried in the Wenis Cemetery at Saqqara bears the same name.<sup>225</sup> Henqu II married two women, one of whom is called Nebet, who owns a separate offering table scene and a deeper shaft and larger burial chamber than those belonging to the tomb owner himself;<sup>226</sup> she

<sup>211</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 292 [342].

<sup>212</sup> Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 83-84 and n. 9; also see Brovarski, in: *Mélanges* 1, 130, 137.

<sup>213</sup> Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 8, 20-22; also see: Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 295.

<sup>214</sup> See Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database:

[http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe\\_ahrc\\_2006/queryTombs](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs).

<sup>215</sup> See Strudwick, *Administration*, 69 [22]; also see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 62 [78].

<sup>216</sup> Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 8, 20-21. The same phenomenon may be observed in the case of Nehwet-deshet, whose tomb (No. G95) is too small for a nomarch of his time (early-middle Pepy II) and whose son prepared it for him (Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 8, 9).

<sup>217</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 53.

<sup>218</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 38, 60.

<sup>219</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 19.

<sup>220</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 11-20.

<sup>221</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 26 (b), 38; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, 13.

<sup>222</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 70; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, 17.

<sup>223</sup> Davies, *Deir el- Gebrawi* 2, pl. 28; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

<sup>224</sup> Davies, *Deir el- Gebrawi* 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46.

<sup>225</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 1-10.

<sup>226</sup> Davies, *Deir el- Gebrawi* 2, pl. 26; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 61, 65, 73-75, pl. 57

is the first woman at Deir el-Gebrawi to be distinguished as being *hkrt nswt wꜥtt* ‘sole ornamented one of the king’.<sup>227</sup> If she had royal descent it will have been from Wenis.<sup>228</sup>

In a recent study of this cemetery the vizier Hemre/ Isi I was dated to the period end Teti – early Pepy I.<sup>229</sup> He was succeeded in the vizierate and the nomarchy by his brother Henqu II,<sup>230</sup> probably still within the reign of Pepy I. The title of vizier is not attested again at Deir el-Gebrawi. It is possible that Hemre/ Isi I followed Bawi of Akhmim who probably occupied the vizierate in the earlier part of Pepy I’s reign. Some sort of intermarriage between the viziers at Deir el-Gebrawi and the family of the vizier Nebet of Abydos may have taken place.

**El-Qusiya (Nome 14):** The first known member of El-Qusiya family to hold the office *t3ity z3b* *t3ty* is Pepyankh the middle of Meir.<sup>231</sup> Like many other Upper Egyptian viziers, Pepyankh the middle most probably had certain royal ancestry. As has been discussed in Chapter I, Pepyankh the middle was the grandson of Pepyankh the elder and Seshseshet, probably one of king Teti’s daughters. As such he is portrayed twice on the architrave above the entrance of his rock cut offering chamber seated on a block chair of the type associated with royalty.<sup>232</sup> The depiction in the chapel of his parents each at an offering table<sup>233</sup> may well have been aimed, among other things, at publicizing his royal descent, perhaps not only through his father but also his mother, Pekhernofert/ Bebi, who is depicted in a larger size than her husband. The representation was perhaps a reminder to the citizens of El-Qusiya of Pepyankh the middle’s royal background. Moreover, Pepyankh the middle may have been married to a member of a royal family, since his wife, Hewetiaah/ Hewti, is shown seated next to him on the royal block chair on the abovementioned architrave,<sup>234</sup> is prominently represented in equal size to her husband in the chapel,<sup>235</sup> and her burial chamber is more elaborately decorated than that of the tomb owner

<sup>227</sup> Jones, *Index*, 795-96 [2900]; Davies, *Deir el- Gebrawi* 2, pl. 26; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 61, pl. 57.

<sup>228</sup> It is interesting that Pepy I’s mother-in-law as well as the wife of the vizier Meryteti, son of Mereruka and Teti’s eldest daughter Waatetkhethor/ Seshseshet, both contemporaries of Henqu II were named Nebet (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, 15-16); Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 61, 74; Kanawati, *Govenmental Reforms*, 31ff; Kanawati, in *Thebes and Beyond*, 115ff.

<sup>229</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 20, 40.

<sup>230</sup> Davies, *Deir el- Gebrawi* 2, pls. 24-25; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 64, 73, pls. 66-67.

<sup>231</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4A (1), 12, 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75 (b), 83, 85.

<sup>232</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a). Also see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study D) for the block chair and its significance.

<sup>233</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>234</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>235</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4-5, 9, 14-15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75 (a), 76, 83-84, 88.

himself.<sup>236</sup> The appointment of Pepyankh the middle to the vizierate was therefore in accordance with the policy of placing members of the extended royal family in the top positions.<sup>237</sup>

There is no mention in Pepyankh the middle's biography of the king under whom he was appointed or promoted, as is the case for Isi and Meryrenofor/ Qar of Edfu and Weni of Abydos. Yet it is important to investigate the time he started and ended his vizierate in order to establish his chronological order among other Upper Egyptian viziers. *t3ity z3b t3ty* is recorded three times in his chapel: on the architrave above the chapel entrance where he sits on the royal block chair,<sup>238</sup> above his figure at the offering table facing his parents on the south wall of his chapel,<sup>239</sup> and in his double representations at the offering tables on the west wall.<sup>240</sup> In all cases the title was a part of the original inscriptions of the tomb.

Many scholars have studied the date of Pepyankh the middle,<sup>241</sup> with the most recent study placing him in the early to middle part of Pepy II's reign,<sup>242</sup> and suggesting that the construction of the tomb started early under that sovereign.<sup>243</sup> The investigation of wall scenes and inscriptions in the tomb reveals that the artist responsible for its decoration, Kaiemtjenenet, was Memphite and responsible for the work in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara.<sup>244</sup> This would support a date early under Pepy II's reign for the excavation and decoration of the tomb, and accordingly for the appointment of Pepyankh the middle to the vizierate.

Pepyankh the middle is consistently named Meryreankh the middle on his coffin,<sup>245</sup> a name which does not appear in his tomb. Compared to Weni who added a name Nofernakhtmeryre on his second false door,<sup>246</sup> probably under Merenre or early under Pepy II, it is possible that the coffin of Pepyankh the middle where he is designated as vizier was

<sup>236</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 18 (1, 3), 19 (1); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 62-71.

<sup>237</sup> See Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39-59.

<sup>238</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (1); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (b).

<sup>239</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>240</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 12; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 85.

<sup>241</sup> Baer for instance places him into his period VI: Pepy II, years 35-55 (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 241, 289 [133]), a date which is accepted by Martin-Pardey (Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 125), Strudwick (Strudwick, *Administration*, 203, n. 2), and Gomaà (Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 105); while Harpur preferred a date late in the Sixth Dynasty to the Eighth Dynasty (Harpur, *Decoration*, 34, 280 [650]).

<sup>242</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>243</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 26.

<sup>244</sup> See Chapter I under 2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2) and Chapter III.

<sup>245</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 252, 255-256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 72 (a). Also see Figures 13-14.

<sup>246</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 82ff, fig. 15; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 33ff.



manufactured in the period late Merenre - early Pepy II, and that the preparation of his tomb would have immediately followed as the titles recorded on the coffin, including the vizierate,<sup>247</sup> are similar to those inscribed in the tomb.<sup>248</sup> However while the title *imy-r hwt-wrt 6* ‘overseer of the 6 great courts’<sup>249</sup> is found on the coffin,<sup>250</sup> only the somewhat lower one of *imy-r hwt-wrt* ‘overseer of the great court’, is inscribed in the chapel.<sup>251</sup> The possibility raised by Strudwick that the two titles were interchangeable in the reign of Pepy II and later may explain this anomaly.<sup>252</sup> Pepyankh the middle’s tenure of office was possibly long, and his mature age may be deduced from his depiction as a portly man<sup>253</sup> and the representation of his grandchildren in the original decoration of his tomb,<sup>254</sup> as well as from his biographical inscriptions stating that he spent 100 years among the living ones, regardless of the exact significance of such a statement.<sup>255</sup> Probably he ended his vizierate in the latter part of Pepy II’s reign, when the office passed to his grandson, Pepyankh the black.

*t3ity z3b t3ty* is inscribed three times before the images of Pepyankh the black’s statues in the serdab of tomb A2,<sup>256</sup> yet this most important title is completely absent in the inscriptions of the chapel, both before and after its expansion. In one of the alterations to the chapel, the serdab, which was cut at a lower level from that of the chapel, was transferred into a room decorated with scenes of the funerary procession and the animal count.<sup>257</sup> The original serdab was probably buried to allow for a proper floor for the new room, thus the figures of the tomb owner’s statues and the accompanying title of vizier were concealed, resulting in their colours being well preserved.<sup>258</sup> Dated to late-end of Pepy II’s reign<sup>259</sup> Pepyankh the black appears to have been the last vizier to hold office at El-Qusiya.

<sup>247</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 252-256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 72 (a-b). The sign *z3b* is omitted according to the artistic rules of decorating the burial chambers in the Sixth Dynasty. See (Kanawati, *Burial Chambers*, 76).

<sup>248</sup> See Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 252-256; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 11-13.

<sup>249</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 255; Jones, *Index*, 165 [630].

<sup>250</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 188ff. Sethe was the first to note that this title is held by viziers see (Sethe, *ZÄS* 28 (1890), 44).

<sup>251</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83; Jones, *Index*, 164 [628].

<sup>252</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 190.

<sup>253</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>254</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 19. Also see Chapter I under 2.4 Pepyankh (Meryreankh) the middle/ Heny the middle/ Heneni/ Noferkai (Meir, tomb D2).

<sup>255</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35, pl. 76 (b).

<sup>256</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 39 (3)-40; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 77 (b), 78 (b).

<sup>257</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 41-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 79-82.

<sup>258</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 19-20, pls. 16-19.

While most viziers received the highest honorific title of *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*, Pepyankh the black held the lower rank of *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*.<sup>260</sup> Some titles recorded in the serdab<sup>261</sup> are of less importance and curiously they are not mentioned in the chapel,<sup>262</sup> such as: *imy-r šnwt, wr idt, mty n z3, hry-tp nswt, zš gs-dpt, zš n z3, smr, šd hm(w)-ntr, šps nswt* ‘overseer of the granary, great of censuring, regulator of the phyles, royal chamberlain, scribe of protection, scribe of a phyle, companion, inspector of priests, noble of the king’.<sup>263</sup> The restriction of the title of vizier to the serdab accompanied by lower offices, together with the absence in both serdab and chapel of the highest titles which usually accompany the vizierate, may indicate that Pepyankh the black held the vizierate for only a short period early in his career,<sup>264</sup> before the enlargement of his tomb, and also that he did not keep this office later in his career when he decorated his chapel.

Niankhpepy the black, the father of Pepyankh the black, was *imy-r hwt-wrt 6*<sup>265</sup> like his own father, the vizier Pepyankh the middle. This position would strongly nominate him to the vizierate,<sup>266</sup> and he excavated tomb A4, one of the largest rock-cut tombs in the Old Kingdom. However, as discussed in Chapter I, Niankhpepy the black was already an old man and was represented as such.<sup>267</sup> It is possible that his son, Pepyankh the black, became ‘an acting vizier’ early in his career in order to assist his aged father in his responsibilities. Accordingly the vizierate was inscribed in the serdab, presumably the first to have received decoration, but not in the chapel which suggests that he lost the vizierate after the death of the father. As the wives of both Niankhpepy the black and his son are represented in a very small size,<sup>268</sup> they may not have had distinguished/ royal background, which may have been a contributing factor in the loss of the vizierate by El-Qusiya nobles. On the other hand the political situation in Nomes 13 and 14 at the end of the dynasty may have played an even more important role in the withdrawal of the vizier’s office from Nome 14. The appointment of Pepyankh the black’s eldest son, Henyt/

<sup>259</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 18; Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 300.

<sup>260</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, 16 and passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 12 and passim.

<sup>261</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 37-40; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 75-78.

<sup>262</sup> This has been noticed by (Polet, *RES* 7 (2010), 424ff).

<sup>263</sup> Jones, *Index*, 253 [916], 382 [1417], 452 [1694], 788 [2874], 877 [3212], 868 [3178], 891 [3263], 932 [3437], 988 [3648].

<sup>264</sup> Polet, *RES* 7 (2010), 424-425.

<sup>265</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, 1, pl. 12. Also see Figure 28.

<sup>266</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 401.

<sup>267</sup> See Chapter I under 2.5 (a) Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre) the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep (Meir, tomb A1) and 2.5 (b) Hepi the black (Meir, tomb A4).

<sup>268</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13, 27-28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88.



Noferkai, to the newly created office of *hry-tp ʿ3 n Ndfit* ‘great overlord of the *Ndfit*-nome’,<sup>269</sup> must have had some administrative or political necessity<sup>270</sup> and may have been in response to Khui of Dara (Nome 13) appropriating royal prerogatives.<sup>271</sup>

Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai is described as *imy-r hnty-š pr-ʿ3* ‘overseer of the palace guards’,<sup>272</sup> a position which shows military training. As a holder of this title Weni led a huge army five or six times.<sup>273</sup> A man named Shedu is buried in a shaft close to that of Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai in tomb A4 accompanied by a number of arrows and a model shield,<sup>274</sup> which may indicate the militaristic nature of this period around El-Qusiya. It is uncertain if the withdrawal of the vizierate from Pepyankh the black as well as the restriction of his authority as overseer of Upper Egypt to his province, rather than to the entire middle provinces as was his grandfather, reflects the lack of confidence in his abilities. Both offices were moved to Akhmim, thus the responsibility of the ‘middle provinces’ was entrusted to Shepsipumin/ Kheni which, because of his location the office was described as *imy-r šmʿw m sp3wt mḥtywt* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in the northern provinces’.<sup>275</sup> The vizierate was given to Bawi (B7 and B6)<sup>276</sup> who combined it with that of *imy-r mšʿ* ‘overseer of the army’, suggesting military experience, and *it ntr mry ntr sdt nswt* ‘father of the god, beloved of the god, and foster child of the king’, perhaps indicating renewed marriage alliances with the palace.

It is possible that when the vizierate ended at El-Qusiya, it also ended at Abydos, where its last known vizier was Pepynakht (see above).<sup>277</sup> The vizier’s seat was entrusted to a new family at Coptos (Nome 5) in the southern region of Upper Egypt, where Shemai-iqer then his son, Idi, held such responsibility in the Eighth Dynasty. Shemai-iqer<sup>278</sup> was married to Nebet, a

<sup>269</sup> See below under the discussion of 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord.

<sup>270</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>271</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 129ff; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 152, 170.

<sup>272</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 16, pl. 84. Henyt/ Noferkai is identified with Henenit who is designated as overseer of the palace guards as has been suggested in Chapter I under 2.6 Pepyankh (the black)/ Heny (the black) (Meir, tomb A2).

<sup>273</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 101ff.

<sup>274</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>275</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 21. The tomb of Shepsipumin/ Kheni is dated to late Pepy II by (Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 296) and by Harpur in Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe\\_ahrc\\_2006/queryTombs](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs).

<sup>276</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 9, 33-37, pls. 1 (a), 2-3, 4 (b), figs. 16-18. His tomb has been dated to the Eighth Dynasty (Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 295).

<sup>277</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 51-52, pl. 75 (1573); Mariette, *Abydos*, No. 531; Simpson, *Abydos*, 5-7, fig. 4, pls. 2-3.

<sup>278</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 295-305; for a recent publication of the mastaba of Shemai-iqer see (Mostafa, *Šm3j*, passim).

king's daughter and was also described as *it ntr mry- ntr* and *sdt nswt* 'father of the god, beloved of the god, foster child of the king', and the same titles were held by the following vizier Idi,<sup>279</sup> which may also refer to a royal marriage. Evidence shows that most of the southern viziers till the end of the Old Kingdom were either royal descendants or were married within the royal family, or both. Strong royal ties are clear in the case of Pepyankh the middle but much weaker in the case of his successors, Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black, at the time the vizierate was lost at El-Qusiya.

The above survey of the Upper Egyptian viziers clearly demonstrates that from the reign of Teti onwards two contemporary viziers existed in two different provinces, presumably with the aim of providing better control of the long stretch of land in Upper Egypt. Thus Pepyankh the middle of Meir, whose tenure of office covered most of the reign of Pepy II, was a contemporary of Weni, Djau and Idi of Abydos. The division of responsibilities seems to agree with the division of Upper Egypt into two sections, the less fertile southernmost provinces (possibly Nomes 1-8) and the highly productive middle provinces (possibly Nomes 9-20), with Nomes 21-22 very close to the capital.<sup>280</sup>

Thus the earliest appointments were Isi of Edfu (Nome 2) at the southernmost province,<sup>281</sup> and his possible contemporary Bawi (CA1) of Akhmim (Nome 9), at the southern boundary of the middle provinces. In the reign of Pepy I, with the appointment of Nebet, the vizierate moved from Edfu to Abydos (Nome 8), the northern boundary of the southern provinces, and at the same time the vizierate of the middle provinces was granted to Hemere/Isi I of Deir el-Gebrawi (Nome 12). While the vizierate remained in the hands of Nebet's descendants at Abydos until near the end of Pepy II's reign, the vizierate of the fertile middle provinces was given to Pepyankh the middle of El-Qusiya (Nome 14) who also occupied it until late in the reign of Pepy II, when his grandson held the office for a short period before a change took place presumably due to instability in both parts of Upper Egypt. Then both the vizier and the overseer

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<sup>279</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 299-306.

<sup>280</sup> See below, discussion under 3.2 Office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt.

<sup>281</sup> Aswan is, according to Martin-Pardey an extra-territorial region, with the sign of mountains as determinative (Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 195).

of Upper Egypt of the middle provinces were transferred to Akhmim (Nome 9),<sup>282</sup> while the vizier of the southern section was located at Coptos (Nome 5).

Although there were two viziers in the capital and two in Upper Egypt, a comparison between the numbers of viziers who held office from Teti's reign to the end of the Old Kingdom in these two parts of the country shows a great difference. According to the available evidence, 37 viziers are known from Memphis<sup>283</sup> and only 15 from Upper Egypt. This is probably due to the fact that the viziers in the capital were selected from among the most senior officials who were usually elderly men well advanced in their career; hence their tenure of office was generally short. Although some sons followed in their father's career, the vizierate in the capital did not usually pass directly from father to son. On the other hand the office in the provinces passed from father to son, thus each theoretically occupied it for almost a generation, hence the smaller number of occupants in the South. The fact that some of the southern viziers, such as Pepyankh the middle, had a particularly long life should also be taken into consideration.

### 3.2 Office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt

Changes in the management of the Upper Egyptian provinces were introduced in the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty, the most important of these being the creation of the position of the *imy-r šmꜥw* 'overseer of Upper Egypt'.<sup>284</sup> Djedkare was presumably the first to create the office of 'overseer of Upper Egypt' in the administration of the South,<sup>285</sup> and the main responsibilities of the post were to determine the taxes,<sup>286</sup> for both agriculture and animal products, and to

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<sup>282</sup> The overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces was now called the overseer of Upper Egypt in the northern provinces since the entire middle provinces are located to the north of Akhmim. See discussion under 3.2 Office of the Overseer of Upper Egypt.

<sup>283</sup> 32 viziers is the number of officials held this office from Teti's reign to the end of the Old Kingdom according to Strudwick's list (Strudwick, *Administration*, 301-302, table 28), while the new data adds 5 Memphite viziers who belong to the same period: Hesi (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, 13, 16), Inumin (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, 12, 17), Merefnebef (Myśliwiec, et al., *Merefnebef*, 246-250), Qar (Bárta, in: *Old Kingdom Art*, 47ff.; Bárta et al., *Vizier Qar*, passim) and Irenakhty (Dreyer, in: *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit*, 114-119). Also see Dulíková, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, 328.

<sup>284</sup> Jones, *Index*, 246 [896]. This title has been studied by many scholars, for example: Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung* 1, 85-98; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 109-110; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 281-286; Goedicke, *MIO* 4 (1956), 1-10; Fischer, *Dendera*, 94-99; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, passim; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, passim.

<sup>285</sup> Baer, *Rank and Titles*, 297, 301.

<sup>286</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 152ff. This opinion is also accepted by (Bárta, *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000), 57) and (Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 19).

supervise their collection.<sup>287</sup> Despite the fact that El-Qusiya lies in the most fertile and productive area, not only of Upper Egypt but of the entire country, the title *imy-r Šmꜥw* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’, as far as we know, did not appear there until the middle of the Sixth Dynasty.

While information on the administration of the 14<sup>th</sup> province in the Fifth Dynasty is very meagre, organized control of the nome appears to have started in the first half of the Sixth Dynasty when Khewenwekh followed by Pepyankh the elder of Quseir el-Amarna were appointed, although their responsibilities were restricted to those of overseers of priests. It is doubtful that the title ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ was ever inscribed in the tombs of either member of El-Qusiya family buried at Quseir el-Amarna, yet this office became characteristic of the titulary of their descendants buried at Meir. The grandson of Pepyankh the elder, Pepyankh the middle, was the first to hold the title in the province, probably early under Pepy II. However, while other provincial governors of the Sixth Dynasty were granted the title of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’, Pepyankh the middle of Meir claims to have been the ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces’.<sup>288</sup> But the situation seems to have changed when the latter’s successors, Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black and probably also Henyt/ Noferkai, the last known noble at El-Qusiya, became merely overseers of Upper Egypt, presumably with authority restricted to Nome 14.<sup>289</sup> Many questions may be posed in regard to the holding of the office *imy-r Šmꜥw* at El-Qusiya: why was the position absent at El-Qusiya in the first half of the Sixth Dynasty; why was it granted to Pepyankh the middle with authority over the entire middle provinces; what are the limits of the middle provinces of Upper Egypt, and why was the office later restricted to El-Qusiya?

Provincial administrative changes made by the central government were presumably in response to particular needs or circumstances taking place in the country or in a particular province. To understand the reason behind the late addition of the office of overseer of Upper Egypt to the responsibilities of the overseers of priests at El-Qusiya, the special characteristics of Nome 14 should first be examined. According to modern studies<sup>290</sup> as well as to the inscriptions

<sup>287</sup> Also see Brovarski, *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 91ff., 98.

<sup>288</sup> Jones, *Index*, 249 [901]; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (1); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (b).

<sup>289</sup> Jones, *Index*, 246 [896]; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 5-6, 16, 20 and passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 86, 92 and passim. For the title of Henyt/ Noferkai see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>290</sup> See Helck, *Gaue*, 105-106; Koyano, *Bulletin of the Society of Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 43:1 (2000), 57.

of the White Chapel of Senwosret I,<sup>291</sup> this province roughly extends over 35 km, from just south of El-Qusiya to Dairut in the north, along both banks of the Nile (see Maps 1-2). In the light of two studies undertaken by the Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture to determine the levels of land fertility in different Egyptian provinces, it is clear that Nome 14 was situated in the heart of the most fertile area of the Nile Valley. In the first study by the Egyptian Department of Agriculture the land was divided according to its capability into 5 classes, with class 1 being the most productive and class 5 being the poorest.<sup>292</sup> This study shows that class 1 is the most dominant in the middle section of Upper Egypt between Nomes 9 and 20, i.e. Akhmim and Deshasha, with small sections of these provinces classified as class 2 (see Map 4). Moreover, the highest productive land, class 1, is lacking in other Egyptian provinces, not only in Upper Egypt but also in the Delta.<sup>293</sup>

In the second study conducted recently by the Soils, Water and Environment Research Institute,<sup>294</sup> the land fertility is classified in a more detailed, albeit confusing, manner. Upper Egypt is therefore divided into two distinctive sections: southern Upper Egypt and middle-northern Upper Egypt, each with 8 classes of productivity. However, the productivity of each class in southern Upper Egypt is poorer than that of its equivalent class in middle-northern Upper Egypt.<sup>295</sup> In general the results of this study confirm those obtained by the earlier study.<sup>296</sup> Maps 5 and 6 show southern Upper Egypt (Nomes 1 to approximately 7, i.e. Elephantine to Hu), with class 2 (pertaining to this section) predominant in the area, while the highest class 1 appears only in very small sections. On the other hand, higher levels of fertility are clearly observable along Nomes 8 to 22 (i.e. Abydos to Atfih) as demonstrated in Maps 7-11. The top class of land capability is found in scattered, limited parts of this section and is concentrated close to the river, while the vast majority of the land in the section is classified as class 2, described as lands with a “good” degree of fertility. Located in this section, the land of Nome 14 enjoys the same high productivity of both first and second classes (Map 8). We have no reason to believe that land

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<sup>291</sup> It should be mentioned that parts of this inscription are missing. See Lacau and Chevrier, *chapelle de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup>*, pl. 25 [scene 27]; Schlott-Schwab, *Ausmasse Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten*, pl. 2.

<sup>292</sup> See Fisher, *The Middle East*, 496ff., fig. 19.6; and also Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 5-8, figs. 1-2.

<sup>293</sup> See Fisher, *The Middle East*, fig. 19.6.

<sup>294</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Eng. Mohamed Ismail, Head of Remote Sensing and GIS Unit in the Soils, Water and Environment Research Institute, Agriculture Research Centre (Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture), for providing the maps and information on this unpublished material.

<sup>295</sup> For example class 1 of southern Upper Egypt is far poorer than class 1 of middle and northern Upper Egypt.

<sup>296</sup> See Maps 5-11.

capability has changed much in the last 5000 years, at least before man's interference in the natural cycle of water and agriculture, mainly before the building of the High Dam, the introduction of two and three crops per year and the use of chemical fertilisers.

The central government in the Old Kingdom was most probably well aware of the land capability which may have influenced its decision in the allocation of the funerary estates. Set aside to provide for the funerary services and needs of the top officials, these estates had presumably to be located in a fertile region. Similarly, with the produce of these estates mostly destined to support officials in the capital, the creation of estates in a poor region, like Edfu for instance, would have deprived its local administration from part of its produce and represented a huge burden on an already impoverished province. In her study of the funerary estates in the Old Kingdom, Jacquet-Gordon has noted that the number of the estates in Upper Egypt by far exceeds those in the Delta and that these estates are not found in the eight southernmost provinces of Egypt, which may be due to their realization that these were less productive than the middle provinces of the South.<sup>297</sup>

Although El-Qusiya was one of the most fertile provinces, it did not develop properly until the Sixth Dynasty. Extensive research on the topography and population density of Middle Egypt throws new light on this province in the ancient time. While Nome 14 extends along both banks of the Nile, its western side represents the wider part of the province in relation to its narrow eastern side (see Maps 2, 12). Butzer's study concludes that the western bank of the valley, north of Asiut, lacked settlement and development because of the environmental challenges in this area, as the annual flood created a large landscape of alluvial plain with complex waterways and large natural basins, which were hard to manage without enough labour.<sup>298</sup> Moreover, the study by Kessler draws attention to a number of water channels which existed on the western side of the Nile.<sup>299</sup> He also observed that a depression extended from the south-west of El-Qusiya to Gebel el-Tair,<sup>300</sup> a feature which was also captured recently in SAT

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<sup>297</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, *domaines funéraires*, 106-108, fig. F; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 5-10.

<sup>298</sup> Butzer, *Hydraulic Civilization*, 102-103, 138-140. For the geographical environment of the Nile valley (in Middle Egypt) also see Butzer, *Geographical Journal* 125:1 (1959), 78.

<sup>299</sup> Kessler, *Topographie*, 3-9, 16-17, 23-27. This complex landscape of waterways and pools in the western shore is also shown in the Napoleonic expedition map of Egypt; see (Jomard, *Commission des sciences*, pl. 16).

<sup>300</sup> Kessler, *Topographie*, 36-37.



imaging.<sup>301</sup> While such environmental conditions needed a large population to work and cultivate, a recent Japanese study of the ancient settlements in Nomes 9 to 15 concluded that El-Qusiya population centres were limited, although it had a large extent of productive land.<sup>302</sup> Thus the swampy difficult nature of the larger area of El-Qusiya on the west bank of the Nile possibly did not attract enough inhabitants in order to develop the nome.<sup>303</sup> With a relatively small population in the Old Kingdom, more densely occupied provinces had an advantage, not only in agriculture but perhaps also in developing various local industries, arts and crafts. The importance of men for the prosperity of a province may be gauged from two Old Kingdom inscriptions. Thus Henqu II of Deir el-Gebrawi says: 'I established the towns which were enfeebled in this province with [workers] of other provinces. Those who had been servants among them, I made their positions as officials'.<sup>304</sup> Describing the difficulties, including the famines, which followed the Sixth Dynasty, Ankhtifi of Moalla says: 'while this entire land became like grasshoppers out of need, one travelling to the north and the other to the south, I never allowed it to happen that a man was moved from this province to another province'.<sup>305</sup> Regardless of the exact dates or the circumstances described in the above two texts, the importance of manpower for the provinces is very clear.

The abovementioned facts may answer two of our questions about the 'overseer of Upper Egypt' at El-Qusiya. On the one hand, it may explain the absence of that office in the early part of the administration of Nome 14; and on the other hand, it could explain the reason behind the later appointment of Pepyankh the middle to that office with an authority over the Middle provinces. The meager evidence available on the early administrative history of Nome 14 may be due to its limited importance at the time. The province was possibly underdeveloped as a result of the shortage of manpower, which in turn resulted in it being of limited benefit for the central government. The Residence must have been aware of the potential of El-Qusiya as early as the reign of Senefru, since three funerary estates located in this province are included in this king's

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<sup>301</sup> Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 146.

<sup>302</sup> Koyano, *Bulletin of the Society of Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 43:1 (2000), 57. Also Butzer's study of the population density in the Nile valley shows that Nome 14 had a limited population (Butzer, *Hydraulic Civilization*, 102-103).

<sup>303</sup> Butzer, *Hydraulic Civilization*, 102-103; Gillam, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 1, 146.

<sup>304</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 367; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 24-25; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 72-73, pls. 56, 66-67.

<sup>305</sup> Vandier, *Moalla*, 221-222.

valley temple<sup>306</sup> among other Upper Egyptian estates<sup>307</sup> (see Figure 36). Funerary estates located at El-Qusiya are mentioned in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Seshemnofer IV at Giza, where an estate bears the name *Mr K̄is ʿnh Issi* ‘Qis desires that Isesi live’.<sup>308</sup> The attention of the central government to this region during the Fifth Dynasty may be seen in its appointment of Noferkau,<sup>309</sup> the earliest known residing official at El-Qusiya, to administer the royal estates and possibly to take responsibility for the temple of Hathor. He was buried at Sheikh Atiya, north of Quseir el-Amarna, and held the title *imy-r sš(w) 3ht*<sup>310</sup> and possibly *imy[-r] ḥm(w)-ntr (?)*<sup>311</sup> ‘overseer of scribes of the land, overseer of ḥm(w)-ntr priests (?)’. There is no reference to Hathor in the inscriptions which are partly damaged, yet presumably the cult of Hathor started in this fertile nome earlier than the Sixth Dynasty.

In the first part of the Sixth Dynasty, more intervention from Memphis was designed to develop Nome 14. Pepy I sent his architect, Nekhebu, who is buried at Giza,<sup>312</sup> on a mission to dig a canal for Hathor at El-Qusiya, as is stated in this architect’s autobiography: *iw h3b.n wi ḥm.f r K̄is r šd [mr n] ... f [n Hwt-ḥr] m K̄is iw ir.n.(i) šd.n.(i) sw r ḥst wi ḥm.f ḥr.s* ‘His majesty sent me ... to dig [a canal?] for his ... [of Hathor] in Qis, I went and I dug it in order that his majesty might praise me for it’.<sup>313</sup> The central government also sent administrators from the capital, Khewenwekh/ Tjetji and Pepyankh the elder, to take control of the temple of Hathor. The attention given to the Hathor cult may therefore have gone hand in hand with the evolution of the undeveloped province into an important administrative centre. However, the administration in Nome 14 at this early stage appears to have been basically concerned with the Hathor temple and its properties, in addition to the royal funerary estates, and these activities must have encouraged the increase of the rural population and workforce at El-Qusiya. It seems possible that this positive development created the incentive for the central government to introduce the position of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ at El-Qusiya early in the reign of Pepy II, and after a long delay, in

<sup>306</sup> Fakhry, *Sneferu* 2:1, 22-47, fig. 15.

<sup>307</sup> The nomes are also mentioned in other royal lists of funerary estates (Borchardt, *Ne-user-ré*, pl. 15; Jacquet-Gordon, *domains funéraires*, 132, 155-157, 184.12).

<sup>308</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 80 (b); Junker, *Giza* 11, 201, fig. 76.

<sup>309</sup> Legrain, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 13.

<sup>310</sup> Jones, *Index*, 206 [770].

<sup>311</sup> The signs of *ḥm* and *ntr* are preceded by *m* sign and another missing sign which is possibly the *r* of *imy[-r]*, see Legrain, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 13, fig. A.

<sup>312</sup> Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), 1-8, pls. 1-2; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 219-221.

<sup>313</sup> Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), 2-3, pl. 2, lines 3-9; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 220.1-221.8.



order to improve the management of resources in this wealthy nome and to put it on a par with other provinces.

Pepyankh the middle was therefore sent from Memphis to El-Qusiya to succeed his grandfather Pepyankh the elder. He spent a long portion of his life as an overseer of priests of Hathor,<sup>314</sup> and was the first overseer of Upper Egypt in Nome 14, early under Pepy II, holding the title of *imy-r Šmꜥw m spꜣwt ḥrywt-ib* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces’.<sup>315</sup> His authority over the middle provinces might reflect direct intervention by the central government in a region where the extensive west bank required a large population of farmers and workers for it to reach its potential development. As Butzer’s study demonstrates, the problem of the inadequate population on the wide west bank of the Nile was particularly relevant to the provinces of middle Egypt.<sup>316</sup> Perhaps the earlier success of Khewenwekh in developing the resources of Nome 14 itself was the main reason for selecting the province to manage the entire region of the middle provinces, and perhaps to make this man a local legend, after whom so many men were named, even in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>317</sup>

The responsibilities of the overseer of Upper Egypt were not restricted to the estimation and collection of taxes,<sup>318</sup> but also included the assessment and distribution of the workforce needed for the activities in the provinces.<sup>319</sup> Weni, who was appointed by Merenre as an overseer of Upper Egypt for the entire South, mentions in his autobiography that he ‘assessed everything to be assessed for the Residence’ and that he ‘assessed every labour duty to be assessed for the Residence’,<sup>320</sup> while Henqu II of Deir el-Gebrawi, who was a vizier, said in his tomb ‘I established the towns which were enfeebled in this province with [workers] of other provinces’.<sup>321</sup> As the workforce is the engine of economic growth particularly in an agrarian society, Pepyankh the middle must have been able to entice the needed labour to move to El-Qusiya, and presumably to other under-populated nomes in the region. The representation of

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<sup>314</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (3); Kanawati. *Meir* 1, pl. 76 (b).

<sup>315</sup> Jones, *Index*, 249 [901]; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (1); Kanawati. *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (b).

<sup>316</sup> Butzer, *Hydraulic Civilization*, 102-103.

<sup>317</sup> See Blackman, *Meir*, 6 vols., passim.

<sup>318</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 152ff.

<sup>319</sup> Dahshur decree, Coptos decree B: Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 209-213, 1280-3; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 55-77, 87-116.

<sup>320</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98-110, 209.

<sup>321</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 367; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwī* 2, pls. 24-25; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 72-73, pls. 56, 66-67.

Pepyankh the middle personally supervising activities in the fields, the marshlands and the workshops, as well as the counting of different animals may have aimed at demonstrating his successful efforts in advancing his nome, and perhaps the entire region under his jurisdiction, in different areas of production.<sup>322</sup>

The increasing interest in the west bank of El-Qusiya may have been responsible for Pepyankh the middle's opening of a new necropolis in the western cliffs of Meir, away from the burial ground of his predecessors at Quseir el-Amarna, although the better topographical features of the western cliffs may have played a role in his decision. Pepyankh the middle proudly states that he was the first to prepare a tomb in the west in the desert-plateau of the 'lady of Righteousness',<sup>323</sup> where his predecessors had never done work.<sup>324</sup> Although the narrower eastern bank of El-Qusiya was more accessible and easier for settlement and cultivation,<sup>325</sup> the wide western side of the nome was not totally uninhabitable or unexploited before the appointment of Pepyankh the middle. The fact that the provincial capital, Qis, was located on the west bank shows the awareness of the importance of this bank before the time of Pepyankh the middle, although the selection of the site for the capital might have been influenced by its specific features and the desire to develop the region. (see Map 2). It is noticed that the earlier overseers of priests, Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder of Quseir el-Amarna, and even Noferkau of Sheikh Atiya, were all buried on the east bank of the nome (see Map 3), and the only evidence of a temple for Hathor is found on the east bank of El-Qusiya. It is true that the temple is dated to the Roman period and is now almost entirely destroyed,<sup>326</sup> but it seems likely that this was built on the original site of the Old Kingdom temple. That the east bank was more accessible than the west may explain the choice of the eastern cliffs as burial grounds by the nobles of the other provinces of middle Egypt, such as El-Hawawish, El-Hammamiya, Deir el-Gebrawi, Sheikh Said, Zawiyet el-Maiyitin and Tehna and the same continued in later periods as for instance in the cemeteries of El-Bersha, Beni Hassan and even El-Amarna. It is possible that

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<sup>322</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, passim.

<sup>323</sup> *Nbt M3ʿt* 'lady of Righteousness' may refer to Hathor and possibly is the name of the mountain at this part of Meir, see (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35 n. 261).

<sup>324</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4 (a); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35, pl. 76 (b).

<sup>325</sup> In explaining the lack of settlements to the north of Asiut, Butzer argues that a narrow landscape with small basins is easier to cultivate and inhabit than a wider landscape with large basins such as the west side of the valley in Nome 14 (Butzer, *Hydraulic Civilization*, 102-103).

<sup>326</sup> Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 4, 241; Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 250; Fraser, *JEA* 42 (1956), 97-98.

the administrative changes in Nome 14, which focused on its west bank, led to changes in the settlement and burial patterns.<sup>327</sup>

With his royal background as a grandson of Pepyankh the elder and Seshseshet, Pepyankh the middle was no doubt an important man and accordingly entrusted with the office of overseer of Upper Egypt in the wealthy middle provinces. Accompanied by scribes, he is proudly depicted on the east wall of his tomb chapel (Figure 37) while inspecting and recording the enormous, but precise numbers of different species of animals, large and small. The number written above the first group of animals brought for inspection by the tomb owner is oxen 760,000, while that written above the second group is cows 7000, and above a bull 700, finally that above the last group of cattle 77.<sup>328</sup> It may be argued that these figures are exaggerated, and the fact that they mostly represent multiples of 7 may make them appear doubtful, but to what extent? It should be borne in mind that the caption written in front of Pepyankh the middle inspecting the animals clearly states that these figures represent the animal count for the entire middle provinces and not only for the province of El-Qusiya.<sup>329</sup> This reads: *irt irw n mnmnt ʿwt n sp3wt hrywt-ib* ‘making the count<sup>330</sup> of the cattle and small animals of the middle provinces’. For the sake of comparison, the total annual cattle production in modern Egypt is between 2 and 2.5 million.<sup>331</sup> Considering that the middle provinces were the most fertile and productive part of the country and that its conditions at the time were probably more suitable for herding than for agriculture, the idea that the figures given by Pepyankh the middle are exaggerated and unreasonable should perhaps be reconsidered. On the west wall of his chapel Pepyankh the middle is represented watching various agricultural activities, in one panel leaning on his staff while viewing the ploughing of the land, and in the other watching the harvesting, transporting and threshing of the grain. The caption in this case, as in many other tombs, emphasises his ‘viewing the cultivation in his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt’,<sup>332</sup> which probably refers to

<sup>327</sup> The distances from Qis, the only known capital of the province on the west bank and where modern El-Qusiya is located, to Quseir el-Amarna is about 5km., while it is 7km. to Meir. (Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 11), see Map 3. It should be mentioned that the mountain of Quseir- el-Amarna has a low elevation, which may have been less attractive for excavating more tombs (Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 208).

<sup>328</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 41-42, pl. 82.

<sup>329</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 82. Also see Figure 37.

<sup>330</sup> The animal wealth was of particular importance to the ancient Egyptian, with regular annual or biennial counts which are used to estimate the length of reigns of different kings. For *irt irw* ‘making the count’, see Montet, *vie privée*, 129.

<sup>331</sup> See <http://www.indexmundi.com/agriculture.htm>

<sup>332</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

his personal funerary estates. Thus the inscriptions on the west and east walls are of completely different natures; while the former represents personal interests, the latter records his success in the animal count as part of his duties as tax assessor<sup>333</sup> in the entire middle provinces.

As the Egyptians were aware of the importance and the rich resources of the *sp3wt ḥrywt-ib* ‘middle provinces’ of Upper Egypt, special attention appears to have been paid to this region as early as the Fifth Dynasty. Serefka (Djedkare)<sup>334</sup> of Sheikh Said (Nome 15), held the title *imy-r sp3wt Šmꜥw ḥrywt-ib* ‘overseer of the middle provinces of Upper Egypt’,<sup>335</sup> which might represent an earlier form of the title held by Pepyankh the middle of El-Qusiya. Serefka was clearly responsible for a number of provinces located within what was known as the middle provinces of Upper Egypt. This in turn indicates that the South was indeed administratively divided at least as early as the Fifth Dynasty. Support for the existence of such divisions may also be found in the title of *imy-r k3t m sp3wt ḥrywt-ib Šmꜥw* ‘overseer of the works in the middle provinces of Upper Egypt’ held by Kaikhent (tomb A3) and his similarly named son (tomb A2) at El-Hammamiya (Nome 10),<sup>336</sup> who are dated to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>337</sup>

Many scholars have offered suggestions for the possible limits of the middle provinces.<sup>338</sup> Kees, for instance, believes that this section of Upper Egypt lies between El-Hammamiya (Nome 10) and Sheikh Said (Nome 15),<sup>339</sup> but Fischer places it between provinces 9 and 15, thus including Akhmim in this region.<sup>340</sup> Kanawati thinks that Upper Egypt was divided into three parts, the southern one of which includes Nomes 1 to 7, the middle Nomes 8 to 15, while the northern includes Nomes 16 to 22.<sup>341</sup> Goedicke also suggests a tripartite division of Upper Egypt, but thinks that the overseers of the three divisions were under the control of one man who had the final authority over the South.<sup>342</sup> Goedicke’s idea may partly be supported by Weni’s emphasis on the fact that he became overseer of Upper Egypt in its entirety, from

<sup>333</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 152ff.

<sup>334</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 300.

<sup>335</sup> Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 17.

<sup>336</sup> Mackay, Harding and Petrie, *Bahrein and Hemamieh*, pl. 15; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 48, 51, 59, 68.

<sup>337</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamia*, 16, 30, 56.

<sup>338</sup> See Brovarski, *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 96-97.

<sup>339</sup> Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung* 1, 101.

<sup>340</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 96-97.

<sup>341</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 69-70; also see Kanawati, in: *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, 141.

<sup>342</sup> Goedicke, *MIO* 4 (1956), 1ff.

Elephantine to Atfih, which may suggest that either before Weni or even during his tenure of office Upper Egypt knew some kind of divisions. Baer also divided Upper Egypt into three parts; Nomes 1 to 6 the southern division 7 to 14 the middle and 15 to 22 the northern division.<sup>343</sup>

The exact significance of the middle provinces is not entirely clear as there is no direct reference to their limits, although mention was made to other sections of Upper Egypt. Weni said in his biography that Merenre appointed him as overseer of Upper Egypt for the entire South, *hnt(w) m 3bw mht(w) m mdnit* ‘southward from Elephantine (Nome 1), northward from Atfih (Nome 22),<sup>344</sup> a responsibility which appears to have also been held by Shemai-iqer of Coptos (Nome 5) in the Eighth Dynasty. However, the latter was assisted by his son Idi, who was overseer of Upper Egypt in the *tp-Šmꜥw*, i.e., in the head/ southernmost section of Upper Egypt, Nomes 1 to 7,<sup>345</sup> which according to the recent studies, are known to be the poorest provinces of Upper Egypt (see above). Towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty Shepsipumin/ Kheni of Akhmim (Nome 9) claimed to have been *imy-r Šmꜥw m sp3wt mhtywt* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in the northern provinces’.<sup>346</sup> As Nome 9 is located in the centre of Upper Egypt,<sup>347</sup> it seems highly unlikely that Shepsipumin/ Kheni’s jurisdiction was over certain Upper Egyptian provinces lying to the north of El-Hammamiya, Meir and Sheikh Said, where references to the middle provinces are attested in the titles of its governors. Taking into account the titles of Shepsipumin/ Kheni of Akhmim and Idi of Coptos as well as the abovementioned references to the middle provinces, it may be suggested that Upper Egypt was divided into two main regions, perhaps according to the productivity of its land; the southernmost Nomes (1-8) and the northern Nomes of Upper Egypt (9-22). Interestingly, this division coincides with the recent studies by the Egyptian authorities, which indicates a clear distinction between the two parts of Upper Egypt, with the southernmost Nomes 1 to approximately 7 (Elephantine to Hu) being the poorest, and Nomes 8 to 22 (Abydos to Atfih) being the most fertile (see above). While Nome 8 (Abydos) is one of the fertile provinces, it was not included among the middle provinces presumably because it was an important administrative centre for the southern section of Upper Egypt in general and where the royal in-laws resided and were buried. Thus it may be suggested that the term middle provinces

<sup>343</sup> Baer, *Rank and Titles*, 285.

<sup>344</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 105:12-13.

<sup>345</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, figs. 18-19; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 299; Fischer, *Dendera*, 35-38, 65-58; Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 111-112.

<sup>346</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 7-8, fig. 21.

<sup>347</sup> This is taking into account the length of the Nile, not the number of provinces to the north and south of Akhmim.

probably refers to the section of Upper Egypt between Nomes 9 and 22, which was known for its fertility. References to the middle provinces are found with officials who governed nomes located within this area, namely El-Hammamiya (Nome 10), Sheikh Said (Nome 15) and El-Qusiya (Nome 14). We may therefore conclude that the middle provinces are those located between the *tp-Šmꜥw* (Nomes 1-8) and the Delta.

An official named Niankhpepy buried at Zawiyet El-Maiyitin (Nome 16), presumably under Pepy I,<sup>348</sup> claims to have been *imy-r wpwt m sp3(w)t 9* ‘overseer of commissions in the 9 provinces’.<sup>349</sup> Zawiyet El-Maiyitin was almost certainly in the centre of the middle provinces and it seems possible that the *sp3(w)t 9* ‘nine provinces’ refer to the then known most productive provinces in this important section of the country. This may be any nine provinces situated between Nomes 9 and 22. Yet as the productivity of the provinces located in the northern part of the middle provinces may have improved after the Middle Kingdom land reclamation in the lake Qaroon region,<sup>350</sup> the 9 provinces may have been Nomes 9 to 17. The appointment from time to time of a strong and loyal man with authority over the middle provinces probably aimed at administering the resources of this rich and important area, or perhaps at maintaining the unity of the country.<sup>351</sup>

Pepyankh the middle of Meir also recorded the title *imy-r Šmꜥw m bw m3ꜥ*, usually translated as ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in reality’.<sup>352</sup> Fischer suggests that the addition of *m bw m3ꜥ* to the office may emphasize that in his case it was ‘meaningful’, or that it was held ‘rightly’ or ‘rightfully’.<sup>353</sup> The only other holder of the same title is Idu I of Dendera, who owned the largest and most elaborate tomb in the cemetery.<sup>354</sup> The two holders of this specific office at Meir and Dendera are probably contemporaries, dated to the early part of Pepy II’s reign.<sup>355</sup> The significance of the title is not clear, but taken literally, it should indicate that the office was held ‘in the right place’. However, if this was a reference to the central geographical position of the province within the richest section of the country, it should apply to El-Qusiya but certainly not

<sup>348</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 301.

<sup>349</sup> Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, 13, 19; also see Kanawati, in: *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, 141.

<sup>350</sup> See Map 2.

<sup>351</sup> Baer, *Rank and Titles*, 281- 284, 301; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 71; Papazian, *Domain of Pharaoh*, 112.

<sup>352</sup> Jones, *Index*, 247 [897]; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 6 (1), 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 78, 83.

<sup>353</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 96.

<sup>354</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 93ff.

<sup>355</sup> See Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 298-300; Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217; Fischer, *Dendera*, 187.

to Dendera (Nome 6). On the other hand the most important common feature between El-Qusiya and Dendera is that both were major cult centres for the goddess Hathor. Similarities in the administration of the two provinces appear in the fact that at certain times the top administrators held the office of overseers of priests and not that of great overlord of the province.<sup>356</sup> However, it is curious that the title great overlord of the province is attested for Idu I of Dendera in particular, while the office of overseer of priests is absent.<sup>357</sup> As the latter title is attested with all the governors of Dendera,<sup>358</sup> and indeed by the nomarchs of all other provinces, Idu I possibly held the title even if it is now missing. It should be mentioned that the title of great overlord of the province did not appear at El-Qusiya until the very end of Pepy II's reign.<sup>359</sup>

Pepyankh the middle's son Niankhpepy the black and grandson Pepyankh the black were described as *imy-r Šmꜥw m3ꜥ* 'true overseer of Upper Egypt'.<sup>360</sup> The exact meaning of *m3ꜥ* 'true' after any title is uncertain, but it is unlikely to indicate an active as opposed to honorific holding of the office. However, neither of these two nobles claims responsibility over the middle provinces, nor should we assume it. The extensively decorated and completely preserved chapel of Pepyankh the black depicts some scenes of agricultural activities and animal husbandry, but there is more emphasis on various arts and crafts than ever before. Among the men depicted at work are artists, carpenters, metal workers, jewellers, makers of stone jars and ropes, etc.<sup>361</sup> The picture one gets is that the tomb owner was now more focused on the management of the province itself. In one instance the tomb owner is represented seated and 'viewing the making of the count *'irt irw'* of bulls and all small cattle' (Figure 38). As overseer of Upper Egypt this task represented one of his main responsibilities, but there is no indication that such responsibilities extended beyond the boundaries of El-Qusiya. In fact the figures written above the animals viewed by him, such as '1000 long-horned ox, 10,100 cows, 20,302 asses, 1300 rams, 20,300 female sheep are much more modest than those recorded in his grandfather's tomb'.<sup>362</sup> It is

<sup>356</sup> The office of the great overlord of the province did not appear at Dendera until the reign of Pepy II (Fischer, *Dendera*, 185), while it appeared at El-Qusiya at the very end of the latter's reign (see below, under 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord).

<sup>357</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 93.

<sup>358</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, passim.

<sup>359</sup> See below, under 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord.

<sup>360</sup> Jones, *Index*, 247 [898]; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 14, 25 (3), 28, 34; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 86, 88, 95.

<sup>361</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 5, passim; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, passim.

<sup>362</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, 41, pl. 32; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 54, pl. 92.



interesting to compare these figures with those from near contemporary tombs at El-Hagarsa, where Mery claims to have 20,000 asses,<sup>363</sup> while Wahi owned 21,300 goats,<sup>364</sup>

The son of Pepyankh the black is the last known Old Kingdom official at El-Qusiya. While he is described as great overlord of the province in his father's chapel,<sup>365</sup> both titles of overseer of priests and overseer of Upper Egypt are attested on his coffin and chest.<sup>366</sup> It is possible that the changing political and economic circumstances of the country, particularly the rise of Khui at Dara, necessitated this late administrative reform.

### 3.3 Office of the Great Overlord

The last Old Kingdom noble known at El-Qusiya, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai was the first to hold the office *hry-tp ʿ3 n Ndfit* 'great overlord of the *Ndfit*-nome'.<sup>367</sup> He appears with this title in the tomb of his father Pepyankh the black (A2), dated to late Pepy II.<sup>368</sup> It is curious that despite the importance of El-Qusiya being in the most productive area of Upper Egypt, this most essential administrative innovation of the Sixth Dynasty<sup>369</sup> was not granted to the top administrators of El-Qusiya until the end of this dynasty. To investigate the possible reasons for the late introduction of the office of great overlord in this nome, a brief overview of the history of the office is needed.

Teti was the first to introduce the office of 'great overlord of the province' by which the provinces began to be governed by residing officials.<sup>370</sup> The aim was perhaps to better supervise the land and its production in order to enable the central government to cope with the increasing costs of an ever-growing bureaucracy.<sup>371</sup> Probably for the same reason, among others, Teti also initiated the appointment of residing viziers in the South, and it may not have been a mere coincidence that the first vizier, Isi of Edfu, was also the first holder of the title of 'great overlord'.<sup>372</sup> In the earlier part of the Sixth Dynasty (reigns of Teti and Pepy I), this title was

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<sup>363</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, pl. 43.

<sup>364</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pl. 22.

<sup>365</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 87-88.

<sup>366</sup> Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>367</sup> Jones, *Index*, 654 [2391].

<sup>368</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 300; Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217. See Figure 32.

<sup>369</sup> See Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 23ff; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 47ff.

<sup>370</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 111ff.

<sup>371</sup> Kanawati, *Administration*, passim

<sup>372</sup> Alliot, *FIFAO* 10:2 (1935), 22ff; Edel, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 13ff; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 30; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 47.



occupied at Naga el-Deir by Hagi and Tjemereri,<sup>373</sup> at Akhmim by Nehwet-desher (tomb G95) and his eldest son Shepsipumin (tomb G97?),<sup>374</sup> at Deir el-Gebrawi by Henqu I, Hemre/ Isi I and Henqu II, the last two combining it with the vizierate before this was lost to Hemre/ Isi II.<sup>375</sup> At Thebes the office was held by Wenisankh,<sup>376</sup> dated to the period Teti to early Pepy I.<sup>377</sup> Under Pepy I, Iuew who succeeded Nebet in the vizierate at Abydos, recorded the title *sšm-t3* ‘leader of the land’,<sup>378</sup> in his burial chamber,<sup>379</sup> which Fischer suggests may best be understood as ‘governor’ who administered a province.<sup>380</sup> In his combination of the vizierate and the administration of the province, Iuew was therefore similar to the governors of Edfu and Deir el-Gebrawi, but the reason for his using a Fifth Dynasty administrative title (*sšm-t3*) under Pepy I remains unclear.

Many new provincial governors were appointed by Merenre.<sup>381</sup> These were the sons of nomarchs who were brought to Memphis by Pepy I for education and training. Thus Meryrenofor/ Qar was sent to Edfu<sup>382</sup> and Ibi to Deir el-Gebrawi as a ‘great overlord of Nome 12’, later gaining the nomarchy of Nome 8,<sup>383</sup> perhaps under Pepy II.<sup>384</sup> This was possibly due to his kinship to the vizier Nebet and her family at Abydos,<sup>385</sup> the reason for which this office remained with Ibi’s family till the end of the Sixth Dynasty, thus held by Djau/ Shemai then Djau.<sup>386</sup> Kaihep/ Tjeti of Akhmim spent a long time in the capital where he built a tomb,<sup>387</sup> before succeeding to the top post in the province also under Merenre as stated in his biographical

<sup>373</sup> Fischer places Hagi either before or after Tjemereri (Fischer, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 33 n. 64; Fischer, *Dendera*, 130 n. 573), but Peck tentatively places Tjemereri as the first of the two (Peck, *Naga ed- Dêr*, 79- 80, 127), while Kanawati and McFarlane date both officials to the period Teti – Pepy I (Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 298- 299).

<sup>374</sup> Shepsipumin is described in his father’s tomb (G95) as *hry-tp 3* (Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 8, 7, fig. 3), and he is possibly the owner of tomb (G97) (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 7, 14-16; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 9, 295- 296).

<sup>375</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, 23, 40, 63, 80.

<sup>376</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, figs. 3-4.

<sup>377</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 73, 297.

<sup>378</sup> Jones, *Index*, 977 [3606]; see also Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 81, 125; Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 35ff.

<sup>379</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text II*, 176.

<sup>380</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 11, 74.

<sup>381</sup> See Bárta, in *Administration*, 172f.; also see Moreno Garcia, in: *Administration*, 139ff.

<sup>382</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 136.

<sup>383</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142: 9-13; Davies, *Deir el- Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 54.

<sup>384</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 19; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 112; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 62ff.

<sup>385</sup> For discussion see Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 19- 22.

<sup>386</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 12.

<sup>387</sup> Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.

inscription,<sup>388</sup> and the position remained with members of this family until the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>389</sup> The great overlord, Idu I of Dendera served, according to Baer, in the period Merenre to early Pepy II.<sup>390</sup> Finally, the first known holder of the title *hry-tp* ʿ3 at Sheikh Said was Wiu/Iyw whose tomb is dated to the reigns of Merenre to beginning of Pepy II, and therefore his appointment may have coincided with those of many others.<sup>391</sup>

The documented administrative history of El-Qusiya presumably started under Pepy I, when Khewenwekh followed by Pepyankh the elder governed the province, but as overseers of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests, an office that remained with the family until the end of the Old Kingdom. Members of this family acquired other important administrative responsibilities, including those of the vizier and the overseer of Upper Egypt, but not that of the great overlord of the province. It was Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, the eldest son of Pepyankh the black, who first held the title of *hry-tp* ʿ3 *Ndft* ‘great overlord of the *Ndft*-nome’ at the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The *Ndft* region was divided into two provinces, the *Ndft phwt* ‘northern *Ndft*’, i. e. Nome 14 of El-Qusiya and the *Ndft hntt* ‘southern *Ndft*’, i.e. Nome 13 of Asiut.<sup>392</sup> The fact that the *Ndft* province which Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai governed was not specified may suggest that he ruled the two neighbouring provinces of El-Qusiya and Asiut.<sup>393</sup> It also seems that he was given this responsibility during his father’s tenure of office at El-Qusiya, since he appears with this title in his father’s chapel.<sup>394</sup> However, presumably after his father’s death, he succeeded to the latter’s positions of *imy-r šmꜥw*, *imy-r hm(w)-ntr* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt, overseer of priests’, which are recorded on the fragments of his wooden chest and gilded wooden coffin.<sup>395</sup> Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai was buried in a shaft excavated in the floor of his grandfather’s unfinished and unused tomb (A4) which, despite his use of a gilded coffin, may reflect the deteriorating economic and probably political conditions of the country at the end of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>388</sup> McFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63f; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 270-273; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 61, pl. 15, fig. 31; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 62, pl. 14, fig. 35.

<sup>389</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, 12; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 8.

<sup>390</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 288 [81], 240.

<sup>391</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 79, 300.

<sup>392</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 15; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 57; Gillam, *14<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome*, 68- 69; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 99-100; Helck, *Gaue*, 102-106.

<sup>393</sup> In some respect he would have been similar to the nomarchs of Deir el-Gebrawi who also ruled Abydos.

<sup>394</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26-27; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88.

<sup>395</sup> Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

The appointment of Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai as *hry-tp* ʕ3 ‘great overlord’ of both El-Qusiya and Asiut which so far had no ‘great overlords’ appears to be a Memphite response to the rise at Dara, in Nome 13, of a man named Khui who built a pyramid and wrote his name inside a cartouche followed by the royal wish *di(w)* ʕnh ‘may he be given life’.<sup>396</sup> Khui apparently established for himself what appears to be a small kingdom with an independent army in the middle of Upper Egypt, for the owner of a neighbouring tomb, *It3i*, recorded the titles ‘overseer of the hall, overseer of the army of Nome 13’.<sup>397</sup> Such an action certainly represented a challenge to the king and reflects the weakened position of the central authority.<sup>398</sup>

Difficulties seem to have appeared elsewhere in Upper Egypt. Aswan (Nome 1) for instance had no great overlords and the top officials there were the *imyw-r* ʕw who were responsible for the expeditions to the south.<sup>399</sup> However, a pot discovered at Qubbet el-Hawa belonged to a man named Setka who held the title *hry-tp* ʕ3 and who probably dates to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>400</sup> His appointment may therefore have coincided with that of Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai of El-Qusiya, perhaps also to deal with some problems in the far south of the country and/ or beyond. Ankhtifi of El-Moalla (Nome 3) speaks of certain difficulties at Edfu (Nome 2) and of his interference at the king’s request, his defeat of its nomarch Khewew and the final annexation of Edfu to his rule.<sup>401</sup> The appointment of the great overlord at Aswan might also be related to the problem at Edfu.<sup>402</sup> A great overlord named Ini, probably from the end of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>403</sup> was appointed at Gebelein south of Thebes, while at Thebes itself the governor Initef from the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>404</sup> inscribed the following on his stele ‘the hereditary prince, the count, the great overlord of Nome 4, the confidant of the king in the narrow southern doorway, the great pillar who causes his (i.e., the king’s) two lands to live’.<sup>405</sup> While these titles may on the surface show the king’s confidence in this governor, they also reflect the unsettled

<sup>396</sup> Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 129-134.

<sup>397</sup> Martin- Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 225-226; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 97.

<sup>398</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 171.

<sup>399</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 155-165. As the name of Aswan was written with the foreign land determinative it was described by Martin- Pardey as an extra territorial region (Martin- Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 195-196).

<sup>400</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1, pl. 39.

<sup>401</sup> Vandier, *Moʿalla*, 163. The date of Ankhtifi is disputed, see Vandier, *Moʿalla*, 35ff.; Fischer, *Dendera*, 90-91, 97; Spänel, *GM* 78 (1984), 87-94; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 132ff., 297.

<sup>402</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 157ff.

<sup>403</sup> Brovanski, in: *George R. Hughes*, 31ff; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 163.

<sup>404</sup> See Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 162, 297.

<sup>405</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 200, fig. 39; Clère and Vandier, *Première Période Intermédiaire*, 8, (CG 20009).

situation in the southern part of Upper Egypt, the king's need for the support of certain governors and the growing confidence and perhaps sense of independence of these men.<sup>406</sup> It may also be significant that a successor of this governor of Thebes, perhaps not the immediate one, named Initef-aa acquired the title *hry-tp ʿ3 n Šmꜥw* 'great overlord of Upper Egypt',<sup>407</sup> which was also held by Sety II of Asiut.<sup>408</sup> It might not be a mere coincidence that the title *hry-tp ʿ3 n sp3t* 'great overlord of the province' has disappeared at that time from the southern part of Upper Egypt.<sup>409</sup> For this reason Fischer suggests that this last governor of Thebes immediately precedes Montuhotep/ Nebhepetre, founder of the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>410</sup> We may therefore conclude that the appointments of *hryw-tp ʿ3* 'great overlords' in provinces which were not previously governed by such administrators, such as El-Qusiya, was the central government's response to problem areas.

#### 4. Summary and Results

The holding of ranking titles by the governors of El-Qusiya, as is the case in other provinces, may be divided into four phases. In the first phase Khewenwekh, in the reign of Pepy I, held only the rank of 'sole companion'; in the second phase Pepyankh the elder and Pepyankh the middle, early under Pepy II, rose to the rank of 'hereditary prince' and 'count', which coincided with the marriage of the former to a princess and the widespread intermarriages between the governors and the royal family. In the third phase Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black, mid-late Pepy II, held only the lesser rank of 'count', before both titles were regained in the fourth phase by Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai.

With his 'beatiful name 'Tjetji', Khewenwekh probably originated from the capital and his titles show very close ties to the king and the palace. At El-Qusiya he adopted names formed with the Hathoric *wḥ*-fetish for himself and most of his sons, while all his daughters were given names containing Hathor as an element. However, this connection with Hathor declined in the following generations, when names formed with the king's cartouche becoming much more

<sup>406</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 162-163.

<sup>407</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 203 n. 805; Clère and Vandier, *Première Période Intermédiaire*, 7 n. 11.

<sup>408</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 129 n. 571; Clère and Vandier, *Première Période Intermédiaire*, 7 n. 11; Brunner, *Siut*, 54.

<sup>409</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 170.

<sup>410</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 203.

common. The nobles of El-Qusiya held the title of ‘overseer of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests’, occasionally with reference to Hathor, and the responsibilities of the office probably included the management of all the land in the province. The position passed from father to son, occasionally before the death of the former, presumably on reaching a certain age and to allow the son a high income from the local temple. However, despite the fact the Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai is described as ‘great overlord of the *Ndfit-nome*’ in the tomb of his father Pepyankh the black, he was not overseer of priests, perhaps due to his then relatively young age. But later the title was recorded on his wooden chest. Contrary to the situation in other Hathor cult centres, El-Qusiya was an exception in that the Hathoric titles seem to have been hereditary.

Khewenwekh was described as *iwn Dšrt* ‘pillar of the Red Crown’ and *hm-ntr Dšrt* ‘priest of the Red Crown’, indicating his closeness and support of the king. He also held many religious titles associated with Horus, lector priest of the mit-bark of Horus and the *d3t*- bark of Horus, under-supervisor of (the cult) of Horus father of El-Qusiya, priest of the two children of Horus and priest of Horus strong of arm. Pepyankh the middle also recorded rare priesthoods and is the only known official in the Old Kingdom to have held the office of *hm-ntr Psdt ʕ3t* ‘priest of the great Ennead’ in the Old Kingdom. Niankhpepy the black held the title *ʕ3 Dw3w* ‘assistant of the Duau’ as well as that of *smsw snwt* ‘elder of the *snwt*-shrine/ house’ which indicates his closeness to the king and his education in the palace. Pepyankh the black did not hold uncommon religious titles, and their absence together with the withdrawal of the vizierate may hint at the changing attitude of the palace towards Pepyankh the black or more likely the changing circumstances at the end of the Sixth Dynasty in general.

The first *t3ity z3b t3ty* at El-Qusiya was Pepyankh the middle but not until the reign of Pepy II. Isi of Edfu became the first provincial vizier, *t3ity z3b t3ty*, under Teti. He probably originated from Memphis, married a woman called Seshseshet and remained in office until the reign of Pepy I. His son Merynofer/ Qar was brought to the capital by Pepy I to be formed ‘*km3t*’ and was returned to Edfu as the great overlord of the province, but not as vizier by Merenre. Pepy I’s mother-in-law, Nebet, was appointed as vizier at Abydos. Her titles clearly indicate royal descent and she may have been the king’s aunt. Pepy I was a child when he came to the throne and the first of the two daughters of Nebet might have been his first and main wife. Nebet was succeeded in office by members of her family for the remaining part of the Sixth Dynasty;

first her step-son Iuew (late Pepy I-Merenre), then his own son Weni (Merenre-early Pepy II), who were followed by Nebet's own sons, Djau and Idi, and finally Pepynakht, whose relationship to Nebet is not known but possible.

Dated to the reign of Pepy I, Bawi (CA1) of Akhmim, for whose background no information is available, presumably held the vizierate for some time concurrently with Isi of Edfu. Two viziers are known at Deir el-Gebrawi, Hemre/ Isi I and Henqu II. Both viziers and their father, Henqu I, appear to have been married to women belonging to distinguished families from Memphis or Abydos. It is possible that Hemre/ Isi I followed Bawi (CA1) of Akhmim who probably occupied the vizierate in the earlier part of Pepy I's reign.

At El-Qusiya Pepyankh the middle, grandson of Pepyankh the elder and Princess Seshseshet, became vizier. His wife Hewetiaah was particularly distinguished and may also have belonged to the royal family. He has recently been dated to early-mid Pepy II, which agrees with the fact that his name was consistently written on the coffin as Meryreankh the middle and with the likelihood of his tomb being decorated by Kaiemtjenenet who decorated the tomb of Mehu at Saqqara. His tenure of office was possibly long and he lived to an advanced age, ending his career probably in the latter part of Pepy II's reign when the office passed to his grandson Pepyankh the black. However, while the title of vizier is inscribed in the serdab of the latter, it is completely absent in the chapel and he appears to have been the last vizier to hold office at El-Qusiya. It seems likely that Pepyankh the black became 'an acting vizier' only for a rather short period early in his career in order to assist his aged father Niankhpepy the black who held the office of *imy-r hwt-wrt 6*, and that he lost the vizierate after the death of his father. The reasons for losing the vizierate are not clear, but the problems in the neighbouring Nome 13 and perhaps the modest background of the wives of both Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black may be contributing factors.

The fact that Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai was described as *imy-r hnty-š pr-ʕ3* 'overseer of the palace guards', a position which shows military training and that others buried with him in tomb A4 were accompanied by weapons<sup>411</sup> indicate the militaristic nature of this period.<sup>412</sup> But the

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<sup>411</sup> Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study F).

<sup>412</sup> This may be similar to the militaristic nature evident in some probably contemporary tombs at El-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa*, vols. 2-3, *passim*).

withdrawal of the vizierate and the restriction of the responsibility of the office of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ to Nome 14, rather than to the entire middle provinces, perhaps reflect the king’s lack of confidence in members of this family for dealing with the new situations. Both positions were moved to Akhmim, with the vizierate held by Bawi (tomb B7- B6) and the ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ by Shepsipumin/ Kheni. When the vizierate ended at El-Qusiya, it also ended at Abydos and was transferred to Coptos, where Shemai-iqer of the Eighth Dynasty who was married to a princess, was followed by his son Idi.

The Southern viziers were mostly either royal descendants or were married within the royal family, or both. Contrary to previous attempts to arrange all southern viziers in successive order, the evidence suggests the presence of two contemporary viziers in two different provinces. Thus for the southernmost provinces Isi of Edfu was succeeded by Nebet at Abydos who was followed by her step-son Iuew, his own son Weni, then Nebet’s sons, Djau and Idi, followed by Pepynakht. In the middle provinces Bawi (CA1) of Akhmim was succeeded by Hemere/ Isi I and Henqu II of Deir el-Gebrawi, then the office moved to El-Qusiya where Pepyankh the middle occupied it for a long time before he was followed for a short period by his grandson Pepyankh the black.

Pepyankh the middle (early Pepy II) was the first to hold the title of overseer of Upper Egypt at El-Qusiya, but his authority extended over the entire middle provinces of Upper Egypt, as *imy-r šmꜥw m sp3wt ḥrywt-ib*. His appointment probably reflects the awareness of the central government not only of the land capability of the so-called ‘middle provinces’, but also of the environmental challenges in the extensive west bank of this area and the need for a larger population of farmers and workers for it to reach its potential development. The east bank was certainly more accessible, hence the choice of the eastern cliffs as burial grounds by the first two governors of El-Qusiya as well as by the nobles of the other provinces of middle Egypt. The appointment of Pepyankh the middle represents the direct intervention by the central government in the region since the responsibilities of the office included the assessment and distribution of taxes as well as the workforce needed for the production in the provinces. In his tomb he depicts the recording of the animal count for the entire middle provinces, not only for the province of El-Qusiya.



Scholars have suggested a tripartite division of Upper Egypt, but the limits of the middle provinces are disputed. An examination of the evidence shows that Upper Egypt was in fact divided into two main regions, with the dividing line situated between Abydos and Akhmim, interestingly halfway between Elephantine and Atfih according to the length of the Nile on either side. The term ‘middle provinces’ probably refers to the area located between the southern provinces and the North, i.e. the Delta. Pepyankh the middle’s title *imy-r šmꜥw m bw m3ꜥ* is usually translated as ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in reality’. The title is held elsewhere only at Dendera which, like El-Qusiya, was a major cult centre for the goddess Hathor. Although the following generations of nobles at El-Qusiya held the title of overseer of Upper Egypt they did not claim responsibility over the middle provinces. The evidence from their tombs demonstrates that they were more focused on the management of the province itself with no responsibilities beyond the boundaries of El-Qusiya.

Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, the eldest son of Pepyankh the black (late Pepy II) was the first to hold the title of *hry-tp ʿ3 Ndft* ‘great overlord of the *Ndft*-nome’, which could have included the *Ndft phwt* ‘northern *Ndft*’ (Nome 14) and the *Ndft hntt* ‘southern *Ndft*’ (Nome 13).<sup>413</sup> Difficulties seem to have appeared at a number of places in Upper Egypt, mainly at Aswan, Edfu, Thebes, Coptos, Abydos/ Akhmim and Asiut. The appointments of *hryw-tp ʿ3* ‘great overlords’ in most of these provinces, which were not previously governed by such administrators, like El-Qusiya, appear to have been the central government’s method for dealing with problem areas. At El-Qusiya this may have been the Memphite response to the rise at Dara, in Nome 13, of a man named Khui who claimed some royal prerogatives. However, as a result of the interest of the Residence, El-Qusiya seems to have experienced great change in the Sixth Dynasty, from a nome with under-exploited resources to perhaps one of the richest and most productive provinces in middle Egypt.

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<sup>413</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 15; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 57; Gillam, *14<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome*, 68-69; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 99-100; Helck, *Gaue*, 102-106.



## Chapter III

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## Chapter III

### Artists and Artistic Influence

#### 1. Identifying the Artists

The tombs at El-Qusiya offer useful data for the study of the identity and importance of the artists who probably decorated these tombs. However, for a greater understanding of the social standing of the accomplished artists of El-Qusiya, their careers, sources of influence and their mobility between the capital and the provinces, an analysis of the data obtained from the tombs they decorated as well as that from other centres in Egypt is essential.

In his study of Old Kingdom sculpture and paintings William Stevenson Smith concluded that an artist's 'work was considered more as a part of the produce of other crafts, that of the builder, the carpenter, the metal-worker, or the artisan who manufactured objects of stone or pottery'. 'However, although there was small opportunity for the artist to stamp his own personal qualities upon his work, he did not remain entirely anonymous'. Smith then collected a number of examples of sculptors (*gnwty/ ksty*) and painters (*zš-ḳdwt*) and others in the supervisory levels of *shd* 'inspector' and *imy-r* 'overseer' and concluded that contrary to the situation in later periods, the sculptor was mentioned more often than the painter during the Old Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

The general assumption that most of the artists responsible for the decoration of tombs remained anonymous seems to be based on misconception. Artists appear in the scenes of a number of tombs, and it seems almost inconceivable that the men responsible for the decoration of some of the most spectacular tombs of the period, as for example those of Mehu, Ihy (Idut), Kagemni, Mereruka, Ankhmahor, Noferseshemtah, all at Saqqara, and perhaps to the same extent Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black of Meir, would not in any way be commemorated among the numerous individuals represented in these tombs. In fact one would

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 351ff.

assume that the responsibility of decorating the eternal resting place of any of these important men is in itself a somewhat personal matter, requiring some familiarity with this individual's preferences and perhaps some knowledge of his public and private life, which are often commemorated on the walls of his chapel. Accordingly, one would expect the artist to have some connection with the owner of the tomb he decorates. Our inability to identify the majority of 'artists' in the scenes and inscriptions of the tombs they decorated may well lie in our limited knowledge of what constitute the titulary of these men. It is certain that holders of the titles of *zš-ḳdwt* 'outline draughtsman/ painter' and *gnwty/ ḳsty* 'sculptor'<sup>2</sup> and their supervisory ranks of *shd* 'inspector' and *imy-r* 'overseer' were involved in tomb decoration and in the manufacturing of certain funerary objects; but are there other titles associated with the profession?

### 1.1 Artists in their Patrons' Tombs

The position of both sculptors and painters needs closer examination. That their work was considered as part of other crafts and by implication that they were considered as equals to other craftsmen, seems highly unlikely.<sup>3</sup> The cases of the *zš ḳdwt R<sup>c</sup>-ḥ3.y* 'outline draughtsman/ painter, Rahay' and the *gnwty In-ḳ3.f* 'the sculptor, Inkaf', commemorated in the tomb of Meresankh III, are well known. They are shown painting and sculpting statues in a register devoted to related activities, such as censuring and dragging the tomb owner's statues.<sup>4</sup> It is true that other artisans, mainly carpenters and stone and metal workers, are depicted on the same wall, but they are shown in different registers and none of them is named. The painter Rahay is shown again in the same tomb in a scene of bringing the funerary furniture, where he is putting the final touches to a statue of the queen. Once more he is the only one named and apart from the image of the tomb owner herself, he is depicted considerably larger in size than all other men and women in the scene.<sup>5</sup> A *zš ḳdwt R<sup>c</sup>-ḥ3.y* 'outline draughtsman/ painter, Rahay', who may or may not be the same as the abovementioned, and a *gnwty Hnw* 'the sculptor, Khenu' appear among witnesses of a will inscribed in the tomb of Wepemnofert at Giza,<sup>6</sup> and may be the artists who decorated his tomb. Commenting on this example Smith repeats his suggestion that the sculptor would seem to

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Index*, 876 [3208]; 998 [3700].

<sup>3</sup> See Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 5ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5; Smith, *HESPOK*, 350-351.

<sup>5</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 219; Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, 31ff., fig. 4.

have been more important than the painter,<sup>7</sup> yet the scene clearly shows the painter seated ahead of the sculptor. The same order is found in the tomb of Prince Nebemakhet, presumably the son of Meresankh III,<sup>8</sup> where the *zš kdwt Smr-k3* ‘outline draughtsman/ painter, Semerka’ is shown ahead of the sculptor (?) Inkaf.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting that both men are described as *mḥnk.f* ‘his confidant’, i.e., of the tomb owner’s, which may indicate their closeness to the prince. However, Smith’s suggestion that ‘the two artists must have been put to considerable expense if they provided the labour for both the cutting and the decoration of the rock-tomb’,<sup>10</sup> is unlikely. The artists merely recorded that they did the work in the tomb, but did not indicate that this was a gift to Prince Nebemakhet. The painter Seni of Akhmim made the same claim by stating that he was the one who ‘painted/ inscribed’ the tomb for Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and again for Shepsipumin/ Kheni,<sup>11</sup> but this does not mean that he was not paid to do the work.

It is enough to examine the representations of a few sculptors and painters in the tombs of their patrons to gauge the importance which these men enjoyed. The sculptor Ptahankh/ (Niankhptah)<sup>12</sup> appears in the tomb of Ptahhotep II in a boat manoeuvred by two punting boatmen, while being served by an attendant from a heap of food and drink before him. He appears to be enjoying the same activities in the marshlands which are also watched by the tomb owner himself. The text above him reads: *mḥnk.f mr(y).f im3ḥw.f imy-r gnwtyw Pth-ḥnh(w)* ‘his confidant, his beloved, his honoured one, the overseer of sculptors,<sup>13</sup> Ptahankh’.<sup>14</sup> Harpur believes that this tomb was decorated by a group of sculptors, some more skilled than others, and that Ptahankh may have been responsible for the outstanding reliefs and perhaps the general design of the decoration and the direction of other sculptors.<sup>15</sup> This is reasonable for he held the title *imy-r gnwtyw* ‘overseer of sculptors’, the highest rank in his profession and a rather infrequently held office.<sup>16</sup> Men with such abilities were understandably employed for perhaps

<sup>7</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 352.

<sup>8</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 487-488 (113).

<sup>9</sup> Hassan, Giza 4, fig. 78. Although Inkaf’s title is missing, he may well be the sculptor Inkaf, who owned a tomb not far from that of Nebemakhet (Hassan, Giza 6:3, 125ff.).

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 352.

<sup>11</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 138:20, 171:11.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, *Index*, 265 [958].

<sup>14</sup> Harpur and Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, pl. 20, context drawings 5, 8; Davies, *Ptahhotep* 1, pl. 21. For similar descriptions of sculptors see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 67.

<sup>15</sup> Harpur and Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, 314.

<sup>16</sup> For other holders of the title see Jones, *Index*, 265 [958, 959].

the overall supervision of the relief work and the sculpting of certain intricate parts of the scenes in the richest and best decorated tombs of their times. Thus we find the *imy-r gnwtyw pr-ꜥ3 Dꜥm*<sup>17</sup> ‘overseer of sculptors of the palace,’<sup>18</sup> Djaam’, depicted in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara,<sup>19</sup> and two men with the title of *imy-r gnwtyw* ‘overseer of sculptors’, although with no names, in the neighbouring tomb of Ankhmahor,<sup>20</sup> and the *imy-r gnwtyw [I]tꜥw* ‘overseer of sculptors, Itjau’ in the tomb of Pepyankh the black at Meir.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting that the sculpture work in the tomb of Mehu at Saqqara was presumably executed by the *shꜥd gnwtyw*<sup>22</sup> *Mšꜥt*<sup>23</sup> ‘inspector of sculptors, Meshetj’,<sup>24</sup> who held a somewhat lower rank than that of the above mentioned overseers of sculptors, and whose work was generally of lesser ability than theirs, requiring frequent alteration to the figures by the final painter.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand *Špsi-pw-Pth* ‘Shepsipuptah’<sup>26</sup> who held an even lower rank in the profession, that of *imy-ht gnwtyw pr-ꜥ3* ‘under-supervisor of sculptors of the palace’,<sup>27</sup> and who apparently decorated the Saqqara mastaba of Noferseshemtah, has produced remarkable reliefs and is represented as the second man in a row of offering bearers.<sup>28</sup> The *gnwty hkrw nswt*<sup>29</sup> *Hwi-wi-Pth*<sup>30</sup> ‘sculptor of the king’s regalia, Khewewiptah’ is the only person shown in the company of the tomb owner, Werirni of Sheikh Said, while the latter sits at a table of food being served by servants and entertained by musicians and dancers.<sup>31</sup>

On the west wall of room IV in the tomb of Kagemni at Saqqara is a scene of the tomb owner watching a number of outdoor activities, including fowling with a clap net, a poultry farm, caring for oxen and force-feeding hyenas, with scribes recording the figures and presenting them to Kagemni. The bottom register depicts a number of men carrying birds, with a caption above

<sup>17</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 405:25.

<sup>18</sup> Jones, *Index*, 265 [959].

<sup>19</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 30; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 74.

<sup>20</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 7 (a), 40.

<sup>21</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 18; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 73.

<sup>22</sup> Jones, *Index*, 970 [3580].

<sup>23</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 166:8.

<sup>24</sup> See Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 15, 68.

<sup>25</sup> An examination of the scenes in the chapel of Mehu, and particularly those in the offering chamber of Meryreankh, shows that the painter very frequently altered the figures by extending or reducing the outlines cut by the sculptor (personal examination).

<sup>26</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 326:6.

<sup>27</sup> Jones, *Index*, 298 [1089].

<sup>28</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 19 and passim. Also detailed personal examination.

<sup>29</sup> Jones, *Index*, 999 [3702].

<sup>30</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 266:6.

<sup>31</sup> Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 9-10.

them reading: ‘bringing poultry to the chief justice and vizier, the overseer of Upper Egypt ...’. The men are individually described as: 1- *imy-ht gnwtyw, ...Pth* ‘the under-supervisor of sculptors,’<sup>32</sup>...Ptah’; 2- *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3 Ipi* ‘the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Ipi’<sup>33</sup>; 3- *imy-ht z3w-pr Kdi* ‘the overseer of son-of-house/police, Qedi’<sup>34</sup> 4- *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3 ...* ‘the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace,...’. All the men carry birds to present to the tomb owner.<sup>35</sup> It is important to notice that the bearers of the title *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3* do not appear elsewhere in the chapel or, indeed, in any other tomb where scribes are shown performing their administrative duties, and as will be argued in the following pages the title relates to, or at least includes, painting. It is curious that the sculptor is here placed in front of the ‘painters’, for it is true that he held the rank of *imy-ht* ‘under-supervisor’, but even bearers of the title *imy-r gnwtyw* ‘overseer of sculptors’ were left unnamed in the tomb of Ankhmahor.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand if the distinction given to the sculptor in Kagemni’s tomb was due to his ability, then this would be justified.

The offering bearers in the tomb of Sabu/ Ibebi at Saqqara are his sons as well as the *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3 Mn-Ihy* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Menihy’; the *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3 Inti* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Inti’; the *imy-r gnwtyw pr-ʿ3 Iri* ‘overseer of sculptors of the palace, Iri’ and the *imy-ht gnwtyw pr-ʿ3 Ir-n-3hty* ‘under-supervisor of sculptors of the Great House, Irenakhty’.<sup>38</sup> The tomb owner held priesthoods of both Wenis and Teti,<sup>39</sup> and according to his biography served under Teti.<sup>40</sup> The same artist, the *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3 Mn-Ihy* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Menihy’ appears again in the chapel of Ptahshepses, who shares the mastaba with Sabu/ Ibebi but is probably somewhat later.<sup>41</sup>

An examination of the sites of El-Hawawish and Deir el-Gebrawi, where the tombs are decorated in painting, except for some limited reliefs in the entrance area, shows a noticeable

<sup>32</sup> Jones, *Index*, 298 [1089].

<sup>33</sup> Jones, *Index*, 849 [3104]; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 22:15.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, *Index*, 296 [1081]; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 337:11.

<sup>35</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 10; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 496, context drawings 13.

<sup>36</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 7 (a), 40.

<sup>37</sup> Jones, *Index*, 265 [959].

<sup>38</sup> Jones, *Index*, 298 [1090].

<sup>39</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 378; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 91ff., pl. 21 (CG 1418).

<sup>40</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 82-84.

<sup>41</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 30-31; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 76-77, 290 [168].

lack of representation of sculptors in tomb scenes. On the other hand many provincial tombs depict men with titles of *zš* and its derivatives, including particularly the title of *zš md3t-ntr* ‘scribe of the sacred records.’<sup>42</sup> As early as the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty a man holding a staff and scepter occupies the aperture of the false door of the noble Kaikhent of El-Hammamiya (tomb A2) and is designated as *zš pr-md3t ntr hk3-ib* ‘the scribe of the house of sacred records, Heqaib’.<sup>43</sup> Heqaib was perhaps an accomplished artist if he was responsible for the layout/painting of tomb A2, since both the tomb owner and his wife held the title of ‘king’s son/daughter of his body’, even if this was later deliberately removed.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting that no sculptor of any level was represented in the tomb, although the chapel is decorated in coloured relief.

Similar titles are held by the nomarchs themselves, as for instance in the case of Henqu I of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>45</sup> The fact that a nomarch should take charge of decorating his tomb, or that of his father is attested also at El-Hawawish (see below). The nomarch Ibi, of Deir el-Gebrawi, held the title ‘scribe of the sacred records’ and may have been involved in the decoration of his own tomb.<sup>46</sup> A man working on a statue is represented in Ibi’s tomb with the label *srd in gnwty Sni* ‘shaping by the sculptor, Seni’.<sup>47</sup> On the same wall other sculptors are working on statues of a man and a loin, while a painter is detailing the face of a statue, all under the supervision of the *zš Msni* ‘scribe/ painter’, Mesni’, which may hint at the importance of the scribe/ painter. Although Ibi’s grandson, Djau, also held the title ‘scribe of the sacred records’,<sup>48</sup> a painter left his signature on the north wall in a most visible location opposite the entrance to the chapel and between the figures of the tomb owner and his father facing each other. The inscription reads *zš kdwt pr-M3tit Ppy-snb(w) rn.f m3c Ns...* ‘the outline draughtsman/ painter of the temple of Matit, Pepyseneb, his true name, Nes...’.<sup>49</sup> This may suggest some differences in the duties of the *zš kdwt* and the *zš pr-md3t ntr*; perhaps the former was responsible for the layout and the outline, while the latter took charge of colouring. With no figure of the painter accompanying the above text in the tomb of Djau, this inscription may be the equivalent of an

<sup>42</sup> Jones, *Index*, 857 [3132].

<sup>43</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 43.

<sup>44</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, 17-18, pls. 38, 43ff.

<sup>45</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 31; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 21-22.

<sup>46</sup> See Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 3; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 13, pl. 46.

<sup>47</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 47, pl. 53.

<sup>48</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 13; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 79.

<sup>49</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 10; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 62.



artist's signature. This is similar to the signature of a sculptor who decorated a wooden door in the tomb of Kaiemheset at Saqqara, where he inscribed the following behind the standing figure of the tomb owner: *di ir gnwty Itw* 'the sculptor Itju was commissioned to make (it)', but with no figure of the artist added.<sup>50</sup> It is interesting to notice that by the end of the Sixth Dynasty the artistic traditions were already established at Nome 12, hence the above reference to 'the painter of the temple of Matit' rather than to a painter of the palace.

One of the most remarkable commemorations of artists in the Old Kingdom is that of Seni and his brother Isesi of Akhmim who claim to have decorated two nomarchic tombs belonging to a father and son at El-Hawawish.<sup>51</sup> In both cases the artists are shown accompanying the tomb owner and his family in their spear-fishing trips in the marshes. In the tomb of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer, Seni held the titles of *zš-ḳdwt* 'outline draughtsman/ painter', while his brother Isesi held that of *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace'.<sup>52</sup> The only label describing the two brothers in the tomb of Shepsipumin/ Kheni reads: *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ zšw iz pn* 'the scribe(s) of the house of sacred records of the palace, who decorated this tomb'.<sup>53</sup> Thus the two titles held by Seni and his brother Isesi were related to drafting and painting tombs, and the translation and interpretation of the last title should perhaps be reconsidered, in particular with regard to its relation to the decoration of tombs. *zš* may well mean to 'paint' or 'decorate' as much as to 'write',<sup>54</sup> and men in many professions attached to the *pr-ḥ*<sup>55</sup> were perhaps seconded to work on the tombs of an important official, or transferred to a province to work for a nomarch. Could 'the house of sacred records' have encompassed not only the archive/ scriptorium, as usually understood, but also the tomb itself as a sacred record of a person's life? Furthermore, it was believed that the depicted scenes or inscribed words in the tomb would, through magical/ sacred means, help the deceased; otherwise there would be little point in decorating the burial chambers in particular, since they were accessible only to the tomb

<sup>50</sup> McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, 44, pls. 15 (a), 50.

<sup>51</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18. According to Harpur, who examined the scenes in the two tombs 'the paintings definitely confirm this claim' (Harpur, *Decoration*, 25).

<sup>52</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Jones, *Index*, 849 [3103, 3104].

<sup>53</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 20, fig. 18.

<sup>54</sup> Hannig, *Wörterbuch* 1, 1218-1219. For its use with this meaning see for example Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 78; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 11; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 11, fig. 3 (a); Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, 33, fig. 35.

<sup>55</sup> See for instance Jones, *Index*, 60 [284], 84 [364], 236 [867], 265 [959], 294 [1072], 298 [1090], 381 [1413], 458 [1712].

owners. It should also be noted that not every *zš pr-md3t ntr* was attached to the *pr-ḥ*, for many held the title without reference to the palace.<sup>56</sup>

An atelier is represented on the south wall of room 2 in the tomb of Ankhmahor.<sup>57</sup> Holding a brush and colouring a statue is a painter described as *zš wḥbt rsyt Msi* ‘scribe of the southern workshop,’<sup>58</sup> Mesi’. Another man, simply designated as *zš* ‘scribe’ but unnamed, is using a spatula to colour another statue. Two sculptors are working on wooden statues next to the painters, one using a chisel and mallet and the other an adze. Each is labelled *imy-r ḳstyw* ‘overseer of sculptors’<sup>59</sup> but neither had his name inscribed. Thus Mesi is the only named artist in the atelier and his name is written in a relatively large size. The same man appears again, heading a row of offering bearers and presenting Ankhmahor with fowl, vegetables and flowers. He is designated: *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ zš wḥbt Msi* ‘the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, the scribe of the workshop,’<sup>60</sup> Mesi’.<sup>61</sup> The same man is most probably represented twice on the south wall of room 1 in the neighbouring and slightly later tomb of Khentika, once burning incense before the tomb owner’s statue and once facing the seated figure of Khentika painting the seasons where he follows Khentika’s own son. In both cases he is described as *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ Msi* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Mesi’.<sup>62</sup> It is interesting that in a similar scene of Mereruka painting the seasons, he is faced by his son *Hnw* ‘Khenu’, who holds the title *zš md3t ntr Hnw* ‘scribe of the sacred records’ and carries a scribal palette in one hand and a colour container in the other.<sup>63</sup>

Perhaps the same man, Mesi, is represented in the tomb of Nikauisesi, also in the Teti cemetery.<sup>64</sup> Labelled *z3b shḏ zšw Msi* ‘juridical inspector of scribes, Mesi’,<sup>65</sup> he is depicted on the east wall of room 1 accompanying the tomb owner on his fowling trip and carrying two throw-sticks. Mesi’s figure and that of the tomb owner’s son,<sup>66</sup> as well as the date of burial of

<sup>56</sup> Jones, *Index*, 857 [3132].

<sup>57</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 32; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 40.

<sup>58</sup> Jones, *Index*, 845 [3083].

<sup>59</sup> Jones, *Index*, 265 [958].

<sup>60</sup> Jones, *Index*, 845 [3082].

<sup>61</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 45; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 46.

<sup>62</sup> James, *Khentika*, 43 (20, 23), pl. 10.

<sup>63</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 7; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 66; Jones, *Index*, 857 [3132].

<sup>64</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, 15, pl. 50.

<sup>65</sup> Jones, *Index*, 814 [2978].

<sup>66</sup> The two figures which are depicted between the legs of the tomb owner (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, 41, pl. 50).

Nikauisesi, represent later additions in painting, as against the painted relief throughout the entire chapel. The last depiction presumably shows Mesi at a later stage of his career, where he is described as *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* ‘sole companion’, and perhaps emphasises his role in inscribing the date of burial and in painting the figures which officiated on this burial. The son of Hermeru of Saqqara is depicted facing his father and offering incense. He is described as *z3.f zš pr-md3t ntr pr-<sup>c</sup>3 3bb* ‘his son, the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Abeb’. The tomb may be dated to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>67</sup>

The relief in the chapel of Noferseshemtah of Saqqara is of a very fine quality, but was left mostly uncoloured. Yet beneath the figure of the tomb owner at the offering table on the north wall of the main offering room (room 3) is a row of offering bearers headed by his eldest son. Immediately following him is a man carrying the foreleg of an animal described as *shd zšw pr-md3t ntr pr-<sup>c</sup>3 Hwi-n-Pth*<sup>68</sup> ‘the inspector of scribes of the house of sacred records of the palace,’<sup>69</sup> Khwenptah’.<sup>70</sup> On the opposite wall of the same room and in the same position and attitude is represented the *imy-ht gnwtw pr-<sup>c</sup>3 Špsi-pw-Pth*<sup>71</sup> ‘the under-supervisor of sculptors of the palace, Shepsipuptah’.<sup>72</sup> Could the latter be the sculptor depicted in Kagemni’s chapel, who held the same title and a partly damaged name formed with Ptah?<sup>73</sup> Both Noferseshemtah and Kagemni were married to women named Seshseshet, who were probably daughters of king Teti.<sup>74</sup>

A painter who presumably decorated the tomb of Kaihep/ Tjeti at El-Hawawish (tomb M8) is shown accompanying the tomb owner in his fishing or fowling (?) trip in the marshland.<sup>75</sup> He is described as *shd zšw-ḳdwt Hwi-n-Pth* ‘the inspector of outline draughtsmen/ painters, Khwenptah’, and one wonders if he is the same as the similarly named individual depicted in

<sup>67</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 71, fig. 39; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 106 [343].

<sup>68</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 266:23.

<sup>69</sup> Jones, *Index*, 959 [3540].

<sup>70</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 3, pl. 21.

<sup>71</sup> Jones, *Index*, 298 [1090].

<sup>72</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 326:6.

<sup>73</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 3, pl. 19.

<sup>74</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 10; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 496, context drawing 13.

<sup>75</sup> See Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39ff.

<sup>76</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 13. Only the upper section of the scene is preserved and accordingly it is uncertain whether it represented fishing or fowling activity. However, as all the other similar scenes at El-Hawawish depict spear fishing trips, with no fowling scenes attested in the site, it seems likely that this instance is no exception. For all other examples see Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; vol. 2, fig. 18; vol. 4, fig. 12; vol. 5, fig. 7; vol. 6, fig. 3; vol. 8, fig. 5; vol. 9, fig. 15.

the tomb of Noferseshemtah of Saqqara with the title *šḥd zšw pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ3* ‘the inspector of scribes of the house of sacred records of the palace’.<sup>77</sup> Although the title of Khewenptah is different in the two tombs, painters did combine these two offices. Thus Seni of El-Hawawish was both *zš-kdwt* ‘outline draughtsman/ painter’ and *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ3* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace’,<sup>78</sup> and Kaiemtjenenet of Meir was *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ3* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace’ and *šḥd zšw-kdwt* ‘inspector of outline draughtsmen/ painters’,<sup>79</sup> while the tomb owner Pepyankh the middle of Meir was *zš md3t ntr* ‘scribe of the sacred records’ and *zšw-kdwt* ‘outline draughtsman/ painter’.<sup>80</sup> Heneni of Kom el-Ahmar Sawaris also held the same titles as those of Kaiemtjenenet of Meir.<sup>81</sup>

The date of Noferseshemtah is disputed. Based on the presence of a priesthood of Pepy I’s pyramid in room 7, Lloyd et. al. think that the owner served under Teti and survived under his successor, Pepy I.<sup>82</sup> According to a review of the publication of the tomb,<sup>83</sup> and based on personal examination, I believe that room 7 is part of an extension to the tomb built by the similarly named eldest son during the reign of Pepy I. Therefore, we have no reason to date the building and decoration of the original tomb to a period much later than the reign of Teti, and the fact that the colouring of the scenes was mostly unfinished suggests that the first tomb owner may have not lived long after this reign. The tomb of Kaihep/ Tjeti at El-Hawawish (tomb M8) is now securely dated by biographical inscriptions to the reign of Merenre.<sup>84</sup> The two tombs, those of Noferseshemtah at Saqqara and Kaihep/ Tjeti at El-Hawawish are therefore separated in time by most of the reign of Pepy I. While this seems to be a long period, the length of Pepy I’s reign is uncertain,<sup>85</sup> and other officials who served from the reign of Teti to at least that of Merenre, such as Weni, do exist.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, with the habit of sons being named after their

<sup>77</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 21.

<sup>78</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, 20, fig. 18.

<sup>79</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 8, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79, 81.

<sup>80</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4A (1), 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75 (a), 83.

<sup>81</sup> Brodrick and Morton, *PSBA* 21 (1899), 31.

<sup>82</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, 2.

<sup>83</sup> Kanawati, *JEA* 96 (2010), 290-293.

<sup>84</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 270-273 (No. 5); McFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63-73 ; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 62, pl. 14, fig. 35.

<sup>85</sup> Traditionally the length of Pepy I’s reign is considered to be some 50 years (von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 188). However if the animal count, on the bases of which the length of reigns was calculated, was annually and not biennially, or at least irregularly held in the Old Kingdom, the length of the reign would be considerably shorter (see Kanawati, *GM* 177 (2000), 2931).

<sup>86</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98ff.

fathers, or grandfathers, and following their professions, it is possible that the artist in Kaihep/ Tjeti's tomb was the son of Noferseshemtah's artist.

A study of Kaihep/ Tjeti's titles clearly indicates that he spent a considerable part of his career in the capital and it seems that before he was sent to govern the province of Akhmim, he built a tomb in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara, within a relatively short distance from that of Noferseshemtah.<sup>87</sup> Thus he was probably familiar with the decorated tombs in this cemetery and with the artists who decorated them. It is interesting that of the two artists responsible for the decoration of Noferseshemtah's tomb, Kaihep/ Tjeti appears to have employed the painter Khewenptah (or his son) and not the sculptor Shepsiptah. This is presumably because his tomb, like the majority of tombs at El-Hawawish, is decorated in painting on plaster, and although some relief decoration on stone slabs was used,<sup>88</sup> these were most probably extracted from the Saqqara mud brick mastaba, transported to Akhmim and embedded into the walls of the new rock-cut tomb.<sup>89</sup>

## 1.2 Artists at El-Qusiya

### 1.2.1 Tomb of Khewenwekh

The first governor/ overseer of priests known from El-Qusiya is Khewenwekh, who is dated to the reign of Pepy I, probably around its middle. Although small, his tomb is fully decorated in painting of a reasonably fine quality, with the façade, the entrance thicknesses and the false door decorated in relief of a rather moderate standard.<sup>90</sup> With presumably no previous artistic traditions present in the province, it is curious that the painted scenes and inscriptions in Khewenwekh's chapel show reasonably good merits and closely follow the artistic traditions and canons known in the capital during the Old Kingdom. It is therefore reasonable to ask if the artist(s) who decorated the tomb was/were trained in the capital or, less likely, in one of the provinces with such traditions.

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<sup>87</sup> Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 110ff.; Kanawati, *BACE* 15 (2004), 51-62; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, passim.

<sup>88</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des steles*, 270-273 (No. 51) ; McFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63-73; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 62, pl. 14, fig. 35.

<sup>89</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 10, 20.

<sup>90</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, passim

The east wall of the chapel is dominated by a scene of the tomb owner at the offering table, beneath which is depicted a row of offering bearers.<sup>91</sup> Although the caption above them reads: ‘bringing gifts by his children, by his brothers, by his governors, by his serfs of his personal estate and by the ka-servants of his personal estate’,<sup>92</sup> it is possible that all the individuals represented are sons and daughters of the tomb owner, in addition to one brother who had to be distinguished as such (Figure 1). It seems likely that the label *msw.f nw ht.f* ‘his children of his body’, written immediately opposite the entrance, applies to the entire row of men and women, with the exception of ‘his brother’, who is distinguished as such. We do not know what happened to the eldest son, Khewenwekh, but with the likely old age of his father who represented his grandchildren in his tomb, it should not be surprising if he had died before succeeding to his father’s position. It appears that the position went to the second eldest son, Heneni.<sup>93</sup>

Heneni and the last man in the row of offering bearers on the east wall, *Iwhw* ‘Iuhu’,<sup>94</sup> who was perhaps the youngest son, if he were indeed a son, are the only men shown in the tomb with titles related to the palace.<sup>95</sup> Heneni was *hry-tp nswt pr-ꜥ3* ‘royal chamberlain of the palace’ and ‘Iuhu’, was *zš mdꜣt ntr pr-ꜥ3* ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace’. It is known that sons of provincial governors were educated in the capital,<sup>96</sup> and presumably the two above mentioned titles were held in the palace or at a ‘department’ attached to it. Iuhu’s title suggests that he spent a period of training/ employment in the capital and perhaps in the palace workshops, where he presumably learnt his profession with other children of the nobility. The only reference to a man with this name in the capital is in the chapel of Mereruka, from the latter part of Teti’s reign. A youth with the pigtail and disc hairstyle<sup>97</sup> named *Iwhi* ‘Iuhi’, which is probably a variant of the highly unusual name *Iwhw* ‘Iuhu’,<sup>98</sup> is depicted among a group of young offering bearers,

<sup>91</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 41, 44.

<sup>92</sup> For the significance of the *pr-dt*, see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 158ff.

<sup>93</sup> See discussion in Chapter I, under 2.1 Khewenwekh/ Tjetji (Quseir el-Amarna).

<sup>94</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 18:15.

<sup>95</sup> A man represented on the façade standing behind the tomb owner’s wife described as *sꜣ.s .....pr-ꜥ3*, his name and title are missing. El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 34.

<sup>96</sup> See the statement of Meryrenofor/ Qar of Edfu who was brought, presumably to the capital, by Pepy I to be *kmꜣt* ‘formed’ with the children of the overlords (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1).

<sup>97</sup> For this feature see Kanawati, in: *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien*, 292ff.

<sup>98</sup> An official at Akhmim for example writes his name as *Wbnw* and *Wbny* on the same false door (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 41, fig.18(b)).

perhaps the children of other noble families and relatives of the tomb owner.<sup>99</sup> It is interesting that *Twḥi/ Twḥw* is followed immediately by another youth named *Sbk-ḥtp(w)*<sup>100</sup> ‘Sobekhotep’. Could he be the eldest son of Pepyankh the elder (/Heneni?),<sup>101</sup> in which case the representation at Mereruka’s tomb would be that of Iuhi/ Iuhu and his nephew, the son of his elder brother, during their younger years in the latter part of Teti’s reign.

Like many holders of similar titles elsewhere, Iuhu is shown in Khewenwekh’s tomb presenting a goose to the tomb owner, and his figure is positioned in a prominent place in the chapel, in this case immediately opposite its entrance and thus the first to be seen by anyone entering the tomb. One wonders if he was responsible for its decoration. If he were assisted by any individual named in the tomb, this could possibly be the tomb owner’s son, *Nfr-ḥtp-wh* ‘Noferhotepwekh’,<sup>102</sup> who appears before Iuhu and who is the only other person depicted in this tomb with a scribal title, *zš* ‘scribe’.<sup>103</sup> That a son of the tomb owner personally painted his father’s tomb is attested elsewhere. Shepsipumin, the son and successor of the nomarch Nehwet-desh of Akhmim, left an inscription in his father’s chapel stating that he was the *zš ḳdwt* ‘outline draughtsman/ painter’ who painted ‘zš’ the tomb. He prominently represented himself on the north wall of the chapel facing his father, between the two figures of his parents each at an offering table.<sup>104</sup> It is interesting that both Nehwet-desh and Khewenwekh are from the reign of Pepy I,<sup>105</sup> a period in which the resources of the officials appear to have been rather limited as reflected in the smaller size of their tombs.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps such restricted resources prevented the provincial governors from employing more distinguished artists as did their successors and necessitated the reliance on relatives in the preparation of their resting place. One of the most astonishing statements in this regard is made by Iri/ Tetiseneb of Saqqara, probably from the reign of Pepy I, who says that he employed and paid for one stonemason, presumably to produce the false door and the entrance architrave. But then he says ‘I did the work in it (the tomb) with

<sup>99</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 81-82; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 96.

<sup>100</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 305:6.

<sup>101</sup> For the identification of Pepyankh the elder with Heneni, son of Khewenwekh, see Chapter I, under 2.1.1 Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder and 2.2 Pepyankh the elder (Quseir el-Amarna).

<sup>102</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 198:17.

<sup>103</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>104</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 11, fig. 3 (a); Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 14.

<sup>105</sup> For dating of the two tombs see Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 295, 300 (respectively).

<sup>106</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 68-69 [22].



my hands, together with my children and brothers'.<sup>107</sup> The last statement presumably refers to the mud brick building of the mastaba, which reflects the limited means available to the officials at the time.

### 1.2.2 Tomb of Pepyankh the middle

Unlike Khewenwekh who excavated a small tomb and Pepyankh the elder who excavated a larger tomb which received very limited decoration, Pepyankh the middle excavated a good sized tomb and fully decorated its chapel in painted relief and its burial chambers in painting on plaster. The tomb owner presumably would have had some training in art and it is possible that he had some input in the decoration of his tomb. Pepyankh the middle held both titles of *zš ḳdwt* 'outline draughtsman/ painter',<sup>108</sup> and *zš md3t ntr* 'scribe of the sacred records',<sup>109</sup> and while each title is mentioned only once in the tomb, both are in most conspicuous places. The first title is written immediately before that of 'overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of El-Qusiya' on the architrave above the entrance to the chapel, where Pepyankh appears on a throne-like seat, and the second title is written before that of 'overseer of Upper Egypt in reality' in the scene where Pepyankh the middle is shown in large size with his parents on the south wall of the chapel (Figures 10, 93).

That the top administrative officials had some experience in art, perhaps as part of their training, should not be surprising and a study of some important officials buried at Saqqara would help to elucidate this point. The vizier Mereruka for instance held the title *zš md3t ntr* 'scribe of the sacred records' which was repeatedly mentioned in his chapel.<sup>110</sup> Two of his sons, Memi and Khenu, also held this position,<sup>111</sup> and the latter is shown facing his father near the entrance to the tomb where the vizier is seated in front of an easel, painting the seasons of the year. While Mereruka is holding a brush and a colour container, his son holds a scribal palette in one hand and a colour container in the other.<sup>112</sup> Regardless of the religious significance of this representation,<sup>113</sup> it probably demonstrates Mereruka's artistic ability and his pride in advertising

<sup>107</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, Saqqara 2, 10, pl. 3.

<sup>108</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (1); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>109</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>110</sup> Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, 17.

<sup>111</sup> Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, 24-25.

<sup>112</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 6-7; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 10 (a), 66 (a).

<sup>113</sup> For a recent study of the scene see Bochi, *JARCE* 40 (2003), 159ff.



it.<sup>114</sup> When Meryteti, Mereruka's son by Princess Waatetkhethor, the eldest daughter of Teti, succeeded to the vizierate, he too held the title *zš md3t ntr* 'scribe of the sacred records',<sup>115</sup> and one of his sons, Niankhmin, was *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace'.<sup>116</sup> Both the viziers Ptahhotep I<sup>117</sup> and Akhethotep/ Hemi<sup>118</sup> of the late Fifth Dynasty held the title *zš md3t ntr* 'scribe of sacred records'. However, Junker's amendment of one of Seshathotep's titles to *imy-r zšw md3t ntr*<sup>119</sup> 'overseer of scribes of sacred records' seems unlikely. Nothing survives of the signs for *imy-r* which is also a rank unattested for this position elsewhere.

The vizier Khentika, also in the Teti cemetery, is depicted seated in front of an easel, painting the seasons of the year. Facing him are three men, the second of whom is the *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3 Msi* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Mesi', who appears again burning incense before the tomb owner's statue.<sup>120</sup> Mesi's involvement in art may be confirmed from his appearance in the neighbouring tomb of Ankhmahor, where he is described as *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3 Msi* 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace' and *zš w3bt rsyt* 'scribe of the southern workshop'.<sup>121</sup> In one instance he heads a row of offering bearers and in another he is clearly shown colouring the head of a statue of the tomb owner.<sup>122</sup> It is interesting that next to him are two men labelled *imy-r gnwtwyw* 'overseer of sculptors' who are chiselling statues and one designated *zš* 'scribe' who is using a spatula to colour a statue's kilt, a less intricate part of the work. None of the three men is named.<sup>123</sup> Two false doors added to Khentika's chapel bear similar names to those of the original tomb owner. Whether they belonged to the vizier himself or to his son or one of his personnel is disputed,<sup>124</sup> but the title *zš md3t ntr* 'scribe of the sacred

<sup>114</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 56; Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 15.

<sup>115</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pls. 47, 49, 51.

<sup>116</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 49.

<sup>117</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, fig. 13.

<sup>118</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, 9, 13.

<sup>119</sup> Junker, *Giza* 2, 190, fig. 34, pl. 14 (a).

<sup>120</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 10.

<sup>121</sup> Jones, *Index*, 845 [3083].

<sup>122</sup> One wonders if Mesi was also involved in the decoration of the tomb of Nikauisesi, although his titles there are different (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 50).

<sup>123</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 40, 46.

<sup>124</sup> While James considers the two additional false doors in the chapel to belong to the main tomb owner, Khentika (James, *Khentika*, 14-15), Kanawati believes that they belong to a similarly named son (Kanawati, *JEA* 96 (2010), 291) and Fischer suggests that a later funerary personnel named after the vizier made the two false doors, one for the vizier and the other for himself (Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 1-6)..

records' is recorded on one false door.<sup>125</sup> The above examples therefore demonstrate the familiarity of many officials with art.

While the art-related titles held by Pepyankh the middle and many other top administrators may reflect part of their training and interests, it is unlikely that they took more than supervisory roles in the decoration of their own tombs, but employed professional artists to carry out the actual work. An official/ artist who may have played an important role in the decoration of Pepyankh the middle's tomb and who is prominently depicted in its scenes is described as *hry-ḥbt zš pr-mḏ3t ntr pr-ʿ3 šḥd zš(w) ḳdwt K3(.i)-m-tnnt* 'the lector priest, the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, the inspector of the outline draughtsmen/ painters,<sup>126</sup> Kaiemtjenenet'.<sup>127</sup> He appears twice on the east wall of (room 3), once at the head of a row of men in the marshlands, presenting the tomb owner with birds caught by fowlers using clap nets,<sup>128</sup> and once doing the same in the prow of the boat carrying the tomb owner and his wife, where the former is hunting birds using the throw-stick (Figures 39-40). Kaiemtjenenet is the only individual accompanying the couple on their papyrus skiff, while even their sons and other officials are represented on sub-registers, presumably indicating their presence ashore.<sup>129</sup> Kaiemtjenenet appears again in the third register from bottom on the north wall of the chapel (Figure 41). He is the first offering bearer, carrying birds and lotus flowers to the tomb owner and his wife in an offering table scene which includes family members, sons also carrying offerings and daughters entertaining the parents by playing the harp.<sup>130</sup> Kaiemtjenenet's relative status may be gauged by comparing his prominent positions in the above mentioned scenes to those of the 'overseer of the house, the physician of the palace, the inspector of physicians, Niankhkhnum/ Memy',<sup>131</sup> another important and frequently portrayed individual in the tomb. It should also be noted that like Kaiemtjenenet, Niankhkhnum was attached to the Great House/ palace and was probably sent to El-Qusiya to work for Pepyankh the middle.

<sup>125</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 13 (78). The reading of the title as *zš ḳdwt ntr* (James, *Khentika*, 9; Jones, *Index*, 877 [3210]) is unlikely. See Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 2.

<sup>126</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 8, 11, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79, 81, 88. For the reading of the titles see Jones, *Index*, 781 [2848]; 849 [3104]; 965 [3560].

<sup>127</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 340:1.

<sup>128</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79.

<sup>129</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81.

<sup>130</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 88-89.

<sup>131</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 12, pls. 8-9, 17 and passim; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 21, pls. 79, 81-82 and passim.

The representation of Kaiemtjenenet in Pepyankh the middle's tomb reminds us of that of the painter Seni in the tombs of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and Shepsipumin/ Kheni at El-Hawawish.<sup>132</sup> Both Seni and Kaiemtjenenet appear to have accompanied their respective employer in his trip to the marshes and probably recorded in the respective tomb their personal experience and that of the tomb owner, as well as the general atmosphere of the journey on the walls of the tombs they decorated. There are striking similarities between the events depicted in the tombs of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and Shepsipumin/ Kheni at Akhmim,<sup>133</sup> but this should not necessarily be due to the fact that they were decorated by the same artist who copied the same repertoire of scenes in both tombs. Such close similarities may equally suggest that both father and son took part in the same events which are recorded in the two tombs, and we know that the eldest sons frequently took part in such pleasurable activities. These tombs are adjacent to each other, built and decorated within a very close time of each other by the son, who presumably made/ completed the tomb of his father.<sup>134</sup> In both tombs Seni and his brother Isesi join the tomb owner on his spear-fishing trip but are represented on sub-registers, probably indicating that they did not accompany him on his boat. Each of the tomb owners was joined by his wife on the boat, while his daughters remained ashore. Shepsipumin/ Kheni's eldest son is also depicted, but the equivalent space in the case of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer is damaged.<sup>135</sup> Transportation to the river/ marshes was in both cases by palanquins and in addition to watching the fishing and fowling, both tomb owners were entertained by musicians and dancers, males and females,<sup>136</sup> some of whom were their sons and daughters.<sup>137</sup> Elsewhere in both tombs the owners are shown watching and probably enjoying bull fighting<sup>138</sup> and fighting boatmen,<sup>139</sup> which may have occurred or been organised during their trips.<sup>140</sup> One is entitled to think that the similarity of the scenes in the two tombs was the result of

<sup>132</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

<sup>133</sup> Harpur thinks that the decoration of the two tombs shows 'fascinating similarities in composition and in the content of the scenes, figure groups, and texts' (Harpur, *Decoration*, 25).

<sup>134</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, 19, fig. 19 (a).

<sup>135</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

<sup>136</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, figs. 12-13; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, figs. 21-22.

<sup>137</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 9, 63, fig. 37a.

<sup>138</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 10; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 20. For the significance of this theme see Kanawati, *BACE* 2 (1991), 51ff.; Galán, *JEA* 80 (1994), 81ff.

<sup>139</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 11; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 17. For a study of this theme see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 510ff.; Harpur, *Decoration*, 153-155. For some examples see Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pl. 21; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti*, pl. 111; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 26; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pls. 5-6.

<sup>140</sup> I have argued elsewhere that these voyages were undertaken by tomb owners to visit certain sacred sites in the north before returning to deposit the funerary furnishings in their tombs (Lashien, *BACE* 20 (2009), 87ff.).

the two tomb owners, the father and his eldest son, taking part in the same events and not only because the two tombs were decorated by the same artist.

Significant differences may be noticed in the details of the events of the voyage to the marshes as portrayed at El-Hawawish and in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle of Meir. Not only did the latter's wife accompany him in both spear-fishing and fowling trips, but the *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ3 K3(.i)-m-tnnt* 'the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Kaiemtjenenet' is depicted with them on the papyrus skiff in the fowling expedition, but not in the spear-fishing.<sup>141</sup> Such a close association may explain the artist's familiarity with the details he portrayed in the tomb. Sons of Pepyankh the middle joined him on land, but apart from his wife, no female members of his family appear to have been present.<sup>142</sup> The general atmosphere of the voyage seems restrained; there is no music, singing or dancing in the open. On the other hand quieter entertainment, mainly music with two harps and a flute, but without clapping and dancing, and a board-game of *senet*, took place in a presumably more private place where Pepyankh the middle and his wife share a meal.<sup>143</sup> Pepyankh is not shown watching bull fighting or fighting boatmen and indeed neither activity appears in his tomb, which may support the suggestion that these were organised contests and perhaps reflect the tomb owner's character and taste.

The combination of Kaiemtjenenet's titles clearly links him to tomb decoration and to Memphis and the palace. In tracing his possible career in the capital we notice that a man with the same name and the titles 'lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace' is represented equally prominently and in similar events in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara. Thus he appears once in the tomb owner's boat on a trip in marshland,<sup>144</sup> and a number of times heading a row of offering bearers, presenting fowl or a haunch of meat, and once burning incense and another time reciting from a scroll as a lector priest<sup>145</sup> (See Figures 42-43) Altenmüller has already noticed that Kaiemtjenenet's name is formed with the *tnnt* sanctuary, which was probably connected to Ptah of Memphis. He also noticed the similarity of the name and titles of Kaiemtjenenet in the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle at Meir, but rejected

<sup>141</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81..

<sup>142</sup> See Figure 39.

<sup>143</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 88-89. See Figure 41.

<sup>144</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 9.

<sup>145</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 52, 56, 60, 63, 66, 69, 100.

such identification because of the perceived time difference between the two tombs.<sup>146</sup> With the most probable dating of the tomb of Mehu appearing now to be the period between mid-Pepy I to Merenre,<sup>147</sup> and that of Pepyankh the middle's to be the early part of that of Pepy II,<sup>148</sup> such identification is very plausible.<sup>149</sup>

Unlike the decoration in Khewenwekh's chapel which is mostly executed in painting on plaster, that in Pepyankh the middle's is in painted relief.<sup>150</sup> The decoration of the reasonably large wall space of the chapel in this genre would have most probably required the employment of an experienced sculptor, yet none of the many men represented in the tomb is identified as such. With no known earlier traditions in such an art at El-Qusiya, an experienced individual probably had to be brought from elsewhere, probably from Memphis. The sculptor who decorated the tomb of Mehu and accordingly worked with Kaiemtjenenet is named *Mš̥t* 'Meshetj'.<sup>151</sup> There, he holds the title *šḥd gnwtyw* 'inspector of sculptors'<sup>152</sup> and is once represented at the head of a row of four offering bearers on the west wall of the entrance room, where he is wringing the neck of a goose before the seated figure of Mehu.<sup>153</sup> He appears again on the north wall of the offering room where Kaiemtjenenet is also represented. Both artists carry geese, although the number of birds carried by the latter is much higher. Also while Meshetj is placed as the eighth offering bearer in the bottom register, Kaiemtjenenet is at the head of the third row, immediately at the eye-level of the tomb owner who sits at the offering table.<sup>154</sup> A man named *Mš̥t* 'Meshetj', but bearing the titles *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr šps nswt* 'inspector of priests, noble of the king' is represented in Pepyankh the middle's chapel, once accompanying the tomb owner on his fowling trip, another time in a row of offering bearers and again in the family scene

<sup>146</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 57.

<sup>147</sup> The tomb has been dated by Kanawati to the middle of Pepy II's reign (Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 153 [136]), then revised to the reign of Pepy I (Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 34). Strudwick suggested a date in the early to middle of Pepy I's reign (Strudwick, *Administration*, 101-102 [69]), while Baer, based on the ranking of Mehu's titles, placed him in the earlier part of Pepy II's reign (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 83, 290 [202]). However, on stylistic grounds Harpur thinks that the preferred date is mid-Pepy I to Merenre (Harpur, *Decoration*, 40-41).

<sup>148</sup> Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 24-26.

<sup>149</sup> An offering bearer in the offering chamber of Meryreankh, which occupies a room in Mehu's tomb, is described as 'the noble of the king, Heneni' (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 68, 70-71, 229, 240, pl. 85). Could he be a member of El-Qusiya's noble family?

<sup>150</sup> See El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 41-42; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 31ff. and passim.

<sup>151</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 166:8.

<sup>152</sup> Jones, *Index*, 970 [3580].

<sup>153</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 15.

<sup>154</sup> See Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 64, 68-69.

where the tomb owner is at the table with his wife.<sup>155</sup> In the last scene the daughters are playing the harp, while Meshetj is playing the flute. His figure is positioned in a lower register, immediately beneath that of Kaiemtjenenet. While Meshetj's titles recorded in this tomb are different from those in the tomb of Mehu, the fact that the name is virtually unattested except in these two tombs, may suggest that the titles recorded at Meir represent a later elevation in the status of the same person.

### 1.2.3 Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1)

Among the titles held by Niankhpepy the black is that of *zš md3t ntr* 'scribe of the sacred records'.<sup>156</sup> We have seen earlier that the top administrators in the country, including the tomb owner's father Pepyankh the middle, often held titles related to art. Yet it is almost impossible that Niankhpepy the black took part in the decoration of his tomb (A 1) as this was most probably made for him by his son after he died. However, a son of Niankhpepy the black named *Twḥ.i* 'Iuhi'<sup>157</sup> held the title of *zš md3t ntr pr-ḥ3* 'scribe of the sacred records of the palace' and may have been the one responsible for decorating the tomb. He appears burning incense before his father in an offering table scene depicted on the west wall of (room 1) in tomb A1.<sup>158</sup> The same man appears to have left a graffito in the tomb of his grandfather, Pepyankh the middle.<sup>159</sup>

Iuhi's name and title may suggest that he was named after, and perhaps trained by,<sup>160</sup> the probable youngest son of Khewenwekh, who bore a similar name, 'Iuhu', and an identical title and who probably decorated his father's tomb.<sup>161</sup> It is likely that Iuhi decorated the tomb of Niankhpepy the black, and it is interesting that the chapels of Khewenwekh at Quseir el-Amarna and Niankhpepy the black at Meir are the only ones in the province of El-Qusiya which are

<sup>155</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 9, 12, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 81, 85, 88. *Mšt* bears also the name *Ntri*. Also see Figures 39, 41.

<sup>156</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 8. See Figure 26.

<sup>157</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 18:14.

<sup>158</sup> The record in Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 9 is incomplete. The recent recording by the Australian Centre for Egyptology clearly shows the name *Twḥ.i*. See Figure 30.

<sup>159</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (f). See Figure 31.

<sup>160</sup> In considering this possibility we must take into account the facts that Iuhu was probably the youngest son of Khewenwekh, that both Pepyankh the elder and Niankhpepy the black had short periods in office and that Niankhpepy (Niankhmeryre)/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi, son of Pepyankh the elder, died in the capital before succeeding to the position. See Chapter I, under 3. Summary and Results.

<sup>161</sup> See Figure 1.

mostly decorated in painting on plaster.<sup>162</sup> It may also not be a coincidence that no sculptors are depicted in either of these tombs. That a son personally decorated the tomb of his father has been encountered above in the cases of Shepsipumin at El-Hawawish and Iuhu at Quseir el-Amarna.<sup>163</sup>

#### 1.2.4 Tomb of Pepyankh the black (A2)

Pepyankh the black did not himself hold any title related to art, but artists are prominently depicted in his tomb. A painter described as *hry-ḥbt zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ꜥ3 im3ḥw Ihy-m-z3-Ppy*<sup>164</sup> *rn.f nfr Iri*<sup>165</sup> ‘the lector priest, the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, the honoured one, Ihyemsapepy, his beautiful name Iri’ is represented many times in the tomb of Pepyankh the black at Meir.<sup>166</sup> Although this artist held the office of ‘scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace’ without the distinction of being *imy-r* ‘overseer’ or *shd* ‘inspector’, it should be mentioned that no ‘overseers’ are known in this particular profession,<sup>167</sup> and ‘inspectors’ are also very rarely attested.<sup>168</sup>

Ihyemsapepy/ Iri is shown three times painting the detailed decoration of objects, including a statue, a chest/ shrine and a jar and in each he is consistently of a larger size than the other men around him<sup>169</sup> (see Figure 44) In the instance where he is colouring the statue, the scene is clearly labelled as *zš twt n(t) imy-r ḥm(w)-ntr Hnnit-km* ‘painting the statue of the overseer of priests, Henenit the black’. Ihyemsapepy was referred to by both his name and his beautiful name and, curiously, his name was formed with a royal cartouche, presumably a privilege granted by the king.<sup>170</sup> He was furthermore described as *im3ḥw* ‘the honoured one’.<sup>171</sup> All this suggests that Ihyemsapepy/ Iri was an important person, presumably in the capital and before he came to El-Qusiya, and was held in great esteem by the tomb owner. As a sign of his special

<sup>162</sup> See El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 41-42; Blackman, *Meir* 5, 5-6.

<sup>163</sup> See also Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, 11, fig. 3 (a); El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>164</sup> The name is listed in Ranke only as *ihjj-m-š3-mrj-rꜥ* (Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 44:25).

<sup>165</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 41:1.

<sup>166</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 16, 18-19, 21, 30, 33-34, 43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 72-74, 79, 90, 94-95.

<sup>167</sup> Junker’s amendment of the title [*imy-r*] *zšw md3t-ntr* (Junker, *Giza* 2, 190) in the tomb of Seshathotep at Giza is highly doubtful and is the only example of the title listed by Jones, *Index*, 215 [800]. See Kanawati, *Giza* 2, 12 n.24.

<sup>168</sup> Jones, *Index*, 959 [3539, 3540]. For examples see Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 24, 27; Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 21.

<sup>169</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 18-19, 21; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 73-74.

<sup>170</sup> See Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 135.

<sup>171</sup> Figure 44b.



status, he is depicted at a small table of food near a papyrus bush with a common genet climbing a stem and birds flying above it while men are pulling papyrus plants and spearing hippopotami. In front of Ihyemsapepy/ Iri are two men, one roasting a fowl and the other serving the painter<sup>172</sup> (see Figure 45). His depiction in such a position recalls that of the sculptor Ptahankh who appears in the tomb of Ptahhotep II in a boat while being served by an attendant from a heap of food and drink before him.<sup>173</sup> In both cases, at Saqqara and Meir, the artists seem to be enjoying the same activities in the marshlands which are also watched by the tomb owners themselves. While Ihyemsapepy/ Iri does not appear with the tomb owner in the spearfishing and fowling scenes, as many other artists do, his representation while consuming a meal in the marshes suggests that he accompanied Pepyankh the black in his voyage(s) to this region.

Ihyemsapepy/ Iri was assisted in his work by a man named *Zššn* ‘Sesheshen’,<sup>174</sup> who bears the simple title of *zš* ‘scribe’,<sup>175</sup> yet is once shown painting a jar.<sup>176</sup> A man with this infrequent name and the title *šps nswt* ‘noble of the king’<sup>177</sup> appears in the tomb of Pepi (D1) and may have been the same individual.<sup>178</sup> Not only does Sesheshen work next to Ihyemsapepy/ Iri, but he is also placed immediately behind him in a scene they appear with Pepyankh the black while he views the workshops on the west wall of (room 1) and again in a row of offering bearers.<sup>179</sup> Next to the two painters in the workshop are two sculptors working on a seated wooden statue of the tomb owner. Like the painters, the sculptors are represented in hierarchical order. Thus, the *imy-r kstyw [T]t3w* ‘the overseer of sculptors, Itjau’ is represented in a larger size, sitting on a stool and engaged in shaping the important details of the clinched hand of the statue, while his more junior fellow, *ksty Sbk-m-ḥ3t* ‘the sculptor, Sobekemhat’, stands while carving the statue’s buttock.<sup>180</sup> Neither of the sculptors is represented elsewhere in the chapel. However Pepyankh the black’s interest in art may be seen in his being represented watching their work, which

<sup>172</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90. Also see Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 13.

<sup>173</sup> Harpur and Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, pl. 20, context drawings 5, 8. For similar descriptions of sculptors see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 67.

<sup>174</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 298:2.

<sup>175</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 18, 26, 34, 36, 43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 73, 79, 87, 95.

<sup>176</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 18; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 73. See Figure 44b.

<sup>177</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3648].

<sup>178</sup> The name is missing in Blackman’s publication of the tomb (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 44 (1)), but is recently recorded by the Australian Centre for Egyptology. Also personal examination.

<sup>179</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 16, 34; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 72, 95. Sesheshen also appears elsewhere in the chapel (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 26, 36, 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 79-80, 87, 93). Also see Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 16.

<sup>180</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, 20, pl. 18; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 73. See Figure 44b.



is positioned in the top registers of the north and east walls of (room 1), opposite his face and at his view level. The caption that accompanies the scene reads *m33 zš kdw t k3t* [*kstyw/ gnwtyw*<sup>181</sup>] ‘viewing the painting and the work of sculptors’.<sup>182</sup>

Tracing the earlier career of Ihyemsapepy/ Iri is not clear due to the popularity of the name Iri and the likelihood of the name Ihyemsapepy being acquired at a late stage of his career and as a special honour. One of the depicted men in the very fragmentary scenes from the tomb of *Mtti* ‘Metjetji’<sup>183</sup>, now in the Louvre Museum,<sup>184</sup> holds a document in one hand and is described as *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3 Iri* ‘the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace, Iri’.<sup>185</sup> The provenance of *Mtti*’s tomb is unknown, but the reference to being honoured before Wenis, his lord, may suggest that the tomb originated from this king’s cemetery, or its vicinity. This same reference led some scholars to date the tomb to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>186</sup> while others showed that this epithet remained in use well after Wenis’ death and, as a result, the tomb has been dated to the end of the Old Kingdom or even the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>187</sup> Harpur thinks that Metjetji may belong to the reign of Pepy I,<sup>188</sup> a date which seems reasonable. In support we note that Niakhpepy/ Niankhmeryre for example, who cannot be earlier than Pepy I and who was buried in the Wenis cemetery, was also described as *im3hw hr nswt bity Wnis* ‘the honoured one before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wenis’.<sup>189</sup> Apart from a part of a stone lintel, the decoration of the tomb of Metjetji is executed in painting on mud plaster, the type used in mud brick mastabas, and the guidelines used for drawing the figures are characteristic of the Old Kingdom period. Furthermore, Metjetji had two named sons, the eldest Ptahhotep and the second Ihi, names which bring to mind the owners of two magnificent mastabas in the vicinity of the Djoser and Wenis pyramids,<sup>190</sup> from where Metjetji’s mastaba may have originated.

<sup>181</sup> No trace of the last word remains, but it is recorded by Blackman, *Meir* 5, 27, pl. 19; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 73.

<sup>182</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 18-19; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 73.

<sup>183</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 167:24.

<sup>184</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 122-51 (Nos. 19-20).

<sup>185</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 134, 147.

<sup>186</sup> See for example Baer, *Rank and Title*, 83 [203B]; Kaplony, *Methethi*, 7.

<sup>187</sup> Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 11; Munro, *GM* 59 (1982), 98 n.33.

<sup>188</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 274 [426].

<sup>189</sup> Hassan Saqqara 2, fig. 3.

<sup>190</sup> Davies, *Ptahhotep*, 2 vols., passim; Macramallah, *Idout*, passim; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, passim.

Iri of Meir was regularly called Ihyemsapepy, but is once named *Ihy-m-z3-Mryr* 'Ihyemsameryre',<sup>191</sup> which may suggest that he was borne under, or more likely was granted the right to carry such a name, by Pepy I. Whether Iri of the tomb of Metjetji and that of the tomb of Pepyankh the black are one and the same person is uncertain. The name Iri and the main title of 'the scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace' are identical in both cases and the name with the cartouche was presumably an honour received at a later stage of his life. The tomb of Pepyankh the black should probably be dated to the latter part of Pepy II's reign;<sup>192</sup> thus if the tomb of Metjetji belongs to the end of Pepy I's reign or somewhat later, which is possible, the attestations of Iri in the two tombs may belong to the same individual. In this case Iri must have been of old age when he decorated the tomb at Meir, which may explain the special status he enjoyed and the need for assistance by a more junior painter. Although Ihyemsapepy/ Iri appears as an important offering bearer in Pepyankh the black's tomb, it is interesting that in the three instances where he is shown at work, he is painting while seated,<sup>193</sup> and the same is true where he is depicted enjoying the activities in the marshlands,<sup>194</sup> which may hint at his advanced age. Alternatively and with the tradition of passing professions from father to son and the usual naming of sons after their father, it remains possible, but perhaps less likely, that Iri of the tomb of Pepyankh the black was the son of the similarly named man in the tomb of Metjetji. In either case Iri of Meir appears to have originated from, or at least spent a long period of employment at the capital; his main title indicates employment in the palace or in a department attached to the palace. It is also interesting to see in (room 1) of tomb A2, which Ihyemsapepy/ Iri decorated and in which he appears on three walls,<sup>195</sup> the figure of the tomb owner accompanied or supported by two officials.<sup>196</sup> The only similar representation is found in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara,<sup>197</sup> with which Iri may also have been familiar.

Although the two communicating tombs A1 of Niankhpepy the black and A2 of Pepyankh the black were almost certainly prepared by the latter after his father's death, they

<sup>191</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 21; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 74; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 44:25. Also see Figure 44a.

<sup>192</sup> See Chapter I, under 2.6 Pepyankh (the black)/ Heny (the black) (Meir, tomb A2), and also Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 217.

<sup>193</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 18-19, 21; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 73-74. See Figure 44.

<sup>194</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90. See Figure 45.

<sup>195</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 16, 18-19, 21; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 72-74.

<sup>196</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 16; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 72.

<sup>197</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 154; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 13, 73.

were probably not decorated by the same artist. Not only is the art in tomb A1 of more modest standard, but the type of decoration is completely different in the two tombs; that in A1 is executed mainly in painting on plaster while that in A2 is mostly in coloured relief. It is uncertain whether the reasons for using different artists and different mediums of decoration were dictated by the special need for speed in completing the decoration of A1, by the desire of Iuhi to take charge of the decoration of his father's tomb, or perhaps by both.

### 1.3 Summary and Results

An examination of the painters and sculptors in the tombs of the nobles of El-Qusiya and others in the capital and the provinces does not support the notion that the artists were considered as craftsmen, who were usually depicted in workshops among artisans in various professions. It is true that artists were occasionally represented working in close proximity to other professions, yet this was presumably due to the Egyptian principle of grouping related themes together. For instance, catching birds with a clap net and fishing with a dragnet as well as the preparation of the catch cannot occur next to each other, yet they are customarily depicted as such since they are related activities that take place in the marshland. Similarly, artists working on statues or painting a chest, carpenters manufacturing beds or seats, metal workers making jars or jewellery, etc. are probably grouped together because they all aim at producing funerary objects. This probably does not indicate their equal social status, and effort was made to show men in each profession as an independent group, frequently placing them on separate registers or in separate compartments. Clear examples of this may be seen in the tombs of Pepyankh the black at Meir and of Mereruka and Ankhmahor at Saqqara.<sup>198</sup>

Unlike most craftsmen, artists, particularly painters, were frequently named, with Ihyemsapepy bearing a name incorporating the cartouche of a king. He was also referred to by his name and beautiful name, Iri, and described as 'the honoured one'. The notion that the artist remained anonymous is not supported by the evidence. The evidence shows that painting was not restricted to holders of the title *zš kdw*t and its hierarchical levels, but that holders of other

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<sup>198</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 18-19, 21; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 72-74; Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 29; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 74; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 40.

scribal/ painting titles such as *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ3*, or even a simple *zš* ‘scribe/ painter’, if they had the necessary talent, performed painting duties. Therefore it becomes clear that the men responsible for the decoration of the remarkable tombs of distinguished men were much more commonly depicted in them than previously thought. The translation of certain scribal/ painting titles needs to be reconsidered, and the question is raised why scribes of the *pr-md3t ntr* were sent to the provinces and were depicted in the best tombs in Upper Egypt if indeed their duties were in the divine archive of the palace?. I therefore suggest that the title *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ḥ3* should be understood as ‘the painter of the house of sacred records (i.e. the tomb) of the palace’.<sup>199</sup>

Artists were usually shown in the most conspicuous places in wall scenes and frequently in close proximity to the tomb owners, often joining them in outdoor activities, which may suggest that the representations of these events were not mere stereotyped scenes, but based on the personal experience of the tomb owners and frequently their artists.<sup>200</sup> While the themes may be similar in many tombs, due to a large extent to the similarity of the geographical features of areas they visited or viewed and the activities they supervised, the different incidental details they commemorated should be examined. Among the striking examples of these are the man catching a mongoose by the tail in the fowling trips of both Mereruka and Mehu,<sup>201</sup> the pack of dogs tearing apart a Nubian ibex in the tombs of Mereruka, Meryteti and Inumin,<sup>202</sup> the boatman grasping his opponent by the face in the fighting boatmen in the tomb of Kahai,<sup>203</sup> and by the genetals in the tomb of Inumin,<sup>204</sup> or the fights between crocodiles and hippopotami and the spearing of the latter.<sup>205</sup> That an unusual incident appears in more than one tomb does not necessarily indicate copying by one from the other, but may commemorate similar, or perhaps the same experience, even if one tomb owner was younger than the other at the time the event occurred and his tomb therefore decorated at a somewhat later date. Slight differences in details, such as catching the mongoose by the end of its tail in Mereruka’s scene but by the top of the tail

<sup>199</sup> The connection between the title *zš* and painting needs much further examination, which I hope to undertake in a future study.

<sup>200</sup> See Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 73ff.

<sup>201</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 19; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 70; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 11.

<sup>202</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 24-25; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 73; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 46; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 13, 47.

<sup>203</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 10-11; Lashien, *Kahai*, pls. 24, 82.

<sup>204</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 17, 48.

<sup>205</sup> See Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 71-72.

in Mehu's, should not automatically indicate two separate incidents, as accuracy of such details may depend on the long memory of the tomb owner or his artist, who often appears with him in such voyages.<sup>206</sup>

While artists were bound by the canons and traditions of Egyptian art and were probably influenced by the style of work of renowned colleagues, it seems unlikely that this resulted in commemorating activities which their patron did not see or participate in. For this reason numerous extensively decorated tombs do not show any activities in the marshland; others depict work in the marshes but not the tomb owner practicing sports in the region. It was probably important to represent events experienced by the tomb owner but not necessarily by the artist, unless the latter accompanied the former at the time.<sup>207</sup> Thus while Kaiemtjenet, for example, was probably responsible for the decoration of the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle at Meir, the scene of capturing the mongoose was not copied in the latter tomb.

The suggestion that the sculptors enjoyed a more elevated status than the painters and were more frequently represented in the tombs they decorated<sup>208</sup> is not supported by the evidence; in fact the opposite seems to be true.<sup>209</sup> The frequently held titles of artists, painters and sculptors, with reference to the *pr-ḥ* suggest that many such personnel were attached to the palace and its ateliers and workshops. But the fact that some holders did not mention the *pr-ḥ* may also suggest that not all artists were directly attached to the palace. However, it seems reasonable to think that most artists were trained in the capital, which resulted in a general similarity of canons and styles, but not of details, in the capital and various provinces. The use of artists from the capital, or indeed the palace ateliers, in the decoration of provincial tombs may be due in part to the close relationship and in many instances to the kinship between the royal family and the provincial governors, which is evident for example in the case of the noble families of El-Qusiya and Deir el-Gebrawi. It may also be due to the education and employment of the provincial nobility in the capital before being appointed to their provincial posts. However, the apparently increasing wealth available to provincial officials during the Sixth Dynasty may have encouraged some experienced artists from the capital to reside in the provinces where the appropriate clientele

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<sup>206</sup> For a discussion on the artists techniques see Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 41, 71-72, 76-77 and passim.

<sup>207</sup> See Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 74ff.

<sup>208</sup> Smith, *HESPOK*, 351ff.

<sup>209</sup> See also Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 5ff., 73ff.

were found. This presumably led to the establishment of local artistic traditions. Thus the tomb of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi was decorated by an apparently local artist described as *zš kdw pr-M3tit, Ppy-snb(.w)* ‘the outline draughtsman/ painter of the temple of Matit, Pepyseneb’.<sup>210</sup> Seni of Akhmim may well have originated from the capital, but perhaps became a permanent resident of Akhmim, since his parents presumably moved with him to the province and were buried there as suggested by the presence of two funerary stelae made for them.<sup>211</sup> The reference to Seni’s father, Nebi, as ‘the honoured one before Ptah’ suggests his Memphite origin.

## 2. The Art in the Tombs of El-Qusiya

The aim of this section is to examine the art in the individual tombs at El-Qusiya in order to identify the different characteristic features in each tomb, the possible influence of the scenes in one tomb on those in the others and the similarities with tombs in the capital and in neighbouring Upper Egyptian provinces. The almost completely preserved data in the tombs at El-Qusiya permit the study of some general characteristic features of art in the Sixth Dynasty and to answer an essential question: if the artists of these tombs were brought from, or had been trained in the capital or had decorated earlier tombs there, to what extent were they slavish copiers of scenes or details from earlier works, or to what extent were they influenced by them? This study looks at the individuality of the artist but does not aim at interpreting the daily life activities as they appear in the wall scenes in the tombs of El-Qusiya. Certain unusual details in individual themes will be examined and compared with similar features in other tombs. The themes to be examined are: **2.1** The tomb owner and his family; **2.2** Marsh related activities; **2.3** Agriculture cycle; **2.4** Funerary procession.

### 2.1 The Tomb Owner and His Family

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<sup>210</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 10; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 62; Jones, *Index*, 876 [3209]; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 132:11.

<sup>211</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 161-66 (C234, C235).

Khewenwekh was represented standing in equal size with his wife on both sides of the façade of his tomb (Figure 46). She holds his arm with one hand while placing the other on his shoulder.<sup>212</sup> The wife, Mereri/ Ibi, is shown with her feet widely separated in a striding posture which, although attested for female offering bearers and some relatives of the tomb owner, is very rare for wives.<sup>213</sup> Inside the tomb, Mereri/ Ibi is allocated one of the inner jambs of her husband's false door and appears again in an independent scene standing and holding a lotus flower.<sup>214</sup> She is not depicted with him in any scene inside the chapel nor is she represented at an offering table, although their daughter enjoys an independent offering table scene.<sup>215</sup> A rock-cut statue shows the couple equal in size, with the wife to the left of her husband.<sup>216</sup> On the thicknesses of the entrance to the chapel Khewenwekh is depicted as a slightly portly man, and on one of the thicknesses he is shown in the rather infrequent posture of adoration.<sup>217</sup> Khewenwekh owns two offering table scenes; one on each of the north and east walls,<sup>218</sup> and it is noticed that in the scene on the east wall he holds an unusually large jar of perfume close to his nostrils with his hand clinched around the base of the jar.<sup>219</sup>

The decoration of Pepyankh the elder's tomb was only partially completed and therefore the frequency of representing his wife and other members of his family cannot be gauged. However, his wife's name, Seshseshet, may well suggest a relationship to king Teti and may explain the exalted position that his successors enjoyed.<sup>220</sup> The only preserved reference to the wife is on the outer left jamb of Pepyankh the elder's own false door (Figure 9), with the shorter inner jamb on the same side reserved for the tomb owner.<sup>221</sup> Such a distinction for the wife is to our knowledge unattested elsewhere, particularly since the tomb has one shaft, most probably for

<sup>212</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 34-35.

<sup>213</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 138. For an example of a wife in such a posture from Saqqara, see Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, pl. 71 (CG 1571).

<sup>214</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 39, 46.

<sup>215</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46. Also see Figure 3. It has been suggested that the daughter might have been already dead at the time of decorating the tomb (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 56).

<sup>216</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 18, 20.

<sup>217</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 36. For examples see Kanawati, *Dear El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 44; Kanawati, *Dear El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 56.

<sup>218</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 40-41.

<sup>219</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 41, 43.

<sup>220</sup> See Kanawati, in: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 211ff. Also see discussion in Chapter I.

<sup>221</sup> Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 253; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28 (b).



Pepyankh the elder himself, and accordingly the wife was buried elsewhere.<sup>222</sup> Nevertheless, Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder were the only nobles of El-Qusiya who represented their wives on their false doors. No wife of a later noble in this nome was depicted on her husband's false door or had a false door of her own, although all, like the wife of Khewenwekh,<sup>223</sup> possessed separate shafts and burial chambers in their husbands' tombs. On the west face of pillar 2, Pepyankh the elder is, like Khewenwekh, represented as a mature-aged man, with a slightly bulging stomach.<sup>224</sup>

While Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep did not outlive his father Pepyankh the elder and was buried in the capital, his son, Pepyankh the middle, inaugurated the cemetery of Meir and built and decorated a fine tomb there. Like Khewenwekh, Pepyankh the middle represented his wife with him in equal size on both sides of the original façade of the tomb.<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, she is depicted of equal height, once seated next to him and once standing behind his seated figure on the architrave above the entrance to the chapel. In the last two representations the chairs used are block chairs with the *hwt*-sign,<sup>226</sup> the type used by members of the royal family.<sup>227</sup> Remains of the wife's figure on the south wall of (room 3) suggest that she was standing behind her husband who was seated on the ground, her figure considerably taller than his.<sup>228</sup> Pepyankh the middle is shown on the west wall seated on a carrying chair which has been set down, while his wife appears below him seated at an offering table, with her figure again taller than his.<sup>229</sup> It must be mentioned that this is the only instance where a wife possesses an independent offering table scene at El- Qusiya (Figure 47). The location of this scene is also highly unusual as she appears in the midst of agricultural activities, but the reason for such a location on the wall might be the need to position the offering table scene directly in front of her shaft and burial chamber.<sup>230</sup> The above scene in Pepyankh the middle's tomb does not seem to adhere to the artistic convention of

<sup>222</sup> As the tomb owner presumably died before completing the tomb, with its limited decoration perhaps made by the grandson, Pepyankh the middle (see chapter I), it seems likely that Seshseshet was either already dead and buried elsewhere or had returned to the capital since her son, Sobekhotep, died and was buried at Saqqara. Accordingly, no burial apartment was excavated for her. (see Chapter I).

<sup>223</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 41, pl. 29.

<sup>224</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 27 (b). Also see Figure 8a.

<sup>225</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 76. At a later stage a pillared room was constructed in front of this chapel.

<sup>226</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a). See Figure 93.

<sup>227</sup> See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study D).

<sup>228</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>229</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>230</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 50, pls. 11, 37, 73, 84.



not depicting any person taller than the tomb owner, even if the latter was seated.<sup>231</sup> It is interesting that such convention was observed on the architrave of the façade, but not inside the chapel.<sup>232</sup> In an offering table scene on the north wall Pepyankh the middle is represented with his wife both in equal size.<sup>233</sup> Holding a lotus flower in one hand and bringing another close to her nostrils, she faces the figure of her husband who is seated at the same offering table (Figure 41). It is interesting that the number of bread loaves directed towards Pepyankh is higher than that towards his wife; nine and seven. Does that reflect the male/ female needs and appetite or the relative importance of the two individuals?

The size of Pepyankh the middle's wife is reduced only on the east wall, where she appears with her husband while fowling and spear-fishing in the marshlands.<sup>234</sup> However, the small size and crouching position of the wife are typical in such representations and might not reflect the status of the wife, but the focus of the scene on the tomb owner's activities. While she clutches his leg and attracts his attention to a common genet climbing toward a nest in the spear fishing scene,<sup>235</sup> she is holding lotus flowers in both hands in the fowling scene, as she does while seated opposite her husband at the offering table.<sup>236</sup>

On the south wall, where Pepyankh the middle is depicted with both his parents he is shown larger in size than either of them,<sup>237</sup> although each of the three is seated at a separate offering table.<sup>238</sup> It may be significant however that the tomb owner's mother, Pekhernofert, is shown immediately opposite him and is represented larger than her husband; thus her figure is approximately 74% of that of the tomb owner, while her husband's figure is only 61% of that of his son<sup>239</sup> This is curious as her husband, Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi was the son of a probable princess (see Chapter I). It has been suggested that Pekhernofert may have enjoyed a

<sup>231</sup> As for example in the tomb of Anankhi (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 1, pl. 37).

<sup>232</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a).

<sup>233</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 88.

<sup>234</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81. Also see Figure 39.

<sup>235</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80.

<sup>236</sup> See Figures 39, 41.

<sup>237</sup> The depiction of parents in son's tombs is very rare in the Old Kingdom (For some examples and their interpretation see Kanawati, *SAK* 9 (1981), 213ff.). By this depiction, Pepyankh the middle was probably either trying to fulfill his filial obligations towards his parents who were most probably buried at Saqqara, or aimed at emphasizing his royal heritage (see Chapter I).

<sup>238</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83. See Figure 10.

<sup>239</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 47.

distinguished background,<sup>240</sup> but one wonders if she was not directly related to the reigning monarch. However, considering the likely old age of Pepyankh the middle, both parents were most probably dead by the time he decorated his tomb, and there is no likelihood that either of them was buried in his tomb, which contains only his shaft and that of his wife.

Like Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the elder, Pepyankh the middle is represented as a mature aged man with a slightly bulging stomach on both thicknesses of his chapel entrance, and it is clear that his stomach on the southern thickness is more prominent.<sup>241</sup> He wears a medium-length projecting kilt, and has his thumb unusually tucked under the kilt flap. The same posture is seen also on the thicknesses of the entrance to the chapel of Seshemnofer IV at Giza,<sup>242</sup> dated to the reigns of Wenis or Teti.<sup>243</sup>

Next to the false door on the west wall is a double representation of Pepyankh the middle on both sides of an offering table, with an offering list inscribed above the figures.<sup>244</sup> The composition of this scene is identical with that on the north wall, where the tomb owner shares a table with his wife.<sup>245</sup> Double representations of the tomb owner are infrequent and have been interpreted to depict the person and his ka.<sup>246</sup> However, most examples of such double figures are found on the panels of false doors.<sup>247</sup> One of the figures of Pepyankh the middle holds a small perfume jar with two fingers. This is the only example of such posture found at Meir, although as mentioned earlier Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna depicts himself in a similar position even though the jar is considerably larger and the owner's hand is clenched around its base.<sup>248</sup> It seems that the representation of the tomb owner smelling a jar of perfume was more common in the first half of the Sixth Dynasty. The same phenomenon may be observed in the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi, where Hemre/ Isi I, Henqu II and Nebib of the

<sup>240</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 47.

<sup>241</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 77-78. See Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B).

<sup>242</sup> Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 73 (a), 73 (b). See also Harpur, *Decoration*, 134.

<sup>243</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 293[479]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 270[235].

<sup>244</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 12; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 85.

<sup>245</sup> Figure 41.

<sup>246</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 53 n. 340.

<sup>247</sup> For example Mariette, *Mastabas*, 296-270, 412-413; Hassan, *Giza* 9, fig. 29 (a); Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 58.

<sup>248</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 43.

northern cliff are depicted smelling the perfume,<sup>249</sup> while none of the later individuals buried on the southern cliff is shown in such a position.<sup>250</sup>

The status of the women seems to have declined in the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty as appears in the tombs of El-Qusiya. Niankhpepy the black, the son of Pepyankh the middle represented two wives and two eldest sons.<sup>251</sup> Remains of a figure of a wife named Sehnet appear behind the tomb owner on the architrave above the entrance to the chapel.<sup>252</sup> Both husband and wife are, as is usual on architraves,<sup>253</sup> shown small but equal in size. However, both entrance jambs depict Niankhpepy the black standing in a large size without any of his wives.<sup>254</sup> This seems to be a total departure from the acknowledged status of the wife as displayed on the tomb façades of both Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the middle. Inside the chapel, each of Niankhpepy the black's wives appears only once behind her husband and in a much reduced size.<sup>255</sup> In both cases the couple, or perhaps the tomb owner in particular, is receiving incense from one son and an animal foreleg from another. Judging by the relative sizes of the two women in relationship to the tomb owner, Sehnet, who also appears on the entrance architrave, was probably more important than Ankhesenteti. Her depiction holding birds in both hands<sup>256</sup> may hint at her young age,<sup>257</sup> and the possibility of her being the second wife of Niankhpepy the black. That the two names, Sehnet and Ankhesenteti belong to two different wives and not to the same woman, with one name being her 'beautiful name', may be seen in the clear difference of their skin colour, Sehnet being painted as much darker.<sup>258</sup>

Like Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the middle, Niankhpepy the black is represented as a mature-aged man with a slightly bulging stomach on the thickness of the entrance to his

<sup>249</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 46, 53, 56, 60.

<sup>250</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 2 vols., passim; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* vols. 2-3, passim.

<sup>251</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13. Also see Figures 27-28, unpublished record of the tomb by the Australian Centre for Egyptology (ACE).

<sup>252</sup> This detail has not been recorded by Blackman, but appears in the re-recording of the tomb by the ACE, see Figure 29.

<sup>253</sup> See for instance Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, figs. 33, 39; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Saqqara* 2, pl. 3; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pl. 42.

<sup>254</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 4. Also no figures of the wife has been found on the façade in the recent record by the Australian Centre for Egyptology (ACE).

<sup>255</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13; also see Figures 27-28.

<sup>256</sup> She holds the birds by the tail which is unusual, Figure 27.

<sup>257</sup> Young children of the tomb owner are often shown holding birds when accompanying their parents. For examples see Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 23, 73, 105; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 6; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

<sup>258</sup> Personal examination.

chapel.<sup>259</sup> However, unlike his predecessors he is shown with a conspicuous pendulous breast, characteristic of many tomb owners in the Teti cemetery.<sup>260</sup> The tomb owner is similarly shown inside the chapel on pillar 1 and on the left two jambs of his false door.<sup>261</sup> It seems likely that these figures show the tomb owner at an advanced stage of his life, and it is noticed that on pillar 2, where he appears youthful, he is named Niankhmeryre the black, perhaps an earlier form of his name Niankhpepy the black.<sup>262</sup> It should be emphasised that this tomb owner is the only individual at El-Qusiya to be depicted as an old man with the pendulous breast, which would be expected if he succeeded his ‘centenarian’, or at least his very old father. As usual Niankhpepy the black is shown at an offering table on either side of his false door, thus once on the west wall and the other on the north wall.<sup>263</sup> In the latter scene a man called *Nfr-h3* ‘Noferha’<sup>264</sup> is depicted in a small size behind the tomb owner pouring liquid/ perfume on the tomb owner’s head and holding a small cloth/ towel in his other hand (Figure 48). No such detail is attested in any other tomb at El- Qusiya and grooming hair is very rarely attested in Old Kingdom scenes, with all known examples from Saqqara and dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth.<sup>265</sup>

In a scene on the partition wall between the tombs of Niankhpepy the black and that of his son Pepyankh the black (Figure 17), who most probably prepared the two communicating tombs, the latter is depicted offering incense to his father.<sup>266</sup> This is almost certainly one of the rare cases of a son representing himself with his dead father;<sup>267</sup> yet a number of anomalies are observable. Unlike the other cases,<sup>268</sup> including that of Pepyankh the middle with his parents,<sup>269</sup> where the dead person was positioned on the right-side, with no direct ‘communication’ with the

<sup>259</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 5; see Appendix 1: Complementary Studies (Study B). Figure 85.

<sup>260</sup> See for example Noferseshemre (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 46-47, 49, 51-52, 54, 56); Ankhmahor (Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 36) and Noferseshemptah (Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pls. 7-8). (See also Complementary Studies, Study B).

<sup>261</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 6 (1), 10.

<sup>262</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 6 (2).

<sup>263</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 9, 11.

<sup>264</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 197:23. The inscriptions pertaining to this man were not recorded by Blackman, but are clear in the new copy by the (ACE).

<sup>265</sup> Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 17; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 70; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pls. 23, 48.

<sup>266</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a).

<sup>267</sup> For some examples see Kanawati, *SAK* 9 (1981), 213ff.

<sup>268</sup> As in the case of Djau/ Shemai and his son Djau (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 10; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 62) and Senedjemib/ Inti and his son Senedjemib/ Mehi (Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, fig. 35).

<sup>269</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83. Figure 10.

living one, here the father is on the left-side and the son is offering him incense. It seems likely that being on the north partition wall such reversal is due to the fact that the left side is in this case the true west, while in the case of Pepyankh the middle, where the scene is on the south wall, the right side is the true west. It may also be significant that Niankhpepy the black's chapel itself is to the left/ west of that of Pepyankh the black. Furthermore, no partition exists between the figures of the dead father and the living son, as found for instance in the case of Pepyankh the middle and his parents, where none of these three individuals can see or 'communicate' with the others, and each has his/her separate offering table. In addition, while Pepyankh the middle portrayed himself in a larger size than both his parents, Niankhpepy the black depicted himself in a smaller size than his father.

The analysis of our scene may suggest that it represents the two nobles, Niankhpepy the black and his son Pepyankh the black, at an earlier time when both were alive. Thus the son is offering incense to his father in the same manner as he does on the north and east walls of the chapel, where the father is clearly inspecting various activities including those taking place in the marshlands.<sup>270</sup> For this reason no partition between the two figures was needed and the son's figure was smaller than that of the father. This may be confirmed by the titles attributed to each of the two men on the partition wall. Unlike the father, the son lacks the rank of *h3ty-ꜥ* 'count' as well as the most important and characteristic administrative title in this province, that of *imy-r Šmꜥw m3ꜥ* 'true overseer of Upper Egypt'. That both nobles held the title of overseer of priests should not indicate that the son had already succeeded his father since, as argued earlier, the eldest son was frequently elevated to such a position on reaching a certain age during his father's life in order to allow him a high income from the local temple. Although Pepyankh the black most probably built and decorated the chapel for his father, he seems to have preferred to project back in time and to represent himself with his living father. Accordingly, tomb A1 appears as if decorated by the father or during his lifetime before the son succeeded him in office, and nowhere in the tomb is the eldest son depicted in equal size to his father,<sup>271</sup> or held a rank above that of *smr wꜥty* 'sole companion', or claimed the position of *imy-r Šmꜥw*, as is regularly the case

<sup>270</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 12-13. Also see Figures 27-28.

<sup>271</sup> As in the case of Djau/ Shemai and Djau (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 10; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 62). Pepyankh the middle was even depicted in a larger size than his parents, since he rose to a more prominent position than that of his father, Figure 10.

in his tomb A2. Because the Egyptian was presumably able to project back in time,<sup>272</sup> representations of dead individuals were seemingly undesirable and occurred in exceptional circumstances. The example of Pepyankh the middle, where his parents served in the capital and were buried at Saqqara, almost certainly represents a very special and unusual case.

The noticeable reduction in the size of the wife and in the frequency of her appearances on the tomb walls continues in the tomb of Pepyankh the black where his wife, Setnetpepy, is depicted only twice, on the north end of the west wall of (room 4).<sup>273</sup> In one instance she is shown in small size before her husband while he receives gifts from offering bearers (Figure 32), and in the second she accompanies him in his fowling trip. While Setnetpepy's small figure in the fowling scene follows the Egyptian conventions, her absence in the fishing scene is noteworthy, considering the usual inclusion of wives on such occasions,<sup>274</sup> including Pepyankh the middle's wife, Hewetiaah.<sup>275</sup> The situation with regard to the portrayal of women appears to be similar in the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi, for while the wife of the governor Ibi, accompanies her husband in both spear-fishing and fowling trips, the wife of Djau is absent on both occasions.<sup>276</sup> It is true that Setnetpepy is described as *hmt.f mrt.f* 'his wife, his beloved' and that, pointing at an Oriole, she requests her husband to bring it for her, to which he responds 'I will bring it for you', yet it is surprising that in a seemingly informal, intimate situation she addresses him as *sr* 'O noble...'.<sup>277</sup> This is the same language used by the 'director of the dining-hall, Ikhu', who accompanies Pepyankh the black in the palanquin transportation, ordering the female servants who carry the food baskets to speed up: 'come on well, before the noble (*sr*) comes'.<sup>278</sup> Similarly, an official facing the tomb owner is described as 'he who does that which his noble (*sr.f*) favours' and offering bearers carrying cloth probably chanting 'how pleasant is it to convey well. The noble (*sr*) will view the cloth'.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>272</sup> Parents were for example able to represent their sons and daughters as naked young children, but again as adults holding responsible offices in the same tomb.

<sup>273</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 27-28; Kanwati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88.

<sup>274</sup> See for instance Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 11, 13; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 5-6; van de Walle, *Neferitenef*, pl. 1; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 494 (9); Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 9, 15; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 67, 69; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 5.

<sup>275</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanwati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80.

<sup>276</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3, 5.

<sup>277</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanwati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 45, pl. 88.

<sup>278</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 31; Kanwati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 52, pl. 91.

<sup>279</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 26; Kanwati and Evans, *Meir* 2, 44, pl. 87 (c).

## 2.2 Marsh Related Activities

### 2.2.1 Spear-Fishing and Fowling Scenes<sup>280</sup>

Despite the small size of Khewenwekh's chapel and accordingly the limited wall space available for decoration, the theme of the tomb owner spear-fishing was included in its repertoire of scenes. Although rather abbreviated, the scene contains most of the usual elements found in such activity.<sup>281</sup> Unlike Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black who depicted both spear-fishing and fowling scenes in their tombs,<sup>282</sup> Khewenwekh did not represent himself fowling in the marshlands, and in this respect he is similar to the nobles of El-Hawawish, none of whom represented himself fowling despite the frequency of their depiction while spear-fishing.<sup>283</sup>

As is common in spear-fishing scenes, Khewenwekh is depicted facing right (Figure 49), which is also found in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle but not in that of Pepyankh the black, who faces left while spear-fishing (see Figures 50-51). It is possible that Pepyankh the black, or his artist, was influenced in this respect by some similarly oriented spear-fishing scenes in the Memphite region and in the provinces dated from the end of the Fifth Dynasty to the end of the Sixth Dynasty (see Table 1). The most spectacular tombs where this feature appears are those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep and Mehu, both in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara.<sup>284</sup>

Khewenwekh holds the spear rather horizontally, with both his arms sharply bent (Figure 49). A similar posture is found in some Memphite as well as provincial tombs dated from the end of the Fifth Dynasty to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty (see Table 2), with the closest to that of Khewenwekh, in posture and date, being those of Mehu (Wenis cemetery), Mereri (Teti

<sup>280</sup> Spear-fishing and fowling scenes have been studied by Woods, *Day in the Marshes*, passim, which is a valuable contribution to the Old Kingdom studies. In the light of her study, it is necessary here to present a detailed study focusing on some characteristic features in the scenes of El-Qusiya tombs to compare and examine the close similarities with those in certain tombs in the capital and neighbouring Upper Egyptian provinces, our aim is to demonstrate the extent to which the artist of El-Qusiya allowed himself to be influenced by earlier works and the degree of his originality.

<sup>281</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pl. 38; Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 258, fig. 3.

<sup>282</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88.

<sup>283</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; vol. 2, fig. 18; vol. 4, fig. 12; vol. 5, fig. 7; vol. 6, fig. 3; vol. 7, fig. 5; vol. 9, fig. 15.

<sup>284</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 74; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12-13.



cemetery) and Henqu I/ Khetiti (Deir el-Gebrawi)<sup>285</sup> (Figure 53). Pepyankh the middle is holding his spear at an angle but with his both arms almost straight (Figure 50). This position is rather infrequent, both in the capital and the provinces (see Table 3). More significant however is the depiction of several spare spears placed horizontally above Pepyankh the middle's figure, a feature which is unattested again except in the tomb of Mehu at Saqqara<sup>286</sup> (Figure 52). Pepyankh the black bends his arms more than Pepyankh the middle but less than Khewenwekh, a posture commonly attested in other tombs in the capital and the provinces (see Table 4).

Two different shapes of the so-called mound of water are found at El-Qusiya (see Table 5). In the tomb of Khewenwekh and probably that of Pepyankh the middle (the latter scene is partly damaged) the mound is unusual in that it is upright on both sides and curved at the top.<sup>287</sup> The closest examples to this unusual shape of mound are found in the tomb of Seankhuipthah of Saqqara (Figure 54), dated to the period end Teti-early Pepy I,<sup>288</sup> and that of Khewnes of Aswan, from the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>289</sup> The water mound in the tomb of Pepyankh the black resembles the common type with one slanting side and one upright side (see Table 5). However, its fully rounded top is rarely found in the capital and is unattested in the other provinces (see Figure 51).

In the fowling scenes, both Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black face left,<sup>290</sup> as depicted in the majority of Old Kingdom fowling scenes.<sup>291</sup> The representation of each of the tomb owners holding by the legs three decoy birds of the same species, presumably ducks or geese, all looking in the same direction and flapping their wings is rare (Figures 55-56). Similar features are found in the slightly earlier tombs of Mehu and Merefnebef at Saqqara,<sup>292</sup> which

<sup>285</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12-13; Davies, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 5; Davies, *Deir el- Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 28; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39.

<sup>286</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12-13.

<sup>287</sup> Figures 49-50.

<sup>288</sup> Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 69, 76.

<sup>289</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 159; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 21. The water mound in the tomb of Henqu II of Deir el- Gebrawi, early-mid Pepy I, is too damaged to judge if it bears similarity to that of Khewenwekh (Davies, *Deir el- Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, pl. 54).

<sup>290</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88.

<sup>291</sup> Woods, *Day in the Marshes* 1, 317-318 table 22.

<sup>292</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-11; Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 21, 63-65. Somewhat similar arrangement is found in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, but the birds are kingfisher (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchkhnum*, pls. 74- 75), and in the tombs of Metjetji and Meru/ Tetiseneb, where each of the three birds is of different species (Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1 (a); Lloyd, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 2, pl. 6).



may suggest some influence from Saqqara on Meir (see Figure 57). It should also be mentioned that none of the other provincial tombs show a similar detail.<sup>293</sup>

While both Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black are accompanied by their wives on their fowling trips, and the former is also joined by his wife in his fishing activity, only a granddaughter appears with Khewenwekh while spear fishing. The wife of Pepyankh the middle is depicted in an active position in the spear-fishing, pointing to a common genet, probably to draw her husband's attention to its presence; the wife of Pepyankh the black is also shown in the fowling episode pointing to a particular bird and asking her husband to hunt it for her.<sup>294</sup> Representing the wife making a 'pointing gesture' is not a very common detail (see Table 6), and is first seen at Saqqara, which may have influenced the artists of Meir. A few examples are also found in other provinces, which may have either similarly been influenced by tombs at the capital or by those at Meir.<sup>295</sup>

Two features are worth noting in the figures of Pepyankh the middle's wife. She appears in the spear-fishing scene wearing a lotus crown with three flowers,<sup>296</sup> a feature which is attested in a few Memphite marsh scenes (see Table 7). It is interesting that the closest example is found in both spear-fishing and fowling scenes in Mehu's tomb (see Figure 58), where the size of the lotus flowers of his wife is similar to those of Pepyankh the middle's wife.<sup>297</sup> The second unusual feature with regard to Pepyankh the middle's wife is that she is shown with lotus flowers in both hands, bringing one close to her nostrils. The only other tombs where this feature is recorded are those of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and Shepsipumin/ Kheni at El-Hawawish, both decorated by the same artist, Seni.<sup>298</sup> However, as both tombs are probably later than that of

<sup>293</sup> For examples showing two decoy birds see: Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 8, 48 (b); Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, fig. 46, pl. 12; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3-4; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 3, pls. 58, 70; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 146, 159; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Ägypten*, fig. 134; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pls. 14, 21, 56, 72. For examples showing one decoy bird see: Kanawati, *El- Hagarsa* 3, pls. 42, 44-45; Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 7.

<sup>294</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88. Also see Figures 50, 56.

<sup>295</sup> See Table 6.

<sup>296</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80.

<sup>297</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.

<sup>298</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

Pepyankh the middle,<sup>299</sup> the influence, if any, must have passed from Meir to El-Hawawish and not vice versa (see Figure 59).

### 2.2.1.1 Selected Details

- *Style of Papyrus Thicket*

The papyrus thicket is a standard element, commonly depicted in front of the tomb owner in scenes of spear-fishing and fowling,<sup>300</sup> as is the case in all examples of these activities at Meir. Two methods of portraying the thicket were generally used, either by painting the entire space of the thicket in greenish colour without the papyrus stems being defined, or by rendering the individual papyrus stems in relief and/ or painting.<sup>301</sup> Despite the fact that the scenes in the tomb of Khewenwekh are executed in painting while those of Pepyankh the middle are in coloured relief, the thickets in both tombs are merely coloured in green with the water mound in blue, but with no individual stems shown.<sup>302</sup> On the other hand the papyrus stems of the thicket in the tomb of Pepyankh the black are clearly defined in relief and painting.<sup>303</sup> While the second type, with stems shown, is the most common in Old Kingdom wall scenes,<sup>304</sup> the first type, without the stems, is found in some tombs in the Memphite cemeteries, mostly at Saqqara and particularly from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the reign of Pepy I in the Sixth Dynasty (see Table 8). A few examples of this type are found in tombs in the Wenis cemetery, such as the composite spear-fishing and fowling scenes of Iynofere/ Shaenef and Akhetotep and the fowling scene of Metjetji.<sup>305</sup> The same feature also appears in three Sixth Dynasty tombs in the Teti cemetery, those of Nikauisesi/ Isesi, Seankhuipthah and Inumin.<sup>306</sup> Mehu, who constructed

<sup>299</sup> For the dating of the two tombs (H26 and H24) to the middle and Late of Pepy II's reign, respectively, see Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 296.

<sup>300</sup> However, in the spear-fishing scene of Ibi of Deir el- Gebrawi no thicket is represented and the mound of water is painted as if floating in the air (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 3; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 46), while the thicket in the tomb of Djau is curiously positioned behind the tomb owner and no thicket or mound of water are shown before him (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 57).

<sup>301</sup> Junker and Vandier consider the depiction of defined stems as being a product of stylization (Junker, *Giza* 4, 76; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 733-734).

<sup>302</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El- Amarna*, pls. 1, 38; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 13, 20, 80- 81. Also see Figures 49-50, 55.

<sup>303</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28, 50, 57, 60; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 34-35, 41, 84, 88. See Figures 51, 56.

<sup>304</sup> According to the study by Woods, *Day in the Marshes* 1, 359, table 134.

<sup>305</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 37 (b); Petrie and Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 6; Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1 (a).

<sup>306</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 50; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 69, 76; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 44, 46, respectively.

his tomb in the Wenis cemetery but who is dated to the period of mid-Pepy I to Merenre,<sup>307</sup> also depicted this type of thicket in his three marsh scenes of spear-fishing, fowling and pleasure cruise.<sup>308</sup> He may have been influenced by his neighbours in the Wenis cemetery.

The same type of thicket appeared in Upper Egypt, although it was not common and restricted to provinces 9, 12 and 14 (Table 8) which have generally shown direct artistic influence from the capital.<sup>309</sup> The earliest known provincial example of this type of thicket is seen in the spear-fishing scene of Hemmin of Akhmim from the reign of Wenis, followed early in the Sixth Dynasty by that in the papyrus pulling scene of Hemre/ Isi I of Deir el-Gebrawi, then it appears in the neighboring province of El-Qusya in the tomb of Khewenwekh from Pepy I's reign.<sup>310</sup> While the last attested example of this type of thicket in the Memphite cemeteries is found in the tomb of Mehu at Saqqara (mid-Pepy I to Merenre), it seems likely that the artist of Pepyankh the middle of Meir, who decorated the tomb during the reigns of Merenre-early Pepy II and who represented the thickets with no stems, could have been inspired by the scenes in the magnificent tomb of Mehu,<sup>311</sup> rather than by that in the tomb of Khewenwekh. The close similarities between the marsh scenes in the tombs of Mehu and Pepyankh the middle makes the first alternative much more likely. Towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty this feature appeared again and for the last time at El-Hawawish in the spear-fishing scenes of both Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and his son Shepsipumin/ Kheni, from the latter part of Pepy II's reign.<sup>312</sup> It is possible that the artists Seni and his brother Isesi who decorated the last two tombs were inspired by the scenes in the tombs of Mehu and/or Pepyankh the middle.

- *Birds and Animals in the Papyrus Thicket*

From the reign of Niuserre onwards it was customary to depict birds in the marsh scenes flying above the papyrus thicket in one or more rows.<sup>313</sup> The simple spear-fishing scene of

<sup>307</sup> As, on stylistic grounds, Harpur thinks that the preferred date of the tomb of Mehu is mid-Pepy I to Merenre (Harpur, *Decoration*, 40-41).

<sup>308</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9-13.

<sup>309</sup> Harpur writes that 'at Meir, Deir el-Gebrawi, and El-Hawawish there is striking evidence that local artists were familiar with the decoration in the Saqqara mastabas of *Tjj*, *3htj-htp*, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, and *ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr* (Harpur, *Decoration*, 11, 27-31).

<sup>310</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 5, figs. 6-7; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 62; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

<sup>311</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 13, 20, 80-81; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9-13.

<sup>312</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

<sup>313</sup> Woods, *Day in the Marshes*, 68, tables 142, 144-147.

Khewenwekh has one row of birds flying in the same direction<sup>314</sup> (Figure 49); a rare feature probably found at Saqqara in the marsh scenes of Noferiretenef (Djedkare-Wenis) and Nikauisesi/ Isesi (mid-Teti), although parts of both scenes are missing.<sup>315</sup> Two rows of birds are depicted above the thickets in the marsh scenes of Pepyankh the middle, and three rows in the marsh scenes of his grandson Pepyankh the black, with the rows of birds flying in alternate directions.<sup>316</sup> This arrangement is not the most common, as birds are shown flying randomly above the thicket in several Old Kingdom scenes.<sup>317</sup> Similar examples to those of Meir are found at Saqqara from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the middle part of the Sixth, with the number of rows varying from two to five (see Table 9). Thus, like Pepyankh the middle of Meir, the marsh scenes of Metjetji, Hesi and Seankhuptah of Saqqara depict two rows of birds flying in the opposite directions.<sup>318</sup> On the other hand, the three rows of birds in the tomb of Pepyankh the black<sup>319</sup> are similar only to those in the tomb of Merefnebef<sup>320</sup> and to a lesser extent in that of Mehu<sup>321</sup> (See Table 9).

It was usual to depict a mongoose and/ or a genet climbing a papyrus stem to attack fledgling birds in their nest,<sup>322</sup> as seen in all marsh scenes at El-Qusya. But it is interesting that, although the three spear-fishing scenes in the tombs of El-Qusya show the animal climbing the stems, none actually show the animal attacking the young birds.<sup>323</sup> However, the predatory

<sup>314</sup> Depicting birds all flying in the same direction but in more than one row is found in the fowling scenes of Mehu of Saqqara, and Ibi and Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi; also in the spear-fishing scene of Idu I of Dendera, and in the composite spear-fishing and fowling scene of Khewnes of Aswan. (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-11; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* 1, pl. 5; Davies, *Deir el- Gebrāwi* 2, pls. 3-4; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 47, 68; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 58, 70; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5; de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 159; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 21).

<sup>315</sup> van de Walle, *Neferiretenef*, pl. 1; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 50.

<sup>316</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80- 81; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88. Also see Figures 50-51, 55-56.

<sup>317</sup> For some examples see Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pls. 6, 12; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 4-5, figs. 5-6; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 620-621; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, 130; also see Woods, *Day in the Marshes*, table 147.

<sup>318</sup> Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1 (a); Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 53-54; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 69, 76.

<sup>319</sup> See Figures 51, 56.

<sup>320</sup> Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pls. 21, 63-65.

<sup>321</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 9, pls. 12-13. It is noticed that only in the fowling scene of Mehu, all the rows of birds above the thicket are flying in the same direction, with no alternation (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-11).

<sup>322</sup> See Woods, *Day in the Marshes*, 369-370, table 154.

<sup>323</sup> El- Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El- Amarna*, pl. 38; Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 84. Also see Figures 49-51.

behavior of a mongoose/ genet catching a fledgling bird between its jaws<sup>324</sup> is vividly portrayed in the fowling scenes of both Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black.<sup>325</sup> This feature was represented in the Memphite cemeteries only at Saqqara in tombs dated from the end of the Fifth Dynasty to the period of Pepy I-Merenre (see Table 10). The earliest attested example is in the tomb of Akhethotep<sup>326</sup> (late Djedkare-early Wenis). The predatory action of these animals continued to appear in both spear-fishing and fowling scenes during the reigns of Teti and Pepy I in some tombs in the Teti cemetery, such as those of Mereruka/ Meri and Hesi.<sup>327</sup> Mehu (Pepy I-Merenre) of the Wenis cemetery included this feature in his three marsh scenes activities, spear-fishing, fowling and the pleasure cruise,<sup>328</sup> also in the same cemetery, Metjetji (Wenis-Pepy I) depicted the this feature in his fowling scene.<sup>329</sup> It is possible that the artists of Pepyankh the middle and his grandson Pepyankh the black were inspired in this respect by the Saqqara tombs. It may be worth noting that the only other Upper Egyptian tombs which depict this feature are at the neighboring province of Deir el-Gebrawi and at Aswan. But it is interesting that, as is the case at El-Qusiya, the predatory behavior of the animal is not shown in the spear-fishing scenes in the tombs of Ibi and Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi from the reign of Pepy II,<sup>330</sup> while it appears in the fowling scene of Ibi and this detail is likely, but partly damaged, in Djau's tomb.<sup>331</sup> Sabni II of Aswan, probably a contemporary of Pepyankh the black, included the same feature in his marsh scene.<sup>332</sup> It is uncertain whether the artists of Deir el-Gebrawi and Aswan were influenced by their colleagues at Saqqara or Meir.

- *Papyrus Boats*

<sup>324</sup> Evans, *Animal Behaviour*, 117-122.

<sup>325</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88. Also see Figures 55-56.

<sup>326</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 13-14.

<sup>327</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pls. 9-13, 15-19; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 67, 69-70; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 53-54.

<sup>328</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9, 11, 13.

<sup>329</sup> Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1 (a).

<sup>330</sup> See Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 3; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 2, pl. 46; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 3, pl. 57.

<sup>331</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 5; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 3; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 2, pl. 47; Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 3, pl. 58.

<sup>332</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Ägypten*, figs. 134, 182; Harpur, *Decoration*, pl. 24; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 56. As this is a composite spear fishing and fowling scene, the predatory action of the genet may apply to both sports, although the animal is depicted to the right, on the side of the fowler.

The papyrus boat in Khewenwekh's tomb shows bindings only on its prow and stern.<sup>333</sup> Although the earliest examples of this infrequent type of binding are attested at Giza,<sup>334</sup> most of the later examples are found at Saqqara and dated to the reigns of Wenis to Pepy I<sup>335</sup> (see Table 11). The same detail appears later in both fishing and fowling scenes in the tomb of Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi, dated to the reign of Merenre-early Pepy II,<sup>336</sup> but not in the joint tomb of his son and grandson, Djau/ Shemai and Djau.<sup>337</sup> The boats in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black have bindings over the full length of the hull, with smaller intervals on the prow and stern.<sup>338</sup> This type is more common, with attested examples at Saqqara from the reign of Niuserre to that of Pepy I<sup>339</sup> and in the provinces from the late Fifth Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>340</sup> In this respect it is interesting to note that the artist of Pepyankh the middle did not copy the type of boat bound on the prow and stern, as represented in the tomb of Mehu<sup>341</sup> or that of Khewenwekh, but depicted the more common type with binding on the entire length of the boat. Perhaps the use of this type by Pepyankh the middle's artist influenced the representations in later provincial tombs,<sup>342</sup> yet it remains likely that this was not merely an artistic style but reflects changes in boat building techniques which gradually replaced the earlier, probably less efficient one.

<sup>333</sup> El- Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el- Amarna*, pl. 38. See Figure 49.

<sup>334</sup> Hetpet (a fragment, in Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, pl. 376); Seneb (Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 15). The dating of Seneb's tomb has been discussed by a number of scholars with conclusions ranging from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties. For a recent discussion of his date see Woods, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 2, 301-31; Itsen (Hassan, *Giza* 5, pl. 37).

<sup>335</sup> Iynofert (Kanawati and Ader- Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 37 (b). (Reign of Wenis); Kagemni (Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 491, 494. He shows two types of binding. (Reign of Teti); Inumin (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 44. (Reign of Pepy I); Niankhnesut (Taylor, in: *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* 23 (1932), 11, 13, 15). (Reign of Pepy I); while from (Reign of Pepy I-Merenre) is Mehu (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9, 10-13).

<sup>336</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 46-47.

<sup>337</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, pls. 3, 5.

<sup>338</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88. See Figures 50-51, 55-56.

<sup>339</sup> Woods, *Day in the Marshes* 1, 348, table 109. For some examples see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 74-75; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti*, pls. 46, 119; Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1 (a); Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 9-13, 15-19; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 67, 69; Kanawati and Ader- Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 53-54; Kanawati and Ader- Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 69, 76; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pls. 45-46.

<sup>340</sup> See for example Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, figs. 12-13; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, fig. 3; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 48.

<sup>341</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9, 10-13.

<sup>342</sup> See for instance Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El- Hawawish* 2, fig. 18; Davies, *Deir el- Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3, 5.



Khewenwekh stands directly on the hull of his boat rather than on the wooden board usually provided for a better balance.<sup>343</sup> Similar representations appear in a limited number of tombs in the capital at Giza, starting from the Fourth Dynasty,<sup>344</sup> but sporadically continued in the provinces till the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>345</sup> (see Table 12). The boats of both Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black were provided with decking,<sup>346</sup> and the same appears in the vast majority of the marsh scenes in the capital and the provinces.<sup>347</sup> Although more common, the use of a decking board did not completely replace the type of boat with no board, as both types occasionally appeared in the same tomb,<sup>348</sup> or in two neighboring tombs decorated by the same artist.<sup>349</sup>

Unlike the case on Khewenwekh's boat, some objects required for the trip are placed on the stern of the papyrus boats of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black, both in the spear-fishing and the fowling scenes.<sup>350</sup> These could include a linen bag, a looped mat, a seat or a fly whisk. This is a Memphite tradition attested from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the period of Pepy I-Merenre, with most of the known examples found at Saqqara (see Table 13). For instance, the looped folded mat depicted on Pepyankh the middle's boat in the spear-fishing and fowling trips is encountered earlier in a few Memphite tombs, such as those of Hesi and Mehu at Saqqara.<sup>351</sup> However, a few examples of this feature appear also in the provinces; thus beside the cases at Meir, Shepsipumin/ Kheni of Akhmim<sup>352</sup> and Sabni I of Aswan<sup>353</sup> represented it in their marsh scenes, perhaps under influence from Meir or the capital. Moreover, Pepyankh the middle

<sup>343</sup> Figure 49.

<sup>344</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, pl. 376; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4; Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 11; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 36; Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 15; pl. 11; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 36.

<sup>345</sup> See for example El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 50-51; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 50; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. 9 (b-c); Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 69; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pls. 21, 24, 56, 72; Peck, *Naga ed- Dêr*, pl. 15; Vandier, *Moçalla*, pl. 40.

<sup>346</sup> Figures 50-51, 55-56.

<sup>347</sup> See Woods, *Day in the Marshes* 1, p. 345-352, table 121.

<sup>348</sup> See Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3, 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 57-58, 69-70; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8, pl. 11; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pls. 31, 36.

<sup>349</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18.

<sup>350</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88. And Figures 50-51, 55-56.

<sup>351</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 53-54; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 11, 13.

<sup>352</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18. The stern of the boat of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer, Shepsipumin's father, is partly damaged, but enough remains to suggest that this detail was probably missing (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8).

<sup>353</sup> Sabni I depicted only a mat on the stern of his fowling boat (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 146; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 14).

is the only one in the provinces who represented a fly whisk on his boat,<sup>354</sup> an object which rarely appears even in the capital, but occurs in the tombs of Hesi and Inumin.<sup>355</sup> Depicting a head rest among the required objects, as in the fowling boat of Pepyankh the black,<sup>356</sup> is also very rare, with one attested example in the Memphite region found at Giza, on the spear-fishing boat of Meryre-meryankh-ptah/ Nekhebu, from Pepy I's reign.<sup>357</sup> It is interesting that on the latter's boat a looped mat, a linen bag and a head rest are represented, the same three objects shown by Pepyankh the black. At Aswan, Khewnes, a possible contemporary of Pepyankh the black, depicted a head-rest on his boat in his fishing trip, but the object is unusually placed floating behind his figure.<sup>358</sup>

- *Water Animals*

The motif of a hippopotamus attacking a crocodile is infrequently depicted in the Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>359</sup> The earliest known attestation of such behavior is represented in the tomb of Tjy, dated to Niuserre-Djedkare.<sup>360</sup> The same feature continued to appear until the period of Pepy I-Merenre in the Memphite cemeteries, mostly at Saqqara, where it seems to be rather popular in the tombs of Teti's viziers (see Table 14). Thus it is documented in the tombs of Kagemni/Memi,<sup>361</sup> Mereruka/ Meri,<sup>362</sup> Inumin,<sup>363</sup> and Khentika/ Ikhekhi.<sup>364</sup> It also appears in that of Mehu (Pepy I-Merenre) in the Wenis cemetery,<sup>365</sup> with some variations in the postures of the hippopotami and the crocodiles. The infrequency of the depiction of this theme may suggest that it should not be explained as representing a standard, stereotyped fight which regularly occurred between the two aquatic animals, but perhaps as a highly unusual incident which certain tomb owners, perhaps with their artists, experienced during one of the trips to the marshlands and wished to commemorate. Pepyankh the middle's artist represented in the spear-fishing scene,

<sup>354</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81. See Figure 55.

<sup>355</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 54; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 44.

<sup>356</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 88. See Figure 56.

<sup>357</sup> Smith, *BMFA* 56 (1958), fig. 2.

<sup>358</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 159; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 21.

<sup>359</sup> Evans, *Animal Behaviour*, 144-145.

<sup>360</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti*, pl. 119.

<sup>361</sup> Three variations on this theme are depicted in the tomb of Kagemni/ Memi, but an incident similar to that of Pepyankh the middle is represented on the east wall of room 4 in a scene of fishing. See Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 499 (16).

<sup>362</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 15-19; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 69-70.

<sup>363</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 44.

<sup>364</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 15.

<sup>365</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 13.



but not in the fowling one, a hippopotamus biting a crocodile from the softer underside of its body and lifting it up in the air.<sup>366</sup> A similar action may be seen in the marsh scenes of Tjy at Saqqara (see Figure 60) and Idu/ Seneni (early-mid Pepy II) of Qasr el-Sayad.<sup>367</sup> In the fowling scene of Pepyankh the black a hippopotamus is represented biting a crocodile on its tail,<sup>368</sup> a motif which is only depicted earlier at Giza in the spear-fishing scene of Akhetmerunesut (Wenis-Teti).<sup>369</sup> The two representations of fighting aquatic animals seen at Meir are also found in the spear-fishing scene in the tomb of Sabni I of Aswan (late Pepy II).<sup>370</sup> Hence, the Memphite motif of representing a hippopotamus attacking a crocodile is only found at Meir, Qasr el-Sayad and Aswan in Upper Egypt.

A frog is shown perched on the water weeds beneath the stern of the papyrus boat in the spear-fishing scene of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>371</sup> This motif, which does not appear in any other spear-fishing or fowling scene at El-Qusiya, is found in a number of marsh scenes in Memphite tombs, mostly at Saqqara, dated to the period between the reigns of Niuserre and Merenre (see Table 15). This motif is very rare in provincial marsh scenes for, apart from its appearance in the late Fifth Dynasty example of spear-fishing in the tomb of Hesimin (Djedkare-early Wenis) of Akhmim,<sup>372</sup> the only other attestation is in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle at Meir.<sup>373</sup> It is possible that the latter's artist was inspired by the scenes in tombs of the Teti cemetery,<sup>374</sup> and/or by the tomb of Mehu where this feature seems to have been represented for the last time in the capital.<sup>375</sup>

## 2.2.2 Fishing with Dragnet

### 2.2.2.1 Selected Details

<sup>366</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7, Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80. Figures 50, 60.

<sup>367</sup> Épron, Dumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pls. 117, 119; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 8.

<sup>368</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88. This detail is missing in Blackman's record (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28). Also see Figures 56, 60.

<sup>369</sup> Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas* 2, pl. 216.

<sup>370</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 146; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 14.

<sup>371</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7 ; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80. See Figure 50.

<sup>372</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, figs. 12-13.

<sup>373</sup> In the spear-fishing scene of Djau/ Shemai of Deir el-Gebrawi a frog is shown on the water line below the papyrus boat (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3-4; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 69), which is a rare feature at Memphis where three examples are found, all dated to the Sixth Dynasty. It appears in the tombs of Kagemni/ Memi and Mereri of Saqqara (Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 491 (3), 494 (8); Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, pl. 5), and Snefruinshtef of Dahshur (de Morgan, *Dahshour* 2, pl. 24).

<sup>374</sup> See Table 15.

<sup>375</sup> This feature appears only in the pleasure cruise scene of Mehu. See Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 9.

- *Symmetrical Arrangement*

The dragnet scene is frequently depicted among the marshland activities on the walls of the Old Kingdom tombs. It is usually represented as two groups of fishermen facing each other and hauling a net full of fish.<sup>376</sup> This type of scene is found in the tombs of three generations at Meir, those of Pepyankh the middle, his son Niankhpepy the black and the latter's son Pepyankh the black. The figures in all three scenes are shown in nearly identical postures on both sides of the net in unusually symmetrical arrangements, which may characterise the dragnet scenes at Meir.

On the east wall of Pepyankh the middle's offering room, two groups of five men are depicted pulling the fishing net while their supervisor stands in the middle.<sup>377</sup> The postures of the men in the two groups appear like mirror images of each other, with four men on either side using shoulder straps to assist them dragging the heavy catch (Figure 61). Three of the four men are facing inwards and throwing their bodies forward, one foot flat on the ground and the other on tiptoe, while the fourth man faces outwards and leans backwards. The fourth man on either side is also depicted with bulging stomach, presumably the result of exerting strong effort. The two men holding the ropes attached to the two ends of the net do not use shoulder straps and are shown in identical postures, bending forward and like the others with one foot flat on the ground and the other on the toes. Most of the men, particularly those close to the two ends are balding, almost certainly a reference to their age and experience.<sup>378</sup>

The dragnet scene in the chapel of Niankhpepy the black appears to have used that in the tomb of his father, Pepyankh the middle, as a model, even though there are some differences between the two (Figures 61-62). Positioned also on the east wall of the chapel, five haulers are shown on either side of a dragnet with their overseer standing in the middle. While the two groups of men appear as mirror images of each other, it is noticeable that four men in each group are facing inwards and leaning forward, while the fifth man faces outwards. Also unlike the

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<sup>376</sup>For a record of the dragnet scenes of the Old Kingdom period see Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: [http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe\\_ahrc\\_2006/queryThemes](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryThemes).

<sup>377</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79.

<sup>378</sup> Harpur mentions that it is common to depict the last man at either end of the net as bald while his comrades sometimes wear wigs or have a thicker crop of hair, and that this distinction may refer to the bald men as the strongest and most experienced ones for whom the net end positions were reserved (Harpur, *Decoration*, 145). For example see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 4; Lashien, *Kahai*, pl. 81; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 13.

scene in the chapel of Pepyankh the middle, the men here have both feet flat on the ground and all ten men use shoulder straps to help in dragging the net.<sup>379</sup>

The symmetrical arrangement, although of a different composition, is also maintained in the chapel of Pepyankh the black, where the dragnet scene is also depicted on the east wall.<sup>380</sup> Two groups of five men are shown on either side of the overseer, all with their feet flat on the ground and only the three in the centre of each group using the shoulder straps (Figure 63). The two groups are almost mirror images of each other, with the first man, closer to either end of the net, bending forward and outwards, the second man in an almost upright position facing inwards, the third man bending forward facing inwards, the fourth man in an upright position facing outwards and the fifth man bending forward facing outwards and having the end of the rope over his shoulder. Thus while the symmetrical layout of both sides is preserved, the artist showed some variations in the postures of the men which makes the scene somewhat more realistic.

While some degree of symmetry may be found in most Old Kingdom dragnet scenes (see Table 16), the representation of the same number of haulers, divided into two equal groups of five men, with identical postures on both sides, as seen in the three examples at Meir, is rather rare. Three examples may be cited from the Memphite cemeteries; two are dated to the Fifth Dynasty, those of Nikauhathor (Niuserre)<sup>381</sup> and Khuuiwer (Djedkare-Wenis)<sup>382</sup> of Giza, and one to the Sixth Dynasty, that of Inumin (late Teti-early Pepy I) of Saqqara.<sup>383</sup> This artistic style is first attested in Upper Egypt in the Sixth Dynasty at Deir el- Gebrawi, as evidenced in the dragnet scenes of Henqu II (early-middle Pepy I),<sup>384</sup> followed by Ibi, a contemporary of Pepyankh the middle (Merenre- early Pepy II).<sup>385</sup> At El-Hawawish the symmetrical composition is found, although in a more abridged form, in the dragnet scenes of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer<sup>386</sup> and his son Shepsipumin/ Kheni,<sup>387</sup> near contemporaries of Niankhpepy the black and his son Pepyankh the black. Many other dragnet scenes exhibit some form of symmetry, yet the number of the

<sup>379</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 13; see Figure 62 for the recent record by the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>380</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>381</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 6:3, 175, fig. 168.

<sup>382</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 43 (a); Hassan, *Giza* 5, 245, fig. 104.

<sup>383</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 48.

<sup>384</sup> Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 55.

<sup>385</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 67.

<sup>386</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12.

<sup>387</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 22.

haulers in the two groups and the postures of their bodies show some significant variations, perhaps purposefully<sup>388</sup> (see Table 16).

In the three dragnet scenes at Meir, the supervisor of the fishermen is depicted standing in the centre between the two groups of haulers. This detail is usually included in dragnet scene from the early Fifth Dynasty onwards,<sup>389</sup> whether the number and body postures of the haulers in the two groups are identical or not<sup>390</sup> (see Table 16). Yet the same detail is absent in other cases where the two groups of men were almost identical, as in the dragnet scenes of Nikauhathor<sup>391</sup> and Khuuiwer<sup>392</sup> of Giza.

- *Shoulder Straps*

All or some of the haulers are usually depicted with shoulder straps attached to the main rope of the net, probably to help them pulling the heavy weight of the catch. This device is first attested in the dragnet scene of Iymery (Niuserre) of Giza,<sup>393</sup> and then became common in similar Old Kingdom scenes (see Table 16). The artist of Pepyankh the middle depicted the straps on the shoulders of all haulers except the one at each end of the net (Figure 61). The same feature is encountered earlier in the scenes of Iynofert (Niuserre) of Giza<sup>394</sup> and Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Niuserre- Menkauhor) of Saqqara,<sup>395</sup> and appears once more in the Sixth Dynasty in one of the dragnet scenes of Mereruka at Saqqara.<sup>396</sup> Pepyankh the middle's artist may have been influenced in this respect by these Memphite scenes, and it is possible that the artist of Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi<sup>397</sup> was influenced by the same sources or by the scene of his neighbor at Meir, depending on which tomb was decorated first. In the scene of Niankhpepy the black all the men, including the two holding the ends of the net, are using shoulder straps, a feature which is not found in any other scene (Figure 62). It seems possible that the artist was copying the scene of

<sup>388</sup> See for example: Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, figs. 9 (a, b), 21; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73); Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti 2*, pl. 123; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. G; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 12; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 35 (b).

<sup>389</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 146.

<sup>390</sup> See for instance Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73); Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti 2*, pl. 123; McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, pl. 46.

<sup>391</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 6: 3, 175, fig. 168.

<sup>392</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 43 (a); Hassan, *Giza* 5, 245, fig. 104.

<sup>393</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 40.

<sup>394</sup> Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, figs. 9 (a, b), 21.

<sup>395</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73).

<sup>396</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 55; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 84.

<sup>397</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 67.

Pepyankh the middle without noticing the missing straps of the man at each end of the net. The closest to this arrangement is found in one of the dragnet scenes in the chapel of Mereruka as well as that in the chapel of his wife Seshseshet/ Waatetkhethor, where the man at one end of the net uses the strap while the one at the other end does not.<sup>398</sup> The artist of Pepyankh the black represents the shoulder straps only for three haulers on each side of the net, but not for the others, a feature which is not found in other dragnet scenes (Figure 63).

### 2.2.3 Trapping of Birds

#### 2.2.3.1 Selected Details

- *Composition*

Marshlands activities watched by the tomb owner are depicted in four registers on the north section of the east wall of Pepyankh the middle's offering room.<sup>399</sup> Ten men are shown pulling a dragnet in the bottom register,<sup>400</sup> while the other three registers are reserved for the netting and processing of birds, but the layout of the activities seems curious (Figure 64). The haulers appear in the second register (from bottom) grasping the rope attached to the clap net and starting to pull it. In the fourth register the men are shown having already pulled the rope and are flat on their backs with the net closed, one man is lifting himself up and others are collecting the birds. While the two scenes presumably illustrate successive movements of the same hunt,<sup>401</sup> they are separated by the third register where activities that usually follow the hunt are portrayed. Here men are presenting live fowl to the tomb owner while others are plucking and roasting some birds, presumably in preparation for a meal on the trip. The separation of the two stages of the hunt was presumably necessitated by the presence of the tomb owner himself watching the activity, and the preference to position the main result of the activity, the presentation of the catch to him, at his eye-level. For the same reason the men carrying the live birds are positioned immediately opposite him, while those preparing the food are placed behind them at a distance from him.

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<sup>398</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 43; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pl. 79; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family*, 2, pl. 56.

<sup>399</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79.

<sup>400</sup> See the discussion of 2.2.2 Fishing with Dragnet above.

<sup>401</sup> The surroundings are similar in the two stages of the hunt, including the presence of the reed screen and two herons. Probably the same number of men is shown in both registers (part of the bottom register is missing). See Figure 64.

Striking similarities exist between this scene and that of Pepyankh the middle's son, Niankhpepy the black.<sup>402</sup> Both scenes are positioned on the east wall, immediately opposite the false door. The composition and details of the two scenes are very similar (see Figures 64-65), each showing the large figure of the tomb owner to the left, viewing the work of fishermen and fowlers arranged in four registers. Both scenes place the dragnet in the bottom register and show two groups of five fishermen separated by an overseer and with very little variation in their movement.<sup>403</sup> Two stages of catching birds with the clap net are portrayed in each tomb, and in both cases they are placed in the second and fourth registers. The use of the reed screen for hiding and the number of fowlers employed, eight, is the same in both tombs, even though the represented stages of the hunt are somewhat different. While the men in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle are shown beginning to pull the rope attached to the net in register two and already on their backs in register four, their counterparts in the tomb of Niankhpepy the black are standing upright, waiting for the appropriate moment to act, in register two and are starting the actual pulling of the rope in register four. Thus while successive movements are recorded in both tombs the artist of Niankhpepy the black represented a slightly earlier stage of the hunt. Reserving the third register for the presentation of birds to the tomb owner and the preparation of a meal is found in both scenes, where the postures, actions and details of the two men holding the geese and of those hanging or roasting the birds, as well as the surroundings and the nearby containers are identical but with a minor difference, as in Niankhpepy the black's scene both men holding the geese are in the action of plucking the birds while in the scene of Pepyankh the middle, one man is plucking a bird and the other is wringing a bird's neck (see Figures 66-67). Another difference between the two scenes is that Niankhpepy the black's figure occupies the full height of the wall and therefore his eye-level coincides with the last stage of the hunt, rather than with the men presenting him with the catch.<sup>404</sup>

There can be little doubt that the artist who decorated Niankhpepy the black's chapel has strongly and directly been influenced by the decoration of the tomb Pepyankh the middle, at least as far as the marshland scene is concerned. Even the vertical inscription before the tomb owner describing the scene as *m33 k3t sht sht 3pdw h3m ʕ3 wrt* 'viewing the work of the marshlands, the

<sup>402</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 13; see Figure 65 for the recent recording of the tomb by the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>403</sup> See discussion under 2.2.2 Fishing with Dragnet above.

<sup>404</sup> See Figures 64-65.

trapping of birds and the catching of fish, very greatly' is the same in both tombs, using identical signs.<sup>405</sup> Although this theme is rather common, the caption that accompanies the activities varies from one tomb to the other,<sup>406</sup> and it is even different in the tomb of the son, Pepyankh the black.<sup>407</sup> I have earlier suggested that the artist responsible for the decoration of Niankhpepy the black's chapel was his own son, Iuhi. That this son was familiar with the decoration of his grandfather's chapel may be strengthened by the fact that a man with this rare name left a graffito on the south wall of its outer room (room 1) showing his figure carrying offerings and described as *shd hmw-k3* 'inspector of ka-servants'.<sup>408</sup> Iuhi must accordingly have had regular visits to his grandfather's chapel.<sup>409</sup>

It is true that the dragnet and clap net scenes were usually shown close to each other on the same section of the wall,<sup>410</sup> since they both belonged to the marshlands activities which may have taken place in the same location and perhaps occasionally at the same time. However the composition created by the artist of Pepyankh the middle and consequently adopted by that of Niankhpepy the black, is not found in any other Old Kingdom tomb; not even in the adjoining chapel of Pepyankh the black, son of Niankhpepy the black and grandson of Pepyankh the middle. Pepyankh the black is depicted on the right side of the east wall of (room 4) in his chapel standing and watching daily life activities, which are also divided into four registers. However, while the two middle registers show the clap net and dragnet episodes, the top register represents agricultural pursuits and the bottom register shows other marshlands activities, such as fording cattle, gathering papyrus and hunting hippopotami. Furthermore, the vertical inscription before Pepyankh the black's figure describes his action in a different context from that of his father and grandfather, for it reads: *m33 k3t nbt nfrt irrt m sht nt Šmꜥw T3-mḥw* 'viewing all the good work which is done in the fields/marshlands of Upper and Lower Egypt'.<sup>411</sup>

<sup>405</sup> Compare Figures 64-65.

<sup>406</sup> See Montet, *vie privée*, 4-5. For some variants of this type of inscription see: Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 30; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73); Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, pl. 8.

<sup>407</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>408</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (f).

<sup>409</sup> See the above discussion under 1.1 Artists in their Patrons' Tombs. Also see Figures 30-31.

<sup>410</sup> For examples Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73); Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 46; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 55; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 48; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 30-40.

<sup>411</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.



- *Steps of Trapping Birds*

As mentioned before, the artists of Pepyankh the middle and Niankhpepy the black depicted two successive steps of birds trapping in two registers. On the other hand Pepyankh the black's artist allocated only one register for this theme, showing the final stage of closing the clap net (Figures 66-68). Representation of successive movements in the closure of the net is known from the early Fifth Dynasty, appearing in many tombs in the Memphite cemeteries, as seen in the earliest examples, Nebemakhet<sup>412</sup> (Shepseskaf-Userkaf) and Sekhemkare<sup>413</sup> (Sahure) of Giza. The same technique appears later in many tombs at Saqqara such as those of Ankhmahor/ Sesi<sup>414</sup> (Teti) and Mehu<sup>415</sup> (Pepy I-Merenre) (see Table 17). However, it is interesting that the only other example of this artistic technique in Upper Egypt is found in the tomb of Twau (Pepy I) at Naga el-Deir,<sup>416</sup> which is earlier than the two examples at Meir. It seems likely that the artists of Meir followed the preferred choice of the Memphite artists in representing only two stages of the trapping as we see for instance in the scenes of Ptahhotep II/ Tjefi<sup>417</sup> (middle-late Wenis) of Saqqara and Seshemnofer IV<sup>418</sup> (Wenis-early Teti) of Giza (see Table 17).<sup>419</sup>

In the majority of the Memphite scenes each stage is represented in a separate register,<sup>420</sup> and the order of the action starts from the bottom up, which is followed in the two cases at Meir.<sup>421</sup> In the scenes of Pepyankh the middle and Niankhpepy the black, the two stages of the trapping are separated by a register occupied by activities which follow the hunt.<sup>422</sup> This arrangement is uncommon, as the different stages of the hunt usually progress directly without any separation.<sup>423</sup> Nevertheless, the separation of the stages is found in two Memphite tombs,<sup>424</sup>

<sup>412</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 12 (a); Hassan, *Giza* 4, 133, fig. 76.

<sup>413</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 42 (a, lower); Hassan, *Giza* 4, 111, fig. 58.

<sup>414</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 42.

<sup>415</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 7.

<sup>416</sup> Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 1.

<sup>417</sup> Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 32; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pls. 21, 25- 26.

<sup>418</sup> Junker, *Giza* 11, 234, fig. 91.

<sup>419</sup> Depicting more than two stages of birds trapping is not common. For three stages, see for instance Tjy (Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122) and Mehu (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 7).

<sup>420</sup> Two trapping stages are represented in one register in the tombs of Sekhemkare at Giza (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 42 (a) lower; Hassan, *Giza* 4, 111, fig. 58) and Kagemni/ Memi at Saqqara (von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pls. 8-10; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 497 (14)). See Table 17.

<sup>421</sup> Only three examples show the progression of the action from the top to the bottom, as in the Saqqara tombs of Tjy (Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122), Metjetji (Ziegler, *Catalogue des Stèles*, 128, 144, 150- 151) and Seankhuptah (Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 75). Also see Table 17.

<sup>422</sup> Figures 66-67.

<sup>423</sup> See Table 17.



Nebemakhet<sup>425</sup> (Shepseskaf-Userkaf) of Giza and Noferseshemtah/ Sheshi<sup>426</sup> (Teti) of Saqqara. The former is presumably the earliest to include more than one stage of the trapping, but the two stages are separated by the unrelated ploughing episode, while in the latter the separating register is occupied by the somewhat related activities in the poultry yard. If the artists of Meir were inspired by Memphite examples, the source of influence may have been the tomb of Noferseshemtah/ Sheshi.

- *Postures of Haulers*

The action in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle starts in the lower register. The haulers are represented in the early stage of pulling the rope attached to the net. Three/ four of the haulers have their bodies bent, beginning to throw themselves backward with one foot flat on the ground and the other heel used to push backward.<sup>427</sup> This posture is encountered in the earlier bird trapping scene in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Tjy (Niuserre-Djedkare) at Saqqara,<sup>428</sup> to which the artist of Pepyankh the middle may well have had access. Depicting the haulers bending over is generally uncommon as, apart from the example in Tjy's tomb, it is found only in the tombs of Hotepherakhti<sup>429</sup> (Niuserre-Wenis) and Meru/ Tetiseneb<sup>430</sup> (early-middle Pepy I?) at Saqqara and Inti<sup>431</sup> (late Fifth Dynasty) at Deshasha. Yet in the last three cases the haulers are supporting their bodies on both heels<sup>432</sup> (see Table 18).

While in the first stage of bird trapping in the tomb of Niankhpepy the black the haulers are standing ready to pull the rope, in the second stage they are simply shown at the early stage of throwing themselves backward. The five men are leaning back but with their feet still totally flat on the ground.<sup>433</sup> This posture is also rare, yet is attested in a slightly earlier example in the

<sup>424</sup> See Table 17.

<sup>425</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 12 (a); Hassan, *Giza* 4, 133, fig. 76.

<sup>426</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pls. 15-16.

<sup>427</sup> Originally there were probably four men in this posture, but the scene is partly damaged. Compare Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8 and Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79. See Figure 66.

<sup>428</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>429</sup> Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, figs. 24-25.

<sup>430</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, pl. 8.

<sup>431</sup> Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 5; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 33.

<sup>432</sup> The haulers are also supported on both heels in the scene of Seshemnofer/ Ifi of Saqqara (Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 155, fig. 9), but they are leaning backward and not in a bending posture.

<sup>433</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 13; and Figure 67.

tomb of Ihy<sup>434</sup> (early-middle Pepy II) at Thebes and later in the tomb of Mery-aa<sup>435</sup> (late Sixth-early Eighth Dynasty) at El-Hagarsa, but in both the men are supporting their bodies on their heels (see Table 18).

The final stage of closing the net with the haulers falling on their backs while still holding the rope,<sup>436</sup> is portrayed in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and his grandson Pepyankh the black. This stage appears in Memphite tombs from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty onwards (see Table 19). Three haulers are shown on the north wall of Pepyankh the middle lying flat on their backs with their legs fully extended, their hands clutching the ropes and their bodies partly overlapping.<sup>437</sup> While the lying flat posture with overlapped bodies existed in the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty at Memphis,<sup>438</sup> the details of Pepyankh the middle's haulers closely resemble those depicted in the scene of Noferseshemtah/ Sheshi<sup>439</sup> (Teti) at Saqqara. The haulers in the tomb of Ptahhotep II/ Tjefi<sup>440</sup> (mid-late Wenis) at Saqqara are also represented with their bodies stretched flat on the ground but, unlike the men in Pepyankh the middle's tomb, their bodies are almost completely overlapped and thus mostly hidden behind the first hauler. Similarities are equally found in the tombs of the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties, such as those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,<sup>441</sup> Pehenuika,<sup>442</sup> Tjy,<sup>443</sup> Metjetji,<sup>444</sup> Ankhmahor/ Sesi<sup>445</sup> and Mehu.<sup>446</sup> However, in these instances the haulers' backs and/or legs are not totally extended on the ground as is the case with those in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>447</sup>

The falling men in the scenes of Pepyankh the middle and Tjy are similar, although not identical (see Figure 69). That the artist of Meir was influenced by the work of his counterpart at Saqqara may be strengthened by the fact that the texts inscribed above the falling men in both cases read: *imi tw r.s nty hn(.i) iw i3dt.k dns[.ti?]* "come to it (i.e the net), comrade, your net is

<sup>434</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, figs. 61-62, pl. 18.

<sup>435</sup> Kanawati, *EL-Hagarsa* 3, pl. 35.

<sup>436</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 143.

<sup>437</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79. See Figure 66.

<sup>438</sup> For examples see Harpur, *Decoration*, 143, table 3. Also see Table 19.

<sup>439</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 3, pls. 15.

<sup>440</sup> Paget and Pirie, *Ptah-hotep*, pl. 32; Davies, *Ptahhotep* 1, pl. 21.

<sup>441</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Niankhkhnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73).

<sup>442</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 46.

<sup>443</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>444</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des Stèles*, 128, 144, 150- 151.

<sup>445</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 33, pls. 40- 43; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 42.

<sup>446</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 7.

<sup>447</sup> See Table 19.

heavy”.<sup>448</sup> The two texts were most probably identical but the word *dns[.ti]* is not preserved in Tjy’s version as the extreme left part of the scene is missing.<sup>449</sup>

Three haulers are represented in the final stage of closing the net in the tomb of Pepyankh the black. While their buttocks are already on the ground with their legs extended, their backs are still raised above the ground and there is no overlapping of their bodies.<sup>450</sup> A similar posture is depicted in the tomb of Seankhuptah (late Teti-early Pepy I) at Saqqara,<sup>451</sup> although there is a slight overlap between the feet of each man and the buttock of the man before him. Haulers on the ground with raised backs are also found in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of Iynofert<sup>452</sup> and Nimaetre<sup>453</sup> at Giza, and the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Ankhmahor/ Sesi<sup>454</sup> and Mehu<sup>455</sup> of Saqqara. But the haulers’ legs in these cases are shown bent with the knees up. The haulers in the tomb of Khewnes (late Pepy II) of Qubbet el-Hawa,<sup>456</sup> a likely contemporary of Pepyankh the black, are shown in a similar posture without overlapping bodies, which may hint at some influence from Meir or Memphis. Similar influences may be observed in three late Old Kingdom tombs at El-Hawawish, the only other province where examples of the lying posture of haulers are found.<sup>457</sup> As in Pepyankh the black’s tomb, three fallen haulers are shown with no overlap in the tombs of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and his son Shepsipumin/ Kheni,<sup>458</sup> while four men are depicted in the tomb of Tjeti-aa.<sup>459</sup> In these cases however the haulers’ backs and legs are raised above ground.

- *Other Details*

As usual in the clap net scenes, the artists at Meir included a signalman in the three examples of this theme. The signalman of Pepyankh the black is holding a cloth over his shoulders in

<sup>448</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 38, pl. 79; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>449</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>450</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90. See Figure 68.

<sup>451</sup> Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 75.

<sup>452</sup> Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, figs. 8 (a, b), 21.

<sup>453</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 2, 221, fig. 240.

<sup>454</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 33, pls. 40-43; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 42.

<sup>455</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 7.

<sup>456</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue de monuments* 1, 160; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 22.

<sup>457</sup> See Table 19.

<sup>458</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 22.

<sup>459</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 8, fig. 13 (a). The scene is in a poor state of preservation.

outstretched hands,<sup>460</sup> which is the commonest posture in such scenes from the Fourth Dynasty onwards in both the capital and the provinces<sup>461</sup> (see Table 20). On the other hand, a man is shown with his hand raised giving the order to pull rope in the scenes of Pepyankh the middle and his son Niankhpepy the black.<sup>462</sup> This posture is less common than the previous one, but is attested in some Memphite tombs from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty onwards,<sup>463</sup> such as those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,<sup>464</sup> Tjy,<sup>465</sup> Noferseshem-ptah/ Sheshi<sup>466</sup> and Kagemni/ Memi<sup>467</sup> of Saqqara.<sup>468</sup>

The screen of vegetation behind which the signalman usually hides is present in the scenes of Pepyankh the middle and his son Niankhpepy the black, but omitted in the case of Pepyankh the black. In Pepyankh the middle's tomb the vegetation appears to be formed of reeds with closed blossoms.<sup>469</sup> The only other Old Kingdom tomb in which a screen of a similar shape is found is that of Ankhmahor/ Sesi of Saqqara,<sup>470</sup> which may have inspired the artist of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>471</sup> Although the artist of Niankhpepy the black almost copied the scene of Pepyankh the middle, the vegetation screen depicted is different, with the top probably representing opened reed blossoms,<sup>472</sup> perhaps simply indicating a different time of the year. If this interpretation is correct, then fowling with clap net was not restricted to the marshlands as reed vegetation may be found even along the banks of small canals. This type of reed screen is also very rare but it appears in the tomb of Khewnes (late Pepy II) of Qubbet el-Hawa,<sup>473</sup> where other similarities with the tombs at Meir are evident.

After the closure of the net in Pepyankh the middle's scene two men are shown running towards the net in order to collect the birds (Figure 66). This detail is attested in a limited

<sup>460</sup> Figure 68.

<sup>461</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, 142.

<sup>462</sup> Figures 66-67.

<sup>463</sup> See Table 20.

<sup>464</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73).

<sup>465</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti 2*, pl. 122.

<sup>466</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs 3*, pls. 15-16.

<sup>467</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pls. 8-10; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 497 (14).

<sup>468</sup> For other examples see Table 20.

<sup>469</sup> Figure 66.

<sup>470</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 33, pls. 40-43; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 2*, pl. 42.

<sup>471</sup> A similar column of vegetation is shown in the scene of Irenkaptah (Niuserre) of Saqqara, but its top is missing (Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 13).

<sup>472</sup> Figure 67.

<sup>473</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue de monuments 1*, 160; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa 1*, pl. 22.

number of scenes, all found at Saqqara,<sup>474</sup> with the earliest example found in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep<sup>475</sup> (Niuserre- Menkauhor), then in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Seankhuipthah and Noferseshemphah/ Sheshi in the Teti cemetery.<sup>476</sup> The first of the fallen haulers in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle appears to be lifting himself up while looking backwards towards his companions lying on their backs. This detail is found again only in the tomb of Tjy, where a fowler is depicted in an almost identical posture and location in the scene,<sup>477</sup> which may hint at some influence from the remarkable chapel of Tjy (see Figure 69).

The representation of a man collecting the birds from the net after its closure is attested at Meir only in the tomb of Pepyankh the black.<sup>478</sup> The earliest examples of such a detail are from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty at Saqqara, namely in the tombs of Pehenuika<sup>479</sup> and Tjy,<sup>480</sup> but other examples from the Sixth Dynasty appear in the tombs of Noferseshemphah/ Sheshi, Ankhmahor/ Sesi and Seshemnofer/ Ifi also of Saqqara.<sup>481</sup> In the provinces, Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and his son Shepsipumin/ Kheni of El-Hawawish included such a figure in their netting scenes;<sup>482</sup> perhaps their artist, Seni, was equally inspired by the tombs at Saqqara.

The two crouching men facing each other and roasting geese while a third man hangs plucked birds and cuts of meat under a light wooden structure presumably represent an innovation by the artist of Pepyankh the middle, later copied by that of Niankhpepy the black.<sup>483</sup> No similar composition is attested in other Old Kingdom netting scenes. Outside the wooden structure in both scenes at Meir two men are represented seated back to back, with their legs outstretched. Holding a goose by the wing with its head grasped between his two feet, the man to the right is plucking the bird's feathers.<sup>484</sup> This very rare detail first appeared in the tomb of Tjy at Saqqara.<sup>485</sup> A man is represented in a rather similar posture in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of

<sup>474</sup> For this action see Harpur, *Decoration*, 144, and table 4.

<sup>475</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 626 (73).

<sup>476</sup> Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 75; Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 15.

<sup>477</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>478</sup> Figure 68.

<sup>479</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 46.

<sup>480</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>481</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 15; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 33, pls. 40-43; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 42; Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 155, fig. 9. For other examples see Table 20.

<sup>482</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 12; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 22.

<sup>483</sup> See Figures 66-67.

<sup>484</sup> This detail appears once in the scene of Pepyankh the middle and twice in the scene of Niankhpepy the black.

<sup>485</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

Noferseshemtah/ Sheshi and Seshemnofer/ Ifi, also at Saqqara, but there he holds the bird's neck by the toes of one foot.<sup>486</sup> Similarity between the scenes in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and Tjy is further emphasised by the fact that the man to the left in both cases is seated in the same posture and engaged in wringing the neck of a bird (see Figure 70). A careful examination of the composition and details of the scenes in these two tombs leaves little doubt that the artist at Meir was inspired by, or copied the scene in the tomb of Tjy.<sup>487</sup> In both cases the men are naked, sitting back to back,<sup>488</sup> the position of the birds is similar, above the men bird cages and some items of food and drink as well as equipment are represented. Finally, it should be mentioned that although the artist of Niankhpepy the black mostly copied the scene of Pepyankh the middle he, intentionally or unintentionally, represented both naked men in the action of plucking the birds.<sup>489</sup>

## 2.3 Agriculture Cycle

Scenes of agriculture are common in the decoration of the Old Kingdom tombs, but are represented in only two tombs at El-Qusya, those of Pepyankh the middle and his grandson Pepyankh the black of Meir. In the examination of these themes focus will be on certain artistic details as the agriculture process itself has already been analyzed extensively.<sup>490</sup>

### 2.3.1 Selected Details

- *Ploughing*

The ploughing team usually consists of a pair of long-horned cattle pulling the plough, with one farmhand driving the animals and another guiding the plough. One or two ploughing teams are depicted in the majority of Old Kingdom agriculture scenes,<sup>491</sup> with only five cases of more than

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<sup>486</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 15; Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 155, fig. 9.

<sup>487</sup> Compare Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79, with Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122. Also see Figure 70.

<sup>488</sup> Unlike the case in Pepyankh the middle's tomb, the two men in the tomb of Tjy are separated by the thin wooden stand of a light wooden structure.

<sup>489</sup> See Figure 67.

<sup>490</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, passim; Harpur, *Decoration*, 157-173, 204-221; Siebels, *Agriculture*, passim.

<sup>491</sup> See tables in: Siebels, *Agriculture*, 58-59.

two teams attested.<sup>492</sup> At Meir, five teams are shown in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle<sup>493</sup> and three in that of Pepyankh the black.<sup>494</sup> It seems likely that the scenes at Meir were inspired by those at Saqqara as only Mereruka of the early Sixth Dynasty represented five ploughing teams in his agriculture scene,<sup>495</sup> and only Tjy of the late Fifth Dynasty showed three teams in his scene.<sup>496</sup> It is possible that the artist of Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi was influenced by the work of his neighbors at Meir or by the Saqqara artists, for he included six ploughing teams in his agriculture scene.<sup>497</sup>

It is noticed that cows are represented pulling the plough in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, while oxen perform the same task in that of Pepyankh the black as is often the case in agriculture scenes.<sup>498</sup> The use of cows in ploughing teams is found in a limited number of tombs dated from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the mid-Sixth Dynasty, with the majority of examples located at Saqqara,<sup>499</sup> as in the tombs of Tjy,<sup>500</sup> Sekhentiu and Noferseshemptah,<sup>501</sup> Mereruka<sup>502</sup> and Mehu.<sup>503</sup> This feature appears also in the tomb of Werirni (Djedkare-Wenis) of Sheikh Said<sup>504</sup> which is the only provincial example earlier than that of Pepyankh the middle. It is logical that using cows instead of bulls in the ploughing was a reality and not simply an artistic trend; however the reason for using cows rather than the more common use of oxen is uncertain.<sup>505</sup>

It is noticeable that a cow is represented in a very rare posture behind the first ploughing team in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle,<sup>506</sup> turning its head back to scratch its muzzle with the hoof of a raised hind leg.<sup>507</sup> This is the only example of a cow shown in such a posture (see Figure 71). Earlier at Saqqara, oxen are represented performing a similar action in three tombs

<sup>492</sup> Siebels, *Agriculture*, 59.

<sup>493</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>494</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>495</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 168-170; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 82.

<sup>496</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 112.

<sup>497</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 60.

<sup>498</sup> See Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 29.

<sup>499</sup> See Siebels, *Agriculture*, 59-60.

<sup>500</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 112.

<sup>501</sup> Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 4 (b).

<sup>502</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 81-82.

<sup>503</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 41.

<sup>504</sup> Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 16.

<sup>505</sup> Vandier mentioned that the bulls used for ploughing were possibly castrated (Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 29).

<sup>506</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>507</sup> For this posture see Evans, *Animal Behaviour*, 76-77.



dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty, those of Netjerweser (late Niuserre-Menkauhor),<sup>508</sup> Reshepses (mid-Djedkare)<sup>509</sup> and Iynofert/ Shanef (Wenis)<sup>510</sup> (see Figure 72).

Unlike the majority of the agriculture scenes which show both legs of the ploughmen straight,<sup>511</sup> the ploughmen of Pepyankh the black are depicted leaning forward over the plough with the forward leg straight and the back one slightly bent.<sup>512</sup> The ploughmen of Pepyankh the middle are represented with their legs spread apart and both are bent at the knee.<sup>513</sup> Similar but not identical postures are represented in some Memphite tombs as early as the mid-late Fifth Dynasty.<sup>514</sup> However the postures of the ploughmen shown in the tombs of Sekhentiu and Noferseshemptah (Djedkare-Wenis),<sup>515</sup> and Mehu (Pepy I-Merenre)<sup>516</sup> at Saqqara, resemble those used by the artists of Pepyankh the middle of Meir and his contemporary Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>517</sup>

- *Harvesting the Flax and Grain*

The harvesting of flax takes place before that of grain, as depicted in both agriculture scenes at Meir. Two standing men portrayed in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle use their fingers to pick out the unwanted stems from bundles of flax,<sup>518</sup> while a seated man performs the same task in the tomb of Pepyankh the black.<sup>519</sup> This detail appeared in the Memphite cemeteries as early as the mid-Fifth Dynasty with the majority of examples found at Saqqara,<sup>520</sup> as for instance in the tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,<sup>521</sup> Tjy<sup>522</sup> and Mereruka,<sup>523</sup> with one example known

<sup>508</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 22.

<sup>509</sup> Lepsius, *Erg.*, pl. 39 (a).

<sup>510</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 44.

<sup>511</sup> See table in: Siebels, *Agriculture*, 68.

<sup>512</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>513</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>514</sup> See tables in: Siebels, *Agriculture*, 67-70.

<sup>515</sup> Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 4 (b).

<sup>516</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 41.

<sup>517</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* 1, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 73.

<sup>518</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>519</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>520</sup> See table in Siebels, *Agriculture*, 145.

<sup>521</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 56; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, 608 (52).

<sup>522</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 151.

<sup>523</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 170; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 81.



at Giza in the tomb of Kahief.<sup>524</sup> The two cases at Meir are the only provincial examples of this detail, which suggests Saqqara as its source.

The tying of the harvested flax stems into bundles is depicted in the tomb of Pepyankh the black, where a crouching man appears to be tying up the bundle.<sup>525</sup> This detail is represented in a small number of Memphite tombs,<sup>526</sup> such as those of Tjy,<sup>527</sup> Hesi,<sup>528</sup> Mereruka<sup>529</sup> and Mehu.<sup>530</sup> This motif does not appear in other provincial tombs and probably Pepyankh the black's artist was influenced by the scenes from Saqqara, especially since the posture of this man is very similar to those represented in the tombs of Tjy, Mehu and Sekhemankhptah.<sup>531</sup>

In both grain harvest scenes at Meir a man is shown crushing a handful of ears between his palms to extract some grain, perhaps to test the quality of the harvest.<sup>532</sup> This action is attested in many Memphite agriculture scenes from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards, and shortly after started to appear in the provinces.<sup>533</sup> The harvester performing this action is usually shown with his sickle tucked under one armpit<sup>534</sup> as represented in the scene of Pepyankh the black,<sup>535</sup> but also in the neighboring tombs of Ibi<sup>536</sup> and Djau<sup>537</sup> at Deir el-Gebrawi and Kaihep/ Tjet-iqer<sup>538</sup> at El-Hawawish. The man crushing the ears to extract the grain in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle does not hold a sickle under the armpit,<sup>539</sup> and the same is found earlier in the scene of Sendjemib/ Mehi (Wenis)<sup>540</sup> at Giza, and later in that of Shepsipumin/ Kheni (late Pepy II)<sup>541</sup> at El-Hawawish.

<sup>524</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 43.

<sup>525</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>526</sup> See table in Siebels, *Agriculture*, 128.

<sup>527</sup> Épron, Dumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 151.

<sup>528</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 52.

<sup>529</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 170; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 81.

<sup>530</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 22 (b).

<sup>531</sup> Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. D.

<sup>532</sup> About this action see Harpur, *Decoration*, 213; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 96.

<sup>533</sup> Siebels, *Agriculture*, 170.

<sup>534</sup> See for example Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, fig.4; Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 17; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 47; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 107; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, fig. 9.

<sup>535</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>536</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 12; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 71.

<sup>537</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 60.

<sup>538</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 15.

<sup>539</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>540</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 73.

<sup>541</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 17.

Quails appear in the flax and grain harvest scenes of Pepyankh the middle and in the grain harvest of Pepyankh the black.<sup>542</sup> The earliest examples of this detail appeared at Memphis, where quails are shown wandering about at the harvesters' feet to pick the fallen seeds in the tomb of Sekhemkai (Wenis-Teti)<sup>543</sup> at Giza, then in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Mereruka,<sup>544</sup> Hesi<sup>545</sup> and Mehu<sup>546</sup> at Saqqara. In addition to the attestation of this theme in the tombs at Meir, it first appeared in the provinces in the tomb of Memi (Pepy I)<sup>547</sup> at El-Hawawish and later in that of Wahi (Eighth Dynasty)<sup>548</sup> at El-Hagarsa.

- *Transporting and Threshing the Harvest*

Transporting the harvested grain from the field to the threshing floor is represented in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black. The donkeys of Pepyankh the middle are loaded with hexagonal sacks, which are taller than wide and have sharp angles,<sup>549</sup> a shape that doesn't appear in other Old Kingdom agriculture scenes. A few examples of sacks from Saqqara show similarities in some details to those of Pepyankh the middle;<sup>550</sup> these are depicted in the tombs of Pehenuika,<sup>551</sup> Ptahhotep,<sup>552</sup> Akhethotep<sup>553</sup> and Sekhemankhtah,<sup>554</sup> all dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty. One donkey loaded with a hexagonal sack is preserved in the scene of Pepyankh the black, but the sack in this case is wider than tall.<sup>555</sup> No similar sacks are attested in other scenes,<sup>556</sup> however square-shaped sacks are represented at Giza in the tombs of Noferbauphtah,<sup>557</sup> Kahief<sup>558</sup> and Iasen,<sup>559</sup> also dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty.

<sup>542</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>543</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, fig. 4.

<sup>544</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 82.

<sup>545</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 52.

<sup>546</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 23 (a).

<sup>547</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 11.

<sup>548</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pls. 20-21.

<sup>549</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 128.

<sup>550</sup> See Siebels, *Agriculture*, 245-246.

<sup>551</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 47.

<sup>552</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 11.

<sup>553</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 7.

<sup>554</sup> Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D.

<sup>555</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 128.

<sup>556</sup> See Siebels, *Agriculture*, 239-240.

<sup>557</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 9.

<sup>558</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 45.

<sup>559</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, fig. 30.

It is interesting that the artist of Pepyankh the middle was accurate and observant in painting black stripes on the legs of the donkeys transporting the crop to the threshing floor<sup>560</sup> (see Figure 73). These stripes represent a very specific characteristic feature of a certain subspecies of the African wild ass, the Somali wild ass (*Equus africanus somaliensis*). This animal which is stronger than the domestic asses and can travel for long distances, surviving on little water and reduced food, is known from North Africa, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia, but with uncertain presence in Egypt and Sudan.<sup>561</sup> This extremely rare species is not attested in other scenes, presumably due to its rarity,<sup>562</sup> and is not depicted even in the neighboring tombs of Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black, the son and grandson of Pepyankh the middle. Its use by the latter may be connected with his unique office as ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces’, and perhaps the need for stronger species known in neighboring regions for the efficient transportation of crops and other objects within the unusually large area under his jurisdiction. It is also noticed that the artist of Pepyankh the middle depicted a black spot on the chests of all the other donkeys used for transportation of the crop or on the threshing floor.<sup>563</sup> No information is available on this characteristic feature, which is also unattested in any other tomb. It is true that the chestnut is depicted in many scenes, but this is usually on the inside upper part of the ass’s front legs.<sup>564</sup> Considering the skill and presumably accuracy of Pepyankh the middle’s artist, could this animal with black spot on its chests belong to a different species not known to us, or was it merely an artist’s error?

A temporary stack of sheaves shown in the bottom register on the west wall of Pepyankh the middle represents the destination point of two loaded donkeys.<sup>565</sup> The stack is shaped like a cone narrower at the top,<sup>566</sup> with each of the upper corners ornamented with a decorative motif, often described as arusa ears.<sup>567</sup> This motif is commonly used to decorate the top of the stacks in

<sup>560</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 14, 22 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>561</sup> For a discussion of this animal Lashien, ‘The donkey in Egyptian wall scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms’, forthcoming article.

<sup>562</sup> The possibility that such details were executed in painting which has been obliterated in other tombs should not be discarded.

<sup>563</sup> See Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 46 (b), 84.

<sup>564</sup> This rather rare feature appears in the tomb of Tjy (Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 154) and Ankhtifi (Vandier, *Moʿalla*, pls. 11, 36). This feature seems to be more regularly depicted during the Middle Kingdom. See Kanawati and Woods, *Beni Hassan*, photographs 172, 174-75, 178.

<sup>565</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>566</sup> See Siebels, *Agriculture*, 287ff.

<sup>567</sup> See Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, 15. Also see Blackman, *JEA* 8 (1922), 235-240.

the winnowing and sieving stages of harvesting,<sup>568</sup> with its use in the temporary stack in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle being the only known example. Vandier suggests that the artist in the latter example mistakenly added the arusa ears as he was probably confused between the two similarly shaped types of stacks usually represented in the Memphite agriculture scenes.<sup>569</sup> Painting the surface area of the stack with details of the bundled sheaves as in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle is another Memphite characteristic, attested in a small number of tombs. The majority of these tombs are located at Saqqara and dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty<sup>570</sup> such as those of Akhethotep,<sup>571</sup> Tjy,<sup>572</sup> Noferiretenef,<sup>573</sup> Sekhentiu and Noferseshemptah,<sup>574</sup> but also found in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Mereruka<sup>575</sup> and Mehu.<sup>576</sup> Werirni (Djedkare-Wenis) of Sheikh Said was the first to include the stack's internal details in a provincial tomb,<sup>577</sup> which with the example in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle remain the only two cases known from Upper Egypt.<sup>578</sup>

The threshing floor in the scene of Pepyankh the middle is represented with rounded corners<sup>579</sup> rather than in the usual narrow rectangular form,<sup>580</sup> and almost the same shape is used in the scene of Pepyankh the black, although some sections of the pile are hidden by the donkey's legs.<sup>581</sup> A similar example of a circular threshing floor<sup>582</sup> is found in the tomb of

<sup>568</sup> This stack is either constructed of straw resulting from the crop threshing, or of mud to be used as a store for the seeds (Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 183-184). Also see Siebels, *Agriculture*, 347ff. For some examples see: Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, 15; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 54; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 25 (a); Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 47.

<sup>569</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 164.

<sup>570</sup> This detail is also found on a fragment from Abusir (Cairo No. 60072) (Wreszinski, *Atlas* 1, 400) dated to the Fifth Dynasty (Harpur, *Decoration*, 351).

<sup>571</sup> Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, 137.

<sup>572</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 154.

<sup>573</sup> van de Walle, *Neferiretenef*, pl. 12.

<sup>574</sup> Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 5.

<sup>575</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 170.

<sup>576</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 24 (b).

<sup>577</sup> Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 16.

<sup>578</sup> It is possible that there were more Memphite as well as provincial examples of such stacks internal details, but probably the colours of these internal details have faded and not preserved any longer (Siebels, *Agriculture*, 29 n. 21). For instance compare (Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 170) with the more recent recording where the details seem to have disappeared (Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 24-25 (b), 28 (b), 81).

<sup>579</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>580</sup> See for instance: Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 16; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 81-82.

<sup>581</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>582</sup> Montet suggests that the threshing floor was probably surrounded by a low clay wall (Montet, *vie privée*, 165). Also see Strouhal, *Life*, 100; Siebels, *Agriculture*, 316-319. This feature is indicated as a projected up-stand at each

Hotepherakhti (Niuserre or later) at Saqqara,<sup>583</sup> and the circular shape of the threshing floor is widely accepted by scholars.<sup>584</sup> Perhaps that explains the drover's shout at the donkeys in the scene of Pepyankh the middle, where he says *iry ḥ3.k im.sn* 'make them [go] around you'.<sup>585</sup> The same shout is recorded in threshing scenes dating from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards, mostly in tombs at Saqqara,<sup>586</sup> such as those of Tjy,<sup>587</sup> Kaiemnofert,<sup>588</sup> Mereruka<sup>589</sup> and Mehu.<sup>590</sup> It is possible that this shout was abbreviated in the scene of Pepyankh the black to only *ḥ3.k*, as suggested by Siebels.<sup>591</sup>

As usual on the threshing floor, a donkey in both scenes of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black is shown lowering its head to feed on the sheaves.<sup>592</sup> In the latter scene a donkey is depicted turning in the opposite direction to the group, which is the only example of such a movement outside the Memphite cemeteries where it is attested from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards, as in the cases of Kahief and Sendjemib/ Mehi of Giza,<sup>593</sup> and Ankhmahor and Mehu of Saqqara.<sup>594</sup> Donkeys are usually depicted as an overlapping group moving in a uniform action, with occasionally one or more of the animals lowering their heads,<sup>595</sup> as in the scene of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>596</sup> In the scene of Pepyankh the black however the donkeys exhibit rarely attested disorderliness, with one picking some grains from the floor, another progressing towards the drover who is trying to return it back using his stick, while a third is turning in the opposite direction to the group.<sup>597</sup> A few examples of such disorderly behaviour are attested, the majority of which are found at Giza and dated from the mid-Fifth Dynasty

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end of the rectangular floor. For examples see van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 47.

<sup>583</sup> Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 51.

<sup>584</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 167; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, 173; Klebs, *Reliefs*, 50; Montet, *vie privée*, 216; Erman, *Reden, Rufe*, 26; Siebels, *Agriculture*, 316 n. 88.

<sup>585</sup> Montet, *vie privée*, 218-220; Siebels, *Agriculture*, 336ff.

<sup>586</sup> Siebels, *Agriculture*, 336-337. For an example at Giza see Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 46.

<sup>587</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155.

<sup>588</sup> Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. F.

<sup>589</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 82.

<sup>590</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 24 (b).

<sup>591</sup> Siebels, *Agriculture*, 338; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>592</sup> See Siebels, *Agriculture*, 320ff.

<sup>593</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 46; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, fig. 53.

<sup>594</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 24; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 37; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 24 (b).

<sup>595</sup> See for instance Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 82; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 51; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. F.

<sup>596</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>597</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

onwards,<sup>598</sup> such as those of Kahief,<sup>599</sup> Seshemnofer IV,<sup>600</sup> and Sekhemankhptah,<sup>601</sup> with one example from Saqqara in the tomb of Noferiretenef.<sup>602</sup>

## 2.4 Funerary Procession<sup>603</sup>

The funerary procession on the east and west walls of (room 3) in the tomb of Pepyankh the black at Meir is the only attested depiction of this theme at El-Qusya.<sup>604</sup> A study of all scenes of the funerary procession<sup>605</sup> suggests that after the departure from the *pr-dt* ‘funerary estate’,<sup>606</sup> accompanied by certain personnel,<sup>607</sup> *drit*-mourners,<sup>608</sup> *wt*-priests and lector priests, the procession passes through three phases: 1- the coffin is carried or ferried to the *ibw* ‘the purification tent’<sup>609</sup> and to the *wbt* ‘the embalming workshop’,<sup>610</sup> which were probably located within, or close to the cemetery;<sup>611</sup> 2- the procession then heads to the Delta to visit certain sacred sites at Sais and Buto;<sup>612</sup> 3- the return south to place the funerary furniture in its ultimate destination, the tomb, with rituals and ceremonies performed.

No Old Kingdom scene depicts all phases of the procession, with only a selection of activities represented in any one tomb. Processions which show the first phase, i.e. that focused on the journeys to the purification tent and the embalming workshop are attested in four Memphite tombs all dated to the Sixth Dynasty, namely those of Mereruka<sup>613</sup> and Ankhmahor<sup>614</sup>

<sup>598</sup> For examples from Giza see Siebels, *Agriculture*, 322.

<sup>599</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 46.

<sup>600</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 75.

<sup>601</sup> Badawy, *Iteti*, fig. 22.

<sup>602</sup> van de Walle, *Neferiretenef*, pl. 12.

<sup>603</sup> For the examples of Old Kingdom funerary procession scenes see: Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database, Scene: 15.7. *Mummification and Funeral Procedures* <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/oe-ahrc-2006/queryThemes>. For studies of funerary procession scenes see: Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), 201- 218; Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), 31-56; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 95-105. Settgaß, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, passim.

<sup>604</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 79-81.

<sup>605</sup> Lashien, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 2, 1-12.

<sup>606</sup> The *pr-dt* is a funerary estate where the funerary furniture was manufactured, see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 210-211 and passim.

<sup>607</sup> About the function of the personnel accompanying the funerary procession see: Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), 203-205.

<sup>608</sup> Fisher, *Varia*, 39- 50.

<sup>609</sup> Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 107-115; Hoffmeier, *SAK* 9 (1981), 167-177.

<sup>610</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 4, 78-82; Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 110-115.

<sup>611</sup> Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 100-101.

<sup>612</sup> For the Delta visit see Altenmüller, *L.Ä.* 1, 743- 745; Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, 160-162.

<sup>613</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 130-131; Kanawati, et al, *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 63-64.



of Saqqara, and Idu<sup>615</sup> and Meryrenofor/ Qar<sup>616</sup> of Giza, as well as that of Pepyankh the black at Meir.<sup>617</sup> The second phase representing the visits to the sacred sites of Sais and Buto is shown in a number of tombs all dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty at Memphis,<sup>618</sup> as evident for example in the tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Ptahhotep (LS31) and Iynofert/ Shanef of Saqqara.<sup>619</sup> Such visits to the Delta ceased to appear in the repertoire of wall scenes in the Sixth Dynasty. The third phase showing the transportation of coffins to the cemetery on sledges pulled by oxen or by papyri-form boats towed by sailing boats are mainly attested in the provincial rock-cut tombs of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>620</sup> as for instance those of Kaihep/ Tjeti (early Pepy II),<sup>621</sup> Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer (mid-Pepy II)<sup>622</sup> and his son Shepsipumin/ Kheni (late Pepy II)<sup>623</sup> of El-Hawawish,<sup>624</sup> Ibi (Merenre- early Pepy II)<sup>625</sup> and Djau (mid-late Pepy II)<sup>626</sup> of Deir el-Gebrawi,<sup>627</sup> and Khewnes (late Pepy II) of Qubbet el-Hawa.<sup>628</sup>

From the above overview it is clear that while all provinces chose to represent the third phase of the funerary procession, Pepyankh the black was the only one to break with this convention. Thus the above mentioned provincial officials, some of whom were also Pepyankh the black's contemporaries, depicted the river journey of the coffin to the cemetery. The noble of Meir, however, chose to represent the phase of the visit to the purification tent and the embalming workshop, commonly depicted in Memphite tombs of the Sixth Dynasty by which he

<sup>614</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 56; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 20 (a), 56.

<sup>615</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35.

<sup>616</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24.

<sup>617</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 79-81.

<sup>618</sup> Lashien, in: *Egyptian Culture and Society* 2, 9.

<sup>619</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pls. 6-8, 11-15; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 101 (b); Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 38.

<sup>620</sup> One Memphite example of towing the boat carrying the coffin to the cemetery appears in the tomb of Khenum/ Inti at Giza, where the transportation of the coffin on a sledge pulled by oxen is also included (Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, fig. 83).

<sup>621</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 12.

<sup>622</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 9.

<sup>623</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 19.

<sup>624</sup> Other examples at El-Hawawish appear in the tombs of Bawi (BA 48), Mereru and Tjeti-aa, where partly preserved scenes show sections of the river journey of the coffin. See Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 25; vol. 8, fig. 12 (b); vol. 9, fig. 8 (a). A different scene type of the funerary procession is represented in the tomb of Kaihep/ Tjeti (M8) (early Pepy II) of El-Hawawish, showing ceremonies performed at the cemetery, probably before the tomb owner's statue, which resembles the scene of Debehen of Giza (Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 122, pl. 1).

<sup>625</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 10; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 49, 69.

<sup>626</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 7, 14; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 59, 72.

<sup>627</sup> A sailing ship accompanying the river journey of the coffin is also depicted in the tomb of Hemre/ Isi I (late Teti-early Pepy I) of Deir el-Gebrawi, see Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 20; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 49, 64.

<sup>628</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 160 (left); Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 22.

or his artist may have been familiar. As in the Memphite scenes, the processions on both east and west walls of (room 3) in the tomb of Pepyankh the black progress in a cinematic fashion; thus they start by ferrying the coffin in the *š3bt*- papyrus boat,<sup>629</sup> followed by carrying it to the *ibw* and then to the *wꜥbt* where funerary rites and ceremonies took place (see Figure 74)

- *Ferrying the Coffin in the š3bt- boat*

The papyrus boat carrying the coffin in the bottom register of the east wall is shown once towed by two ships with their sails down and oarsmen rowing and another being hauled by men from the shore, while the boat on the west wall is only hauled by men.<sup>630</sup> The destination in either case is said to be the *ibw*. A similar arrangement is seen only in the tomb of Mereruka, although there three ships are depicted with oarsmen rowing.<sup>631</sup> The representation on the west wall of the *š3bt*-boat facing the wharf while being loaded and boarded before the start of the journey is unique to Pepyankh the black's tomb.<sup>632</sup> Similarly, the depiction of the coffin in multiple perspectives, with both the cavetto cornice, on the long sides, and the curved roof is extremely rare (see Figure 74), as most coffins are shown as a long box, occasionally with cavetto cornice.<sup>633</sup> Possible representations of coffins in multiple perspectives may be seen at El-Hawawish in the tombs of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer<sup>634</sup> and Shepsipumin/ Kheni,<sup>635</sup> the likely contemporaries of Pepyankh the black.

- *Carrying the Coffin*

Placed on a bier the coffin of Pepyankh the black is carried by men throughout the procession. While the bier here is consistently shaped with a lion head and legs,<sup>636</sup> such details are lacking in all known Memphite examples. However, in the tomb of Ptahhotep/ Tjefu (Wenis) of Saqqara

<sup>629</sup> For a discussion on the *š3bt*- boat see Junker, *Giza 5*, 68ff.

<sup>630</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pls. 79-81.

<sup>631</sup> Duell, *Mereruka 2*, pls. 130-131; Kanawati, et al, *Mereruka and His Family 3:2*, pls. 63-64. For somewhat different arrangements see Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35;

<sup>632</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, pl. 43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pl. 79.

<sup>633</sup> See for example Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery 2*, pls. 38, 56; Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex 1*, fig. 83; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35. The coffin carried by men in the later stages of the procession of Pepyankh the black is decorated with the cavetto cornice. See Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, 33, pls. 79-81.

<sup>634</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish 1*, fig. 9.

<sup>635</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish 2*, fig. 19.

<sup>636</sup> Blackman, *Meir 5*, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pls. 79-81. See Figure 74.



only the legs of the bier are similarly decorated.<sup>637</sup> While the bier is placed on two long poles to assist the men carrying the load in all Memphite examples,<sup>638</sup> no such poles are used in the case of Pepyankh the black.

- *The Purification Tent 'ibw'*

Portrayed as a rectangular light structure<sup>639</sup> with a doorway at either end and a ramp in the centre that leads to the edge of the water, the *ibw* usually appears as a T-shaped building.<sup>640</sup> Contrary to all the Memphite scenes,<sup>641</sup> that in the tomb at Meir twice represents the building as an arcade supported on slender poles, with a door at either end surmounted by a cavetto cornice; and it is only at Meir that the determinative for the word *ibw* is similarly written as a structure with slender poles,<sup>642</sup> compared with the T-shaped structure in the tombs of Meryrenofor/ Qar and Idu of Giza<sup>643</sup> (See Figures 74-76). While some funerary furnishings (vessels, sandals, pots, chests, etc.) are shown above the *ibw* building in some Memphite scenes,<sup>644</sup> suggesting a strong structure, this detail is lacking at Meir, although five men are shown on the west wall exiting the *ibw* while carrying such objects.<sup>645</sup> It appears that contrary to the possibly more permanent and more frequently used *ibw* building(s) serving the Memphite cemeteries, the limited and occasional use of the *ibw* at Meir required a temporary, light structure. Thus even if the idea of representing the funerary procession, including the visit to the *ibw*, was influenced by the tomb owner/ artist's Memphite background, the different design of the structure at Meir may be due to the artist's genuine rendering of the building.

- *The Embalming Workshop 'w'bt'*

<sup>637</sup> The only preserved part of the funerary procession of Ptahhotep/ Tjefu is the section showing the men carrying the coffin (Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, fig. 56).

<sup>638</sup> See Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 130-131; Kanawati, et al, *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 63-64; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 56; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 20 (a), 56; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, fig. 56.

<sup>639</sup> See the structure in the scene of Meryrenofor/ Qar at Giza where matting appears to be used in the structure (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24).

<sup>640</sup> For the *jbw* structure see Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 107- 115; Hoffmeier, *SAK* 9 (1981), 167-177.

<sup>641</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 130-131; Kanawati, et al, *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 64; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35.

<sup>642</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 79-81.

<sup>643</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35.

<sup>644</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 130-131; Kanawati, et al, *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 64; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35. Also see Figures 75-76.

<sup>645</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 79. See Figure 74.

While only the doorway of the *wꜥbt* building is depicted in the tomb of Idu, and the interior plan of the building with some offerings and priests is represented in that of Meryrenofet/ Qar,<sup>646</sup> the artist at Meir showed the *wꜥbt* in both elevation and plan and focused on all the activities that take place inside the building.<sup>647</sup> These include the presentation of all food offerings and sacrificial animals as well as the depiction of the personnel involved and the ceremonies and ritual dances performed (Figure 74). It is noticeable that in the case of Mereruka such ceremonies and sacrifices seem to be made at the entrance to the *wꜥbt*.<sup>648</sup> Once more, the artist of Pepyankh the black recorded the most important aspect of the event and did not merely copy what he had presumably seen in the capital.

## 2.5 Summary and Concluding Comments

### 2.5.1 El-Qusiya and Memphis

The examination of the wall scenes in the tombs of El-Qusiya shows that the Memphite tombs were the main source of inspiration for the artists who worked in the province, with the strongest influence being from the Memphite tombs dated to the period from the mid-Fifth Dynasty to the reign of Pepy I-Merenre. Some common or frequent Memphite artistic features/ techniques were adopted at El-Qusiya. For instance, the representation of the papyrus thicket without indicating the individual papyrus stems, as depicted in some tombs in the Wenis and Teti cemeteries,<sup>649</sup> appears in the marsh scenes of Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the middle, while the more common Old Kingdom thicket type with defined stems is represented in the tomb of Pepyankh the black. Also papyrus boats bound on the full length of the hull with smaller binding intervals on the prow and stern and loaded with objects required for the marsh trip, as commonly depicted at Saqqara,<sup>650</sup> are represented in the scenes of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black who, like most Old Kingdom tomb owners,<sup>651</sup> use a decking board to stand on their boats. The representation in separate registers of the successive movements in the closure of the clap net in

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<sup>646</sup> See Figures 75-76.

<sup>647</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 42-43; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 79-80.

<sup>648</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 130; Kanawati, et al, *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pl. 64. Also in the scene of Meryrenofet/ Qar, ceremonies and dancers appear at the entrance of the *wꜥbt* (Figure 75).

<sup>649</sup> Table 8.

<sup>650</sup> Woods, *Day in the Marshes* 1, 348, table 109.

<sup>651</sup> Woods, *Day in the Marshes* 1, 345-52, table 121.

the birds trapping scenes of Pepyankh the middle and his son Niankhpepy the black, is found at Giza and Saqqara from the early Fifth Dynasty. The most common Memphite posture of the signalman holding a cloth over his shoulders is found in the tomb of Pepyankh the black, while the less common posture of the signalman raising his hand to give the order to pull the net rope is depicted in the scenes of Pepyankh the middle and his son Niankhpepy the black. In scenes of agricultural pursuit, both Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black included a man picking the unwanted stems out of bundles of flax and another crushing some ears of barley to extract the grain, as shown in many Memphite scenes from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards.<sup>652</sup>

Many of the less frequent Memphite artistic details are also attested at El-Qusiya. For example, Pepyankh the black differs from the majority of tomb owners, including those in his province, in that he is shown facing left while spear-fishing; yet this orientation appears in some Memphite tombs dated from the late Fifth Dynasty to the mid-Sixth Dynasty, such as those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep and Mehu in Wenis cemetery. Furthermore, the predatory behavior of a mongoose/ genet catching a fledgling bird between its jaws as vividly portrayed in the fowling scenes of both Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black, is a feature represented at some Saqqara tombs, such as those of Metjetji, Mereruka/ Meri and Mehu. The infrequently depicted incident of a hippopotamus attacking a crocodile, which was known since the Fifth Dynasty and became popular in the tombs of Teti's viziers, appears in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, where a hippopotamus is lifting up a crocodile and biting it in the middle of its body, in a similar manner to that in the tomb of Tjy at Saqqara. In the tomb of Pepyankh the black the hippopotamus is biting the crocodile's tail as attested in the tomb of Akhetmerunesut (Wenis-Teti) at Giza. The motif of a frog perching on the aquatic vegetation beneath the papyrus boat of the tomb owner, as in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, is mostly found at Saqqara, with the example in the tomb Mehu being the last known from the capital.<sup>653</sup> The only provincial example of a crouching man tying the harvested flax stems into bundles is found in the tomb of Pepyankh the black, with the posture of the man very similar to those represented in the tombs of Tjy, Mehu and Sekhemankhptah of Saqqara. Five ploughing teams are shown in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, with the same number attested only in Mereruka's tomb at Saqqara, while three teams appear in the tomb of Pepyankh the black, similar only to those of Tjy. Pepyankh the

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<sup>652</sup> See tables in Siebels, *Agriculture*, 145, 170.

<sup>653</sup> This feature appears only in the pleasure cruise scene of Mehu (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 9).

black is the only provincial noble who depicted the visit to the *ibw* and *w<sup>c</sup>bt* in his funerary procession scene, a detail otherwise attested only in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Mereruka and Ankhmahor at Saqqara, and Idu and Meryrenofet/ Qar at Giza.

The analysis of the scenes shows that the artists of Meir drew their inspiration from specific Memphite tombs that show rare artistic motifs and were probably considered innovative in their time. For instance, it is significant that the depiction in the spear fishing scene of several spare spears placed horizontally above (i.e. probably beside) the tomb owner's figure is only attested in the marsh scenes of Mehu of Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle of Meir. Although women wearing a lotus crown with three flowers are attested in a few Memphite marsh scenes, it is interesting that the most similar to the crown worn by the wife of Pepyankh the middle in the spear fishing scene are those worn by Mehu's wife in both the spear-fishing and fowling activities. The depiction in the fowling scene of three decoy birds of the same species held by their legs by the tomb owner and all looking in the same direction and flapping their wings, is found in the fowling scenes of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black of Meir and Mehu and Merefnebef of Saqqara. A careful examination of the composition and details of the birds trapping scenes in the two tombs of Pepyankh the middle and Tjy leaves little doubt that the artist at Meir was inspired by, if not copying, specific features from the scene of Tjy. Similarities may be seen in the very rare detail of the two naked men seated back to back, one plucking a bird's feathers and the other wringing a bird's neck. It is also noticeable that the only example of a cow scratching its muzzle with its hoof is shown in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, while the same posture is represented earlier for three oxen at Saqqara in the Fifth Dynasty tombs of Netjerweser, Reshepses and Iynofert/ shanef.

### **2.5.2 Innovations in El-Qusiya Art**

Although the art of the Memphite tombs had a great influence on the wall scenes at El-Qusiya tombs, the artists there, especially at Meir, were innovative, introducing new artistic features unattested in the capital. An example of such innovation may be seen in the representation of Pepyankh the middle's wife holding a lotus flower in either hand and bringing one close to her nostrils, while accompanying her husband in his marsh trip. This detail appeared later in the scenes of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and Shepsipumin/ Kheni at El-Hawawish, perhaps under influence from Meir. Another innovation at Meir, which possibly influenced the same two tombs at El-

Hawawish, is the depiction of the coffin in the funerary procession in multiple perspectives. However the coffin in Pepyankh the black's case is uniquely portrayed with both the cavetto cornice of the long sides, and its curved roof.

Unique features at Meir may also be seen in the transportation of the coffin, where the *š3bt*-boat on the west wall of (room 3) faces the wharf while being loaded and boarded before the start of the procession, also in the bier carrying the coffin, which is consistently shaped with a lion head and legs, or in representing the *ibw* as an arcade supported on slender poles with a door at either end surmounted by a cavetto cornice and in the writing of the determinative for the word *ibw* as a structure with slender poles. The artist showed the *w<sup>c</sup>bt* in both elevation and plan and focused on all the activities that take place inside the building. The dragnet and clap net activities watched by Pepyankh the middle are depicted in a distinctive layout, which strongly and directly influenced Iuhi, Pepyankh the middle's grandson, who probably decorated Niankhpepy the black's chapel.

To conclude, it is clear that El-Qusiya artists were trained at and perhaps originated from Memphis, as many of the standard, specific and even rare artistic features known in the capital were used in the decoration of El-Qusiya tombs. Where strong similarities are discerned, they are usually with tombs dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the middle part of the Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara, such as those of Tjy, Metjetji, Ankhmahor, Mereruka, Mehu and others. The greatest similarities in the details seem to be between the tombs of the vizier Mehu of Saqqara and the vizier Pepyankh the middle of Meir, which may well have been decorated by the same artist, Kaemtjenet.<sup>654</sup> However, although the artists of Meir were influenced by some of the great Memphite tombs or by their own earlier work at the capital, they were never slavish copiers of scenes from the capital and in many respects were innovative, introducing some new artistic motifs and compositions that mark their own fingerprint at Meir and which, in turn, were adopted by artists in other provinces.

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<sup>654</sup> See the above discussion in the present chapter, under 1.2.2 Tomb of Pepyankh the middle.



# Conclusions

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## Conclusions

Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna probably originated from Memphis. He was the founder of the governing family at El-Qusiya under Pepy I and his name remained popular in the province throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Due perhaps to the death of his eldest son, his second eldest, Heneni, was sent to the capital where he spent a long period of *km3t* 'formation' with the sons of other nomarchs. There, he presumably built a tomb in the northern part of the Teti cemetery at Saqqara, married a princess named Seshseshet and acquired the name Pepyankh, with the epithet 'the elder' added at a later stage, presumably by his grandson Pepyankh the middle. He returned to El-Qusiya at an old age, excavated a tomb at Quseir el-Amarna but did not live to see it decorated. Like his father Pepyankh the elder, Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi spent most of his life at Memphis and was buried in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara before he was able to succeed to his father's position. Pepyankh the elder's tomb was summarily decorated by his grandson Pepyankh the middle, where he emphasized his grandfather's rank and the importance of his marriage to Seshseshet who gave birth to his own father, Sobekhotep.

Pepyankh/ Meryreankh the middle also spent a long period at Memphis and was implicated in certain events probably under Pepy I, but was cleared and succeeded his grandfather at a mature age. He inaugurated the cemetery at Meir (section D), depicted his parents in his chapel and represented himself and his wife on the lintel of the entrance to the offering room seated on a block chair with the sign for *hwt*, thus indicating his/ their royal heritage. He also represented his eldest son, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, who was already married and had grown-up children. Pepyankh the middle presumably decorated his tomb early under Pepy II, with the work done by the artist Kaiemtjenet, perhaps the same artist who earlier decorated Mehu's chapel in the Wenis cemetery, presumably under Pepy I. In his biography, which would have been written at a later stage, Pepyankh the middle states that he lived to the age of 100, which should at least indicate an advanced age.

On his return from the capital to succeed his father Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep moved his burial ground to section A to avoid a major fissure in the rock formation and excavated tomb A4, one of the largest rock-cut tombs of the Old Kingdom, but died before decorating it. His eldest son, Pepyankh the black/ Heny the black appears to have also excavated a tomb for himself, the first stage of tomb A2. Rather than completing tomb A4 and burying his father in it, he excavated a burial chamber into the chapel floor of A4 and fully decorated its walls. He then excavated two communicating pillared halls in the space between tombs A4 and A2, and connected his chapel, A2, to the eastern hall and his father's burial chamber to the western hall via a sloping passage. This created two separate yet communicating tombs for Pepyankh the black and his father. When Djau of the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi wrote that he arranged to be buried in one tomb with his father in order to be with him in one place and in order to be able to see him every day and not indeed because of the lack of means to build a second tomb, he was probably referring to the action of his contemporary or very slightly earlier neighbor.

Unlike his predecessors, Pepyankh the black never used the cartouche of Meryre in writing his name, and it is likely that he was the first of the family to have been borne under Pepy II. But it is noticed that the frequency of using the names formed with royal cartouches as against the other name(s) of the same individuals had been steadily declining in each generation, perhaps reflecting growing distancing from the monarchy. The wives of both Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black are depicted at a much reduced scale compared to the wives of all their predecessors, which may be due to a less distinguished background or a general diminishing of the status of women. The design of Pepyankh the black's tomb changed a number of times; a serdab was transferred into a decorated room, and a sloping passage leading to a decorated burial chamber replaced a vertical shaft, in both cases the alteration damaged existing scenes in the chapel.

Pepyankh the black's eldest son, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai was the first to hold the title *hry-tp 3 n Ndfit* 'great overlord of the *Ndfit*', which may indicate his responsibility of both Nomes 13 and 14. This may be in response to the troubles in Nome 13 where Khui claimed royal prerogatives, and seems to be contemporaneous with uprisings in other provinces in the South. Rather than preparing a tomb for himself, Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai excavated a shaft in his grandfather's tomb, A4, where many fragments of his coffin were recently discovered. In

addition to the office of ‘great overlord of the *Ndfit*’, he also became overseer of Upper Egypt and overseer of priests as did his predecessors, and was elevated to the rank of hereditary prince. The likely date for Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai is at the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or early in the Eighth Dynasty.

The study of the representation of artists in the tombs of El-Qusiya shows that although occasionally grouped among other workers manufacturing funerary objects, efforts were made to show them as an independent group. They were not mostly anonymous as hitherto believed. One painter bore a name incorporating the cartouche of the reigning king, carried a ‘beautiful name’ and was described as ‘the honoured one’. In addition to *zš kdw* titles designating painters appear to include *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3* which should be understood as ‘the painter of the house of sacred records (i.e. the tomb) of the palace’, or even a simple *zš*, if the individual possessed the necessary talent. Contrary to the general belief artists were almost regularly depicted in the most conspicuous places in wall scenes, frequently in close proximity to the tomb owners or accompanying them in outdoor activities, thus many of the represented incidents were probably based on personal experience of the tomb owners and frequently their artists. Similarities of unusual events in more than one tomb should not necessarily indicate copying but may commemorate similar, or perhaps the same event experienced essentially by the tomb owner and occasionally by his artist. Thus the artist Kaiemtjenenet, for instance, represented the capturing of a mongoose by the tail in the tomb of Mehu at Saqqara but not in that of Pepyankh the middle at Meir.

Contrary to earlier studies evidence shows that painters enjoyed a more elevated status than sculptors. Most of the artists, sculptors and painters, were attached to the ateliers of the palace, but all artists, including those who decorated provincial tombs, were probably trained at Memphis, hence the general similarity of canons and styles, but not of details. The employment of Memphite artists in the provinces was presumably due to the system of educating the provincial nobility in the capital and their familiarity with the work of Memphite artists. Freelance artists also travelled to the provinces where the rich clientele were found in the Sixth Dynasty, which ultimately led to some local artistic traditions.

Wall scenes in the tombs of El-Qusiya are clearly inspired by the Memphite tombs of the mid-Fifth Dynasty to the end of Pepy I’s reign. Representations of the papyrus thicket,

methods of binding the papyrus boats, the use of decking boards, the depiction of successive movements in the closure of the clap net, the posture of the signalman, the inclusion of a man picking the unwanted stems out of bundles of flax or crushing some ears of barley to extract and test the grain, the tomb owner's orientation in spear-fishing and fowling scenes, the predatory behaviour of mongooses and/or genets, the hippopotami attacking crocodiles, the frog perching on the aquatic vegetation, the ploughing teams, the tying of bundles of flax, and the *ibw* and *w<sup>c</sup>bt* in the funerary procession scene, all show similarities with specific Memphite tombs which were probably considered innovative in their time. A clear example of the Memphite influence is the depiction in the spear fishing scene only in the tombs of Mehu of Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle of Meir of several spare spears placed horizontally above (i.e. probably beside) the tomb owner's figure. The lotus crown worn by the wives of the two men are almost identical. The holding of three decoy birds of the same species while all looking in the same direction and flapping their wings, is found only in the fowling scenes of Mehu and Merefnebef of Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black of Meir. The composition and details of the birds trapping scenes in the tombs of Tjy of Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle show that the artist at Meir was inspired by, if not copying specific features from the Saqqara tomb. The scene of a cow scratching its muzzle with its hoof in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle was probably influenced by the earlier examples of this action by oxen in the tombs of Netjerweser, Reshepses and Iynofert/ Shanef at Saqqara.

Despite the clear Memphite influence on the wall scenes at El-Qusiya, the artists there, especially at Meir, were innovative, introducing new artistic features unattested in the capital. Examples may be seen in Pepyankh the middle's wife in marsh scenes holding a lotus flower in either hand and bringing one close to her nostrils, or the depiction of the coffin in multiple perspectives in the funerary procession of Pepyankh the black. These details were copied in the tombs of Kaihep/ Tjeti -iqer and Shepsipumin/ Kheni at El-Hawawish. Unique features at Meir include the loading of *s3bt*-boat in the funerary procession of Pepyankh the black, the shape of the bier carrying the coffin, with a lion head and legs, the depiction of the *ibw* as an arcade supported on slender poles with a door at either end and of the *w<sup>c</sup>bt* in both elevation and plan and showing the activities taking place inside the building.

El-Qusiya artists appear to have been trained at and/or originated from Memphis, as many of the standard, specific and even rare artistic features known in the capital were used at El-Qusiya. Strong similarities are discerned with tombs at Saqqara, such as those of Tjy, Metjetji, Ankhmahor, Mereruka, Mehu and others. The greatest similarities in the details seem to be between the tombs of the vizier Mehu of Saqqara and the vizier Pepyankh the middle of Meir, which may well have been decorated by the same artist, Kaiemtjenenet. Nevertheless El-Qusiya artists were never slavish copiers and in many respects were innovative, whose work was adopted by artists in other provinces.

By examining the titles held by the governors of El-Qusiya it is clear that the rank titles may be divided into four phases: 1) Kewenwekh held the rank of ‘sole companion’; 2) Pepyankh the elder and Pepyankh the middle rose to the rank of ‘hereditary prince’; 3) Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black were ‘counts’; 4) Heny/ Heneny/ Noferkai rose to the rank of ‘hereditary prince’. This agrees with the titles of nobles in other provinces. Khewenwekh originated from the capital and adopted for himself and his children names formed with Hathor or her cult, a trend which gradually declined for his successors. The most important office was that of ‘overseer of the *hm(w)-ntr*-priests’, occasionally with reference to Hathor. Khewenwekh held titles related to the Red Crown and to Horus. Pepyankh the middle held many rare priesthoods and was the only *hm-ntr Psdt ʿ3t* ‘priest of the great Ennead’ attested in the Old Kingdom. Niankhpepy the black was ‘assistant of the Duau’ and ‘elder of the *snwt*-shrine/ house’, the latter indicating closeness to the king and education in the palace. The lack of such titles with Pepyankh the black as well as the withdrawal of the vizierate may hint at the changing attitude of the palace towards Pepyankh the black or the changing circumstances in the South in general..

The title of vizier, *ḥḥty z3b ḥḥty* is attested for Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black. The Southern viziers were mostly royal relatives. Contrary to previous attempts to arrange all southern viziers in successive order, the evidence suggests the presence of two contemporary viziers at different provinces. Thus for the southernmost provinces Isi of Edfu was succeeded by Nebet at Abydos who was followed by her step-son Iuew, his own son Weni, then Nebet’s sons, Djau and Idi, followed by Pepynakht. In the middle provinces Bawi (CA1) of Akhmim was succeeded by Hemere/Isi I and Henqu II of Deir el-Gebrawi, then the office moved to Meir where Pepyankh the middle occupied it for a long time before he was

followed for a short period by his grandson Pepyankh the black. The latter probably became ‘an acting vizier’ to assist his aged father Niankhpepy the black who held the office *jmj-r ḥwt-wrt* 6, but he lost the vizierate after the death of the father. The reasons for losing the vizierate may include the problems in the neighbouring nome UE 13 and perhaps the modest background of the wives of El-Qusiya nobles. The vizierate and the office of overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces were moved to Akhmim, with the latter office now called ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in the northern provinces’, since the middle provinces are located to the north of Akhmim. At the same time the vizierate ended at Abydos and was transferred to Coptos.

Pepyankh the middle was the first to hold the title of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ at El-Qusiya, but his authority extended over the entire middle provinces of Upper Egypt *m sp3wt ḥrywt-jb*, and the recording of the animal count in his tomb was for the entire middle provinces and not only for the province of El-Qusiya. His appointment to this office probably represents the direct interference by the central government in order to develop the extensive west bank of this important area. The limits of the middle provinces are disputed. An examination of the evidence shows that contrary to the tripartite division of Upper Egypt, the South was in fact divided into two main parts, with the dividing line situated between Abydos and Akhmim and dividing the Nile between Elephantine and Atfih into two equal parts. The term ‘middle provinces’ appears to refer to those located between the southernmost provinces and the Delta. Pepyankh the middle’s title *imy-r šmꜥw m bw m3ꜥ*, usually translated as ‘overseer of Upper Egypt in reality’ is held elsewhere only at Dendera which, like El-Qusiya, was a major cult centres for the goddess Hathor. The following generations of nobles at El-Qusiya held the title of overseer of Upper Egypt but did not claim responsibility over the middle provinces. The evidence from their tombs demonstrates that they were more focused on the management of the province itself with no responsibilities beyond the boundaries of El-Qusiya. The responsibility of the middle provinces, like the vizierate, moved to Akhmim.

Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai, the eldest son of Pepyankh the black (late Pepy II) was the first to hold the title of *ḥry-tp 3 Ndft* ‘great overlord of the *Ndft*’, which could have included the *Ndft phwt* ‘northern *Ndft*’ (UE 14) and the *Ndft ḥntt* ‘southern *Ndft*’ (UE 13). The appointment may have been the Memphite response to the rise at Dara, in UE13, of a man named Khui who claimed some royal prerogatives. However, no successor is known for

Henyt (Heni)/ Noferkai and it seems that the fortunes of this noble family were tied to those of the central government and the royal family.





# Appendix 1

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## Appendix 1

### Complementary Studies

The investigation of the data from the province of El-Qusiya raised a number of subsidiary issues that required detailed studies. These are: **A**: The epithet ‘elder’ and its significance; **B**: The representation of aging in wall scenes; **C**: The positioning on the left and right on false doors and its significance; **D**: The block chair with the *hwt*-sign and its significance; **E**: Heneni’s false door at Saqqara; **F**: Finds from tombs A1 and A4. Although the conclusions reached in these studies are directly relevant to and accordingly used in the present research, the extensive tabulation and discussion of the data were allocated this separate section at the end of the thesis in order to avoid any interruption to the flow of the main discussions.

#### Study A

##### The epithet ‘elder’ and its significance

Fischer has studied the epithets *nds* ‘junior’ and *wr* ‘elder/senior’ and noticed that while the former is often appended to the name of a son to differentiate him from his similarly named father, the latter epithet is less frequently used but is similarly ‘applied to the son alone if he is represented in the tomb of his father, and not to the latter’. However, Fischer produced the example of Haishetef, which shows that the grandfather was described as ‘elder’ and not the (grand) son who bears a similar name. Yet Fischer writes that ‘this reversal of the usual situation is doubtless explained by the fact that the grandson, and not the grandfather, is the builder and principal owner of the tomb’.<sup>1</sup> According to him the epithet ‘elder’ is a reference to a similarly named member of the tomb owner’s family depicted in his tomb, regardless of whether he was a

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<sup>1</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 81.

(grand) father or a (grand) son. If this was the case, one would expect this epithet to be much more common, for naming sons after their father or grandfather was customary in ancient Egypt. Furthermore, while epithets such as *km* ‘the black’, *dšr* ‘the red’ were perhaps based on certain physical characteristics of an individual in order to distinguish him from similarly named members of the same family,<sup>2</sup> *nds* ‘junior’ and *wr* ‘elder’ are clearly age indicators, with the latter frequently written in a larger scale than the rest of the inscriptions. It is therefore unlikely that ‘the elder’ would be attributed to a son in his father’s tomb.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, a number of fathers are depicted in the tombs of their sons yet without the epithet ‘elder’.<sup>4</sup> To understand the significance of the epithet ‘elder’ a few examples of its holders will be examined.

**Weni the elder:** The name of this well-known official is repeatedly written as Weni the elder in his long biography,<sup>5</sup> as well as on his false door,<sup>6</sup> two obelisks,<sup>7</sup> a relief from the façade of his tomb,<sup>8</sup> on his recently discovered second false door where he holds the title of vizier and, finally, on a loose relief where he is shown offering incense to his father the vizier Iuew.<sup>9</sup> In all these cases the epithet ‘elder’ is appended to his name. Weni spent his long career under Teti and throughout the reign of Pepy I before he was promoted to the office of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ by Merenre.<sup>10</sup> As the last title appears on most of these funerary monuments, this suggests that he built or decorated his first tomb, probably at Saqqara,<sup>11</sup> under Merenre. It seems likely that when he succeeded his father Iuew in the vizierate at Abydos, presumably still under Merenre or early under Pepy II, he built a second tomb at Abydos, transported and reused most of the decorated pieces of stone from his first tomb, and made a new false door commemorating his new position of vizier. This situation did not apply only to Weni, for all sons or at least eldest

<sup>2</sup> These epithets were frequently used by the nobility of Meir (Blackman, *Meir* vols. 4-5, passim).

<sup>3</sup> However, see below the case of the son Nikauisesi the elder in the tomb of his father Nikauisesi.

<sup>4</sup> See for example Djau/ Shemai and Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, passim; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, passim); Sobekhotep and Pepyankh the middle of Meir (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83); Senedjemib/ Inti and Senedjemib/ Mehi (Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, passim).

<sup>5</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pls. 29-30 (CG 1435); Fischer, *Varia*, 84-85, n. 21; El-Khadragy, *GM* 188 (2002), 61ff.

<sup>6</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 53-54, pl. 75 (CG 1574).

<sup>7</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 6, pl. 2 (CG 1309, 1310).

<sup>8</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 127, pl. 88 (CG 1670).

<sup>9</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 93-94, figs. 15-16.

<sup>10</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98-110.

<sup>11</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 53-54; Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 33ff.

sons of provincial nobles were educated and employed in the capital until they replaced their fathers. When these reached old age they built tombs in a Memphite cemetery in order to be ready in case they did not outlive their fathers.<sup>12</sup>

While it is generally assumed that on receiving the office of ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ Weni was sent to Abydos, his inscriptions suggest that he held this office at the Residence. He mentions the fact that when he was in the Great Mansion as an officer and sandal-bearer, King Merenre appointed him as ‘count and overseer of Upper Egypt’, but does not speak of his being sent to Abydos, nor should we assume it. For example, when Meryrenofer/ Qar was sent to Edfu, also by Merenre, he specifically wrote: ‘then the majesty of Merenre caused me to go south to Edfu as a sole companion and overlord of the province’.<sup>13</sup> In fact Weni’s emphasis that as ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’ he ‘acted for him’, i.e., for the king, in a satisfactory manner, and his enumeration of the activities he undertook on behalf of the king, suggest that he was a Residence official. Such activities include the assessment of everything to be assessed for the Residence in Upper Egypt and leading expeditions for the king to Ibhat and Elephantine to bring funerary equipment which he delivered to the pyramid site at Saqqara. This was followed by a trip to the alabaster quarries of Hatnub, where he brought an offering table delivered once more to Saqqara. The king then sent him to dig five canals near the southern borders of Egypt and to build barges and ships from acacia wood and to load them with granite stone for the pyramid, a task which occupied him for a full year.<sup>14</sup>

Having already started his career under Teti, Weni must have been an older man by the time of Merenre. Depending on the length of Pepy I’s reign and whether the *ḥ3t/rnpt-zp* ‘year/count’ was annual or biennial, Weni was probably an elderly man of 50 years or more by the time of Merenre.<sup>15</sup> An interesting question is when did Weni acquire the epithet ‘elder’? If the epithet reflects seniority of age, then any inscription referring to him in his younger years

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<sup>12</sup> See for instance the cases of Kai-hep/ Tjeti of Akhmim (Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.) and Meryrenofer/ Qar of Edfu (Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 217ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:3-4.

<sup>14</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 105-109; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 355-357.

<sup>15</sup> von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 149-150, 188; Kanawati, *GM* 177 (2000), 25-32.

should not describe him as such. A granite statue belonging to Weni (CG 175) writes the name without the epithet ‘elder’ and describes him as *shd hnty-š pr-ꜥ3* ‘inspector of the palace guards’,<sup>16</sup> a title Weni held very early in his career, probably late under Teti.<sup>17</sup> Weni is also included among the addressees in the royal decree of Pepy I from Dahshur,<sup>18</sup> where he is described as *imy-r hnty-š pr-ꜥ3* ‘overseer of the palace guards’, a position which he occupied throughout the relatively long reign of Pepy I.<sup>19</sup> The decree is dated to year/count 21 of Pepy I and there, the name of Weni is not followed by his usual epithet, ‘the elder’. We may assume that he acquired the epithet of ‘elder’ after year/count 21 of this sovereign.

Weni probably had three sons, all named Iuew after his own father.<sup>20</sup> The eldest is known from an inscribed block of stone from Abydos (CG 1643), where Weni’s name is written without the epithet ‘elder’, although he bears the titles ‘hereditary prince, count, true overseer of Upper Egypt’.<sup>21</sup> The second may be *Iww-hry-ib* ‘Iuew the middle’, who owned a tomb in the neighbouring province of Akhmim, adjacent to that of Qereri, who is dated by biographical inscriptions to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>22</sup> The third may be the owner of a false door and two side pieces probably from Abydos (Louvre C161-163).<sup>23</sup> Another man from Abydos named Weni had the beautiful name *Hddi* ‘Khedjedji’,<sup>24</sup> perhaps to distinguish him from the renowned Weni the elder. Weni/ Khedjedji owned a stela (CG 1619), where he is described as ‘inspector of the priests of Merenre’s pyramid’,<sup>25</sup> a title also held by Weni the elder,<sup>26</sup> as well as ‘regulator of phyles of Merenre’s pyramid’.<sup>27</sup> It seems likely that Weni/ Khedjedji was the grandson of Weni

<sup>16</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 85. For a discussion of the responsibilities of the title and its translation see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24.

<sup>17</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98:14.

<sup>18</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 55ff., fig. 5; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 209:14.

<sup>19</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 100-105.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the possible descendants of Weni see Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 38-40.

<sup>21</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 106, pl. 85.

<sup>22</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 45-51, 19-22; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 10, pls. 2-3, figs. 10-11.

<sup>23</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 58-65. It is interesting that this man held the titles of ‘true sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, overseer of priests, sole companion, inspector of priests, overseer of the storehouse (Jones, *Index*, 764 [2777], 171 [651], 892 [3268], 932 [3437], 125 [501], respectively), and that the last three titles were also held by Weni the Elder (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 98:13, 16, 100:7).

<sup>24</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 274:24.

<sup>25</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 90, pl. 83.

<sup>26</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 53-54, pl. 75 (CG 1574).

<sup>27</sup> Jones, *Index*, 452 [1695].

the elder, and that with his appointment to these important priesthoods and his rise in status it became necessary to distinguish him from his grandfather. It is interesting that the nobles buried at Abydos rarely bear ‘beautiful names’,<sup>28</sup> which applies also to Weni the elder himself on all his monuments except one. On his second false door, this official is given the ‘beautiful name’ Nofernakhtmeryre,<sup>29</sup> perhaps also to distinguish him from his grandson.

A study of Weni/ Khedjedji’s inscriptions suggests that he too spent most of his career at the capital. His abovementioned responsibilities in the pyramid of Merenre could logically only be performed at Saqqara, and his titles of ‘overseer of the department of the Great House/ Palace, overseer of the two cool chambers of the Great House, and sole companion of the Great House’<sup>30</sup>, indicate that he was in fact a palace official. His infrequent titles of ‘overseer of the two fields of offerings, and scribe of the offering table’<sup>31</sup> may also hint at service in the palace. Weni/ Khedjedji’s residence in the capital may also be seen in his description as ‘one who was honoured by Ptah-Sokar’, the Memphite deity.<sup>32</sup> Such an extended period of formation ‘*km3t*’ in the capital seems to be the norm for the children, or sons in particular, of the Upper Egyptian nobles, as stated in the biography of Meryrenofer/ Qar of Edfu,<sup>33</sup> who was a contemporary of Weni the elder.

The evidence suggests that the well-known official Weni spent most of his career in the capital. From relatively junior positions under Teti, he served as overseer of the palace guards under Pepy I and was promoted to overseer of Upper Egypt by Merenre, when he presumably completed the building and decoration of his tomb at Memphis. With Weni’s succession to the vizierate, probably after the death of his father Iuew, he moved to Abydos and constructed a new tomb. This was described by Richards, who re-excavated the tomb as a massive mud brick mastaba, built with the largest mud bricks of any period at Abydos. The retaining walls are

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<sup>28</sup> See for example Khui and Nebet (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 59-60, pl. 76 (CG 1578); Iuew (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 121, pl. 31 (CG 1439); Djau (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 111, pl. 24 (CG 1431); Idi (Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 145-146, pl. 35 (CG 1457); Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, 58, pl. 76 (CG 1577).

<sup>29</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), fig.15.

<sup>30</sup> Jones, *Index*, 239 [877], 238 [875], 894 [3278].

<sup>31</sup> Jones, *Index*, 231 [856], 846 [3092].

<sup>32</sup> See Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 134ff.

<sup>33</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1.

nearly thirty meters on each side, three and a half meters thick, and are preserved to a height of nearly five meters.<sup>34</sup> Despite these large dimensions, it was probably possible to construct the mastaba in a relatively short time, and the use of mud bricks as well as their particularly large size must have accelerated the process. However, the most important cult place, the chapel, was formed of a single, small exterior chamber, the walls of which were lined with decorated stone slabs. A second false door, recording the title of vizier, was produced and set into the exterior north wall of the mastaba.<sup>35</sup> Weni's two false doors, his biographical inscriptions, his two obelisks and perhaps the rest of his relief decoration appear to be the products of the Memphite royal workshop and may be compared to similar contemporary objects from Saqqara. It is possible that with his move to Abydos, Weni dismantled and transferred the decorated blocks from his Saqqara chapel.<sup>36</sup> He then built a large mastaba with a small chapel to accommodate his valued decorated blocks.

As would be expected, Weni's family appears to have resided with him in the capital, but also moved with him to Abydos, which may be inferred from the inscriptions of his possible grandson Weni/ Khedjedji. With his elevation to the office of 'overseer of Upper Egypt' and the appointment of his grandson to high priestly and palace positions, Weni probably acquired the epithet 'the elder'. It was only when he was later promoted to the vizierate at Abydos, that he added the new 'beautiful name' Nofernakhtmeryre, for more distinction between himself and his grandson Weni/ Khedjedji.<sup>37</sup>

**Pepyankh the elder:** It is now believed that Pepyankh the elder was the son of Khewenwekh rather than the founder of a new governing family at El-Qusiya who took over from Khewenwekh. The two officials owned the only decorated tombs at Quseir el-Amarna, on the

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<sup>34</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 89.

<sup>35</sup> Richards, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 90-93.

<sup>36</sup> It appears that his contemporaries Merynofer/ Qar of Edfu and Kai-hep/ Tjti of Akhmim did the same (Kanawati, in: *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, passim; Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 109ff.; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish*, 10, 20, fig. 2.)

<sup>37</sup> It is interesting that both their 'beautiful names' Khedjedji and Nofernakhtmeryre are unattested for any other official.



east side of the river.<sup>38</sup> Pepyankh the elder was not Khewenwekh's eldest son, but probably the second eldest, also named Heneni,<sup>39</sup> and we do not know whether the real eldest son died prematurely or that the succession of Pepyankh the elder was the result of his marriage to a possible princess and the widespread nepotism in the Sixth Dynasty, when royal relatives were appointed in the most important positions.<sup>40</sup> He was married to a woman named Seshseshet,<sup>41</sup> a name which appears to be a prerogative of the royal family during Teti's reign<sup>42</sup> and shortly after, and the fact that his wife is not described in his tomb as 'king's daughter' does not preclude her from being a princess. For unclear reasons, when buried in the provinces, royal children did not record their lineage.<sup>43</sup> In favour of her royal status is the fact that her possible grandson, Pepyankh the middle, was depicted seated on a block chair characteristic of royalty<sup>44</sup> (see Study D). It has been suggested that Pepyankh the elder was the eldest son of Mereruka<sup>45</sup> who, like his father, was married to Teti's daughters. This now seems unlikely and indeed Mereruka's son, Pepyankh, is not referred to as 'the elder' in his father's tomb.<sup>46</sup>

That Pepyankh the elder lived to see his grandson already occupying important positions is almost certain. His own eldest son, Sobekhotep, is depicted on his false door, described as *šps nswt* 'noble of the king',<sup>47</sup> but no tomb was found for this son at Quseir el-Amarna or in the later cemetery at Meir. On the other hand Sobekhotep/ Hepi and his wife Pekhernofert/ Bebi appear in the tomb of their own son Pepyankh the middle of Meir; the couple facing their son, each seated

<sup>38</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, passim.

<sup>39</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

<sup>40</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 39-59.

<sup>41</sup> Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 253.

<sup>42</sup> See Stasser, *Seshseshet*, 91-94 and passim.

<sup>43</sup> After inscribing the designations of 'king's son/ daughter' for Kaikhent and his wife Iufi of El-Hammamiya, they were deliberately chiseled out and painted over (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, 17-18, pls. 38, 43ff.). It appears also that the royal descent was mostly recorded when the individual was buried in the cemetery of the king to whom he/she was related (see Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 15-18).

<sup>44</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75 (a). For some other examples see Borchardt, *Ne-user-ré*, pl. 16; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, figs. 5, 7-8; Hssan, *Giza*, 6:3, fig. 46.

<sup>45</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, 11-12, 44, pl. 38.

<sup>46</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 154-155; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 38; and personal examination.

<sup>47</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3649].

at a separate offering table.<sup>48</sup> This unique representation is very curious, for being depicted at offering tables one would expect them all to be buried in this tomb, yet the tomb contains only two decorated burial chambers, one for Pepyankh the middle and the second for his wife,<sup>49</sup> who also appears at an offering table on the west wall, immediately opposite the shaft leading to her burial chamber.<sup>50</sup> The representation of the parents was perhaps the result of their being buried at a distance and of the son's desire to fulfil his filial duties by enabling them to partake in offerings presented to him in his own chapel.<sup>51</sup> A tomb discovered at Saqqara belongs to a man named Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi, who was probably the father of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>52</sup>

The fact that Sobekhotep/ Hepi died and was buried in the capital before succeeding to his father's positions at El-Qusiya is in agreement with the system of educating and employing the sons of provincial governors at Memphis.<sup>53</sup> It seems likely that Pepyankh the elder was of old age when he died. He was succeeded by his grandson Pepyankh the middle, who moved to the new cemetery at Meir on the west bank. In his biographical inscriptions on the façade of his rock-cut chapel he mentions that he spent his lifetime of 100 years among the living honoured ones.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps this statement should not be taken literally, but he was presumably of old age, and as such must have decorated his tomb shortly after his appointment at El-Qusiya.<sup>55</sup>

Represented in the original decoration of Pepyankh the middle's chapel is his eldest son Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, who held the titles of 'sole companion, lector priest'.<sup>56</sup> Also depicted is the son of the latter, i.e., the grandson of Pepyankh the middle, Pepyankh/

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<sup>48</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83.

<sup>49</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 18-21; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 90-97.

<sup>50</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>51</sup> Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 45.

<sup>52</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49-61. It should be noticed that all three names are carried again by Pepyankh the middle's own son, with the addition of the epithet *km* 'the black' to distinguish him from his grandfather (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 5-14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, *passim*).

<sup>53</sup> See the biography of Meryrenofor/ Qar of Edfu (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 254:1-4).

<sup>54</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 24, pl. 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 35, pl. 76 (b); Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 369.

<sup>55</sup> The chapel appears to have been designed as a rock-cut one, with the biography inscribed on the façade. It was later that a stone-built pillared-hall was added and some modifications to the original entrance doorway were made (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 27-28; and personal examination).

<sup>56</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 12, 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 2, pl. 84.

Noferkai, with the title of ‘estate manager’.<sup>57</sup> It appears therefore that when Pepyankh the middle decorated his tomb, and probably his grandfather’s tomb (see Chapter I) he already had a grandson named Pepyankh, thus justifying his epithet of *hry-ib* ‘the middle’, since there were three men with the same name, one of whom had ruled at El-Qusiya, one currently in office and the third expected to succeed in the future, hence the epithets the ‘elder’, the ‘middle’ and Pepyankh (later called the black). That the three generations existed at the same time is likely. As a sole companion and estate manager,<sup>58</sup> Pepyankh/ Noferkai could not have been a child and accordingly may well have been born before Pepyankh the elder died when Pepyankh the middle succeeded him and built his tomb. Pepyankh the elder was probably given the epithet ‘elder’ after his grandson, Pepyankh (later called the middle) had achieved a high position. It is even possible that the epithet ‘elder’ was only given to him by his grandson who presumably inscribed the tomb for him.

Five generations of this family may have existed at the same time, with names alternating between Pepyankh and Niankhpepy: (1) Pepyankh the elder; (2) Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi; (3) Pepyankh the middle; (4) Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep; (5) Pepyankh the black. The epithets elder, middle and black were added to make it clear which Pepyankh was being referred to.

**Ptahhotep the elder:** The name Ptahhotep the elder is attested only on an offering slab found to the west of the Ptahhotep complex.<sup>59</sup> This family funerary complex is formed of three mastabas sharing a common forecourt and belonging to three successive generations, Ptahhotep I,<sup>60</sup> Akhetotep and Ptahhotep II,<sup>61</sup> each of whom occupied the office of vizier late in his career.<sup>62</sup> The last king mentioned in the three tombs is Djedkare and it is likely that they all served under

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<sup>57</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, 8, pls. 14-15 (the name Pepyankh and title ‘estate manager’ are recorded in Blackman’s publication); Kanawati, *Meir* 2, pls. 83-84; Jones, *Index*, 679 [2453].

<sup>58</sup> The titles are recorded in Blackman, *Meir* 4, 8, pls. 14-15.

<sup>59</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 5, 183-184; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 70-71, pl. 64 (b).

<sup>60</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 8ff.

<sup>61</sup> Davies, *Ptahhotep* vols. 1-2, passim; Harpur and Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, passim.

<sup>62</sup> Another vizier named Mereri constructed his tomb in the same forecourt, but his date and relationship to the Ptahhotep family are uncertain (see Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 25-39; Strudwick, *Administration*, 99-100 [67]).

this ruler, or that their employment extended into the reign of Wenis.<sup>63</sup> It should be noticed that the chapels of Akhethotep and Ptahhotep II appear to have been constructed as a joint project, which may suggest that their owners, father and son, served within a short period of each other. The fact that all three were not buried in the Wenis cemetery, as were other viziers under this king, nor did they hold a priesthood in Wenis' pyramid suggests that their term of office ended before the inauguration of his cemetery. Ptahhotep I is thought to be the author of the well-known 'Instructions of Ptahhotep',<sup>64</sup> and although the earliest known copy of the Instructions dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the text specifically states that the author was a vizier of Djedkare.

The abovementioned offering slab was ascribed, for no obvious reasons, to Ptahhotep II, yet neither he nor Ptahhotep I was described as the elder in his own chapel. When Ptahhotep I decorated his tomb his eldest son Akhethotep held the title *hry-tp nswt* 'royal chamberlain'.<sup>65</sup> With the habit of alternating the names in certain families, Akhethotep named his two eldest sons Ptahhotep, with the younger of the two bearing the 'beautiful name' Tjefu to distinguish him from his real eldest brother.<sup>66</sup> A room was allocated to the eldest son in his father's chapel, while Ptahhotep/ Tjefu, the second son, constructed a tomb to the south-east of the Ptahhotep complex.<sup>67</sup> When the eldest son, Ptahhotep II/ Tjefi decorated his chapel he recorded in it the same titles ascribed to him in his father's chapel, which shows that he was already of mature age during the latter's life. However, on his sarcophagus in the burial chamber he is described as 'chief justice and vizier',<sup>68</sup> which most probably represents a promotion he received late in his career, and after he completed the decoration of his chapel.<sup>69</sup>

It was presumably at that time that Ptahhotep II adopted, or at least felt the need to record his 'beautiful name, Tjefi' (as against Tjefu of his younger brother). As a vizier, Ptahhotep II had to distinguish himself from his similarly named and probably well-known grandfather and also

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<sup>63</sup> For dates extending from Djedkare to late Wenis, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 87 [49], 55 [2], 88 [50].

<sup>64</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 138; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 74; Strudwick, *Administration*, 87-88 [49].

<sup>65</sup> Murry, *Saqqara Mastaba* 1, pl. 9; Jones, *Index*, 788 [2874].

<sup>66</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 6, 15-16, 18, 20, 24.

<sup>67</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 105-113.

<sup>68</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, 67.

<sup>69</sup> See the similar case of Inumin who was overseer of Upper Egypt and was promoted to the vizierate late in his career. The last title appears only on his sarcophagus (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pls. 34 (b), 56 (c) and *passim*).

vizier, Ptahhotep I. If the offering slab bearing the name of Ptahhotep the elder belonged to Ptahhotep II one would expect the epithet of ‘elder’ to have equally been added on his sarcophagus. It seems more likely that the offering slab bearing the name Ptahhotep the elder was produced for the grandfather, probably posthumously, by the grandson on his promotion to the vizierate and for greater distinction between the two viziers of the same name.

**Haishetef the elder:** The mastaba of Haishetef was discovered in the Wenis cemetery by Zaki Saad and was published in a very brief form in an article listing many other important mastabas in the area.<sup>70</sup> Fisher has since reconstructed the figures and inscriptions on the doorway of the tomb using a number of photographs and as a result it now appears that the mastaba belonged to three successive generations.<sup>71</sup>

Haishetef enlarged a small mastaba built by his father Kai by adding parts for his own use. The chapel contains three false doors, the one to the left uninscribed but presumably intended for the grandfather, the one in the centre inscribed for the father Kai and the one to the right for Haishetef himself. While the two jambs of the doorway are occupied by the figures and inscriptions of Haishetef who was the last to enlarge the tomb, the architrave above them shows an interesting succession of three generations. To the left is the figure of the grandfather, Haishetef designated as ‘the elder’, who is the only one depicted with short hair and somewhat enlarged breast and wearing a long, projecting kilt. To the right is the father, Kai with the ‘beautiful name’ Seni, who wears a shoulder-length wig and a short kilt. In the centre are two figures of Haishetef, one facing his father and the other his grandfather; in both cases he wears a shoulder-length wig and a short kilt, but he adds a sash and raises one hand in a ‘gesturing’ position.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 685-686, fig. 74.

<sup>71</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 81-82, fig. 1. Fischer’s dating of the tomb to ‘very late (Dyn. VIII ?) Old Kingdom’, is hardly justified. Two of the owners occupied offices in Wenis’ pyramid, and it is true that the cult of Wenis continued long after his death (Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 1-18), yet there is nothing in the published scenes or inscriptions that would suggest such a late date and Saad describes the inscriptions as having rare and excellent details. The mastabas in this area are mostly from the reigns of Wenis to Pepy I.

<sup>72</sup> For the significance of this posture and some examples see Kanawati, in: *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien*, 284ff.

All three men bear the titles of ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt and sole companion’,<sup>73</sup> but Haishetef the elder is given the responsibility of ‘overseer of the two cool chambers of the Great House’,<sup>74</sup> while Kai is given those of ‘lector priest and inspector of priests of Wenis’ pyramid’,<sup>75</sup> and Haishetef, the grandson, adds those of ‘lector priest, overseer of the department of the Great House and overseer of commissions of Wenis’ pyramid’.<sup>76</sup> The architrave depicts three generations of one family, with the grandson named after his grandfather and accordingly the latter was given the epithet ‘elder’. Whether the ‘gesturing’ of the grandson to both his father and grandfather indicates respect or has some funerary connotation is uncertain. But, the fact that Haishetef is the only one who wears a sash, although his father also bears the title of ‘lector priest’, may hint at the latter alternative. We do not know when the grandfather was described as ‘elder’, but this may have been posthumously or at least after the grandson advanced in his career.

**Senedjemib the elder:** The Senedjemib complex and the history of this distinguished family have been studied and published in detail by Brovarski.<sup>77</sup> We now know that the name Senedjemib was borne by men of three successive generations of the same family, during the reigns of Djedkare and Wenis. The first bearer of this name was the vizier Senedjemib/ Inti, in whose tomb copies of letters he received from Djedkare are inscribed. Although Senedjemib/ Inti is not referred to as ‘the elder’ in the inscriptions of his tomb, he is addressed as such at least once in the preserved parts of Djedkare’s letters.<sup>78</sup>

Brovarski’s suggestion that Senedjemib/ Inti’s depiction on the side walls of the portico of his tomb with abbreviated shoulders and wearing the very long kilt usually worn by elderly men may be an indication that he held the vizierate in his later years is reasonable.<sup>79</sup> As officials mostly built their tombs after reaching the position planned for them, with very rare cases of

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<sup>73</sup> Jones, *Index*, 763 [2775], 892 [3268].

<sup>74</sup> Jones, *Index*, 238 [875].

<sup>75</sup> Jones, *Index*, 781 [2848], 932 [3438].

<sup>76</sup> Jones, *Index*, 781 [2848], 239 [877], 89 [376], respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, passim.

<sup>78</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, 97-101, text fig. 2, figs. 28-30.

<sup>79</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, 23, 41

promotion during the construction of the tomb, the late promotion of Senedjemib/ Inti to the vizierate may explain his death before preparing his resting place. It was his son Senedjemib/ Mehi who either built, or only decorated the tomb for his father in one year and three months, while he was in the embalming workshop. The son also requested and obtained a stone sarcophagus, presumably as a gift from Djedkare.<sup>80</sup>

It is uncertain whether Senedjemib/ Mehi succeeded his father immediately in the vizierate, but considering Senedjemib/ Inti's possible old age and consequently the mature age of his son, this seems possible. As Senedjemib/ Mehi built/ decorated his father's tomb, it would be expected that he would start building his own tomb shortly after the completion of that of his father, or even during its construction. In his own tomb Senedjemib/ Mehi depicts his eldest son, also named Senedjemib, who already held the titles of 'royal chamberlain, royal architect in the two houses'.<sup>81</sup> It seems almost certain that this Senedjemib was born before the death of his grandfather Senedjemib/ Inti; thus when the tomb of the latter was decorated there were already three generations of men bearing the name of Senedjemib. As each of the first two men had a 'beautiful name', Inti and Mehi, and as the third Senedjemib had not reached the vizierate at the time, there was no necessity to describe the grandfather as 'the elder', hence the absence of the epithet from the inscriptions of his chapel. However, the family was certainly well known to the king, who specifically addressed his letters to Senedjemib the elder, i.e., the grandfather. That the king was well acquainted with members of this family is almost certain, for not only did Senedjemib/ Inti and Senedjemib/ Mehi occupy the highest administrative position in the country, but the latter's wife, Khentkaues, was described as 'king's daughter of his body'.<sup>82</sup>

**Nikaankh the elder:** A rock inscription at Wadi Maghara dated to the reign of Pepy I lists the names and titles of members of an expedition, who appear to be separated according to their responsibilities. Three copies of the inscription are available, those by Lepsius, Gardiner and

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<sup>80</sup> The figures of Mehi replaced others, presumably of an elder brother, in the father's tomb.

<sup>81</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 106-107, 110-111, 114. For the reading of the titles see Jones, *Index*, 788 [2875], 464 [1733], respectively.

<sup>82</sup> Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex* 1, fig. 118 (b).

Sethe, but they show minor differences.<sup>83</sup> We are concerned here with three men who are grouped together with their names written in three vertical columns and one title written horizontally above all three names. The title is partly damaged, but the most likely reading, as it appears in Gardiner's copy is *imy-r* *ꜥw* 'overseer of foreign mercenaries'.<sup>84</sup> The names of the three men inscribed from right to left are: Nikaankh the elder, Nikaankh and Senedjem, each followed by the seated man determinative, with the first man adding the standing man holding the staff.<sup>85</sup>

With similar names and title, the two Nikaankhs are almost certainly related, but whether they were father and son, or grandfather and grandson is uncertain, for sons are frequently named after their fathers, but equally names frequently alternated in the same family by generation. If the latter alternative was true then Nikaankh the elder would be the grandfather, Senedjem the father and Nikaankh the son. As expected, Nikaankh the elder's name comes first in this group, but the reversal of order in the case of Nikaankh and Senedjem might have been for grouping, that is the scribe perhaps meant Nikaankhs, senior and junior, and Senedjem.

**Kaihep the elder:** This man owns a limestone mastaba at Saqqara (C 27), with a chapel formed of one uninscribed room. All inscriptions were found on objects discovered in the serdab, and consisting of the following:<sup>86</sup> a) A tablet for the seven oils, where he bears the title *z3b* *ꜥd-mr* 'juridicial *ꜥd-mr* official',<sup>87</sup> with his name followed by the seated man determinative and the standing man holding the staff for the epithet 'elder' (CG 1338). b) An offering plate, where he is designated as *imy-r* *ḥm-k3* 'overseer of *k3*-servants',<sup>88</sup> with the name followed only by the seated man determinative (CG 1305). c) A statue, where he is described as *z3b* *shd* *zš* 'juridicial inspector of scribes',<sup>89</sup> and his name is not followed by any determinative (CG 129).

<sup>83</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 116 (a); Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai* 1, pl. 8 (16); Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 91:17-92.

<sup>84</sup> Jones, *Index*, 73 [327].

<sup>85</sup> This last detail is missing in Gardiner's copy, but very clear in the others. See also Fischer, *Varia*, 81 n. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 162-164; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 5, 18, pl. 1 (CG 1305, 1338).

<sup>87</sup> Jones, *Index*, 806 [2947].

<sup>88</sup> Jones, *Index*, 176 [673].

<sup>89</sup> Jones, *Index*, 814 [2978].



With the limited information available on this tomb owner it is impossible to examine the reasons for his being designated as ‘elder’. On purely speculative grounds this Kaihep may have been the ancestor of the well-known family of governors of Akhmim, in which the names alternated by generations between Kaihep and Shepsipumin.<sup>90</sup> With the tradition of educating/forming and employing the sons of governors in the capital, it now appears that a member of this family, probably also named Kaihep, built a tomb in the north-west section of the Teti cemetery at Saqqara before he was sent by Merenre to succeed to his father in his provincial responsibilities.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps the elevation of the latter to high positions during his service in the capital, necessitated the use of the epithet ‘elder’ for his ancestor, either during his life or even posthumously, hence the epithet is found only on one object but not on the others.<sup>92</sup>

**Kaiemankh the elder:** The tomb of Kaiemakh is constructed between two anonymous earlier stone mastabas and their exterior walls have been utilised to form its east and west walls with the north and south walls built of similar type of local limestone. In addition to the decoration in the chapel the burial chamber contains the best example of animate scenes of various themes, such as agricultural activities, animal husbandry, sailing ships, slaughtering animals, bread making, pulling the papyrus, and even music and dancing.<sup>93</sup> Different dates have been suggested for this tomb ranging from the end of the Fifth to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, but the most likely seems to be the reign of Djedkare or immediately after.<sup>94</sup>

The name of Kaiemankh is written repeatedly on the entrance architrave and thicknesses as well as in the chapel and burial chamber without any determinative. However, on both the north and south roof ‘parapets’ the name is followed by the determinative of the standing man holding the staff, usually used for the epithet ‘elder’.<sup>95</sup> Although the tomb owner depicts his eldest son, Khuiwiwer, once as a naked child and another time as a seated scribe, this son is

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<sup>90</sup> Brovarski, in: *Mélanges* 1, 117-153.

<sup>91</sup> Moreno Garcia, *RdE* 56 (2005), 109ff.; Kanawati, *BACE* 15 (2004), 51-62.

<sup>92</sup> Compare with the abovementioned case of Ptahhotep the elder.

<sup>93</sup> Junker, *Giza*, 4, passim; Kanawati, *Giza* 1, 13-50, pls. 1-17, 25-37.

<sup>94</sup> For a recent discussion of the dating of this tomb see Woods, *JEA* 95 (2009), 161-174.

<sup>95</sup> Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 28 (a-b).

described as *zš pr-ḥd* ‘scribe of the treasury’.<sup>96</sup> One may surmise that when Kaiemankh decorated his tomb his son was still relatively young, and it was after a grandson bearing his name reached adulthood that he acquired the epithet ‘elder’. It is possible that the north and south roof ‘parapets’ where the epithet ‘elder’ is inscribed were later additions to the mastaba, placed on top of the roofing slabs and inscribed with large hieroglyphic signs.<sup>97</sup>

**Shepsesqed the elder:**<sup>98</sup> An inscribed stone, with unknown provenance and possibly dating to the Fourth Dynasty, belongs to a man named Shepsesqed the elder.<sup>99</sup> The owner was a *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Her-neb-Maat and *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Snefru. He was also a hereditary prince and king’s son of his body.<sup>100</sup> The owner of the inscription lists two generations of his descendants: ‘his son the acquaintance of the king,<sup>101</sup> Nikaure’,<sup>102</sup> and ‘his son (i.e., the latter’s son) the acquaintance of the king, one who is privy to the secret’,<sup>103</sup> Shepsesqed’. Thus we have here another case of names alternating in the family by generation. Shepsesqed the elder had a grandson named after him, Shepsesqed, and this was probably the reason for the grandfather acquiring the epithet ‘elder’.

**Kagemni the elder:** An offering table from Saqqara is inscribed for ‘the sole companion, the lector priest, Kagemni’.<sup>104</sup> The date of the monument is uncertain, but the positioning of Anubis above the *ḥtp*-sign rather than on a stand suggests a date up to the reign of Pepy I, during which a change from the earlier to the later form took place.<sup>105</sup> With such a likely early date one wonders

<sup>96</sup> Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pls. 31-32; Jones, *Index*, 851 [3109].

<sup>97</sup> Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pls. 3-4, 28 (a-b).

<sup>98</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 51 (CG 1390).

<sup>99</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 326:25.

<sup>100</sup> For his titles see Jones, *Index*, 557 [2061], 575 [2118], 315 [1157], 799 [2912], respectively.

<sup>101</sup> Jones, *Index*, 327 [1206].

<sup>102</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen*, 1, 180:23.

<sup>103</sup> Jones, *Index*, 327 [1206], 609 [2233].

<sup>104</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 31, (CG 1368).

<sup>105</sup> The earlier form is used on the false door of Meryteti (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 51. It is also regularly used in the inscriptions of Hesi (Kanawati, and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 52, 57, 63), but the later form appeared once on the inner false door (Kanawati, and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 63). Khentika also used a mixture of the two forms (James, *Khentika*, pls. 7, 19), but his son used only the later form (James, *Khentika*, pl. 13). Only the later form was used by the vizier Tjetju of Pepy I (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 61) and on the monuments of Queen Iput, which was made or completed for her by her son, Pepy I

if this offering table was produced for the grandfather of Teti's well-known vizier, either during his life or posthumously, in which case the epithet 'elder' would have aimed at distinguishing the similarly named men. For a possibly similar case, see under Ptahhotep the elder.

**Nofernesut the elder:** The names of members of an expedition recorded in a rock inscription at Wadi Hammamat include those of 'Nofernesut the elder' and 'Nofernesut the black',<sup>106</sup> whom Fischer considers to be father and son.<sup>107</sup> While this suggestion is not impossible and a kinship between the two is almost certain, it is equally likely that we have a grandfather and grandson. If names alternated by generation in this family as it did in many others, then the son of the first and father of the second Nofernesut might have a completely different name and might even have been a member of the same expedition. That a grandfather and his grandson are included in the same expedition should not be surprising. The overseer of Upper Egypt Weni the elder for instance led quarrying expeditions to Ibhat, Elephantine and Hatnub when he was certainly an elderly man under Merenre,<sup>108</sup> and presumably had grandsons at least capable of accompanying him.

**Ipi the elder:** The names Ipi and Sobekhotep were common among members of a certain family buried in Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan, who were presumably involved in the expeditions to the south.<sup>109</sup> Numerous ceramics dedicated for these individuals allow us to establish the family succession. The name Ipi appears to be carried by both women and men and there appears to be one 'elder' of each gender with this name,<sup>110</sup> although Edel attributes all instances to one woman.<sup>111</sup> A number of inscriptions mention *'Ipi z3 Sbkḥtp* 'Ipi son of Sobekhotep',<sup>112</sup> while

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(Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 55). The form of Anubis on a stand was regularly used in the succeeding period.

<sup>106</sup> Goyon, *Wadi Hammamat*, 64 no. 31.

<sup>107</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 83.

<sup>108</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 106-108.

<sup>109</sup> A man named Sobekhotep, who presumably belongs to this family held the title *imy-r-ʿw* 'overseer of foreign mercenaries' (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, 2:1:1, pls. 103-106; Jones, *Index*, 73 [327]).

<sup>110</sup> See the women Ip(i) the elder and Ipi junior (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 15-16), and the men Ipi the elder and Ipi junior (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, 2:1:1, 26-27). There are no compulsory reasons to consider the elders and the juniors as the same in both instances.

<sup>111</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:2, 33 (9 a, b).

<sup>112</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 30-33, 58-59, 62-63, 73.

others mention *Sbk-ḥtp z3 Ipi* ‘Sobekhotep son of Ipi’.<sup>113</sup> That there were two Sobekhoteps, one was the son of Ipi the elder and the second was the son of Ipi junior is almost certain,<sup>114</sup> and may suggest the following succession for this family: Ipi the elder - Sobekhotep - Ipi junior - Sobekhotep. The last member of the family is also designated as *Sbk-ḥtp rnpy* ‘Sobekhotep’ the younger.<sup>115</sup> Whether Ipi was described as ‘elder’ in his/her lifetime or posthumously is uncertain, but the latter alternative seems more plausible considering the limited references to such an epithet.

**Mekhu(i) the elder:** A number of pottery vessels dedicated to members of one family buried in Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan bear the names of Mekhu/ Mekhui and Saben/ Sabni. The slight variation in the two names does not mean that they belonged to different individuals. In the same tomb (no. 105) we find pottery inscribed for the *smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt S3bn* and the *smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt S3bni* ‘the sole companion, the lector priest, Saben/ Sabni’, most probably the same person.<sup>116</sup> Also in the same tomb (no. 105), vessels were found belonging to *Mḥw z3 Snti* and *Mḥwi z3 Snti* ‘Mekhu/ Mekhui son of Senti’.<sup>117</sup> Pottery vessels in tomb (no. 99) commemorate four generations of this family: *smr wꜥty S3bn z3 Mḥwi wr*, *Mḥw z3 ḥ3ty-ꜥ S3bni*, *smr wꜥty S3bni nds* ‘the sole companion Saben son of Mehui the elder, Mekhu son of the count Sabni and the sole companion Sabni junior’.<sup>118</sup> Tomb (no. 105) contains pottery belonging to the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt Mḥw* ‘the count, the sole companion, the lector priest, Mekhu’, the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ Mḥwi z3 smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt S3bn* ‘the count Mekhui, son of the sole companion, the lector priest, Saben’ the *smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt S3bn* ‘the sole companion, the lector priest, Saben’ and pottery in tomb (no. 109) refers to the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ Mḥw z3 smr wꜥty ḥry-ḥbt S3bn* ‘the count Mekhu, son of the sole companion, the lector priest, Saben’.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 40-42, 82-83.

<sup>114</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 26.

<sup>115</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 106.

<sup>116</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 138.

<sup>117</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 146.

<sup>118</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 85, 87.

<sup>119</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 128, 136-137, 180, respectively.

The succession of this family may be reconstructed as follows: Mekhu/ Mekhui the elder - Saben/ Sabni - Mekhu/ Mekhui (II) - Sabni junior. This goes against Edel's reconstruction where Mekhui the elder and Sabni junior are placed as the last known generation of this family.<sup>120</sup> Mekhu the elder and his son Sabni were probably the owners of the joint tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa, where the well-known biography of the latter describes the death of his father in Nubia and how he brought his body back.<sup>121</sup> The second Mekhu is probably Mekhu (II), son of Sabni, who left a similar inscription in his father's tomb mentioning the death of this Sabni, also in Nubia, and Mekhu's bringing him back and arranging his burial.<sup>122</sup>

**Merymaatkakai the elder:** Both *Mry-M3<sup>c</sup>t-K3k3i wr* 'Merymaatkakai the elder' and *Mry-M3<sup>c</sup>t-K3k3i nds* 'Merymaatkakai junior' are mentioned a number of times among other officials in the Abusir Papyri.<sup>123</sup> While a relationship between the two men is almost certain,<sup>124</sup> the exact nature of the kinship is not indicated. It may be argued that they were a father and a son, but it seems more likely that they were a grandfather and a grandson. In fact the name of *Mry-M3<sup>c</sup>t-K3k3i nds* is frequently linked to that of *Ny-h3swt-K3k3i* 'Nikhasutkakai', with the former following the latter and with the cartouche of Kakai written only once for the two names.<sup>125</sup> The suggested succession of this family is: Merymaatkakai the elder, Nikhasutkakai and Merymaatkakai junior.

**Meryrekakai the elder:** The names of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-K3k3i wr* 'Meryrekakai the elder' and *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-K3k3i nds* 'Meryrekakai junior' are written a number of times in the Abusir Papyri.<sup>126</sup> In one instance the two are 'amalgamated' in one as: *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-K3k3i wr nds* 'Meryrekakai the elder and the junior'.<sup>127</sup> Although the cartouche of Kakai is frequently written only once and used as an element in two different names, such a complete 'amalgamation' of two similar names, except for the epithets 'elder and junior', is not familiar elsewhere and may be the result of the lack of

<sup>120</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:2, 79. Edel also placed Ipi the elder and Ipi junior as the last generation of their family (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:2, 80).

<sup>121</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 335.

<sup>122</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 338-339.

<sup>123</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 5-7, 11.

<sup>124</sup> Also, Fischer, *Varia*, 83.

<sup>125</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 5, 11.

<sup>126</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pls. 5-7, 11.

<sup>127</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 6.

space, since this was written in the last line of a column of text. It should also be noted that in the same column and between Meryrekakai the elder and the junior two other individuals are listed, *Mry-K3k3i* ‘Merykakai’ and *Nfr-k3-K3k3i* ‘Noferkakakai’, and either, or both of them could represent a middle generation between Meryrekakai the elder and the junior. Although a close kinship between the two men with the name Meryrekakai is almost certain, they are not necessarily a father and a son. These are temple officials and it is reasonable to think that successive generations of the family were employed in the same profession.

**Merydjehutikakai the elder:** Three men named *Mry-Dḥwty-K3k3i* ‘Merydjehutikakai’ are mentioned in the Abusir Papyri, one with the epithet ‘the elder’, the second with the epithet ‘junior’ and the third with no epithet.<sup>128</sup> Considering the regularity with which such epithets were written in these temple records, it appears that three generations of men bearing this name did exist. The transcription of the text *Mry-Dḥwty-K3k3i wr z3 Mry-Dḥwty-K3k3i nds* ‘Merydjehutikakai the elder, son of Merydjehutikakai junior’ seems unlikely and genealogical information is regularly omitted in these records.<sup>129</sup>

**Nedjemu the elder:** A statue base (MFA 37.662) from Reisner’s G 2420 is crudely inscribed for *shd wꜥbw ḥnty-š Ndmw wr* ‘the inspector of the wꜥbw-priests, the guard,<sup>130</sup> Nedjemu the elder’. A dedication inscription on the statue says: *irt-n n.f z3.f S[šm-nfr]* ‘what his son S[eshemnofer?] made for him’.<sup>131</sup> The inscription was almost certainly made for Nedjemu after his death and the epithet ‘elder’ may have been attributed to him posthumously. If the name of Nedjemu’s son was Seshemnofer, which is by no means certain, the latter may have had a son named Nedjemu, which necessitated the epithet ‘elder’ for the grandfather.

**Netjerweser the elder:** Netjerweser’s tomb was situated in a row of mastabas to the north of the step Pyramid. He held many high titles including those of overseer of all the works of the king

<sup>128</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 13.

<sup>129</sup> Another reference to *z3* ‘son of’ seems equally unlikely (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 13).

<sup>130</sup> For this translation of the title *ḥnty-š*, see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14-24.

<sup>131</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 84 n. 20, fig. 4.

and overseer of the scribes of royal documents.<sup>132</sup> His name is regularly written without any epithet, yet only on the drum of the entrance door is the name followed by the epithet ‘the elder’.<sup>133</sup> As the latter inscription seems to be written by a different hand, judging only by the line drawing, it may be argued that this was a later addition or alteration (See the case of Ptahhotep the elder and Nikauisesi the elder).

Netjerweser the elder’s eldest son was called Reshepses, who may well be the owner of the nearby mastaba and who was promoted to the position of vizier under Djedkare.<sup>134</sup> In his mastaba Reshepses depicts his own eldest son, Netjerweser, with the title *z3b imy-r3 zšw* ‘juridical overseer of scribes’,<sup>135</sup> and it was probably then, or even somewhat later that his similarly named grandfather was given the epithet ‘elder’, perhaps even posthumously.

**Nikauisesi the elder:** The overseer of Upper Egypt Nikauisesi owned a stone built mastaba immediately to the north of that of the vizier Kagemni in the Teti cemetery. He has never been described as ‘elder’, but curiously his eldest son, also called Nikauisesi, was given this epithet. This may lead to the belief that the epithet ‘elder’ was sometimes given to sons in order to differentiate them from their similarly named fathers.<sup>136</sup> However, a careful examination of the epithet in this tomb clearly demonstrates a number of interesting points. a) While the eldest son, Nikauisesi, was regularly referred to in his father’s chapel as *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty Ny-k3w-Izzi* ‘the sole companion, Nikauisesi’,<sup>137</sup> he was given the epithet *km* ‘the black’ on the west entrance jamb, and was described as *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty Ny-k3w-Tti-km* ‘the sole companion, Nikauteti, the black’,<sup>138</sup> most probably to distinguish him from his similarly named father. b) The epithet ‘elder’ was inscribed,

<sup>132</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 20-25. For the reading of the titles see Jones, *Index*, 262 [949], 209 [780], respectively.

<sup>133</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 25.

<sup>134</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 23; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 60-64; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 97 [294], 101 [315], 292 [294, 315].

<sup>135</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 61; Jones, *Index*, 803 [2933].

<sup>136</sup> So does Fischer (Fischer, *Varia*, 81), and Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, following Fischer’s conclusions (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, 13).

<sup>137</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pls. 43-46, 50, 52, 54.

<sup>138</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pls. 43, 45. It may be presumed that Nikauisesi and Nikauteti was one and the same person, since both were described as eldest son, held the title of sole companion and the epithet ‘the black’. This is probably similar to the son of Kentika changing his name from Djediteti to Djedipepy (James, *Khentika*, 14).

certainly as a later addition and in a completely different style, after the name of this eldest son on both entrance jambs and both entrance thicknesses,<sup>139</sup> but not inside the chapel.

How should this case be interpreted? The addition of the epithet *wr* ‘the elder’ to the son’s name was most probably not to distinguish him from his father, since he was already designated as *km* ‘the black’, and was even given a second name commemorating king Teti. Furthermore, if the epithet *wr* ‘the elder’ were meant to distinguish the son from his similarly named father, it would have been added in the original inscriptions since the son was already a man holding the title ‘sole companion’ when the tomb was decorated. Two other men named Nikauisesi appear in room I of the chapel, one bearing the title *z3b zš* ‘juridical scribe’, while the other is described as *zš pr-ꜥ3 hnty-š* ‘palace scribe and guard’. The two men are shown in two separate boats returning from a trip and bringing the produce of the marshlands. Yet unlike the boatmen these two men are standing in the middle of the boats and wearing the projecting kilts.<sup>140</sup> The first of them is also shown accompanying the tomb owner in his fowling trip in the marshlands.<sup>141</sup> Since the kinship of the other children of the tomb owner is always specified, it appears unlikely that these two were also his sons, but with such an uncommon name, they may have been his grandsons, even though no such designation was written.

The addition of the epithet ‘elder’ to the name of the tomb owner’s eldest son, is also unlikely to have aimed at distinguishing him from his own sons (i.e., the tomb owner’s grandsons), since these were present when the original inscriptions were made. Such addition was probably made when one of these two men had a son, also named Nikauisesi as seems typical of this family. The inscription of the epithet ‘elder’ only at the entrance and not inside the chapel probably meant to specifically identifying Nikauisesi son of Nikauisesi as the grandfather of a similarly named man (presumably not represented in this tomb), and its late addition may well explain the clear difference in the style of writing.

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<sup>139</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pls. 4-6.

<sup>140</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 47.

<sup>141</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 50.



**Khenu the elder:** Khenu the elder was the son of Nofer and the grandson of Kahai of Saqqara.<sup>142</sup> He was not included in the original decoration of the chapel, although this represents an extensive record of Kahai's descendants, and it seems likely that Khenu was born after the decoration of the chapel was completed. However, an inscription was added in black paint, presumably after a considerable time, referring to him as Khenu the elder, stating that he is the son of Nofer and attributing to him the titles of *rh nswt hrp hswm m prwy* 'acquaintance of the king, director of singers in the Two Houses'.<sup>143</sup> Khenu the elder was probably not buried in this tomb but he, or his descendants, wished to identify him with this family of palace singers. Perhaps the inscription was made by his son, or more likely grandson, who followed in the family profession.

The above are a few cases in which we were able to examine the possible significance of the epithet 'elder'. Many other men bear the same epithet, but whose family relationship could not be verified due to the lack of evidence. These include:

- 1- **Itjeti the elder:** Depicted in the funerary temple of Queen Iput, wife of Teti.<sup>144</sup>
- 2- **Kherni (?) the elder:** Depicted in the funerary temple of Queen Iput, wife of Teti.<sup>145</sup>
- 3- **I...i the elder:** This person is known only from a small tomb obelisk, where he is described as 'the honoured one', but with no titles recorded.<sup>146</sup>
- 4- **Biu the elder:** This person is known only from a small tomb obelisk,<sup>147</sup> where he is designated as 'the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion,<sup>148</sup> Biu'.<sup>149</sup>
- 5- **Imem the elder:** He appears among a number of possible family members mentioned on an offering table belonging to a man named Khewy.<sup>150</sup> The relationship of these individuals to each other is not stated.

<sup>142</sup> See Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 31; Lashien, *Kahai*, 20, 43-44, pls. 58, 85.

<sup>143</sup> Jones, *Index*, 327 [1206], 493 [1841], 733 [2668].

<sup>144</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 91.

<sup>145</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 91.

<sup>146</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 7 (CG 1311).

<sup>147</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, 7 (CG 1314).

<sup>148</sup> Jones, *Index*, 763 [2775], 892 [3268].

<sup>149</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 93:14.

<sup>150</sup> Abou-Ghazi, *Denkmäler* 3 (CG 57025).

- 6- **Khui the elder**: Three pottery vessels inscribed for a (wo)man named Nofernui were found in tomb (no. 107) at Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan. The text reads: *špst nswt Nfrnwi z3 Hwi-wr* ‘the noble (wo)man of the king, Nofernui, son/daughter of Khui the elder’.<sup>151</sup> Another pot found in tomb (no. 92) dedicated to *Nfrnwi z3 Hw*,<sup>152</sup> probably belongs to the same individual.<sup>153</sup> However, while we know that Khui the Elder had a son/ daughter named Nofernui, we do not know the third generation of this family, which probably resulted in the epithet ‘the elder’.
- 7- **Senankh the elder**: The name is found on a statue from Reisner’s excavations at Giza, G2475 (Now at Toronto 949.42).
- 8- **Khewenwekh the elder**: He is depicted in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>154</sup> His title of noble of the king is too high for an overseer of the house. With such a name and epithet, was he an elder member of the family?

## Conclusions

A careful examination of the instances where individuals are given the epithet ‘elder’ suggests that the epithet was given to persons, mostly to men, after they had similarly named grandsons who followed them into the same/similar profession. The epithet could be attributed to the person late in his life, or posthumously. It is unlikely that ‘elder’ was used to distinguish a father from his similarly named son, otherwise it would have been used much more commonly.

## Study B

### The representation of aging in wall scenes

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<sup>151</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pls. 154-156. The gender is uncertain, for while a feminine *t* appears after the title *špst nswt* it is consistently missing after *z3*.

<sup>152</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 2:1:1, pl. 29.

<sup>153</sup> This is another example of the variations in the names, similar to Ip/ Ipi, Mekhu/ Mkhui, Hotep/ Hotpi, etc.

<sup>154</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81.

Tomb owners were occasionally represented as corpulent figures, mostly bare-headed or more rarely wearing short, layered wigs, wearing long kilts and shown with broad shoulders or with abbreviated shoulders. They are usually depicted on the thicknesses of the tomb entrance, but occasionally on the jambs of false doors, on pillars, or in other scenes in the chapel.<sup>155</sup> Such figures may be divided into two types, which we will call A and B. Type A exhibits a somewhat enlarged waistline and/or moderately bulging stomach and breast, while type B shows a clearly protruding stomach and pendulous breast. These representations are generally understood to indicate maturity and the portrayal of the same tomb owner once in the youthful, ideal form and the other in the mature form, occasionally on the two thicknesses of the same tomb entrance, were meant to complement each other and to indicate two ideal states, the young official and the experienced successful man.<sup>156</sup> While this interpretation is probably correct, the question remains if such representations, and particularly those showing the mature state, reflect a reality or simply the wish to reach an old age, as is frequently written in the funerary formulae ‘...that he be buried in the west/ western desert at/after a very good old age’.<sup>157</sup> On the other hand, if the depiction of old age simply indicates a wish of the tomb owner, should not such figures have been much more common? To evaluate the significance of the portly figures we examined their presence in a number of tombs, which offer sufficient data to study the possible age of the owner.

### **Type A: with moderately enlarged waistline and/or slight bulge to the stomach and breast**

**Khewenwekh (Quseir el-Amarna):** Khewenwekh depicted his sons and daughters as well as at least one grandson and one granddaughter in his chapel.<sup>158</sup> His grandson was described as *mniw iḥw Ny-ḥ-Mry-r* ‘the herdsman of cattle’,<sup>159</sup> Niankhmeryre’,<sup>160</sup> a modest title which may hint at his relatively young age. This is also supported by the representation of his granddaughter, *Hwt-*

<sup>155</sup> For a study of these figures see Harpur, *Decoration*, 131-133.

<sup>156</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 131.

<sup>157</sup> Lapp, *Opferformel*, figs. 80-81, 87-88, 93, 97-99, and passim.

<sup>158</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 38, 46. For identification as grandchildren, see Chapter I.

<sup>159</sup> Jones, *Index*, 432 [1590].

<sup>160</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 171:13.

*ḥr-m-ḥꜣt* ‘Hathoremhat’,<sup>161</sup> as an adolescent with the pigtail and disc hairstyle<sup>162</sup> accompanying him in his spearfishing trip. Considering the young age of Khewenwekh’s grandchildren, he may have been a man of middle age at the time his tomb was decorated, but this was not necessarily when he died. On both thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel he is represented with abbreviated shoulder, bulging stomach and breast and wearing a long kilt<sup>163</sup> (Figure 77).

**Pepyankh the elder (Quseir el-Amarna):** Pepyankh the elder was presumably the second eldest son of Khewenwekh. He succeeded his father at El-Qusiya, but probably at a mature age and died after cutting his tomb, but before decorating it and it seems possible that the limited inscriptions in the tomb were made by his grandson, Pepyankh the middle (see Chapter I). As a result of the limited information recorded in his chapel, we only know the wife and eldest son of Pepyankh the elder. Yet his epithet ‘the elder’ probably indicates that at the time the tomb was decorated he had a grandson who carried the same name and who was destined to succeed him, or probably in this case has already succeeded him.<sup>164</sup> Pepyankh the elder is depicted on pillar 2 with bulging stomach and breast and wearing a long kilt<sup>165</sup> (Figure 78).

**Pepyankh the middle (Meir):** In his biographical inscriptions on the façade of his offering chamber (room 3) Pepyankh the middle claimed that he spent 100 years among the living.<sup>166</sup> Regardless of how this statement should be interpreted, it most probably indicates an old or at least mature age. However, we do not know if this biography was written during the initial cutting and decoration of the tomb or more likely at a later stage. It should be mentioned that the tomb was subjected to a number of alterations, including the construction of a pillared hall and the enlargement of the entrance to (room 3) after the biographical text was written.<sup>167</sup> This was

<sup>161</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 235:12.

<sup>162</sup> For this hairstyle see Kanawati, in: *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien*, 292ff.

<sup>163</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 36.

<sup>164</sup> See Study A.

<sup>165</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 27 (b).

<sup>166</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4A (3); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 76 (b); Kloth, *(auto-)biographischen*, 142-43; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 369.

<sup>167</sup> This is evident from the examination of the bottom of the door lintel, where the enlarged section was not painted in red as the rest of the lintel (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 9 (a)). The enlargement of the entrance resulted in the space between the entrance and the text being much narrower on the right side than on the left, and in the spear fishing

probably possible because the owner lived long after the initial decoration of his tomb. In the original scenes of the chapel Pepyankh the middle represented many members of his family, including his eldest son, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black, who held the title of overseer of priests,<sup>168</sup> a title given to the eldest sons of the governors on reaching a mature age and in order to enable them to draw good income from the temple (see Chapter I). Furthermore, Niankhpepy the black was represented in his father's chapel with his wife and children. Accordingly, Pepyankh the middle was at least a man of middle age when he first cut and decorated his chapel, although he may have lived long afterwards. On both thicknesses of the entrance to (room 3) Pepyankh the middle is shown with a slightly bulging stomach and breast<sup>169</sup> (Figure 79).

**Pepyankh the black (Meir):** Pepyankh the black cut and decorated the joint tombs A1 and A2 for his father and himself. While his old father, Niankhpepy the black was represented a number of times with bulging stomach and pendulous breast (see under that name in Type B), it is significant that no similar figures are attested in the chapel of the son. Yet being the eldest son of an old man Pepyankh the black himself should have been of a mature age and is shown at least once in his own tomb with somewhat enlarged waistline and slightly bulging stomach and breast<sup>170</sup> (see Figures 38, 80). On the partition wall between tombs A1 and A2 the two nobles appear together, presumably representing an earlier time when the father was alive and accordingly the son is shown in a smaller size and holding more modest titles than those of his father (Figure 17). In this instance the father is depicted with an enlarged waistline and slightly bulging breast and wearing the long kilt.<sup>171</sup> Many individuals are represented in tomb A2, but it is interesting that a man named *ꜥnhy*<sup>172</sup> 'Ankhy' is depicted balding and with bulging stomach and slightly enlarged breast.<sup>173</sup> That he is of mature age may be judged by his high titles of *shd*

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scene inside the chapel losing a section of the water mound and the fighting hippopotamus and crocodile (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 76, 80).

<sup>168</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>169</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 77-78.

<sup>170</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 16, 32?; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 72, 92?.

<sup>171</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 14; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a).

<sup>172</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 68:4.

<sup>173</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22 (1); Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83 (a).

*hm(w)-ntr htmty-ntr zš z3b imy-r zš(w)* ‘inspector of priests, god’s sealer, scribe, juridical overseer of scribes’.<sup>174</sup>

**Mekhu, Sabni and others (Aswan):** The tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan provide a large number of representations of portly men. It should be emphasized that many of the men buried there were in charge of the expeditions to the south to bring the exotic products of these regions. Leading such trips probably required long experience in order to gain knowledge of the topography of the different regions and perhaps their languages. Accordingly, young men accompanied their fathers before ultimately succeeding them in such tasks.<sup>175</sup> In most tombs adult sons are represented with their elderly fathers and in the well-known case of Mekhu and Sabni, the latter wrote that he took with him 100 donkeys loaded with gifts in order to recover the body of his father from Wawat in Nubia.<sup>176</sup> We may therefore assume that when Mekhu died Sabni was of relatively mature age and accordingly the former was shown as a portly man. However, the same applies to many others in the cemetery, such as Mekhu I and II, Sabni I and II, Khewnes, Heqaib, Sobekhotep, Iyshemai, Khenemu, Tjetji, Senenu and Setka.<sup>177</sup> In all these examples the elderly tomb owner is either shown with his younger son, or he is depicted at two stages of his life, young and old. However, while they are represented with somewhat bulging stomach and breasts, in no instance are these men shown obese. Perhaps the nature of their occupation kept them relatively fit, or they built and decorated their tombs when they were of middle age.

**Ihy (Thebes):** The two communicating tombs of Ihy and Khenty belong to two nomarchs, father and son. Other examples of such communicating tombs seem to have occurred when the son completed the work on his father’s tomb and built his own immediately after or together with that of his father (See for instance the cases of Niankhpepy the black and Pepyankh the black of Meir, or those of Mekhu and Sabni of Aswan). If so, Ihy must have been of a rather advanced age, since his son Khenti was able to succeed him as great overlord of the province immediately/

<sup>174</sup> Jones, *Index*, 932 [3437], 767 [2791], 834 [3040], 803 [2933], respectively.

<sup>175</sup> See Harkhuf’s statement to this effect (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 124:9-11; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 330).

<sup>176</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 336-337.

<sup>177</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pls. 1-2, 4-5, 10-11, 13, 15, 25, 36, 50-52, 63-64, 66-70, 77-78, 80, 83, 88.

shortly after the tomb was decorated. Ihy appears in one scene in his chapel with enlarged breast and rolls of fat across his stomach.<sup>178</sup>

**Wahi (El-Hagarsa):** Wahi held the titles of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r mšꜥ* ‘count, overseer of the army’.<sup>179</sup> His eldest son, Seneb, was married and probably had a daughter.<sup>180</sup> Wahi must have therefore been of middle age, and he appears on the thickness of the entrance to his chapel with some bulge to the stomach and breast.<sup>181</sup>

**Mery-aa (El-Hagarsa):** The tomb owner represented six wives, eight daughters and four sons in his tomb.<sup>182</sup> Whether Mery-aa was a polygamist or each of the six marriages ended in divorce or death of the wife, it is most probable that the marriages took place over a relatively long time, during which the tomb owner produced his twelve children. On one of the thicknesses of the entrance to his tomb Mery-aa is depicted in the prime of life, while on the other he appears obese, wearing the typical long kilt and with visibly enlarged breast.<sup>183</sup>

**Ibi (Deir el-Gebrawi):** Ibi was the nomarch of both Abydos (Nome 8) and Deir el-Gebrawi (Nome 12). He had a number of sons and daughters, all holding relatively high titles, including that of *ḥry-tp ꜥ3 UE12* ‘great overlord of UE 12’, recorded by his eldest son, Djau/ Shemai.<sup>184</sup> The association of the eldest son with his father in the government of Nome 12 may have aimed at assisting the father in his multiple responsibilities, but it may also hint at the mature age of the son and the need to allocate certain high responsibilities to him. The mature age of the son may also be gauged from the fact that in the spear fishing and fowling trips he took part in the same activities as the father, rather than watching the latter or carrying the catch as usual.<sup>185</sup> With the likely mature age of the eldest son, Ibi must have been at least a man of middle age. On the east

<sup>178</sup> Saleh, *Tombs at Thebes*, figs. 60-62, pl. 18, and passim

<sup>179</sup> Jones, *Index*, 496 [1858], 142 [551], respectively.

<sup>180</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, 11-13,

<sup>181</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, fig. 19 (a).

<sup>182</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, 25-27, fig. 42.

<sup>183</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, fig. 34.

<sup>184</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi* 1, pls. 3, 5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 46-47.

<sup>185</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 46-47.

thickness of the entrance to his chapel the tomb owner is represented as an obese man with expanded waistline and a bulging stomach<sup>186</sup> (Figure 81).

**Djau/ Shemai and Djau (Deir el-Gebrawi):** We do not know how long Ibi lived after decorating his tomb, but we know that his eldest son, Djau/ Shemai succeeded him for a short period, during which he probably started, but did not finish the excavation of a tomb.<sup>187</sup> That he ruled for a short period may also be gleaned from the fact that his son, Djau, had to request King Pepy II to grant his father the title of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* ‘count’ posthumously.<sup>188</sup> Djau/ Shemai was then buried in a joint tomb prepared by his son Djau.<sup>189</sup> A comparison between this tomb and the neighbouring one of Ibi is interesting. Unlike Ibi, Djau (the younger) was depicted on both thicknesses of the tomb entrance as a man in the prime of life;<sup>190</sup> also he is not shown in action in the spear fishing and fowling scenes, but simply carrying the catch.<sup>191</sup> The careful examination of two scenes where the dead father is depicted with his son<sup>192</sup> demonstrates that the artist has shown some subtle physical differences between them.<sup>193</sup> The waistline and ribcage of the father are slightly larger than those of the son even though the two men are of equal height. If our interpretation is correct it would throw new light on the artist’s method in portraying age.

**Kaiwab (Giza):** Kaiwab was the son of Khufu and is assumed to have been the crown prince,<sup>194</sup> which is challenged by Strudwick, who thinks that he was probably promoted to the vizierate not much before the end of Khufu’s reign and after the completion of his tomb.<sup>195</sup> Considering the length of Khufu’s reign, presumably 23 years, and the likely time of Kaiwab’s promotion, he should have been at least a man of middle age when he died. While his tomb is badly

<sup>186</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 44 (a).

<sup>187</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 79-80, pl. 83. Tomb S10 is very close to that of Ibi and is the only tomb on the mountain which has similar architectural features to Ibi’s tomb (Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 41).

<sup>188</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 147:13-16; Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 366.

<sup>189</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, 20-21.

<sup>190</sup> Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 55-56.

<sup>191</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3-5; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 57.

<sup>192</sup> For a study of the method of representing the living and the dead see Kanawati, *SAK* 9 (1981), 213ff.

<sup>193</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 7, 10; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 59.

<sup>194</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, passim; Simpson, *Kawab*, passim.

<sup>195</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 146-47 [140].



damaged,<sup>196</sup> a figure of the prince is well preserved in the tomb of Mersankh III, in which he appears as an obese man with pronounced stomach and breast<sup>197</sup> (Figure 82).

**Khaefkhufu I (Giza):** Khaefkhufu I was the son of Khufu and therefore is likely to have been close to Kaiwab in age. Reisner and Smith believe that the tomb was completed at the end of Khufu's reign,<sup>198</sup> but both Strudwick and Harpur argue for a date in the reign of Khafre for its decoration.<sup>199</sup> On the façade of his tomb Khaefkhufu is depicted with pronounced stomach and breast, not dissimilar from the above image of Kaiwab.<sup>200</sup>

**Hemiunu (Giza):** Hemiunu was probably the son of Nofermaat of Maidum. He is depicted as a young official on the south jamb of his father's false door.<sup>201</sup> In his later years he reached the vizierate, which is commemorated on his statue found in the serdab of his mastaba at Giza (G4000), where he clearly appears obese, with clearly enlarged stomach and breast.<sup>202</sup> Considering Hemiunu's age at death, Harpur estimates it to be somewhere between 54, 59 or 65 years based on biennial count and between 52 and 55 based on an annual count.<sup>203</sup>

**Noferi (Giza):** Noferi held important positions in the palace and the navy as well as some religious titles. A number of individuals are represented in his chapel, but no relationship to the tomb owner is specified.<sup>204</sup> Two figures of Noferi are depicted on the façade jambs; thus on the left jam he appears in the prime of life, while on the right jamb he is shown as obese, with enlarged stomach and breast.<sup>205</sup>

**Abedu (Giza):** Little evidence exists for assessing the possible age of the tomb owner when the chapel was decorated. However, he was married and with a number of apparently mature age

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<sup>196</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, passim.

<sup>197</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pls. 3 (a), 4, fig. 4

<sup>198</sup> Reisner and Smith, *Giza* 2, 8.

<sup>199</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 122-23 [104]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 269 (183).

<sup>200</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, pl. 16 (b), fig. 27.

<sup>201</sup> Harpur, *Nefermaat*, fig. 35.

<sup>202</sup> Harpur, *Nefermaat*, fig. 36.

<sup>203</sup> Harpur, *Nefermaat*, 33.

<sup>204</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 39-67.

<sup>205</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 36-37.

children.<sup>206</sup> While Abedu appears in the prime of life on the left entrance jamb, he is shown on the right jamb as a portly man, with protruding stomach, but not a pronounced breast.<sup>207</sup> The tomb owner is again depicted twice in this form on the pillars of the chapel.<sup>208</sup>

**Seshemnofer IV (Giza):** The mastaba of Seshemnofer IV is a family tomb in which a number of the tomb owner's probable relatives were buried. This may suggest that he lived long and allowed these individuals to be buried within his mastaba area. He also depicts a number of sons holding responsible positions.<sup>209</sup> On both thicknesses of the entrance the tomb owner is depicted probably as a portly man with the long kilt and sandals, although the upper parts of both figures are missing.<sup>210</sup> Inside the chapel a man is depicted censing to the tomb owner's statue, which is clearly shown as portly and with projecting stomach and breast. A second scene in the chapel represents censing to a similar figure<sup>211</sup> (Figure 83).

**Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Saqqara):** While the tomb owners were never depicted as old men, and perhaps they were not so when they decorated their joint tomb since their children were consistently represented with the pigtail, some of their workmen are shown as older. Men depicted as overseers in the boat construction,<sup>212</sup> the dragnet and the repairs of the nets,<sup>213</sup> the returning boatmen carrying offerings,<sup>214</sup> and the fruit picking,<sup>215</sup> are all shown with a bulging stomach and enlarged or pendulous breast. It is expected that the overseers in different professions would be of older age and they all appear balding.

**Noferseshemtah/ Sekhentiu (Saqqara):** The only man shown balding and with an enlarged breast is leaning on his staff, supervising the harvesting of barley and labeled *ḥk3 ḥwt* 'estate

<sup>206</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 69-82.

<sup>207</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 50-51.

<sup>208</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, figs. 52, 56.

<sup>209</sup> Junker, *Giza* 11, passim.

<sup>210</sup> Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 73 (a-b).

<sup>211</sup> Junker, *Giza* 11, pl. 23, figs. 88-89.

<sup>212</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 20, fig. 8; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, pl. 115, drawing 69.

<sup>213</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 36 (a-b), fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, pls. 222, 229, drawing 73.

<sup>214</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 34, fig. 13; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, pls. 267, 269, drawing 74. It is interesting that while the oarsman in each boat is a young man, the old man stands in the prow carrying the gift.

<sup>215</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 38, fig. 15; Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, pls. 294, drawing 76.

manager'.<sup>216</sup> It is likely that a similar figure was supervising the harvesting of flax, but the details are not well preserved.<sup>217</sup>

**Nofer (Saqqara):** Nofer was the son of Kahai, in whose tomb he was buried.<sup>218</sup> No figure showing the father, Kahai, as an elderly man is preserved in the chapel, but it should be noted that no decoration remains on the entrance thicknesses. Nofer probably died and was buried by his father, and it is curious that he is represented once as a portly man with enlarged stomach and breast<sup>219</sup> (Figure 84). Although Nofer's sons are depicted with him as naked children, they held the title *shd hsww* 'inspector of singers'.<sup>220</sup> It is likely that Nofer was in his early middle age.

**Ptahhotep II (Saqqara):** While Ptahhotep is shown in the prime of life, two portly attendants, one adjusting the tomb owner's wig and the other bringing strips of cloth, are portrayed with a bulging stomach and breast.<sup>221</sup> The two men were perhaps in the service of this family for some time and their names were included in the scene, Seshemnofer and Hemakhet,<sup>222</sup> with their title *imy-r sšr* 'overseer of linen'.<sup>223</sup>

**Iynofert (Saqqara):** The information recorded in the chapel of Iynofert does not offer data that helps in assessing his age at the time this was decorated. However the owner was a vizier, a position that is unlikely to be reached at young age. Fortunately however the human remains of Iynofert were found in situ and examined by a medical team headed by M. Schultz, who concluded that he died between the age of 55 and 65.<sup>224</sup> As Iynofert most probably served under Wenis<sup>225</sup> and is unlikely to have survived under Teti, it seems likely that he did not live long

<sup>216</sup> Jones, *Index*, 670 [2453].

<sup>217</sup> Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 4 (b).

<sup>218</sup> Lashien, *Kahai*, 11-16.

<sup>219</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 26; Lashien, *Kahai*, pls. 38, 43.

<sup>220</sup> Jones, *Index*, 947 [3493]; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 29; Lashien, *Kahai*, pls. 52 (a), 54-55.

<sup>221</sup> Harpur and Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, pl. 15, drawing 3.

<sup>222</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 320:17, 239:17, respectively.

<sup>223</sup> Jones, *Index*, 234 [864].

<sup>224</sup> See report of Schultz, et al., in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, 75-84.

<sup>225</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 58-59 [6].

after he decorated his tomb. On both thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel he is represented as a portly man with enlarged stomach and breast.<sup>226</sup>

**Mehu (Saqqara):** Mehu is likely to have been related to Wenis, in whose cemetery he constructed his tomb. However, he held priesthoods in the pyramids of both Teti and Pepy I,<sup>227</sup> and accordingly must have served under the two sovereigns. He appears a number of times in his chapel as a portly man with somewhat bulging stomach and breast.<sup>228</sup>

**Mereruka (Saqqara):** The tomb owner appears on both thicknesses of the entrance to his tomb, as well as in a representation on the north wall of (room A13) where he is supported by a son and an official, and again on some of the pillars in the same room with an enlarged waistline and/or slightly bulging stomach and breast.<sup>229</sup> Although Mereruka was married to Teti's eldest daughter, Waatetkhethor/ Seshseshet, by whom he had his son Meryteti, he had been married earlier and had a number of sons who appear in his chapel holding responsible titles.<sup>230</sup> Mereruka also shows his brother Ihy in a papyrus boat watching marsh activities while being served food and drink by an attendant. He is clearly portrayed as a portly man with enlarged waist and sagging breast.<sup>231</sup> We are not told if this brother is older or younger than Mereruka, but the assumption that they are close to each other in age is not unreasonable. Mereruka presumably died not long after the decoration of his tomb was completed in the latter part of Teti's reign and was succeeded in his multiple responsibilities by other men within the same reign.<sup>232</sup> Accordingly, his representations reflect his condition shortly before his death. It is important that Mereruka's skeletal remains were found *in situ* and were examined by Dr. Douglas Derry, who concluded that he was a man of middle age.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 34 (a-b).

<sup>227</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, passim.

<sup>228</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 4 (a), 5 (a), 18, 32, 55.

<sup>229</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 154, 175, 181; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 9 (b), 64 (c-d), Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 73, 89 (a), 90 (c).

<sup>230</sup> Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, 22ff.

<sup>231</sup> Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 43-44; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 28, 79.

<sup>232</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 53.

<sup>233</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 26.

**Nikauisesi (Saqqara):** Nikauisesi was presumably of the same generation as Mereruka and his mastaba lays in the second east-west street of tombs in the Teti cemetery, immediately to the north of those of Kagemni and Mereruka.<sup>234</sup> The biographical inscriptions of both Kagemni and Hesi, whose tomb abuts on that of Shepsiptah, which in turn abuts that of Nikauisesi, state that they started their career under Djedkare/ Isesi,<sup>235</sup> and it is very likely that Nikauisesi started his career at the same time. He also appears on the causeway of Wenis with the title of *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty wt(y) Inpw* ‘sole companion, embalmer of Anubis’.<sup>236</sup> Nikauisesi is depicted on both thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel with abbreviated shoulders, a short wig or curled hair, a long kilt and a slightly bulging stomach and more so for the breast.<sup>237</sup> His skeletal remains were found *in situ* and were independently examined by two medical experts who concluded that he was 40-45 years old.<sup>238</sup>

**Kaaper (Saqqara):** Kaaper owns the fourth and last tomb in the so-called ‘Rue de tombeaux’ in the Teti cemetery and may have constructed his mastaba shortly after Noferseshemtah at the end of Teti’s reign or very early under Pepy I.<sup>239</sup> The only surviving decoration in his chapel is on the stone elements of the entrance area and on the false door recess in the offering chamber. No other decoration is attested on the mud brick walls of the chapel. The tomb owner held very high titles including those of *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt*, *imy-r zš(w) ʿ nswt*, *imy-r ḥwt-wrt* ‘overseer of all works of the king, overseer of scribes of the king’s documents, overseer of the great court’.<sup>240</sup> According to Strudwick the last title appears to be ‘a feature of a man’s career before he was promoted to the vizierate’, while the title of overseer of scribes of the king’s documents was held during the Sixth Dynasty only by viziers, with one exception in the reign of Pepy II.<sup>241</sup> If Kaaper was promoted to the vizierate, then the title may have been written on any of the missing

<sup>234</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 53. For a map of the site see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 1, pl. 41.

<sup>235</sup> Strudwick, *Pyramid Age*, 276, 286.

<sup>236</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 69; Jones, *Index*, 892 [3268], 405 [1493], respectively.

<sup>237</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pls. 6, 45-46.

<sup>238</sup> E. Strouhal and L. Horácková decided that Nikauisesi was 35-45 years at death, while M. Spiegelmann concluded that he died at 40-45 years (see Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, 68-72).

<sup>239</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 37-40.

<sup>240</sup> Jones, *Index*, 262 [950], 209 [780], 164 [628], respectively.

<sup>241</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 188, 214.

decorated parts of the tomb. On the thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel Kaaper is depicted with short hair and a long kilt and with a slight bulge to the stomach and breast, but with clear rolls of fat across the chest area.<sup>242</sup>

**Wernu (Saqqara):** Wernu held a large number of titles related to many deities as well as to the king.<sup>243</sup> His eldest son was described as *hnty-š pr-ʿ3* ‘palace guard’.<sup>244</sup> On the entrance to his chapel Wernu is shown with a moderately enlarged stomach and breast.<sup>245</sup> That such a representation probably reflects a reality and not simply a preference by the tomb owner may be gauged by examining the scenes in the adjacent and probably contemporary mastaba of Mereri. The latter held a number of positions related to the personal service of the king and appears to have been punished for involvement in the likely conspiracy at the end of Teti’s reign.<sup>246</sup> Mereri was never depicted as an elderly man in his chapel, and his figures on both sides of his tomb entrance show him in the prime of life.<sup>247</sup> The excavators write that although the burial chamber was previously reached, the limestone sarcophagus of Mereri was in its original position, with the lid still in place, but it had been plundered through a hole in the south-west end.<sup>248</sup> In such cases the human remains inside the sarcophagus are usually those of the original tomb owner, since it would be almost impossible for a later burial to be introduced through such a hole. The skeletal remains of Mereri have been examined by Strouhal, who concluded that he could be assessed as being between 25 and 35 years.<sup>249</sup>

**Khui (Saqqara):** The tomb owner held offices in the pyramids of Teti and Pepy I, in addition to the position of overseer of Upper Egypt,<sup>250</sup> which was not usually attained at a young age. Furthermore, his similarly named eldest son held the title *imy-r st hntyw-š pr-ʿ3* ‘overseer of the

<sup>242</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pls. 18 (a), 19 (a), 50 (a-b).

<sup>243</sup> Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, 22-24.

<sup>244</sup> Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, 24. For this translation of the title see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14ff.

<sup>245</sup> Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, pl. 24.

<sup>246</sup> See Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 95-98.

<sup>247</sup> Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, pl. 4, and passim

<sup>248</sup> Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, 3-4.

<sup>249</sup> See the report of Strouhal in (Davies, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, 31).

<sup>250</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 2, 35, pl. 21.

department of the palace guards'.<sup>251</sup> The tomb owner is represented on the left thickness of the entrance to his tomb with a slight bulge to the stomach and breast.<sup>252</sup>

**Meru (Saqqara):** Meru was also called Tetiseneb, Meryreseneb and Pepyseneb.<sup>253</sup> As names formed with the cartouche of a king probably represent an honour granted by the king,<sup>254</sup> it appears that Meru was employed under Teti, lived early under Pepy I when the name Meryre was emphasized,<sup>255</sup> and decorated his tomb somewhat later when the name Pepy was more commonly used, and when he was probably of a mature age. On the east side of the façade he is represented as a portly man, but the figure is poorly preserved in the area of the stomach and breast.<sup>256</sup>

**Merefnebef (Saqqara):** Merefnebef was a vizier, married five times and had a number of sons, one of whom was probably married.<sup>257</sup> Whether Merefnebef was a polygamist or each of the marriages ended in a divorce or the death of the wife, the five marriages probably took place over a long period of time. On the lateral faces of the façade jambs and on the thicknesses of the entrance doorway he appears portly, with an enlarged breast and mildly protruding stomach.<sup>258</sup>

## Type B: with clearly protruding stomach and pendulous breast

**Niankhpepy the black (Meir):** Niankhpepy the black was the eldest son of Pepyankh the middle who claims to have been a centenarian. Regardless of the degree of accuracy of such a claim, Niankhpepy the black must have already been an old man when he succeeded to his father's responsibilities. This may have been the reason for him not living long enough to see the work on his tomb A4 completed, and instead the joint tombs A1 and A2 were made by his own

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<sup>251</sup> For the translation of the title see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 14ff.

<sup>252</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs 2*, pl. 22.

<sup>253</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs 2*, 6.

<sup>254</sup> See Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 135.

<sup>255</sup> See the case of Inumin where the cartouche of Nofersahor was erased and replaced by that of Meryre (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, 17, pls.7 (a), 44).

<sup>256</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs 2*, pl. 5.

<sup>257</sup> Myśliwiec, et al., *Merefnebef*, 51-52.

<sup>258</sup> Myśliwiec et al., *Merefnebef*, pls. 13, 17.

son, Pepyankh the black for the two nobles. Niankhpepy the black was represented with bulging stomach and pendulous breast on the west thickness of the entrance to tomb A1 as well as on pillar 1 and on the outer and inner left jambs of his false door<sup>259</sup> (see Figure 85). (See also under Type A, Pepyankh the black). It is significant that the representation of the tomb owner with bulging stomach and pendulous breast is found at El-Qusiya (in both cemeteries of Quseir el-Amarna and Meir) only in the tomb of Niankhpepy the black, son of the centenarian, Pepyankh the middle.

**Idu (Giza):** After studying the dating and the career of Idu, Simpson identified this tomb owner with the similarly named official who appears in the Abusir Papyri, bearing one of Idu's earlier titles, *zš mrt* 'scribe of the *mrt*-serfs'.<sup>260</sup> As the Abusir Papyri were probably written under Djedkare, while Idu records a priesthood of Pepy I's pyramid, Kanawati has suggested that Idu was an old man when his tomb was built and decorated,<sup>261</sup> a conclusion that is not accepted by Strudwick.<sup>262</sup> While Idu was represented on the south thickness of the entrance to his offering chamber as a man in the prime of life, he appears on the north thickness of the same doorway as obese and with a grossly protruding stomach and pendulous breast<sup>263</sup> (Figure 86). The same features are emphasized again in his three-dimensional figure showing him as if coming out of the false door with extended arms, palms up, to receive offerings.<sup>264</sup> Idu's son, Qar, owner of the neighbouring tomb presumably built his tomb shortly after that of his father. As the son of such an old man, particularly since he was presumably by an earlier marriage of Idu,<sup>265</sup> one would expect Qar to also be of mature age. It is interesting to compare his figures on the different faces of the pillars in court C, where two of the figures show noticeably larger breast than the other two, although no bulging stomach is conspicuous<sup>266</sup> (Figure 87).

<sup>259</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 5, 6 (1), 10.

<sup>260</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 2, n. 4; Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 68 ; Jones, *Index*, 853 [3117].

<sup>261</sup> Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 155-156.

<sup>262</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 69-70 [23].

<sup>263</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 16 (d-e), fig. 34.

<sup>264</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 29 (a-c).

<sup>265</sup> See Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 2 n. 4.

<sup>266</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 9 (c-f), fig. 21.



**Khaefkhufu II:** The mastaba of Khaefkhufu II is next to that of Khufu's son Khaefkhufu I, and so the two men might have been related. On the south face of a pillar in the chapel Khaefkhufu II is described as 'the honoured one before Khufu, whom his lord loves, the honoured one before Sahure, priest of ..., the honoured one before Niuserre, priest of...'.<sup>267</sup> As Baer rightly remarks 'if a person states in his tomb that he was *im3hw hr* (revered before) a king, we take the statement to mean that he was a contemporary, as is generally held to be the case'.<sup>268</sup> Realizing the very long period which separates Khufu from Niuserre, Simpson writes that 'perhaps one should try to see if the cartouche can be read as 'Menkaure''.<sup>269</sup> However, even if this is admissible, the period remains too long for the effective career of an official,<sup>270</sup> and the problem might be in our biennial count of the *h3t-zp* and the length of reigns.<sup>271</sup> Nevertheless, Khaefkhufu II must have been a very old man by the time he decorated his chapel. On the west face of a pillar in his chapel he is portrayed as a very obese man, with a large, protruding stomach and pendulous breast.<sup>272</sup>

**Tjetu (Giza):** The mastaba of Tjetu is a family tomb containing the burials of a number of members of the family. Of particular importance are three false doors forming part of the original layout of the west wall of the portico. The northern false door belongs to the tomb owner, Tjetu, the central false door to his wife Wadjethotep, and the southern false door to his son, Mesni/Tjetu.<sup>273</sup> The last false door was probably destined for a female member of the family as the figure on the panel has clearly been altered to suit the new male owner, Mesni.<sup>274</sup> Whether this was an error by the artist is uncertain, but all the inscriptions and the other figures on the jambs belong to Mesni. A study of the chapel suggests that Tjetu's son, Mesni, was of mature age when the tomb was decorated, since he held the title *hry-tp nswt pr-3* 'royal chamberlain of the

<sup>267</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 45.

<sup>268</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 44.

<sup>269</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, 24.

<sup>270</sup> See von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 188.

<sup>271</sup> See Kanawati, *GM* 177 (2000), 25-32.

<sup>272</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, pl. 35 (c), fig. 46.

<sup>273</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, pls. 13-14, 18-20, figs. 16-18.

<sup>274</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, 10.

palace'.<sup>275</sup> As such, it would be expected that his father, Tjetu, was an old man. While the outer jambs of the latter's false door depict him as a man in the prime of life, both inner jambs show him with short hair, long kilt, a pendulous breast and somewhat bulging stomach.<sup>276</sup> No such features appear in the case of the son.

**Nisuptah (Giza):** Nisuptah, who held the title *zš ʿ(w) nswt hft-hr pr-ʿ3* 'scribe of the royal documents of the palace in the presence',<sup>277</sup> is depicted on the jambs of his false door twice as a man in the prime of life and twice more as obese, with a protruding stomach and pendulous breast.<sup>278</sup> He also appears in the latter form on a loose relief which perhaps belonged to the entrance thicknesses of his chapel.<sup>279</sup> That Nisuptah was of old age may be gleaned from the fact that his son, Khnuminti, is shown on this relief with the title *šps nswt* 'noble of the king'.<sup>280</sup>

**Noferseshemre (Saqqara):** Noferseshemre was probably the first vizier of Teti,<sup>281</sup> and may have been one of the older and perhaps influential officials upon whom Teti relied in establishing his new dynasty and in overcoming the apparent opposition to his rule.<sup>282</sup> His tomb is the first in the 'Rue de tombeaux', in a most prestigious location immediately to the north of Teti's pyramid and to the west of those of his queens. Noferseshemre's eldest son, *Hk3-ib*<sup>283</sup> 'Heqaib', held the presumably important office of *z3b imy-r zš(w)* 'juridical overseer of scribes'.<sup>284</sup> Most of the decorated walls of the chapel have now disappeared, thus we are unable to know if he had grandchildren. All the walls of the pillared hall are rough and undecorated, which may suggest that the owner died before the work on his tomb was completed, perhaps as a result of starting the preparation of his resting place at an advanced age. His remains have been examined by Firth

<sup>275</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, fig. 18; Jones, *Index*, 789 [2878].

<sup>276</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, pl. 18 (b), fig. 16.

<sup>277</sup> Jones, *Index*, 840-841 [3064].

<sup>278</sup> Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 88.

<sup>279</sup> Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 89.

<sup>280</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3648].

<sup>281</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 15; Strudwick, *Administration*, 100-101 [68], 112 [88]. The fact that his chapel occupies a small proportion of the total area of the mastaba and that his burial chamber is undecorated set him apart from all the other viziers of Teti. It is interesting that his name incorporates that of Re, which is not found with the other higher officials of Teti (Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 144-145).

<sup>282</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 147ff.

<sup>283</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 256:3.

<sup>284</sup> Jones, *Index*, 803 [2933]; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 17, 49 (a).

and Gunn who wrote that ‘the bones and skull of Noferseshemre’ show him to have been an old man over six feet tall’.<sup>285</sup> On the pillars of the pillared hall the tomb owner is represented a number of times as a grossly overweight man, with largely protruding stomach and pendulous breast.<sup>286</sup>

**Ankhmahor (Saqqara):** Ankhmahor owns the second mastaba in the ‘Rue de tombeaux’, constructed against the exterior north wall of that of Noferseshemre. An examination of the architecture of the tombs in this street suggests that the three tombs of Noferseshemre, Ankhmahor and Noferseshemtah were constructed within a short time of each other,<sup>287</sup> and it seems likely that Ankhmahor belonged to a group of older officials upon whom Teti relied in establishing his dynasty. Although no figure of a wife is preserved in the tomb, a number of sons holding responsible positions are depicted, in addition to many other individuals whose relationships to the tomb owner are not specified. On both thicknesses of the entrance to the chapel, Ankhmahor is shown with short hair, a protruding stomach and pendulous breast<sup>288</sup> (Figure 88). The old age of Ankhmahor may also be corroborated by the fact that, as is the case with Mereruka and his brother, Ankhmahor’s brother, *Tmrw*<sup>289</sup> ‘Tjemeru’, is represented in the tomb with similar features,<sup>290</sup> and the same applies to his apparently close dependent, the ‘inspector of ka-servants’, *Hpi*<sup>291</sup> ‘Hepi’.<sup>292</sup>

**Noferseshemtah (Saqqara):** The mastaba of Noferseshemtah is the third in the ‘Rue de tombeaux’ and the owner is probably a contemporary or very close in time to Noferseshemre and

<sup>285</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 19.

<sup>286</sup> Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 16-17; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 13, 16, 46 (a), 47 (b), 49 (b), 51 (b), 52 (b), 54 (b), 56 (a-b).

<sup>287</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 75 [30]; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, 18.

<sup>288</sup> Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 23-24; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, figs. 20-21, pls. 21, 23; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 3, 36 (a-b).

<sup>289</sup> The name is unattested in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>290</sup> Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 49; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 41, pl. 55; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 12, 45.

<sup>291</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 237:24

<sup>292</sup> Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 35, 40, 52; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, pls. 40-41, 51-52, 55, figs. 33, 39; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 45.

Ankhmahor.<sup>293</sup> Like some of the older and important officials of Teti, he was given a possible daughter of the king in marriage, perhaps to guarantee their loyalty. The decoration of the tomb was certainly unfinished, with only rooms 2 and 3 decorated in relief,<sup>294</sup> and sparsely coloured, presumably as a result of the death of the owner. On both thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel Noferseshemtah is shown as grossly overweight man, with a largely protruding stomach and pendulous breast<sup>295</sup> (Figure 89).

**Khentika (Saqqar):** Khentika was a vizier late in Teti's reign and early under Pepy I.<sup>296</sup> That he was of old age may be deduced from the fact that his eldest son, Ibi, held the title of *m3 wr* 'high priest of Re'.<sup>297</sup> This important position had been given previously to Teti's two viziers and sons-in-law, Kagemni and Mereruka,<sup>298</sup> perhaps in order to control the rising power of the priesthood of this deity.<sup>299</sup> On both thicknesses of the entrance to his chapel, Khentika is portrayed as an obese man with a protruding stomach and pendulous breast, and is also shown as a portly man on the south wall of (room 1).<sup>300</sup>

**Nyankhnofertem (Saqqara):** On the south wall of the tomb of Nyankhnofertem the tomb owner and his wife are shown seated and receiving offerings while being entertained by musicians and dancers. The upper register is occupied by three boats bringing fowl; each boat is maneuvered by two men using punting poles, with a third man standing in the middle carrying the birds.<sup>301</sup> While the sailors are shown as young, the three men in the centre of the boats are all portly, with bulging stomachs and breasts. These are obviously the overseers as their typical kilts and their

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<sup>293</sup> The dating to the reign of Teti to early Pepy I (Strudwick, *Administration*, 111 [87]; Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, 1-2), has been seriously questioned (Kanawati, *JEA* 96 (2010), 290-293).

<sup>294</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, 1-2. It should be pointed out that room 7 belongs to the similarly named son and is most probably a later addition (Kanawati, *JEA* 96 (2010), 290-293; and personal examination).

<sup>295</sup> Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 78-79; Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pls. 7-8.

<sup>296</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 116 [393]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 125-26 [109]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 275 (479).

<sup>297</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 16; Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, fig. 18.

<sup>298</sup> Moursi, *Hohenpriester*, 26-31.

<sup>299</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 22.

<sup>300</sup> James, *Khentika*, pls. 7, 10.

<sup>301</sup> Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz, *Nyankhnofertem*, fig. 61.

titles *imy-r whꜥt* ‘overseer of fowling’<sup>302</sup> indicate, and are presumably the oldest and most experienced of the men.

**Iny (Saqqara?):** The recent reconstruction of the inscriptions of Iny demonstrates that he had a long and distinguished naval career in the Levant and was close to the palace during the reigns of Pepy I, Merenre and Pepy II.<sup>303</sup> Two figures of Iny accompany his biographical inscriptions and both show him as an obese man with a protruding stomach and pendulous breast, having short hair and wearing a long kilt.<sup>304</sup>

### Other Cases of Types A and B

The following are a few cases of portly men, but with little data for assessing their possible old age.

- Pepynofer/ Qar of tomb L31 at El-Hawawish is depicted once on the north wall with a clearly enlarged stomach and breasts.<sup>305</sup>
- Gehesa of tomb GA11 at El-Hawawish is represented on the east wall of his chapel with an enlarged stomach and breasts.<sup>306</sup> We are uncertain about his career, but his eldest son, Bawi, held the title of *hry-tp nswt* ‘royal chamberlain’, which may suggest that Gehesa was of middle age.<sup>307</sup>
- The architrave of Memi of El-Hawawish represents four figures of the owner, the first is of him in the prime of life, while the following three depict him as obese with a protruding breast.<sup>308</sup>
- Facing Hemre/ Isi I on the north wall of his chapel N72 at Deir el-Gebrawi and presenting him with an object is a man with a bulging stomach and pendulous breast. He

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<sup>302</sup> Jones, *Index*, 105 [425].

<sup>303</sup> Marcolin and Espinel, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2*, 570-615.

<sup>304</sup> Marcolin and Espinel, in: *Abusir and Saqqara 2*, 580, 606, figs. 4-5.

<sup>305</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, 34, fig. 16.

<sup>306</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 29.

<sup>307</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, 39.

<sup>308</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 34 (a).

is described as *šps nswt smr pr Ny-sw-tsw*<sup>309</sup> ‘the noble of the king, the companion of the house,<sup>310</sup> Nisutjesu’.<sup>311</sup>

- Noferkhewet (?), the owner of the small tomb S42 at Deir el-Gebrawi is depicted once on the west wall of his chapel with a bulging stomach and pendulous breast.<sup>312</sup> Despite the fact that the only title inscribed for the tomb owner is the rather modest one of ‘sole companion’, he is one of the few who own a small decorated tomb. One wonders if this was due to his long service in the province or to the nomarchs.
- One of the attendants in the tomb of Merib at Giza is somewhat portly.<sup>313</sup>
- On the false door of Senedjemib/ Inti, the owner appears twice in the prime of life and twice rather older with a long kilt and very slight bulge of the breast.<sup>314</sup>
- On his false door Khnumhotep of Giza appears once in the prime of life and another as an older man with a long kilt, and bulging stomach and breasts.<sup>315</sup>
- On his false door Itji of Giza appears twice in the prime of life and twice as rather older wearing a long kilt and having an enlarged breast but no bulge to the stomach.<sup>316</sup>
- On a relief fragment from Giza a man is shown with long wig, projecting stomach and pendulous breast.<sup>317</sup>
- While Heneni of Giza appears on the jambs and the right side of his false door frame in the prime of life, he is shown on the left side of the frame with a pendulous breast, but no bulge to the stomach.<sup>318</sup>
- A fragment of relief found in the burial chamber of the vizier Mereri of Saqqara depicts a man named Tjefu as elderly, but without a pronounced bulge to the stomach and breast.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>309</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 179:25.

<sup>310</sup> Jones, *Index*, 988 [3648], 896 [3287], respectively.

<sup>311</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 18; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 1, 50, pls. 18, 47.

<sup>312</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, 93, pl. 66 (a).

<sup>313</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 2, fig. 11.

<sup>314</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 7, fig. 104.

<sup>315</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 8, fig. 27.

<sup>316</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 8, fig. 58, pl. 22.

<sup>317</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 8, fig. 82.

<sup>318</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 11, fig. 40.

<sup>319</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, 37, fig. 21.

- A man named Henu appears on his false door twice in the prime of life and four times as an elderly man but only with slight enlargement to the waist and breast.<sup>320</sup>
- A number of men appear on the different jambs of their false doors, or on relief fragments from their tombs in the prime of life and again as elderly, but the degree of bulging stomach and breast vary to a large extent.<sup>321</sup> Interestingly, Hershefnakht depicted himself on his false door once as a naked child and three times as an adult.<sup>322</sup>

**Older women:** Egyptian women, particularly those of the elite, are very rarely represented as aging, with spreading waistline or sagging breasts.<sup>323</sup> Even pregnancy is seldom depicted,<sup>324</sup> and scenes of women nursing babies are restricted to the working classes.<sup>325</sup> The reason for this, it is explained, is to show women sexually attractive due to their role in assisting their husband's regeneration in the afterworld.<sup>326</sup> While this suggestion may be true, Sweeney has demonstrated that 'elite women tended to hint at ageing with a wrinkle or two, both when portrayed with their spouses and when alone'.<sup>327</sup> However, her suggestion that 'individuals known to be no longer young were portrayed in the bloom of youth' should be clarified, and the example she gives of Meresankh III, shown as young in the reliefs of her tomb although her skeleton seems to be that of a woman in her fifties, is interesting, as Sweeney herself admits that one of the queen's statues

<sup>320</sup> Jéquier, *Particuliers*, 97, fig. 111.

<sup>321</sup> See for example Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pls. 61, 70:1, 72:2, 73:1, 74:2, 78; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pls. 15 (CG1397), 35 (CG1455), 39 (CG1483); vol. 2, pls. 65 (CG1565), 75 (CG1575), 78 (CG1586), 83 (CG1619), 87 (CG1660).

<sup>322</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 71 (2).

<sup>323</sup> As for example on the false door of Hemire, where she is represented at different stages of her life, from being a young naked girl with the pigtail and disk, to the ideal, young womanhood, to the old age with sagging breasts, even though she is thin (Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 39, fig. 30; Sweeney, *JARCE* 41 (2004), fig. 5).

<sup>324</sup> A probably pregnant woman is depicted in the funerary procession of Ankhmahor at Saqqara (Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pls. 20 (a), 56; Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, Photograph 263. This woman might be a relative of the tomb owner, and no woman in such a condition appears in the similar scene in the neighbouring tomb of Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 130-131; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:2, pls. 2, 63 (b)).

<sup>325</sup> For some examples see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 26 (a); Harpur and Scremin, *Niankhkhnum*, pl. 81; Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, pls. 33, 56; Fischer, *Women*, fig. 7.

<sup>326</sup> Sweeney, *JARCE* 41 (2004), 67.

<sup>327</sup> Sweeney, *JARCE* 41 (2004), 83.

shows a woman with lined face.<sup>328</sup> It should also be emphasised that while the skeleton represents the age at death, the decoration of the tomb may have been completed years earlier.

## Conclusions

An examination of the representations of portly men shown in Old Kingdom tomb scenes demonstrates that the Egyptian artist seems to have distinguished four stages in life: 1- childhood, frequently characterized by nakedness; 2- adulthood, characterized by idealized body; 3- middle age, characterized by the slightly enlarged waistline and/or bulging stomach and breast, usually with short hair and wearing a long kilt and frequently sandals; 4- old age, characterized by obesity, clearly protruding stomach and pendulous breast, usually with short hair and wearing a long kilt and frequently sandals. The degree of obesity and enlargement of the stomach and breast vary considerably from one person to another, as would be expected in real life, since individuals can age in different ways with bodily changes appearing with different people at different ages. The artist did not always have to choose one of these stages in his representation of the tomb owner, for occasionally he depicted the man with short hair and wearing the long kilt and sandals, but with little or no other features of ageing, namely the bulge in the stomach and breast.<sup>329</sup> Such representations perhaps denote that the person has passed the stage of adulthood, but is not fully middle aged.

Considering the diet of the Egyptian elite, as recorded in wall scenes and inscriptions, such bodily changes would certainly be expected to occur as they advanced in age. It is interesting that the Egyptian has observed these normal developments to the body and did not hesitate from acknowledging them. It has usually been assumed that the Egyptian wished to always represent himself with a perfect body and in the prime of life, and figures of portly men were explained as simply showing the individual's means and success. The systematic examination of portly representations suggests that their owners were actually old. The study of the biographical inscriptions, the family history, and/or the human remains of men portrayed as such supports this conclusion. Consequently, the wall scenes in tombs probably represent the

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<sup>328</sup> Sweeney, *JARCE* 41 (2004), 68 n. 8; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. 19.

<sup>329</sup> See for example Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21.



owner at various stages of his life. As a man in the prime of life he was fishing, fowling, hunting in the desert and vigorously supervising all outdoor and indoor activities, but at last he grew old, at least for some, and he acknowledges this fact, but apparently only if it occurred before he decorated his tomb. However, neither the figures of men with perfect bodies nor those showing features of aging were true portraits of the tomb owners, but only a pictorial indication of his possible age.<sup>330</sup>

Certainly there are more men than women represented as aging, which may be in part due to the fact that wives were frequently younger than their husbands and many presumably died in childbirth and before reaching old age. Yet, the possible unwillingness of at least most women to be commemorated as being old should be considered.

## Study C

### **The positioning on the left and right on false doors and its significance**

The representation of Pepyankh the elder's wife, Seshseshet, on the left outer jamb of his false door while he is depicted on the equivalent right jamb is noteworthy, particularly that he appears on the shorter inner left jamb in front of her, while their son Sobekhotep is shown on the equivalent inner right jamb before his father (Figure 9). In the following we look at a number of examples of false doors and steles with the aim of assessing the relative importance of depictions on the left and right sides as well as on the outer and inner jambs of a false door or a stele.

Women are typically depicted on the right side of the offering table opposite their husbands. A few examples of this may be found in the cases of Nikaure and his wife Ihat,<sup>331</sup> Netjernofer and Noferhotepes,<sup>332</sup> Niankhsekhmet and his wife...,<sup>333</sup> Nenkhfetka and

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<sup>330</sup> Agreeing with Sweeney in her study of women's figures (Sweeney, *JARCE* 41 (2004), 69).

<sup>331</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 19 (CG 1414).

<sup>332</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 33 (CG 1447).

<sup>333</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 39 (CG 1482).

Noferhotepes,<sup>334</sup> Seshathotep and Meretites,<sup>335</sup> Nesutnofer and Khenet,<sup>336</sup> Irti and Ishpet,<sup>337</sup> Sanekhen and Maakherwi,<sup>338</sup> Hesy and Nebetib,<sup>339</sup> Shepsi and Noferwates,<sup>340</sup> Fefi and Hotepheres,<sup>341</sup> Kaikhent and Iufi,<sup>342</sup> Kaikhent and Khentkaues,<sup>343</sup> Iyshemai and his sister Tet.<sup>344</sup> Kahief included in his tomb a false door for his mother, Khenmet. She appears alone seated to the left on both upper and lower lintels, yet he appears with her on the panel, each seated at a separate offering table, he to the left and she to the right.<sup>345</sup>

Women are also shown on the right jamb of their husband's false door. A few examples may be found in the cases of Fefi and his wife Hotepheres,<sup>346</sup> Netjernofer and Noferhotepes,<sup>347</sup> Kaemtjenenet and Meretites,<sup>348</sup> Kahai and Meretites,<sup>349</sup> Setju and Nebuhotep,<sup>350</sup> the two false doors of Seshathotep once with his wife Meretites and the other perhaps with his mother Hepetka,<sup>351</sup> the two false doors of Nesutnofer and his wife Khenet,<sup>352</sup> also on that of Niankhanti and Meretptah who are shown in equal size on the opposite outer jambs, while their son is depicted on both inner jambs in much smaller size.<sup>353</sup> Werkai's false door has two jambs. While he and his eldest son are represented on the left jamb, all his other children, males and females, are on the right jamb.<sup>354</sup> (See also Kaikhent and Iufi,<sup>355</sup> Kaikhent and Khentkaues,<sup>356</sup>

<sup>334</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 40 (CG 1484).

<sup>335</sup> Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 28.

<sup>336</sup> Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27.

<sup>337</sup> Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 48.

<sup>338</sup> Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 57.

<sup>339</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 58A.

<sup>340</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 62.

<sup>341</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 169.

<sup>342</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 43, 46.

<sup>343</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 62.

<sup>344</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 87.

<sup>345</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 32.

<sup>346</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 169.

<sup>347</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 33 (CG 1447).

<sup>348</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 35 (CG 1456).

<sup>349</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 32; Lashien, *Kahai*, pl. 86.

<sup>350</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 87.

<sup>351</sup> Junker, *Giza* 2, 193, fig. 28.

<sup>352</sup> Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27.

<sup>353</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 101.

<sup>354</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 103.

<sup>355</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 43, 46,

<sup>356</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 62.

Khewenwekh and Mereri,<sup>357</sup> Sabni and Sebet).<sup>358</sup> Mersuankh made a false door for his mother, Rewedjsaues, but still depicted himself on the left jamb and his mother on the right one. There is no panel.<sup>359</sup>

On their own false doors however, women are shown at the left side of the offering table and/or the left jamb, as for example in the cases of Nensedjerka,<sup>360</sup> Senetites,<sup>361</sup> Inetkaes,<sup>362</sup> Khenit,<sup>363</sup> Hotepheres,<sup>364</sup> Hemetre,<sup>365</sup> Wedjkaues,<sup>366</sup> Pepyankhnes<sup>367</sup> and Nesit.<sup>368</sup> However, occasionally women are depicted on their own false door at the right side of the offering table opposite their husbands, as in the case of Kaikhent and his wife Khentkaues,<sup>369</sup> or on the right jambs of their false doors with their husbands on the left jambs, as in the case of Iy and his wife Nofert.<sup>370</sup> Two false doors are found in the tomb of Itju. On the false door panel of his wife, Inetkaes, she sits to the left, with no offering table present and with her children approaching. On his false door however she sits opposite him to the right of the table.<sup>371</sup>

Less frequent are the instances of women seated at the left side of the offering table on the panel of their false door with their husband on the right side, as in the cases of Peseshet and her possible husband Kanofer,<sup>372</sup> and Pepi, who is described as ‘possessor of veneration of her husband’, and her husband Sensen.<sup>373</sup> Women are also depicted on the left jamb of their false

<sup>357</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 39.

<sup>358</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, pl. 6.

<sup>359</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 184.

<sup>360</sup> Junker, *Giza* 2, figs. 9-10.

<sup>361</sup> Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 27.

<sup>362</sup> Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 36. However, on her husband’s false door she sits to the right (Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 40).

<sup>363</sup> Junker, *Giza* 7, pl. 40.

<sup>364</sup> Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 104.

<sup>365</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, pl. 2.

<sup>366</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, fig. 38 (b).

<sup>367</sup> Jéquier, *Particuliers*, fig. 22.

<sup>368</sup> Jéquier, *Particuliers*, fig. 36.

<sup>369</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 65.

<sup>370</sup> Petrie and Murray, *Tomb Chapels*, pl. 2.

<sup>371</sup> Junker, *Giza* 5, figs. 36, 40.

<sup>372</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 143.

<sup>373</sup> Junker, *Giza* 9, fig. 36.

door with their husband on the right jamb, as in the case of Peseshet and Kanofer,<sup>374</sup> and Tjsetet and her husband Kaemankh. However, Tjsetet does not appear on her husband's false door.<sup>375</sup>

A few cases should be highlighted. Kaihep and his wife Meretmin are depicted at an offering table on the panel of their false door, she is to the left and he to the right. There is no clear reason for this reversal of the usual position of husband and wife, and she also appears with him of equal size on both jambs of the false door.<sup>376</sup> Nywedjaptah also did not hesitate to represent his wife Kaemnehet opposite him at the offering table, he to the right and she to the left. It is also noticed that most of the loaves of bread are on her side of the table.<sup>377</sup> Nothing in the inscriptions explains the reason for such a distinction for the wife, yet she, and not he, sits on a block chair of the type known for royalty (see Study D), although the usual *hwt*-sign is not drawn, which could be due to the state of preservation or to poor copying.

Noferseshemtah was married to Seshseshet, an eldest daughter of king Teti. To avoid placing himself on the right side of the offering table or to depict his important wife in such a position, she is shown crouching next to his legs, still on the left side of a separate but small offering table.<sup>378</sup> Niankhnofertem dealt differently with an apparently similar situation; he depicted his wife Seshseshet on the panel of one of the two false doors seated next to him on the same chair on the left side of the offering table. She also accompanies him on the jambs.<sup>379</sup> Her name suggests that she belongs to Teti's royal family, but perhaps being buried away from his cemetery no kinship is indicated.<sup>380</sup> A number of officials chose this method of depicting the wife.<sup>381</sup> A similar position is found on the stele of Henut, who appears with her son Hengi next to her on the left side of the offering table.<sup>382</sup> The last example may hint that the one seated next to (artistically behind) the other is the less important, thus comparing the relationship of the

<sup>374</sup> Hassan, *Gîza* 1, fig. 143.

<sup>375</sup> Junker, *Gîza* 4, figs. 6, 11.

<sup>376</sup> Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21.

<sup>377</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 95 (B).

<sup>378</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 22.

<sup>379</sup> Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz, *Nyankhnefertem*, fig. 59.

<sup>380</sup> See for instance the case of Iretenakhti of Saqqara (Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 16-17).

<sup>381</sup> As for example in Junker, *Gîza* 6, fig. 11; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, figs. 5, 9, 17; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 9, fig. 15.

<sup>382</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, pl. 30 (a).

husband and wife to that of the mother and son. The same picture may be gained by examining the standing figures of Khaefkhufu accompanied once by his mother and another time by his wife, where he follows the former but leads the latter.<sup>383</sup>

## Conclusions

The examination of many depictions of husbands and wives on false doors and steles shows a clear distinction between the left and right in the artistic conventions. Tomb owners, men, and occasionally women,<sup>384</sup> show clear preference to be represented on the left side, both at the offering table and the false door jambs.<sup>385</sup> When the children are represented they are usually placed on the shorter inner jambs facing the parents on the taller outer jambs. The preference of the left side may also be inferred from the representation of Seshemnofer II and Seshemnofer III of their respective mothers standing in a large size to the left of their false doors.<sup>386</sup> When the tomb owner is depicted with his wife on the false door panel he usually sits to the left and his wife to the right. Even when the vizier Iuew represented his possible sister,<sup>387</sup> Queen Pepyankhnes wife of Pepy I, with him on the panel of his false door she is shown on the right side of the table opposite him.<sup>388</sup> The same directions apply to the figures of the man and his wife on the false door jambs.

Rare instances exist where we see this position reversed, i.e. the wife sits to the left of the table and the husband to the right. Whenever the inscriptional and/or iconographic details allow us to study the background of the women depicted in such an unusual arrangement, they appear to belong to royalty. One of the clearest examples for the relative importance of the left and right sides may also be seen in the joint stele of Nebet and her husband Khui.<sup>389</sup> This woman occupied the office of vizier, the most elevated administrative post in the country, and evidence suggests

<sup>383</sup> Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 26, 33; Junker, *Giza* 12, figs. 11-12.

<sup>384</sup> See for instance Nysedjerkai (Junker, *Giza* 2, figs. 9-10); Wenumin (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 26); Pepyankhnes (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 9, fig. 2).

<sup>385</sup> It is curious that Nebet chose to be represented on the right side of her offering table in her own tomb (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 27).

<sup>386</sup> Kanawati, *Giza* 2, pl. 63; Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, fig. 3.

<sup>387</sup> For possible kinship see Kanawati, in: *En quête de la lumière*, 38ff.

<sup>388</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 31 (CG 1439).

<sup>389</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, pl. 76 (CG 1578). Also see Figure 35.

that she also had royal heritage.<sup>390</sup> Nebet and Khui are shown standing facing each other and, although her figure is bigger than his, she appears on the left side and he on the right.

To avoid the depiction of a distinguished wife on the right side of the offering table, presumably a less favourable position, some men resorted to representing their wives next to them on the same seat and on the left side of the table. However, in this case the wife is portrayed as if behind her husband, in the same way that a son is shown with his mother.<sup>391</sup> It comes as a surprise to find that in very rare cases officials opted to be represented seated together with their wives on the right side of the offering table, as for instance in the cases of Kahief and his wife Henutes,<sup>392</sup> and Qereri and Hepi.<sup>393</sup> The depiction of a man and a woman on the same side of an offering table is artistically awkward as it would be almost impossible to achieve the main objective of the scene by showing the two individuals stretching their arms to reach the bread loaves on the table. Noferseshemptah got around this by showing his wife Seshseshet, the daughter of Teti, in a very rare position at a separate, albeit much smaller table near his feet, but she is on the left side.<sup>394</sup> It is interesting to compare this case with that of Shepsipumin who also represented his wife Hotepti at a separate but much smaller offering table in front of his own table, yet she is still on the right side.<sup>395</sup>

## Study D

### The block chair with the *hwt*-sign and its significance

The representations of some men and women seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign are rare, and it has already been suggested that these individuals belonged to royalty. In order to fully

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<sup>390</sup> Kanawati, in: *Thebes and Beyond*, 115ff.

<sup>391</sup> As in the case of Henut and her son Hengi (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, fig. 30 (a)).

<sup>392</sup> Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 38 (a).

<sup>393</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 6, fig. 22 (a).

<sup>394</sup> Lloyd, et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 3, pl. 22.

<sup>395</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 25.

investigate the significance of appearing on such chairs, particularly with regard to its use at Meir, examples have been collected and the background of the seated persons studied.

**Osiris:** Osiris appears on a stele, although presumably from the Ramesside period, seated on a chair with the *hwt*-sign while Anubis faces him.<sup>396</sup>

**Seshat:** The goddess Seshat is depicted in the temple of king Sahure seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign while recording the number of captives.<sup>397</sup>

**King Sahure:** The king appears in his funerary temple a number of times, including once while celebrating his jubilee, seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign, filled with the sign for unification.<sup>398</sup> The recent discovery of decorated blocks from Sahure's causeway also show the king in the presence of the royal family, and again with his wife closing a clap net in the marshes, in both cases seated on the same type of chair.<sup>399</sup>

**King Niuser:** The king is represented seated on a chair with the *hwt*-sign, beneath which are two figures of Hapi uniting the two lands<sup>400</sup> (Figure 90).

**King Wenis:** The king is shown on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign.<sup>401</sup>

**King Pepy I:** On a fragment from the funerary temple of Queen Iput, King Pepy I was probably seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign in which the sign for the unification of the two lands is depicted.<sup>402</sup> The queen was clearly described as daughter of a king, wife of a king and mother of a king,<sup>403</sup> the last most probably in reference to Pepy I.

**King Pepy II:** The funerary temple of Pepy II has furnished a good amount of relief decoration in which we see the king seated a number of times on block chairs with a simple *hwt*-sign, or

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<sup>396</sup> Jéquier, *Monument funéraire* 3, fig. 32.

<sup>397</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, pl. 1.

<sup>398</sup> Borchardt, *Saḥu-Re*, pls. 42-45.

<sup>399</sup> El-Awady, in: *Abusir and Saqqara*, 193, 202, figs. 1, 5.

<sup>400</sup> Borchardt, *Ne-user-ré*, pl. 16.

<sup>401</sup> Labrousse and Moussa, *Roi Ounas*, figs. 62-63.

<sup>402</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 57 (7).

<sup>403</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 55 (1).

with the *hwt*-sign including the unification sign, occasionally with the figures of Hapi uniting the two lands.<sup>404</sup> A decorated stone depicting the king celebrating his jubilee also shows him seated on the block chair with the *hwt*-sign.<sup>405</sup>

**Queen Meresankh III (Giza):** Meresankh III was the granddaughter of Khufu and probably the wife of Khafre.<sup>406</sup> The queen is represented on a block chair a number of times, with the side of the chair once decorated with the figure of a lion,<sup>407</sup> a symbol for royalty, another with the *hwt*-sign,<sup>408</sup> and a third time with a palace façade.<sup>409</sup> In the last two depictions she holds a lotus flower close to her nostrils. A chair decorated with the figure of a lion is also depicted among her funerary furniture.<sup>410</sup>

**Queen Rekhetre (Giza):** Rekhetre was the daughter of Khafre and probably the wife of Menkaure.<sup>411</sup> The queen appears on the panel of her false door seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign, with one hand placed over her chest and the other on her lap.<sup>412</sup>

**Queen Bunofer (Giza):** Bunofer was a daughter of a king and a wife of a king. The exact kings with whom she was associated are not certain, but they probably belong to the very end of the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>413</sup> On the lintel above the central entrance to the chapel the queen is represented on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign; her left hand placed over her chest while her right rests on her lap.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> Jéquier, *Monument funéraire* 2, pls. 54, 61, 81; Jéquier, *Monument funéraire* 3, pl. 19.

<sup>405</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 2, pl. 98 (CG 1747).

<sup>406</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 461-462 [76].

<sup>407</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. 7 (a), fig. 7.

<sup>408</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, pl. 5 (a), fig. 5 top.

<sup>409</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 8. Another representation of possibly a block chair is in Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 11, where the side of the chair is obliterated.

<sup>410</sup> Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 8.

<sup>411</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 515 [149].

<sup>412</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 6:3, fig. 4.

<sup>413</sup> See discussion in Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 445 [59].

<sup>414</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 3, fig. 147 (a). Her figures on the south and north entrances may have been similar, but are now damaged.



**Queen Khentkaues I (Giza):** The exact genealogy of Khentkaues and the role she played at the end of the Fourth Dynasty and the beginning of the Fifth are highly controversial.<sup>415</sup> The queen is represented on both entrance jambs seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign; one hand is placed over her chest and the other is on her lap.<sup>416</sup> A recent examination of her figure proved that the queen wears a vulture diadem and a short ritual beard and holds a short sceptre in the hand she rests over her chest, all of which reflect her extraordinary position.<sup>417</sup>

**Queen Khentkaues II (Abusir):** Khentkaues was the mother of King Niuserre. She is depicted in different places in her funerary temple, namely on the gate, pillars and jambs of the false door, seated on the typical block chair with the *hwt*-sign. Her forehead is adorned with the uraeus and she holds an *ꜥnh*-symbol in one hand and a *w3d*-sceptre or *w3s*-sceptre in the other.<sup>418</sup>

**Queen Meresankh (Saqqara):** She was the wife of Niuserre or Djedkare.<sup>419</sup> She is represented on the right jamb of her false door seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign, with one hand placed over her chest and the other on her lap.<sup>420</sup>

**Queen Nebet (Saqqara):** Although Queen Nebet was the wife of Wenis, her chapel was decorated with scenes of daily life similar to those covering the walls of private tombs. The queen is shown ‘viewing’ most of the activities, either standing or sitting on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign while holding a lotus flower close to her face<sup>421</sup> (Figure 91). The same type of chair is used when the queen is seated at the offering table.<sup>422</sup>

**Queen Iput (Saqqara):** In the offering table scene on her false door, Queen Iput, wife of Teti, is depicted seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign and holding a lotus flower close to her face.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> See for instance Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 546-552 [186]; Callender, *In Hathor's Image*, 136ff.

<sup>416</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 2.

<sup>417</sup> Verner, *Khentkaus*, 174-75, fig. 85 (b).

<sup>418</sup> Verner, *Khentkaus*, 55-62, 78-79, figs. 57, 59, 61.

<sup>419</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 463-464 [78].

<sup>420</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 183.

<sup>421</sup> Munro, *Unas-Friedhof*, pls. 1 (3), 12, 16, and passim.

<sup>422</sup> Munro, *Unas-Friedhof*, pl. 27.

<sup>423</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 55 (1).

**Queen Meryreankhenes (Saqqara):** The queen, mother of Pepy II, appears regularly in a royal decree seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign and holding the *w3s*-sceptre.<sup>424</sup>

**Queen Neith (Saqqara):** Queen Neith, daughter of Pepy I and wife of Pepy II, is shown on an obelisk and in a royal decree seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign; in the first instance she holds a lotus flower while in the second she holds a *w3s*-sceptre.<sup>425</sup>

**Queen Iput (Saqqara):** Queen Iput, wife of Pepy II, is depicted on an obelisk seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign and holding a lotus flower close to her nostrils.<sup>426</sup>

**Queen Wedjebten (Saqqara):** A wife of Pepy II, the queen is represented on two lintels from her funerary temple seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign and holding a lotus flower close to her nostrils.<sup>427</sup>

**Early Stelae:** On two stelae, probably dating to the Fourth Dynasty, belonging to princesses designated as ‘king’s daughter’, both women are seated on block chairs with the *hwt*-sign and extend their hands towards offering tables before them.<sup>428</sup>

**Wenshet (Giza):** Wenshet held the title ‘king’s daughter of his body’. Although she is dated to the end of Khufu’s reign and the beginning of that of Khafre,<sup>429</sup> her exact royal lineage is not clear. She appears on the panel of her false door extending her hand towards an offering table while seated on a block chair, but without the *hwt*-sign.<sup>430</sup>

**Princess Hemetre (Giza):** The princess held the title of ‘eldest daughter of the king of his body’. She was probably the daughter of Khafre, and perhaps lived at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>431</sup> She is represented on the lintel above the entrance to the inner chapel seated on a

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<sup>424</sup> Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, fig. 2.

<sup>425</sup> Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, figs. 1-2.

<sup>426</sup> Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, fig. 24.

<sup>427</sup> Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, figs. 26-27.

<sup>428</sup> Hassan, *Giza 5*, figs. 13, 15.

<sup>429</sup> Baud, *Famille royale 2*, 437-438.

<sup>430</sup> Junker, *Giza 1*, fig. 63.

<sup>431</sup> Baud, *Famille royale 2*, 517-519 [152].

block chair with the *hwt*-sign, with one hand placed over her chest and the other on her lap<sup>432</sup> (Figure 92).

**Mastaba H (Giza):** The identity of the female tomb owner is not known as all inscriptions relating to her are damaged. The latest cartouche written in the tomb is that of Khafre. The preserved lower section of the entrance thickness shows the owner seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign.<sup>433</sup>

**Nofert (Giza):** Nofert was the wife of Imby who was the overseer of the ka-servants of the king's mother. Nofert owned a false door in her husband's chapel, where she appears to be seated on a block chair with the *hwt*-sign.<sup>434</sup> The limited inscriptions in the tomb do not allow the examination of Nofert's background.

**Princess Waatetkhethor/ Seshseshet (Saqqara):** Princess Waatetkhethor was the eldest daughter of Teti and wife of his vizier, Mereruka. She owned a separate chapel in her husband's mastaba, where she is represented holding a lotus flower close to her face while sitting on a palanquin with a block chair the side of which is decorated with the figure of a lion.<sup>435</sup> A similar chair is part of an empty palanquin waiting for the princess.<sup>436</sup> Her case is comparable to that of Meresankh III.

**Tjy (Saqqara):** Although Tjy was not a vizier he held many important titles, including those of overseer of the sun temples of Sahure, Noferirkare and Niuserre and he probably served under these kings.<sup>437</sup> Considering that Tjy 'is the only person to have held any of these titles',<sup>438</sup> one wonders about his kinship to the royal family, and whether building his mastaba at Saqqara when the royal family moved to Abusir prevented him from declaring his royal heritage (see the cases of Iretenakhti, Iufi and Pepyankh the middle). Tjy also owned one of the most beautifully built

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<sup>432</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 6:3, fig. 46.

<sup>433</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 3, fig. 143.

<sup>434</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 157.

<sup>435</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 2, pls. 47-49, 69.

<sup>436</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family* 2, pls. 5, 8, 57.

<sup>437</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 158-159 [157].

<sup>438</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 159.

and decorated tombs of the Old Kingdom.<sup>439</sup> A scene of dragging the tomb owner's statues and another representing their transportation by boat show the statues seated on block chairs with the side decorated with the *hwt*-sign.<sup>440</sup>

**Iretenakhti (Saqqara):** Iretenakhti was the wife of an official named Remni whose tomb lies in the Teti cemetery. She is described as 'the honoured one before the king', an epithet that was common with male officials but very rare for women, yet it is attested with some prominent women with royal background, for instance Nebet, wife of Wenis,<sup>441</sup> and Hemetre, a king's daughter of his body,<sup>442</sup> and probably also of Wenis,<sup>443</sup> although she lived under Teti and was a priestess of his *meret*-temple. Iretenakhti was not described as king's daughter, but that may have been a result of being buried away from her father's cemetery and such a title would have confused her genealogy.<sup>444</sup> It is noticed also that her false door occupies the southern end of the west wall in the chapel,<sup>445</sup> which is usually the favoured position. On the architrave above her false door, Iretenakhti is represented seated on a block chair, the side of which shows the *hwt*-sign, and holding a lotus flower close to her nostrils.<sup>446</sup>

**Seshseshet (Saqqara):** Seshseshet was a second wife of Remni (the other being Iretenakhti). Her name, her partly damaged inscription and the representation of the couch and the harp in front of her,<sup>447</sup> may suggest that she was a daughter of Teti and sister of the similarly named wife of Mereruka.<sup>448</sup> Seshseshet is depicted seated on a block chair and holding a lotus flower close to her face. The chair is made of ebony or painted to imitate this type of wood, and the design on its side appears to reflect the *hwt*-sign and the palace façade.<sup>449</sup>

<sup>439</sup> Steindorff, *Ti* 2, passim; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti*, 3 fascs., passim.

<sup>440</sup> Steindorff, *Ti* 2, pl. 64; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti*, 1, pls. 54-55; Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 88 (a).

<sup>441</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 60 (1974), 96, fig. 1; Munro, *Unas-Friedhof*, pl. 30.

<sup>442</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 360; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, pl. 2, fig. 2.

<sup>443</sup> Baud, *Famille royale* 2, 519 [153].

<sup>444</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 17.

<sup>445</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pl. 49.

<sup>446</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pls. 28, 29 (a), 50.

<sup>447</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, 17-18, pls. 23-24, 48.

<sup>448</sup> Compare with the figure of Mereruka's wife playing the harp for her husband on the couch (Duell, *Mereruka*, pls. 94-95; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and His Family* 3:1, pls. 52, 99).

<sup>449</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pls. 23-24, 48.

**Princess Iufi (El-Hammamiya):** Both Iufi and her husband Kaikhent, owners of tomb A2 at El-Hammamiya, were regularly described as ‘king’s son/ daughter of his body’ in the original inscriptions of their tomb. This was later systematically chiselled out, although they remain detectable under careful examination.<sup>450</sup> Fischer wonders ‘if, at this date, some objection was felt to the honorific use of the title in question’.<sup>451</sup> However, the erasures were presumably done by the owner, who painted over them with the same background paint for other scenes and inscriptions, probably in order to hide them.<sup>452</sup> The absence of this title in Upper Egypt during the Sixth Dynasty despite the likelihood of some individuals buried there being of royal descent,<sup>453</sup> may suggest that it was not desirable to claim the title when buried away from the cemetery of the king in question. Iufi appears a number of times seated on a block chair, although with no apparent *hwt*-sign.<sup>454</sup> It is curious that her husband, who bears the same title, was never depicted on this type of chair, even when the couple was sitting next to each other.<sup>455</sup>

**Pepyankh the middle (Meir):** The tomb owner appears on the architrave above the entrance to his offering chamber, (room 3) in his chapel, once alone and once with his wife seated on block chairs with the *hwt*-sign before an offering table<sup>456</sup> (Figure 93). Tracing the background of Pepyankh the middle shows that he was the grandson of Pepyankh the elder and a woman named Seshseshet, a name that at the time was reserved for daughters of Teti, or at least to female members of the royal family (see Chapter I). The distinction of Seshseshet may be gauged by her representation on the apparently more important left side of her husband’s false door and the fact that she was allocated the taller outer jamb, while the shorter inner jamb was reserved for him,<sup>457</sup> although the tomb contains one shaft and accordingly the wife was presumably buried elsewhere. The depiction of Pepyankh the middle on this type of chair twice on the architrave in a very conspicuous position, as well as the unusual representation of his parents at offering tables inside

<sup>450</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, 27, and passim.

<sup>451</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 47.

<sup>452</sup> Detailed personal examination.

<sup>453</sup> Kanawati, *BACE* 14 (2003), 46ff.

<sup>454</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 40, 44, 47, 50-51.

<sup>455</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 40, 47, 50. Note the difference between the front and back parts of the chair.

<sup>456</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 5 (2); Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 4, 75 (a).

<sup>457</sup> Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 253; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 28 (b).

the chapel, probably aimed at emphasizing and publicizing his royal descent and perhaps that of his wife, even if we are unable to trace her origin.<sup>458</sup>

## Conclusions

An examination of the representations of the block chairs with, but occasionally without, the side decorated with the *hwt*-sign, shows that this type of chair was used by deities, kings, queens, royal children and descendants. Rare instances where this type of chair was used by individuals with no attested royal lineage may be due to the poor preservation of the evidence, or to the person being buried away from the cemetery of the king with whom he/she is associated and the desire not to confuse the genealogy. The examples of Tjy, who was buried at Saqqara when the royal cemetery was at Abusir, Iretenakhti who was buried in the Teti cemetery while she was perhaps related to Wenis, and obviously Iufi who was buried at El-Hammamiya and Pepyankh the middle at Meir at a distance from the Memphite cemeteries, demonstrate the point. However, while the mention of the title ‘king’s son’ was avoided, the use of the block chair, not being indicative of a specific king, appears to have been permitted.

## Study E

### Heneni’s false door at Saqqara<sup>459</sup>

The false door of *Hnni*<sup>460</sup> ‘Heneni’ is currently left in situ in the northern section of the Teti cemetery, presumably uncovered by the Supreme Council of Antiquities during its excavations to the north of the mastabas of Shepsiptah, Nikauisesi and Hesi. The mud brick mastaba to which this false door belongs is badly damaged, but appears to have consisted of two rooms. The false door is a single monolithic limestone block .92 m. wide x 1.52m. high. It is of the type with

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<sup>458</sup> The prominent representations of the wife and her elaborately decorated burial chamber also demonstrate her importance, see (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 66-71, and passim).

<sup>459</sup> I am grateful to professor Kanawati for providing me with a copy of this false door from the archive of The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>460</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 244:24.

a torus moulding, cavetto cornice and a frame surrounding the door. While the decoration on the upper section is obliterated, the figures and inscriptions on the lower part are well preserved (Figure 94).

Upper Lintel: (1) *ḥtp di nswt Inpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb t3 ḏsr* (2) *pṛt-ḥrw n ḥk3 ḥwt smr wꜥty Ḥnni* ‘(1) an offering which the king gives and Anubis, who is on his hill, who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land (gives), (2) that invocation offerings may come forth for the estate manager, sole companion,<sup>461</sup> Heneni’.

Panel: Wearing a shoulder-length wig and a collar the tomb owner sits on a chair with lion’s legs, extending his left hand towards an offering table in front of him. Beneath the chair is placed a ewer in a basin. Above the representation are the following inscriptions: *ḥtp di nswt Inpw t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 3pd ḥ3* (four times) *k3 ḥ3 smr wꜥty Ḥnni* ‘an offering which the king gives and Anubis (gives), bread, one thousand, beer, one thousand, fowl, four thousands,<sup>462</sup> oxen, one thousand. The sole companion, Heneni’.

Lower Lintel: *im3ḥw Ḥnni* ‘the honoured one, Heneni’.

Jambs: While the two inner jambs, the central niche and the drum are undecorated, the inscriptions on both outer jambs are identical and read: *ḥtp di in nswt<sup>463</sup> Inpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb t3 ḏsr pṛt-ḥrw n ḥk3 ḥwt smr wꜥty im3ḥw Ḥnni* ‘an offering which is given by the king and Anubis, who is on his hill, who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land, that invocation offerings may come forth for the estate manager, sole companion, the honoured one, Heneni’.

Left Side of Frame: *...[3]bdw pṛt-ḥrw n.f m is.f m im3ḥw Ḥnni* ‘...[Osiris lord of] Abydos (gives), that invocation offerings may come forth for him in his tomb as an honoured one, Heneni’.

<sup>461</sup> Jones, *Index*, 670 [2543], 892 [3268].

<sup>462</sup> These probably represent four different species of birds.

<sup>463</sup> For this formula see Lapp, *Opferformel*, 30f. For examples from the Teti cemetery see Kanawati, et al., *Saqqara* 1, pl. 29; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pl. 45 (b).

Right of Frame: ... [Inpw] *hnty Sp3 krs.t(w).f nfr m is.f nty m hrt-ntr im3hw Hnni* '... [Anubis], foremost of Sepa,<sup>464</sup> that he be buried well in his tomb, which is in the necropolis. The honoured one, Heneni'.

### Date of Heneni's False Door

Heneni's false door is of a specific type which differs somewhat from the traditional ones of the Sixth Dynasty in that it possesses an inscribed frame around it and a T-shaped elongated panel. Many false doors with one or both of these features were found in the Teti cemetery.<sup>465</sup> Strudwick has already observed a noted elongation of the false door panels in the reign of Pepy I and dated the T-shaped panel to the period from the middle of the Sixth Dynasty to the First Intermediate Period. He correctly refers to the false door of *Ppy-ddi* 'Pepydjedi' as one of the earliest examples of this type.<sup>466</sup> Pepydjedi was most probably the son of the vizier Khentika,<sup>467</sup> who possibly served under Teti and early under Pepy I.<sup>468</sup> Pepydjedi had a false door in his father's mastaba in the Teti cemetery, which has all the features of Heneni's false door, a frame and an elongated T-shaped panel.<sup>469</sup> Another identically shaped false door belongs to a man named Ibi, who owned two false doors embedded into the mud brick wall of (room IV) of the mastaba of Mereruka's mother Nedjetempet,<sup>470</sup> which is certainly a family burial place containing eleven shafts.<sup>471</sup> It seems unlikely that an unrelated person would chose to be buried in this most crowded mastaba and to place his two false doors in the room immediately leading to the offering chamber of Nedjetempet. Ibi was probably related to Mereruka and Nedjetempet and probably not much later in date. The T-shaped panel is also found in a massive unfinished false door, now lying loose in the Teti cemetery, and belonging to a man named Meryreankh.<sup>472</sup>

<sup>464</sup> For the possible location of Sepa see Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 209-211.

<sup>465</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pls. 64, 67 (2), 69, 70 (1), 71-73, 74 (2); El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Saqqara* 2, pls. 20-23; James, *Khentika*, pl. 42; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pls. 45 (b), 57; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pl. 49.

<sup>466</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 18.

<sup>467</sup> James, *Khentika*, pls. 28, 32.

<sup>468</sup> James, *Khentika*, 13-14.

<sup>469</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 42.

<sup>470</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pls. 12, 45.

<sup>471</sup> Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pl. 36.

<sup>472</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2, pl. 64.



Its size and workmanship do not suggest a date after Pepy I, and the door was probably made for a sizeable tomb in the Teti cemetery, which was never constructed/ completed, perhaps due to the owner's implication in the turbulent events of the period. The frame around the false door is also present in the false door of Remni, a man who was married to a woman named Sesheshet, presumably a princess. He should be dated to the end of Teti's reign, or the beginning of that of Pepy I.<sup>473</sup>

The type of Heneni's false door may date it to around the middle of Pepy I's reign. Although some similarly designed false doors are certainly as late as the First Intermediate Period, these are generally much smaller and if attached to a mastaba, were usually of smaller dimensions than that of Heneni. By the end of Pepy I's reign the Teti cemetery was completely built over, with later burials taking place in shafts excavated into the streets between the tombs and simply provided with false door steles. Finally, although the name Heneni is common at Meir, it is not so in the capital cemeteries. However, a man with the same name appears as an offering bearer in the mastaba of the hereditary prince and overseer of Upper Egypt, Nikauisesi,<sup>474</sup> located a short distance to the south of that of Heneni. If we accept the fact that this false door belongs to a noble of Meir, it may still be argued that it could have belonged to any of the three Pepyankhs. However, the fact that it was attached to a mastaba in the Teti cemetery places its owner before Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi of the Wenis cemetery<sup>475</sup> and thus favours its association with Pepyankh the elder.

## Study F

### Finds from Tombs A1 and A4

When tomb A1 was recently re-excavated by the Australian Centre for Egyptology it was impossible to re-clear all the shafts as the tomb was open to visitors. However, it was essential to

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<sup>473</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 9, pl. 51, and passim.

<sup>474</sup> Kanawati and Abder Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 6, pl. 54, and passim.

<sup>475</sup> Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), 49-61.

clear shaft No I immediately in front of the tomb owner's false door in order to investigate its possible connection with this false door. As a result its burial chamber was found to be excavated in a northerly direction away from the owner's false door and almost certainly belonged to a different, even if related, individual. All shafts in tomb A4 were cleared as well as those of two very small burials cut horizontally into the face of the rock between the entrances to tombs A1 and A4 (tombs A1a and A1b). Following are the objects found in these shafts: (see Figure 18)

The objects are numbered as follows: M (for Meir), followed by the year of discovery, e.g. 09 (for 2009), S (for shaft) followed by the shaft number, then the object number. Where the object was found in a fragmentary condition, the entire object is given one number, followed by the F (fragment) number.

### **Tomb A1**

**Shaft I:** The shaft is located immediately in front of the tomb owner's false door, but the burial chamber is directed northward, away from the false door.<sup>476</sup> Found in the burial chamber are:

M.09.S2.1&2: Two fishing weirs made of wheat or barley stems tied together on one side by a thin rope and held to shape by a rope on the opposite side (the mouth) and another in its centre. Measurements: Length: 32.4cm; Diameter of mouth: 9cm; Diameter of base: approx. 3.5cm.

### **Tomb A4**

**Shaft II:** A large number of pottery vessels were found in the burial chamber of this shaft. They were recorded and examined by Dr. Ashraf Senussi who kindly informs me that they all belong to the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>477</sup>

**Shaft IV:** The following objects were found in the burial chamber:

M.09.SIV.1: The upper part of the narrow side (possibly the foot) of a wooden coffin. Measurements: Present height: 20.5cm; Outer length: 44cm; Inner length: 39.5cm. It is decorated

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<sup>476</sup> Figure 18.

<sup>477</sup> His conclusions will be published in Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 3*, forthcoming.

on both sides. Outside: *im3hy hr hnwt.f* ‘the honoured one before his mistress’, possibly referring to Hathor. Inside: *im3hy hr Inpw Šdw* ‘the honoured one before Anubis, Shedw’. Below this is the representation of a granary, showing an entrance, stairs and seven silos (Figure 95).

M.09.SIV.2: Thirteen arrows and parts of arrows made of reeds or tree branches; the longest is 51.5cm. Three of the arrows show a split at one end for securing to the bow string, and the end of one is wrapped in reddish material (Figure 96).

M.09.SIV.3: A model wooden shield, top missing, its face painted with black spots, imitating animal skin. Present height: 15cm; Width at bottom: 11cm; Width at the highest preserved point: 9.5cm; Thickness: .4cm. (Figure 96b).

M.09.SIV.4: Two wooden oars. One complete: Total length 27.3cm., with pole painted black at centre, with the maximum diameter: .8cm; Blade: Length: 5cm; Widest part: 2.2cm. One partly preserved: Present total length: 19.3cm; Blade: Length: 7.8cm; Widest part: 4.1cm.

M.09.SIV.5: Two wooden arms of a statuette, perhaps belonging to a rower. The hand is clenched, with a hole in the middle. Length: 11.5cm.

M.09.SIV.6: A wooden pen made of a tree branch, sharpened at both ends. Length: 18.5cm.

M.09.SIV.7: Two wooden bases for a chair. Height: 7.5cm; Diameter at base: approximately 5.8cm.

M.09.SIV.8: The lower part of a wooden chair or bed leg in the shape of a lion’s leg. Present height: 8.5cm.

**Shaft VII:** This is the largest and deepest shaft in the tomb and was probably excavated and used by Heni, the likely son of Pepyankh the black. Fragments of a wooden coffin devoured by termites indicate that they all belong to the same monument (object No 1). An uninscribed part of one of the short sides of the coffin (M.09.SVII.1.F61) indicates that the coffin was 53cm wide from the outside and 43cm from the inside. Fragment M.09.SVII.1.F44a, b, inscribed on the outside and inside, shows that the sides of the coffin were 5.5cm thick. The coffin was made of good timber, gilded, at least on large sections, and very finely decorated, perhaps manufactured

by the Memphite royal workshops (see Figures 97-98). The fragments do not allow the reconstruction of the inscribed texts and some do not show any decoration and were accordingly excluded. Some other fragments are made of thinner wood and may have belonged to a wooden chest, perhaps for the canopic jars or other funerary equipment (object No 2). The decorated fragments include the following information:

### Object No 1: The wooden coffin

M.09.SVII.1.F34: *ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb ...* ‘An offering which the king gives and Osiris lord of ...’. (Figure 97).

M.09.SVII.1.F35: *ḥtp di nswt In[pw] ...* ‘An offering which the king gives and Anubis...’. (Figure 98).

M.09.SVII.1.F36: *im3ḥ[y] ...* ‘The honoured one ...’. (Figure 99).

M.09.SVII.1.F39: [*ḥtp*] *di [nswt] Wsir nb Ddw Ḥnty-[imntyw]* ‘An offering which the king gives and Osiris lord of Busiris and Khentiamentiu ...’.

M.09.SVII.1.F40: *pṛt-ḥrw n iry-p<sup>ᶜ</sup>t ḥ3ty[-ᶜ]* ... ‘May invocation offerings come forth for the hereditary prince, the count, ...’. (Figure 100).

M.09.SVII.1.F41: *ḥtp di nswt ...* ‘An offering which the king gives ...’.

M.09.SVII.1.F43: ... *Ḥn[i]* ‘... Heni’. (Figure 101).

M.09.SVII.1.F44a: *iry-p<sup>ᶜ</sup>t imy-r Šm<sup>ᶜ</sup>w Ḥ[ni]* ‘The hereditary prince, the overseer of Upper Egypt, H[eni]’. (Figure 102).

M.09.SVII.1.F44b: ... *Ḥ[n]i* ‘... He[n]i’, (top part of the sign *Ḥ* is preserved) (Figure 103).

M.09.SVII.1.F48: ... *3bdw ...* ‘... Abydos ...’.

M.09.SVII.1.F49: *ḥtp di nswt Ḥ3*... ‘An offering which the king gives and Ha<sup>478</sup> ...’.

M.09.SVII.1.F50: ...*pṛt-ḥrw*... ‘... may invocation offerings come forth ...’.

M.09.SVII.1.F53: ... *Ḥn*... ‘...Hen[i]’. (Figure 104).

M.09.SVII.1.F51, 52, 54 a-b, 55-58, 61: Fragments with decorative elements.

### Object No 2: The wooden chest

M.09.SVII.2.F37: ... [*m ḥrt-ntr*] *dī.sn*... ‘... in the necropolis, that they may give...’. (see M.09.SVII.2.F59).

M.09.SVII.2.F38 a, b: ...*ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r ḥmw-ntr [ḥry]-ḥbt smr wꜥty*... ‘... the count, the overseer of priests, the lector priest, the sole companion, ...’. (Figure 105), (the inscriptions are missing the middle part)

M.09.SVII.2.F45: ...*ḥn...3st ḥr*... ‘... Isis, ...’.

M.09.SVII.2.F46: ... *imy-r ḥmw-ntr Ḥn[i]* ‘..., the overseer of priests, Heni’. (Figure 106).

M.09.SVII.2.F47: *ḥtp di [nswt] i*... ‘An offering which the king gives ...’.

M.09.SVII.2.F59: ...*m ḥrt-ntr dī.sn im3ḥt/ 3w[-ib]*... ‘...in the necropolis, that they may give honour/ joy ...’.

### Other finds:

M.09.SVII.3: The wooden base of a chair. Height: 7.5cm; Diameter at base: 7.5cm; at top: 5.5cm, decorated with vertical red lines.

M.09.SVII.4: An adze made of one piece of wood, for the opening of the mouth ceremony. Total length: 15.5cm; Diameter: 1.1cm; Length of flat blade holder 5.7cm, with string markings for tying the blade.

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<sup>478</sup> This is probably a reference to Ha, god of the western desert.

M.09.SVII.5: A wooden jar probably for containing cosmetics or for use in the opening of the mouth ceremony. Height: 4.7cm; Diameter at top: 7.4cm; Thickness: .4cm.; Diameter at base: 6.5cm; Internal measurements: Diameter: 3.8cm; Depth: 3.6cm.

**Shaft IX:** This shaft may have belonged to Heni's wife. The objects found in the burial chamber are:

M.09.SIX: The wooden handle of a mirror. Length; 9.3cm; Maximum diameter: 2.3cm; Width at upper part: 6.1cm. The handle is decorated on the upper part with three lines in relief and has a hole in the centre of the upper part, presumably to fit the base of the mirror.

M.09.SIX.2: An adze made of one piece of wood, for the opening of the mouth ceremony. Total length: 9.5cm; Diameter: 1.4cm; Length of flat blade holder 4.2cm, with string markings for tying the blade.

M.09.SIX.3: The lower section of an alabaster jar. Present height: 6.8cm; Diameter at base: 6cm.

**Tomb A1a:** Fragments of a wooden coffin devoured by termites belonging to a man named Henu. Three lines of horizontal text, probably on the two long sides and the lid, may be reconstructed as follows:

M.09.SA1a.1.F24, 6, 19, 1, 10, 16: *ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb [Ddw Hnty-imntyw] nb 3bdw krs.f nfr m [smit imnty ḥp.f ḥr w3t nf]rt ḥppt im3ḥw ḥr.s Hn* 'An offering which the king gives and Osiris lord of [Busiris and Khentiamentiu] lord of Abydos, that he may be buried well in [the western desert, that he may walk upon the beautiful road], upon which the honoured ones walk, Hen'.

M.09.SA1a.1.F28 b, 28 a, 11, 8, 5, 4, 9: *ḥtp di Inpw tpy dw[f] imy [wt] nb t3 dsr nb r-[k]r[t]<sup>479</sup>....[prt-ḥrw] n im3ḥ(y) Hnw* 'An offering which Anubis who is on [his] hill, who is in [the embalming place], lord of the sacred land, lord of ... gives, [that invocation offerings may come forth] for the honoured one, Henu'. (For M.09.SA1a.1.F9 see Figure 107)

<sup>479</sup> For epithet of Anubis *r-ḥrrt* 'lord of the mouth of the cavern', see Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 104.

M.09.SA1a.1.F20, 32, 31, 33 a-b, 13, 14, 26, 15 [*hṭp di nswt*] *Inpw šsp.....hnty zḥ-ntr šms sw k3.f.....prt-hrw* [*n im3hy Hnw m3[ḥ-hrw]*] ‘[An offering which the king gives] and Anubis, that ... be received ..., ... foremost of the divine booth ..., that his ka may accompany him, ..., that invocation offerings may come forth [for[ the honoured one, Henu, the justified’]. (For M.09.SA1a.1.F15 see Figure 108).

Fragments with signs, the significance of which is unclear.

M.09.SA1a.1.F2: ... *nfr n*

M.09.SA1a.1.F3: ... *tm hnt*

M.09.SA1a.1.F21: ... *fr swt*

M.09.SA1a.1.F33: ?

In addition some inscriptions were written in vertical columns, but these are too limited to be reconstructed. The fragments bear the following inscriptions:

M.09.SA1a.1.F7: *k*.

M.09.SA1a.1.F12: *n ntt*.

M.09.SA1a.1.F17: ...*ry*.

M.09.SA1a.1.F18: ...*hr, h, w*.

M.09.SA1a.1.F22: ... *phrt n.k m* ‘... reversal offerings for you in ...’.

M.09.SA1a.1.F23: ... [*i*]*m3hy* ‘...the honoured one,...’.

M.09.SA1a.1.F25: ...*ntr* ʕ... ‘...the great good’.

M.09.SA1a.1.F27: ...*sd3?* ... ‘...cross over...’.

M.09.SA1a.1.F29: ... *n*.

M.09.SA1a.1.F30: ...*r.k di.s*... ‘... to you, that she may give...’.

## Analysis and Conclusions

Tomb A4 itself is now safely dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty by the fact that it belonged to the same tomb owner of A1, Niankhpepy the black/ Hepi the black/ Sobekhotep. The discovery of very fragmentary coffin and wooden chest in the burial chamber of the central and largest rectangular, vertical shaft (shaft VII)<sup>480</sup> in tomb A4 shows that it belonged to a man named *Hn[i]* who held the titles of hereditary prince, count, overseer of priests and overseer of Upper Egypt, titles which clearly indicate his descent from the ruling family at El-Qusiya, probably as the grandson of the owner of tomb A4. Although his coffin, like many others in this section of the cemetery, has been devoured by termites, enough remains to show that it was made of excellent timber, was gilded and beautifully inscribed and decorated, perhaps being manufactured in the royal workshops at Memphis. Found in the same burial chamber are also a model adze and a wooden container of the type used in the opening of the mouth ceremony. Similar equipment was found in the burial chamber of Djau, the near-contemporary governor of the neighbouring province of Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>481</sup> Found in shaft IX, located to the north of shaft VII and presumably belonging to Heni's wife or relative, are another adze for the opening of the mouth and a wooden handle of a mirror.

A number of smaller shafts and sloping passages are also excavated into the floor of the chapel A4. The dating of the cutting and use of these shafts are uncertain, although it is questionable whether much later individuals would have excavated their burial places inside a considerably earlier tomb perhaps belonging to an unrelated official or one whom they did not serve. However, as already concluded from the study of the discovered pottery in shaft II,<sup>482</sup> the entire group belongs to the end of the Old Kingdom and accordingly the use of this shaft was contemporaneous with or shortly following the preparation of tomb A4. Shaft IV is notably of similar style to shaft II and may well be of a similar date. The side board of a wooden coffin found in its burial chamber shows that it belongs to a man named *Šdw*<sup>483</sup> 'Shedu' whose titles are

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<sup>480</sup> See Figure 18.

<sup>481</sup> See Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 36-38.

<sup>482</sup> Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 3, forthcoming.

<sup>483</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 331:18.



not indicated on the narrow board, but who is described on the external face as ‘the honoured one before his mistress (probably a reference to Hathor)’ and on the internal surface as ‘the honoured one before Anubis’. There, a representation of a granary, with a door, stairs and seven silos, is depicted.<sup>484</sup> It is noticed that the word ‘honoured’ was written as *im3hy* and not *im3hw* as traditionally done during the Old Kingdom.<sup>485</sup>

In the same burial chamber of Shedû were found a number of arrows, a part of a bow and a model shield,<sup>486</sup> which suggests some kind of unrest during this period and may be compared to some likely Eighth Dynasty tombs at El-Hagarsa where the owners were buried accompanied by their weapons.<sup>487</sup> It is likely that due to unrest at the end of the Old Kingdom Heni and some of his contemporaries and supporters, such as Shedû, did not excavate a tomb and rather used the largely unused tomb of Heni’s grandfather.

A small horizontal burial (A1a) with a coffin pit was excavated immediately to the west of the entrance to tomb A1 and between it and the entrance to tomb A4. Numerous fragments belonging to the same wooden coffin, which was destroyed by termites, were found in the pit. The coffin, which carries painted inscriptions, belongs to a man named *Hnw*<sup>488</sup> ‘Henu’,<sup>489</sup> a name that is attested for an important offering bearer depicted on the west wall of the chapel A1 of Niankhpepy the black, as the second man immediately following the tomb owner’s eldest son (see Figure 30). It is interesting that neither the offering bearer Henu, nor the similarly named owner of the coffin bears any title.

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<sup>484</sup> Harpur noted that men climbing steps to pour grain in a granary are attested in tombs dated to the very end of the Old Kingdom and in provincial sites only (Harpur, *Decoration*, 263). For examples see the probably Eighth Dynasty tombs of Wahi and Mery-aa of El-Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, pls. 31, 36). While the granaries and the stairs are depicted on Shedû’s coffin, no men are climbing the stairs. The elimination of human figures is most probably for security reasons since the scene is painted on the coffin and not in the chapel (Kanawati, *Burial Chambers*, 74). For similar cases see the granaries with stairs represented on the south walls of the burial chambers of both Seni and Penu in Pepy II’s cemetery at Saqqara, probably dated to the end of the Sixth Dynasty (Jéquier, *Particuliers*, figs. 44, 51).

<sup>485</sup> Figure 95.

<sup>486</sup> Figure 96.

<sup>487</sup> See Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 2, pl. 10 (a-b). A similar burial was discovered by the SCA in the near vicinity. Information gratefully supplied by the late Dr Yehya Al-Masry.

<sup>488</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 242:2.

<sup>489</sup> Figures 107-108.

Like Shedû, Henu is described on his coffin as *im3hy* ‘the honoured one’. The similarity in design and measurements between the sloping passage of shaft IV of Shedû and the sloping passage of shaft II containing the late Old Kingdom pottery suggests that they were close to each other in time. Similarly, the likelihood of Henu, the offering bearer in tomb A1 and the owner of the coffin being one and the same person, suggests a date not much later than the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Accordingly the writing of the epithet ‘the honoured one’ as *im3hy* rather than *im3hw* probably started at the end of the Old Kingdom or immediately after. Brovarski remarks that *im3hy* was more common on coffins and agrees with Schenkel that the earliest attested writing of *im3hy* is found at Asiut from the reign of Merikare.<sup>490</sup> However, Fischer refers to some Old Kingdom cases of the writing *im3hy* from Giza and Saqqara.<sup>491</sup> With the closeness of Meir to Asiut it is possible that the scribe of Asiut may have been influenced by his slightly earlier counterpart at the rich and important Old Kingdom province of El-Qusiya.

It should also be mentioned that the writing style of the hieroglyphic signs on both the coffins of Shedû and Henu is not akin to those found on coffins usually dated to the First Intermediate Period and beyond<sup>492</sup> and shows all the characteristic features of the Old Kingdom. That some inscriptions on Henu’s coffin are arranged in vertical columns should not indicate a later date, for the coffin of the governor of Akhmim, Kaihep/ Tjeti,<sup>493</sup> who is securely dated to the reign of Merenre,<sup>494</sup> shows the same feature.

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<sup>490</sup> Brovarski, Naga-ed-Der 1, 7 n. 242; Brovarski, in: *Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 49; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 16, 18 (d). Schenkel adds that *im3hy* appeared later at Thebes in the time of Montuhotep II.

<sup>491</sup> Fischer, *Metropolitan Museum*, 172.

<sup>492</sup> As in Brovarski, in: *Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, figs 1-10.

<sup>493</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 15. See also the coffin of Seni (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 38).

<sup>494</sup> McFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63ff.; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 270-273; Moreno Garcia, *RdÉ* 56 (2005), 110.

## **Appendix 2**

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# **The Art in the Tomb of Pepyankh the middle:**

## **Innovation or Copying?**

**Miral Lashien**

**Macquarie University**

*(A paper presented in the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference at Warsaw 2014)*

### **Abstract**

The decoration of the tomb of Pepyankh the middle of Meir shows a high standard of art and a remarkable conformity in canons, styles and some details with the Memphite art. This paper investigates the possible identity and origin of the artist who decorated the tomb at Meir and the sources of inspiration for his work. Characteristic features of scenes in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle will be analysed and close similarities with those in certain tombs in the capital and neighbouring Upper Egyptian provinces will be highlighted. Our aim is to demonstrate the extent to which the artist of Meir allowed himself to be influenced by earlier works and the degree of his originality.

**Keywords:** Meir, Pepyankh the middle, Kaemtjenenet, Old Kingdom artists.

### **The Artist of Pepyankh the middle: his titles and origin**

It is generally assumed that the artists who decorated the walls of the Egyptian tombs were mostly anonymous and were considered more or less as part of the class of craftsmen or artisans who produced the funerary objects. Attempts have however been made by some scholars to modify this view by collecting the names of sculptors and painters mentioned in tombs that they may have decorated, and highlighting their abilities and merits. In a recent study of the artists in the Old Kingdom by Kanawati and Woods it was suggested that the title *zš* ‘scribe’ and *zš pr md3t-ntr pr-ꜥ3* ‘scribe of the house of sacred documents of the palace’ may well be related to art. It was demonstrated that some holders of these titles are shown, or referred to as performing artistic duties. In the two neighbouring tombs of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer and Shepsipumin/ Kheni at El-Hawawish, two brothers are represented accompanying the tomb owners on their

spear fishing trips and described as *zš ḳdwt Sni* ‘the outline draftsman, Seni’ and *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḫ3 Izzī* ‘the scribe of the house of sacred documents of the palace, Isezi’. In the tomb of Kheni both men are labelled as *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḫ3 zšw iz pn* ‘the scribe(s) of the house of sacred records of the palace, who inscribed/ decorated this tomb’,<sup>1</sup> clearly indicating that the holder of this title is directly involved or responsible for the decoration of the tomb. While the association of the title *zš ḳdwt* ‘outline draftsman’ with painting is obvious, the interpretation of the title *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḫ3* ‘scribe of the house of sacred documents of the palace’ as related to art has not generally been accepted. However, in the tomb of Pepyankh the black (A2) at Meir, a man named Ihyemsapepy/ Iri, who held this same title is shown in one scene painting a statue, in another an elaborate shrine and a third time a jar.<sup>2</sup> I suggest that the generally accepted translation of this title should be reconsidered. *zš* may well refer to a scribe or a painter, *md3t-ntr* or *pr-md3t-ntr* may refer to the house of sacred records, but perhaps also to the tomb itself which contains the life records of the divine deceased, with *pr-ḫ3* refers to the position being held in the royal domain or workshop. Frequently such offices are not attached to the *pr-ḫ3*. Accordingly, a tentative translation of the title would be ‘palace painter of the (house) of sacred records (i.e. the tomb)’.

Men holding titles incorporating *zš* and *md3t-ntr* are depicted in tombs at the capital and the provinces. In the latter and in addition to the already mentioned examples at El-Hawawish and Meir, Pepyankh the middle governor of Meir held the title *zš md3t-ntr*<sup>3</sup> and another man, named Kaemtjenenet, shown in his tomb bears the title *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḫ3*.<sup>4</sup> A *zš md3t-ntr* appears also in the tomb of Tjauti at Hamra Dom,<sup>5</sup> and a *zš pr-md3t-ntr* in the tomb of Kaikhent (A2) at El-Hammamiya.<sup>6</sup> The title *zš md3t-ntr* was also held at Deir el-Gebrawi by the nomarchs Henqu/ Kheteti of the northern cliff,<sup>7</sup> and by both Ibi and Djau of the southern cliff,<sup>8</sup> and one or

<sup>1</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 1, Sydney, 1980, fig. 8; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 2, Sydney, 1981, fig. 18.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Blackman, M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 5, London, 1953, pls. 18-19, 21; N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 2, Oxford, 2014, pls. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 4, London, 1924, pl. 15; N. Kanawati, *The Cemetery of Meir*, vol. 1, Oxford, 2012, pl. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81.

<sup>5</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)*, Stockholm, 1994, pl. 14.

<sup>6</sup> A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati, *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Sydney, 1990, pl. 43.

<sup>7</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, vol. 2, London, 1902, pl. 28; N. Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi*, vol. 1: *The Northern Cliff*, Oxford, 2005, p. 27 (n. 122), pl. 37.

two men held the title *zš pr-md3t* in the tomb of Inti at Deshasha.<sup>9</sup> In most cases these individuals held no other titles to explain their employment in the provinces and are frequently described as ‘ka-servants’ of the tomb owner, a position given to close associates, including sons.

The interest of *Ppy-ḥnh ḥry-ib* ‘Pepyankh the middle’, the subject of our present investigation, in art appears in the fact that he himself combines the titles *zš md3t-ntr* with that of *zš ḳdwt* ‘outline draftsman’.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting that Kaemtjenenet, who appears in his tomb, equally combines the two offices of *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḥ* and *shd zš ḳdwt* ‘inspector of outline draftsmen’.<sup>11</sup> Kaemtjenenet was obviously a distinguished and capable artist, being ‘inspector of outline draftsmen’, an extremely rare position,<sup>12</sup> and being also attached to the royal atelier as *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḥ*. The closeness of the two men, Pepyankh the middle and Kaemtjenenet, may be deduced from the fact that Kaemtjenenet is shown as the first man facing the tomb owner in the marshlands and is the only one who accompanies Pepyankh the middle and his wife in their boat during a fowling trip, even the couple’s own sons are shown on a sub-register, probably indicating that they followed them on land<sup>13</sup> [Figure 1]. Kaemtjenenet appears again as the first in a row of offering bearer immediately behind the tomb owner and his wife while seated at the offering table.<sup>14</sup> Closeness between the tomb owner and his artist may also be seen in the tomb of Tjeti at El-Hawawish, where another distinguished artist, the inspector of outline draftsmen, Khwenptah, accompanied the tomb owner in his fishing/ fowling trip in the marshes.<sup>15</sup> It appears also in the tombs of Tjeti-iqer and Kheni at El-Hawawish, where the two brothers, Seni and Isesi, who held the titles *zš ḳdwt* and *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ḥ* accompanied the tomb owners and their families in their spear fishing trips. The two men holding the title *zš pr-md3t* in the tomb of Inti at Deshasha are also depicted with him in his boating voyage. Such closeness may explain

<sup>8</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, vol. 1, London, 1902, pls. 3, 8; N. Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrâwi*, vol. 2: *The Southern Cliff*, Oxford, 2007, pls. 46, 50.

<sup>9</sup> N. Kanawati, A. McFarlane, *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, Warminster, 1993, pl. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 4, 15; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 75a, 83.

<sup>11</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 8, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79, 81.

<sup>12</sup> For other holders of the office, see Khwenptah and Seni of Akhmim (N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 3, Sydney, 1982, fig. 13; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 9, Sydney, 1989, p. 55, pl. 6 (b); C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, Paris, 1990, 164-66). The title in Seni’s case is recorded on the stele he made for his parents, and may well represent a promotion he received after he decorated the abovementioned tombs of Tjeti-iqer and Kheni, where he is described as *zS qdwt* (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8; *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18).

<sup>13</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 8, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 79, 81.

<sup>14</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 88.

<sup>15</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 13.

the artists' familiarity with the details of certain incidents recorded in the tombs they painted, including some which took place in the marshlands.

Pepyankh the middle of the Sixth Dynasty was almost certainly the first to excavate a tomb at Meir on the west bank, as the two earlier governors of El-Qusiya province were buried at Quseir el-Amarna on the east bank;<sup>16</sup> yet their tombs do not show special artistic merits that could have provided the inspiration for the artist of Pepyankh the middle's tomb at Meir. The decoration of the latter's chapel and burial chambers exhibits a high standard of art and a remarkable conformity in themes and details with the traditional funerary art of the period at the Memphite cemeteries.<sup>17</sup> At the same time the combination of Kaemtjenenet's titles clearly links him to art and to Memphis and the palace. It is therefore legitimate to try to trace the possible origin of Kaemtjenenet, who most probably decorated, or at least played a part in the decoration of the tomb.

Fortunately the name Kaemtjenenet is not a particularly infrequent one, which may help in tracing the background of our artist. A man with this name is first encountered in the scenes of the mastaba of Akhethotep (D64), to the west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara. There, he is shown as one of the offering bearers, carrying a bird in one hand and a lotus flower in the other and described as *z3.f hm-k3 K3(j)-m-tnnt* 'his son, the ka-servant, Kaemtjenenet'.<sup>18</sup> No other titles are given to him which, being presumably the tomb owner's son, may indicate his young age.<sup>19</sup> Standing behind him in the same row, separated by two other men, and holding exactly the same items is a man named Mehu, who bears no other designation. Could Mehu be the man who later became a vizier and built a mastaba in the Wenis cemetery, to the south of the Step Pyramid and in a close proximity to that of Akhethotep? The date of Akhethotep has been considered by a number of scholars, who generally place him from early to mid Wenis.<sup>20</sup> Mehu's date is more

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<sup>16</sup> A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh*, Sydney, 1989, passim.

<sup>17</sup> Also see: Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, London, 1987, p. 230.

<sup>18</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh*, vol. 2, London, 1901, pls. 4-5.

<sup>19</sup> A man with the same name appears on another wall bearing the title of *jmj-r sSr* 'overseer of linen', but not designated as 'his son' (Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 4, 10).

<sup>20</sup> See for example K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Chicago, 1960, p. 53, 287[13]; N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster, 1977, p. 152[7]; N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, London, 1985, p. 55-56 [2]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 272 (338).



disputed, with the most likely being the period between mid-Pepy I to Merenre.<sup>21</sup> The period from Wenis to Pepy I might not have been as long as we think, particularly if the *ḥ3t-zp* ‘the count’ was annual rather than biennial.<sup>22</sup> I am aware that this is a controversial problem, but a man who lived in the same period is the well-known Weni, who held a reasonably important position under Teti and was promoted to the office of overseer of Upper Egypt under Merenre,<sup>23</sup> then became vizier,<sup>24</sup> perhaps early under Pepy II. If Kaemtjenenet who appears in the mastaba of Akhethotep is our artist then he was perhaps trained by *Sšm-nfr* ‘Seshemnefer’, who held the elevated and highly unusual title of *shḏ zš(w) pr-md3t-ntr pr-3* ‘inspector of scribe of the house of sacred documents of the palace’/ ‘inspector of tomb painters of the palace’,<sup>25</sup> and who appears in Akhthotep chapel scenes.<sup>26</sup>

In tracing back the possible career of Kaemtjenenet in the capital we notice that a man with the same rather infrequent name<sup>27</sup> and the titles ‘lector priest, scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace/ tomb painters of the palace’ is represented, equally prominently and in similar events to those represented in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara. Thus he appears once in the tomb owner’s boat on a trip in marshlands,<sup>28</sup> and a number of times heading rows of offering bearers and presenting fowl or haunches of meat to the

<sup>21</sup> The tomb has been dated by Kanawati to the middle of Pepy II’s reign (Kanawati, *Administration*, p. 153[136]), then revised to the reign of Pepy I (N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, Warminster, 1980, p. 34). Strudwick suggested a date in the early to middle of Pepy I’s reign (Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 101-102 [69]), while Baer, based on the ranking of Mehu’s titles, placed him in the earlier part of Pepy II’s reign (Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 83, 290 [202]). However, on stylistic grounds Harpur thinks that the preferred date is mid-Pepy I to Merenre (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 40-41).

<sup>22</sup> N. Kanawati, “A New HAT/rnpt-zp for Teti and its Implication for Old Kingdom Chronology”, *GM* 177, 2000, p. 29-31.

<sup>23</sup> K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1933, p. 98ff.

<sup>24</sup> J. Richards, “Text and context in late Old Kingdom Egypt: The archaeology and historiography of Weni the elder”, *JARCE* 39, 2002, p. 92ff, fig. 15.

<sup>25</sup> D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, vol. 2, Oxford, 2000, p. 959 [354]. For another holder of the office see Khewenptah in the tomb of Neferseshemtah at Saqqara (A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, A. El-Khouli, *Saqqāra Tombs*, vol. 3, *The Mastaba of Neferseshemtah*, London, 2008, pl. 21).

<sup>26</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 24.

<sup>27</sup> It should be mentioned that a man named Kaiemtjenenet owns a mastaba (D 7) to the north of the Step Pyramid (A. E. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l’Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1889, p. 187-89). He is designated as king’s son, which should at least indicate that he was a descendant of the royal family. He also held high offices including that of overseer of all works of the king. His fragmentary biography mentions activities under king Djedkare and the vizier Reshepses (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, p. 180-86). If this man is also the owner of CG 1371 and 1456 then he has a son named Kauemtjenenet (L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1937, p. 33 [1371], 144-145 [1456]). Although the dating of all holders of this infrequent name does not suggest that they were one and the same person, it is noticed that they are recorded in tombs close to each other in distance and time, and some kind of relationship is possible.

<sup>28</sup> H. Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, Mainz, 1998, pl. 9.

tomb owner, and in one instance he is burning incense and in another reciting from a scroll as a lector priest.<sup>29</sup> Altenmüller has already noticed that Kaemtjenenet's name is formed with the *tnnt* sanctuary, which was probably connected to Ptah of Memphis. He also noticed the similarity of the name and titles of Kaemtjenenet in the tombs of Mehu at Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle at Meir, but rejected such identification because of the perceived time difference between the two tombs.<sup>30</sup> With the most probable dating of the tomb of Mehu appears now to be the period between mid-Pepy I to Merenre,<sup>31</sup> and that of Pepyankh the middle's to be the early part of that of Pepy II,<sup>32</sup> such identification is very plausible.<sup>33</sup>

### Survey of certain artistic details

The examination of the scenes depicted in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle shows strong influence by the slightly earlier magnificent tombs at Saqqara. The following are only a few examples.

In the fowling scene of Pepyankh the middle, he holds by the legs three decoy birds of the same species, presumably ducks or geese, all looking in the same direction and flapping their wings<sup>34</sup> [Figure 1]. This rare combination of features is found in the slightly earlier tombs of Mehu [Figure 2] and Merefnebef at Saqqara,<sup>35</sup> which may suggest some influence from Saqqara on Meir. It should also be mentioned that none of the other provincial tombs show similar details,<sup>36</sup> except perhaps the later tomb of Pepyankh the black of Meir.<sup>37</sup> In the spear-fishing

<sup>29</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 52, 56, 60, 63, 66, 69, 100.

<sup>30</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote n. 21.

<sup>32</sup> N. Kanawati, "Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of El-Qusiya Revised" in Z. Hawass, P. Der Manuelian, R. B. Hussein (ed.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, Cairo, 2010, p. 217; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, p. 24-26.

<sup>33</sup> An offering bearer in the offering chamber of Meryreankh, which occupies a room in Mehu's tomb, is described as 'the noble of the king, Heneni' (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pp. 68, 70-71, 229, 240, pl. 85; Jones, *Index* 2, p. 988 [3649]). Could he be a member of El-Qusiya noble family?

<sup>34</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81.

<sup>35</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-11; K. Myśliwiec et al., *Saqqara*, vol. 1, *The Tomb of Merefnebef*, Warsaw, 2004, pls. 21, 63-65. Somewhat similar arrangement is found in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, but the birds are of a different species 'kingfisher' (A. M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchkhnum und Chnuhotep*, Mainz am Rhein, 1977, pls. 74-75), and in the tombs of Metjetji and Meru/ Tetiseneb, where the three birds are of different species (P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, Berne, 1976, figs. 1-1a; A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, A. El-Khouli, *Saqqara Tombs*, vol. 2, *The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and Others*, London, 1990, pl. 16).

<sup>36</sup> For examples showing two decoy birds see: Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 8, 48b; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3-4; N. Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrâwi*, vol. 3, *The Southern Cliff*, Oxford, 2013, pls. 58, 70; M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, Mainz am Rhein, 1977, fig. 46, pl. 12; J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1894, p. 146, 159; B. L. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Ägypten*, Zurich,

scene, Pepyankh the middle's wife wears a lotus crown with three flowers,<sup>38</sup> a feature which is attested in a few Memphite marsh scenes, but it is interesting that the closest example is found in both spear-fishing and fowling scenes in Mehu's tomb, where the size of the lotus flowers of his wife is similar to those of Pepyankh the middle's wife<sup>39</sup> [Figures 3-4]. More significant however is the depiction of several spare spears placed horizontally above Pepyankh the middle's figure while he is spear-fishing [Figure 5]. This feature is unattested again in any Old Kingdom marshland scene except in the spear-fishing scene of Mehu at Saqqara<sup>40</sup> [Figure 6].

Two methods of portraying the thicket were generally used, either by painting the entire space of the thicket in greenish colour without the papyrus stems being defined, or by rendering the individual papyrus stems in relief and/ or painting.<sup>41</sup> Pepyankh the middle's artist used the former technique,<sup>42</sup> which is attested in some tombs in the Memphite cemeteries, mostly at Saqqara, and particularly in the Wenis and Teti cemeteries from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty and up to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>43</sup> Mehu, who constructed his tomb in the Wenis cemetery, but who is dated to the reign of Pepy I, was probably the last in Memphis to depict this type of thicket in his three marsh scenes of spear-fishing, fowling and pleasure cruise.<sup>44</sup>

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1985, fig. 134; E. Edel, *Die Felsengräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, Paderborn, 2008, pls. 14, 21, 56, 72. For examples showing one decoy bird see: N. Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa*, vol. 3, Sydney, 1995, pls. 42, 44-45; W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis*, London, 1908, pl. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88.

<sup>38</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80. The same feature could not be verified in the fowling scene due to the damage of this part of the scene.

<sup>39</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-13.

<sup>40</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 12-13.

<sup>41</sup> Junker and Vandier consider the depiction of defined stems as being a product of stylization (H. Junker, *Giza*, vol. 4, *Die Mastaba des KAjmanx (Kai-em-anch)*, Wien und Leipzig, 1940, p. 76; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 4, Paris, 1964, p. 733-34).

<sup>42</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 13, 20, 80-81. The earlier governor Khewenwekh of Quseir el-Amarna used the same technique (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pls. 1, 38).

<sup>43</sup> Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1a; N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 2, *The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)*, Oxford, 2003, pl. 37b; N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 3, *The Tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuptah*, Warminster, 1998, pls. 69, 76; N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 6, *The Tomb of Nikauisesi*, Warminster, 2000, pl. 50; N. Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 8, *The Tomb of Inumin*, Oxford, 2006, pls. 44, 46; H. F. Petrie, M. A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, London, 1952, pl. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9-13.

Two rows of birds, flying in alternate directions, are depicted above the thickets in the marsh scenes of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>45</sup> Similar examples are found at Saqqara from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the early part of the Sixth, with the number of rows varying from two to five. Thus, like Pepyankh the middle of Meir, the marsh scenes of Metjetji, Hesi and Seankhwiptah of Saqqara depict two rows of birds flying in opposite directions. On the other hand, the three rows of birds in the tomb of Pepyankh the black are similar only to those in the tomb of Merefnebef and to a lesser extent in that of Mehu.<sup>46</sup>

Two main types of papyrus boats are common in fishing and fowling trips, one with bindings only on its prow and stern,<sup>47</sup> while the other is bound the full length of the hull with smaller intervals on the prow and stern.<sup>48</sup> The latter type is much commoner and is attested at Saqqara from the reign of Niuserre to that of Pepy I,<sup>49</sup> and in the provinces from the late Fifth Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>50</sup> In this respect it is interesting to note that the artist of Pepyankh the middle did not copy the type of boat bound on the prow and stern as represented in the tomb of Mehu<sup>51</sup> and also in that of Khewenwekh at Quseir el-Amarna,<sup>52</sup> but depicted the commoner type with binding on the entire body of the boat. Probably this type represented an improvement and was accordingly used by Pepyankh the middle.

Some required objects for the trip are placed on the stern of the papyrus boats of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black, both in the spear-fishing and the fowling scenes.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81.

<sup>46</sup> It is noticed that in Mehu's fowling scene all the rows of birds above the thicket are flying in the same direction, with no alternation (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 10-11).

<sup>47</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

<sup>48</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88.

<sup>49</sup> A. Woods, *A Day in the Marshes: A Study of Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes in the Tombs of the Memphite Cemeteries*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2007, 348, table 109. For some examples see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pls. 74-75; Kaplony, *Methethi*, figs. 1-1a; Kanawati and Ader-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 69, 76; N. Kanawati, M. Ader-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 5, *The Tomb of Hesi*, Warminster, 1999, pls. 53-54; N. Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 9, *The Tomb of Remni*, Oxford, 2009, pls. 45-46; P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, vol. 1, Chicago, 1938, pls. 9-11, 15, 17-19; N. Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and his Family*, vol. 3:1, *The Tomb of Mereruka*, Oxford, 2010, pls. 67, 69; L. Épron, F. Daumas, H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti*, vol. 2, Cairo, 1953, pls. 46, 119.

<sup>50</sup> See for example Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 48; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 4, Sydney, 1983, figs. 12-13; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. 6, Sydney, 1986, fig. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 9, 10-13.

<sup>52</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

<sup>53</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 7, 17; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 80-81; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 84, 88.

These included some of the following: a linen bag, a looped mat, a seat and a fly whisk. This is a Memphite tradition which is attested from the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty to the reign of Pepy I, with most of the known examples found at Saqqara. For instance, the looped folded mat depicted on Pepyankh the middle's boat in the spear fishing and fowling trips is encountered earlier in a few Memphite tombs, such as those of Hesi and Mehu at Saqqara.<sup>54</sup> However, a few examples of this feature appear also in the provinces; thus beside the cases at Meir, Shepsipumin/Kheni of Akhmim<sup>55</sup> and Sabni I of Aswan<sup>56</sup> represented it in their marsh scenes. Moreover, Pepyankh the middle is the only one in the provinces who represented a fly whisk on his boat,<sup>57</sup> an object which rarely appears even in the capital, but is represented in the cases of Hesi and Inumin.<sup>58</sup>

The incident of a hippopotamus attacking a crocodile is an infrequently depicted motif in the Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>59</sup> The earliest known attestation of such behavior is represented in the tomb of Tjy, dated to Niuserre- Djedkare.<sup>60</sup> The same feature continued to appear until the reign of Pepy I in the Memphite cemeteries, mostly at Saqqara, and the motif seems to be rather popular in the tombs of Teti's viziers. Thus it is documented in the tombs of Kagemni/ Memi,<sup>61</sup> Mereruka/ Meri,<sup>62</sup> Inumin,<sup>63</sup> and Khentika/ Ikhekhi,<sup>64</sup> but also in that of Mehu in the Wenis cemetery,<sup>65</sup> with some variations in the postures of the hippopotami and the crocodiles. The infrequency of the depiction of this theme may suggest that we should not explain it as representing a standard, stereotyped fight which regularly occurred between the two aquatic animals, but perhaps as highly unusual incidents which certain tomb owners, perhaps with their artists, have experienced during one of the trips to the marshlands and wished to commemorate.

<sup>54</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 53-54; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 11, 13.

<sup>55</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18. The stern of the boat of Tjeti-iqer, Shepsipumin's father, is partly damaged, but enough remains to suggest that this detail was probably missing in his case (Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8).

<sup>56</sup> Sabni I depicted only a mat on the stern of his fowling boat (de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 146; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa*, pl. 14)

<sup>57</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81.

<sup>58</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 54; Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 44.

<sup>59</sup> L. Evans, *Animal Behavior in Egyptian Art: Representations of the Natural World in Memphite Tomb Scenes*, Oxford, 2010, p. 144-45.

<sup>60</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti*, pl. 119.

<sup>61</sup> Three variations on this theme are depicted in the tomb of Kagemni/ Memi, but a similar incident to that of Pepyankh the middle is represented in a scene of fishing, on the east wall of room 4, see Y. Harpur, P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Kagemni: Scene Details*, Oxford, 2006, 499 [16].

<sup>62</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 19; Kanawati et al., *Mereruka* 3:1, pls. 69-70.

<sup>63</sup> Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery* 8, pl. 44.

<sup>64</sup> T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, London, 1953, pl. 15.

<sup>65</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 13.

A frog is shown perching on the water weeds beneath the stern of the papyrus boat in the spear fishing scene of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>66</sup> This motif, which does not appear in any other spear fishing or fowling scene at El-Qusiya, is found in a number of marsh scenes in the Memphite tombs, mostly at Saqqara, dated to the period between the reigns of Niuserre and Pepy I, with the latest example being that of Mehu.<sup>67</sup> This motif is very rare in provincial marsh scenes, with the only example known to me found in the tomb of Hesimin (Djedkare- early Wenis) of Akhmim.<sup>68</sup>

Unlike the dragnet scenes in other Old Kingdom tombs,<sup>69</sup> that in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle shows the haulers on both sides of the net in identical postures as if they were mirror images.<sup>70</sup> Such unusual symmetrical arrangements distinguish the dragnet scene of Pepyankh the middle, which almost certainly influenced the representation of this theme in the tombs of his son and grandson, Niankhpepy the black<sup>71</sup> and Pepyankh the black.<sup>72</sup>

A bird trapping scene is portrayed in three registers on the east wall of Pepyankh the middle's chapel. While two registers illustrate successive movements of the same hunt,<sup>73</sup> they are separated by a third register, where activities that usually follow the hunt are portrayed. Here we see men presenting live fowl to the tomb owner, while others are plucking and roasting some birds, presumably in preparation for a meal on the trip. Such separation of the same activity is highly uncommon and the closest to it is found in the tomb of Neferseshemptah/ Sheshi (Teti)<sup>74</sup> of Saqqara. The composition of the clap net scene in association with the dragnet as created by the artist of Pepyankh the middle is not found in any other Old Kingdom tomb, although it was

<sup>66</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80.

<sup>67</sup> This feature appears only in the pleasure cruise scene of Mehu, see Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, figs. 12-13. In the spear-fishing scene of Djau/ Shemai of Deir el-Gebrawi, a frog is shown perching on the water line below the papyrus boat (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3-4; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 69), which is a rare Memphite feature, found in three tombs, all dated to the Sixth Dynasty. Thus it is found in the tombs of Kagemni/ Memi and Mereri of Saqqara (Harpur and Scremin, *Kagemni*, 491[3], 494 [8]; W. V. Davies et al., *Saqqâra Tombs*, vol. 1, *The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*, London, 1984, pl. 5), and Snefruinishtef of Dahshur (J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, vol. 2, Vienne, 1903, pl. 24).

<sup>69</sup> For a full record of the dragnet scenes of the Old Kingdom period see:

[http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oeo\\_ahrc\\_2006/queryThemes](http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oeo_ahrc_2006/queryThemes)

<sup>70</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79.

<sup>71</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 13.

<sup>72</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90.

<sup>73</sup> The surroundings are similar in the two stages of the hunt, including the presence of the reed screen and the two herons. Probably the same number of men is shown in both registers.

<sup>74</sup> Lloyd, Spencer and El-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pls. 15-16.

almost copied in the tomb of his own son Niankhpepy the black.<sup>75</sup> However, the lying back posture with overlapped bodies existed in a number of Saqqara tombs, as for example those of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,<sup>76</sup> Pehenuika,<sup>77</sup> Tjy,<sup>78</sup> Metjetji,<sup>79</sup> Ankhmahor/ Sesi<sup>80</sup> and Mehu,<sup>81</sup> with the closest similarity seen in that of Neferseshemtah/ Sheshi.<sup>82</sup> The screen of vegetation behind which the signalman hides in the scene of Pepyankh the middle appears to be formed of reeds with closed blossoms. The only other Old Kingdom tomb in which a screen of a similar shape is found is that of Ankhmahor/ Sesi of Saqqara.<sup>83</sup>

The first falling hauler in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle appears to be lifting himself up while looking back towards his outstretched companions, a detail which is found again only in the tomb of Tjy<sup>84</sup> [Figures 7-8], which may hint at some influence from the remarkable chapel of Tjy. The two crouching men facing each other and roasting geese while a third man hangs plucked birds and cuts of meat under a light wooden structure presumably represent an innovation by the artist of Pepyankh the middle, which was later copied by that of Niankhpepy the black. No similar composition is attested in other Old Kingdom netting scenes. Outside the wooden structure two men are represented back to back, with their legs stretched out. Holding a goose by the wings, its head grasped between his two feet, the man to the right is plucking the bird's feathers<sup>85</sup> [Figure 9]. This very rare detail first appeared in the tomb of Tjy at Saqqara<sup>86</sup> [Figure 10], with some rather similar postures found in the tombs of Neferseshemtah/ Sheshi

<sup>75</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 13. A recent recording of the tomb scenes has been done by the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>76</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 12; Y. Harpur, P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep: Scene Details*, Oxford, 2010, 626 [73].

<sup>77</sup> C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* II, Genève, 1972, pl. 46.

<sup>78</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>79</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue des Stèles*, p. 128, 144, 150- 151.

<sup>80</sup> A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of and the Tomb of 'Ankhmahor at Saqqara*, Berkeley, 1978, fig. 33, pls. 40- 43; Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 42.

<sup>81</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 7.

<sup>82</sup> Lloyd, Spencer and El-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pls. 15-16.

<sup>83</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, fig. 33, pls. 40- 43; N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 2, *The Tomb of Ankhmahor*, Warminster, 1997, pl. 42.

<sup>84</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

<sup>85</sup> One man is shown plucking the bird's feathers in the scene of Pepyankh the middle, while this action is represented twice in the scene of Niankhpepy the black, see (Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 13). This detail is clearer in the recent recording of the scenes of Niankhpepy the black's tomb, which has been done by the Australian Centre for Egyptology.

<sup>86</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122.

and Seshemnefer/ Ifi, also at Saqqara.<sup>87</sup> A careful examination of the composition and details of the scenes in these tombs leaves little doubt that the artist at Meir was inspired by, if not copying, the scene in the tomb of Tjy.<sup>88</sup> In both cases the men are naked, sitting back to back;<sup>89</sup> the position of the birds is similar above the men in both scenes are bird cages and some items of food and drink as well as equipment.

Five ploughing teams are shown in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>90</sup> The only similar number of teams is found in the tomb of Mereruka,<sup>91</sup> with Tjy depicting three teams in his scene.<sup>92</sup> It is interesting that only Djau of Deir el-Gebrawi is known to represent six teams.<sup>93</sup> Was he competing with his neighbor at Meir? Unlike the majority of ploughing scenes where oxen are pulling the plough,<sup>94</sup> cows are performing this task in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle. A limited number of similar examples are found at Saqqara, as in the tombs of Tjy,<sup>95</sup> Sekhentiu and Neferseshemtah,<sup>96</sup> Mereruka<sup>97</sup> and Mehu.<sup>98</sup> This feature appears also in the tomb of Werirni (Djedkare-Wenis) of Shiekh Said,<sup>99</sup> which is the only provincial example prior to that of Pepyankh the middle. It is logical that using cows instead of oxen in the ploughing was a reality and not simply an artistic trend; however the reason for using cows is uncertain.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, a cow is represented in a very rare posture behind the first ploughing team in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle<sup>101</sup> where it turns its head back to scratch its muzzle with the hoof of its raised hind leg.<sup>102</sup> This is the only example of a cow shown in such a posture. Earlier at Saqqara, oxen are represented performing a similar behaviour in three tombs, all dated to the latter part of

<sup>87</sup> Lloyd, Spencer and El-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs* 3, pl. 15; A. Barsanti, “Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900). I. Le mastaba de Samnofir”, *ASAE* 1, 1900, p. 155, fig. 9.

<sup>88</sup> Compare (Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79) with (Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122).

<sup>89</sup> Unlike the case in Pepyankh the middle's tomb, the two men in the tomb of Tjy are separated by the thin wooden stand of the light wooden structure.

<sup>90</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>91</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-170; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka and his Family*, vol. 3: 2, *The Tomb of Mereruka*, Oxford, 2011, pl. 82.

<sup>92</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 112.

<sup>93</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 60.

<sup>94</sup> See J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 6, p. 29.

<sup>95</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 112.

<sup>96</sup> A. Moussa and F. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, Mainz am Rhein, 1975, pl. 4 [b].

<sup>97</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka* 3: 2, pl. 81-82.

<sup>98</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 41.

<sup>99</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London, 1901, pl. 16.

<sup>100</sup> Vandier mentioned that the oxen used for ploughing were possibly castrated (Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 29).

<sup>101</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>102</sup> Evans, *Animal Behaviour*, p. 76-77.



the Fifth Dynasty, those of Netjerweser (late Niuserre-Menkauhor),<sup>103</sup> Reshepses (mid Djedkare),<sup>104</sup> Iynefert:shanefer (Wenis).<sup>105</sup> The ploughmen of Pepyankh the middle are represented with the legs spread apart and both are bent at the knee. The closest to this posture may be seen in the tombs of Sekhentiu and Neferseshemtah<sup>106</sup> and Mehu<sup>107</sup> of Saqqara, and Ibi of Deir el-Gebrawi,<sup>108</sup> who was presumably a contemporary of Pepyankh the middle.

The men picking with their fingers the unwanted stems out of bundles of flax in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and Pepyankh the black are the only provincial examples of this detail.<sup>109</sup> A small number of similar depictions are found in the Memphite cemeteries, particularly at Saqqara,<sup>110</sup> which may have been the source for Meir. Quails appear in the flax and grain harvest scenes of Pepyankh the middle.<sup>111</sup> The earliest known example of this detail is found in the tomb of Sekhemkai<sup>112</sup> (Wenis-Teti) of Giza, where quails are shown close to the harvesters' feet picking the fallen seeds. The same detail is seen again in the tombs of Mereruka,<sup>113</sup> Hesi<sup>114</sup> and Mehu<sup>115</sup> at Saqqara.

The donkeys transporting the harvested grain from the field to the threshing floor in Pepyankh the middle's tomb are loaded with hexagonal sacks, which are taller than wide and have sharp angles,<sup>116</sup> a shape that doesn't appear in other Old Kingdom agriculture scenes, although the scenes in some Saqqara tombs show certain similarities.<sup>117</sup> It is interesting that the artist of Pepyankh the middle was accurate and observant in painting the black stripes on the legs

<sup>103</sup> M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, vol. 1, London, 1905, pl. 22.

<sup>104</sup> C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Ergänzungsband. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. 39 [a].

<sup>105</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 44.

<sup>106</sup> Moussa and Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 4 [b].

<sup>107</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 41.

<sup>108</sup> Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 73.

<sup>109</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 22; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84; Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 83.

<sup>110</sup> See for example Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, pl. 56; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 151; Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 170; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka* 3: 2, pl. 81; but rarely at Giza (H. Junker, *Giza*, vol. 6, *Die Mastabas der Nefer, Kefi, Kahjef und die westlich anschliessenden Gräbanlagen*, Wien und Leipzig, 1943, fig. 43).

<sup>111</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>112</sup> W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, Part 1, *Sekhemka, Tjetu I, Iasen, Penmeru, Hagy, Nefertjentet and Herunefer, Djaty, Tjetu II and Nemesti*, Giza Mastabas vol. 4, Boston, 1980, fig. 4.

<sup>113</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka* 3: 2, pl. 82.

<sup>114</sup> Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 52.

<sup>115</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 23[a].

<sup>116</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 128.

<sup>117</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 47; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 11; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 7; W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-an-kh-ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston, 1976, pl. D.

of the donkeys transporting the crop to the threshing floor.<sup>118</sup> These stripes represent very specific characteristic features of certain subspecies of the African wild ass, the Somali wild ass (*Equus africanus somaliensis*), an animal which is stronger than the domestic asses and can travel for long distances and survive on little water and reduced food. It is known from North Africa, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia, but with uncertain presence in Egypt and Sudan. This extremely rare species is not attested in other scenes, presumably due to its rarity, and is not depicted even in the neighboring tombs at Meir. Its use here may be connected with Pepyankh the middle's office as "overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces", and perhaps the need for stronger species for the efficient transportation of crops and other objects within the unusually large area under his jurisdiction.

Representing the details of the bundles of sheaves forming the stack in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle<sup>119</sup> is another Memphite feature attested in a limited number of tombs, mostly at Saqqara and dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>120</sup> A few examples of this detail may be seen in the tombs of Akhethotep,<sup>121</sup> Tjy,<sup>122</sup> Neferiretenef,<sup>123</sup> Sekhentiu and Neferseshemptah,<sup>124</sup> and continued in the Sixth Dynasty as may be seen in the tombs of Mereruka<sup>125</sup> and Mehu.<sup>126</sup> Werirni (Djedkare-Wenis) of Sheikh Said was the first provincial noble to include this detail in his tomb<sup>127</sup> which, with the example in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, remain the only two cases known from Upper Egypt.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 14, 22 [2]; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>119</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84.

<sup>120</sup> This detail is also found on a fragment from Abusir (Cairo No. 60072) (W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptische Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1923, p. 400), dated to the Fifth Dynasty (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 351).

<sup>121</sup> C. Ziegler, *Le Mastaba d'Akhetetep. Une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1993, p. 137.

<sup>122</sup> Épron, Daumas, Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 154.

<sup>123</sup> B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferiretenef*, Bruxelles, 1978, pl. 12.

<sup>124</sup> Moussa, Junge, *Two Tombs*, pl. 5.

<sup>125</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 170.

<sup>126</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 24 [b].

<sup>127</sup> Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 16.

<sup>128</sup> It is possible that there were more Memphite as well as provincial examples of such internal details, but probably the colours have faded or no longer preserved (R. Siebels, *Agriculture in Old Kingdom Tomb Decoration: An Analysis of Scenes and Inscriptions*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2000, p. 296 (n.21). Compare Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 170 with the more recent recording where the details seem to have disappeared (Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka* 3: 2, pls. 24-25 (b), 28 (b), 81).

The threshing floor in the scene of Pepyankh the middle is represented with rounded corners rather than the usual narrow rectangular form.<sup>129</sup> A similar example of a circular threshing floor<sup>130</sup> is found in the tomb of Hetepherakhti (Niuserre or later) at Saqqara.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps this shape explains the drover's shout at the donkeys in the scene of Pepyankh the middle, where he says *iri ḥ3.k im.sn* 'make them [go] around you'.<sup>132</sup> The same shout is recorded in threshing scenes at Saqqara,<sup>133</sup> such as those of Tjy,<sup>134</sup> Kaiemnofert,<sup>135</sup> Mereruka<sup>136</sup> and Mehu.<sup>137</sup>

## Analysis and Results

The examination of the wall scenes in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle shows that the Memphite tombs, particularly those dated to the period from the mid Fifth Dynasty to the end of Pepy I's reign, were the main source of inspiration for the artist Kaemtjenenet, who was probably trained and employed in the capital. Memphite artistic styles, some of which are infrequent, are adopted at Meir. The papyrus thicket with no papyrus stems indicated and the representation of two rows of birds flying in opposite direction above the thicket as shown in our tomb at Meir are found in some tombs in the Teti and Wenis cemeteries. Similarly, the infrequent depiction of a hippopotamus attacking a crocodile, already known in the Fifth Dynasty, became popular in the tombs of Teti's viziers. The portrayal in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle of a frog perching on the vegetation beneath the papyrus boat is also mostly found at Saqqara, with the example in the tomb Mehu being the last known from the capital. It is worth noting that although Kaemtjenenet was probably responsible for the decoration of the tombs of both Mehu and Pepyankh the middle, he did not blindly copy Mehu's boat type in Pepyankh the

<sup>129</sup> See for instance: Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 16; Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168-69; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka* 3: 2, pls. 81-82.

<sup>130</sup> Montet suggests that the threshing floor was probably surrounded by a low clay wall (P. Montet, *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire*, Strasbourg, Paris and Oxford, 1924, p. 165). Also see: Siebels, *Agriculture*, p. 316-19; E. Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 100. This feature is indicated as a projected up-stand at each end of the rectangular floor. For examples see van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 47.

<sup>131</sup> H. T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti: Study on an Egyptian Tomb Chapel in the Museum of Antiquities Leiden*, Leiden, 1943, fig. 51.

<sup>132</sup> Montet, *Vie privée*, p. 218-20; Siebels, *Agriculture*, p. 336 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Siebels, *Agriculture*, p. 336-37. For an example at Giza see Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 46.

<sup>134</sup> Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 155.

<sup>135</sup> W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston, 1992, pl. F.

<sup>136</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pl. 169; Kanawati, et al., *Mereruka* 3: 2, pl. 82.

<sup>137</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 24 [b].

middle's tomb. In the former the boat is only bound on its prow and stern, while in the latter the commoner type bound on the full length of the hull is depicted.

The representation of the successive movement in different registers, as in the closure of the clap net of Pepyankh the middle, is found, although infrequently, at Giza and Saqqara from the early Fifth Dynasty, while the lying back posture of the haulers with overlapped bodies is attested in many tombs at Saqqara. Memphite influence appears also in Kaemtjenenet's representation in the harvest scene of a man picking the unwanted stems out of a bundle of flax, quails picking fallen seeds, and the details of the sheaves in the temporary stack of grain. In his portrayal of five ploughing teams, it seems possible that he was also inspired by the scene in Mereruka's chapel.

Kaemtjenenet appears to have been influenced by certain Memphite tombs which exhibit rare artistic motifs and demonstrate innovation, including the tomb of Mehu. The depiction of several spare spears placed horizontally above (i.e. probably beside) the tomb owner is only attested in the marsh scenes of Mehu of Saqqara and Pepyankh the middle of Meir. Although women wearing lotus crowns are attested in a few Memphite marsh scenes, the similarity of the crowns worn by the wives of Mehu and Pepyankh the middle is striking. Similarly, the representation in fowling scene of the tomb owner holding three decoy birds of the same species, all looking in the same direction and flapping their wings is only found in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and of Mehu and Merefnebef of Saqqara. As found in some Memphite tombs Pepyankh the middle represented on his boat objects required for the marsh trip, but is the only one in Upper Egypt to include a fly whisk, an item also attested in the tombs of Hesi and Inumin at Teti cemetery. A close examination of the composition and details of the bird trapping scenes in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle and Tjy leaves little doubt that the artist of the tomb at Meir, if not copying, was inspired by specific features from that of Tjy at Saqqara. Similarities may be seen in the very rare detail of two naked men seated back to back, one plucking a bird's feathers and the other wringing a bird's neck. While Pepyankh the middle depicts the only known example of a cow scratching its muzzle with its hoof, the same movement appears earlier, although by oxen, in a very few Fifth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara. The circular threshing floor shown in the scene at Meir is found again in the earlier tomb of Hetepherakhti at Saqqara.

Although the artist of the tomb of Pepyankh the middle appears to have been inspired by some remarkable Memphite tombs, he was at the same time innovative, introducing new artistic arrangements unattested elsewhere. The layout of the marsh activities watched by Pepyankh the middle on the east wall was unique to this tomb, although it was clearly copied in the tomb of his son, Niankhpepy the black. Equally, the mirror image of the two groups of haulers in the dragnet scene seems to be the creation of Kaemtjenenet. The accuracy and observance of this artist may demonstrably be seen in his rendering of the black strips on the legs the African wild ass, a rare species that is not shown in other Egyptian tombs.

## Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to examine whether the artist of Pepyankh the middle's tomb copied the scenes from other tombs or was innovative. An attempt has been made to identify the artist responsible for the decoration of the tomb at Meir, then to trace his possible earlier career. Kaemtjenenet, who is prominently represented in Pepyankh the middle's tomb, held the title *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-ꜥ3* which now appears to be linked to tomb decoration, and is clearly associated with Memphis and the palace. The translation of this title should perhaps be reconsidered particularly in view of its being held by a number of men in different provinces. Perhaps rather than the common translation of 'scribe of the house of sacred records of the palace', the title should be understood as 'painter of the house of sacred records (i.e. the tomb) of (i.e. belonging/ attached to) the palace'.

The rather infrequent name of Kaemtjenenet may indicate his Memphite origin, being formed with the *tnnt* sanctuary which was probably connected to Ptah of Memphis.<sup>138</sup> One wonders if he may also be identified with the similarly-named son of Akhethotep, the vizier of Wenis, in which case Kaemtjenenet may have been trained by Akhethotep's very distinguished artist, Seshemnefer, who held the elevated and highly unusual title of *shꜥd zš(w) pr-md3t-ntr pr-ꜥ3*. The fact that the artists in the tombs of Pepyankh the middle of Meir and Mehu of Saqqara bear the same rather infrequent name and title and their equally prominent representation at similar occasions in both tombs, together with the closeness of the two tombs in time, may suggest that the artist of both tombs is one and the same person. It is not unusual for the son of a vizier to

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<sup>138</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 57.

follow an artistic career; in fact Pepyankh the middle himself combines the titles *zš md3t-ntr* with that of *zš kdw* 'outline draftsman'.<sup>139</sup> It may be conjectured that as the possible son of Akhethotep, Kaemtjenenet was a young man under Wenis when he started his artistic training under the distinguished artist Seshemnefer and probably worked at the royal workshops. Later, as a *zš pr-md3t-ntr pr-3*, he was responsible for the decoration of the tombs of important officials, first that of Mehu of Saqqara (mid-Pepy I to Merenre), then that of Pepyankh the middle of Meir (early Pepy II).

A detailed examination of the scenes in Pepyankh the middle's chapel leaves little doubt about the Memphite background of his artist Kaemtjenenet. Strong artistic similarities, even in certain rare features, are discerned, particularly with some Saqqara tombs dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty and the earlier part of the Sixth, such as those of Tjy, Metjetji, Ankhmahor, Mereruka, and others. However, the greatest similarities seem to be with the tomb of Mehu, which was probably decorated by the same artist of Pepyankh the middle. Yet it must be emphasised that although some influence by the great Memphite tombs and by his own earlier work in the capital may be detected in Kaemtjenenet's decoration of Pepyankh the middle's tomb, he was not a slavish copier, and in many respects was innovative, introducing some new artistic motifs and compositions that mark his own fingerprint at Meir, and which were later adopted by artists in other provinces.

Miral Lashien

Macquarie University

miral.lashien@mq.edu.au

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<sup>139</sup> Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 75a.

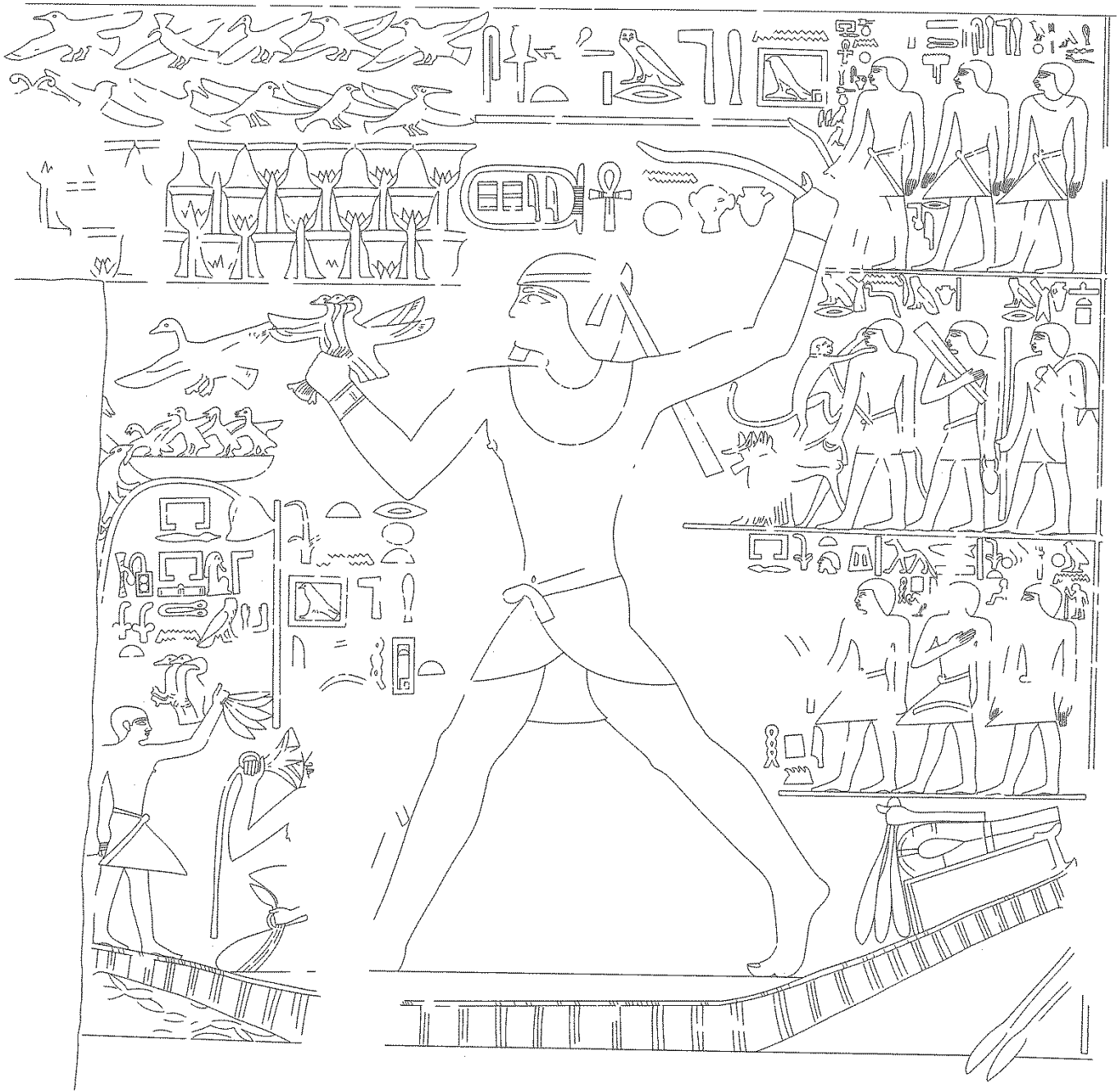


Figure 1: The artist Kaemtjenenet in the fowling trip of Pepyankh the middle, Meir

(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology)



Figure 2: Decoy Birds in the tomb of Mehu, Saqqara

(Photo by Author)



Figure 3: Wife of Pepyankh the middle, Meir

(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology)



Figure 4: Wife of Mehu, Saqqara

(Photo by Author)





Figure 5: Spare spears placed horizontally in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, Meir  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology)



Figure 6: Spare spears placed horizontally in the tomb of Mehu, Saqqara  
(Photo by Author)

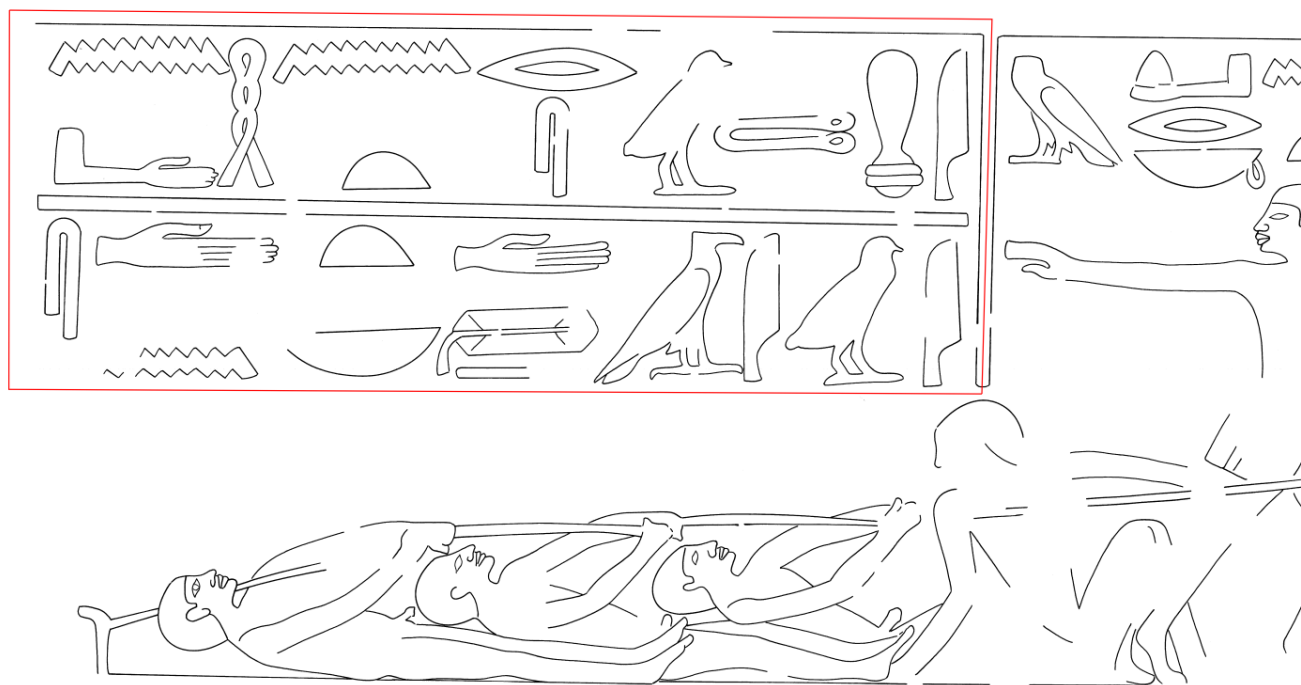


Figure 7: Haulers in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, Meir

(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology)

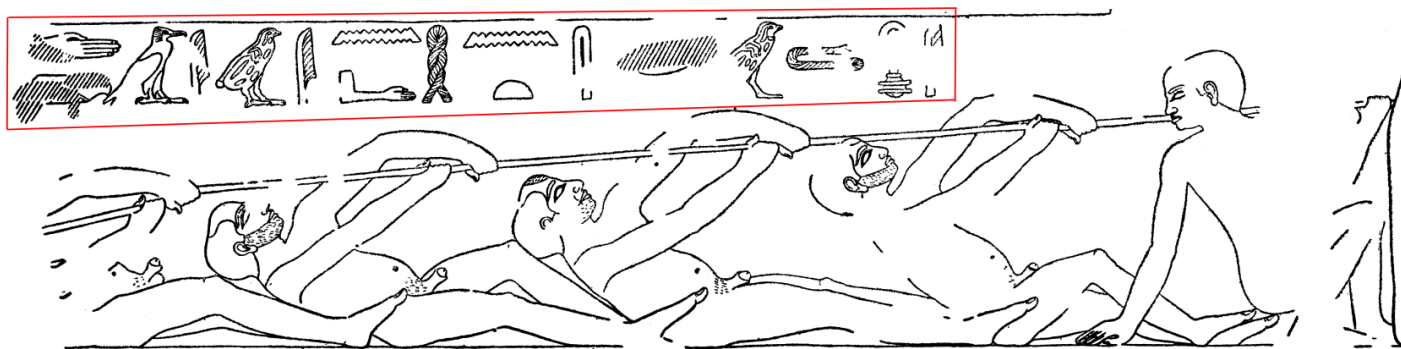


Figure 8: Haulers in the tomb of Tjy, Saqqara

(Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti 2*, pl. 122)

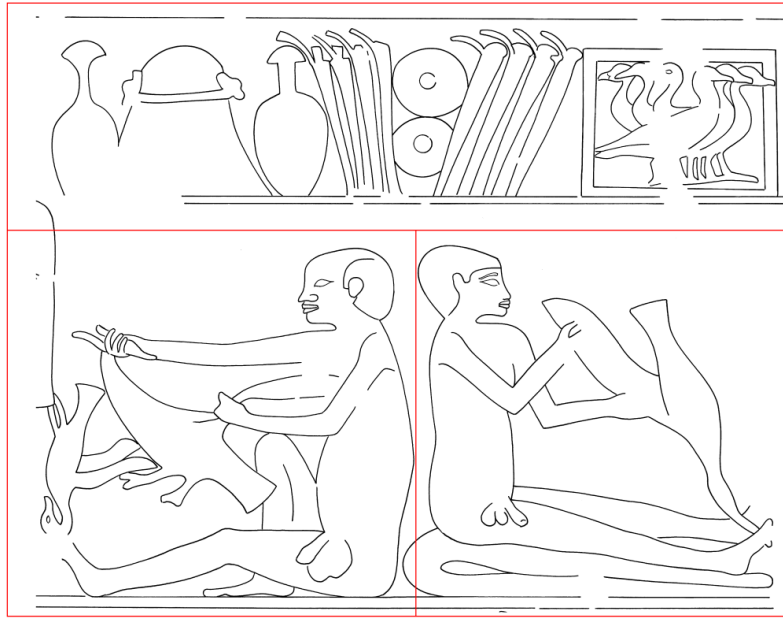


Figure 9: Food Preparation in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle, Meir

(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology)

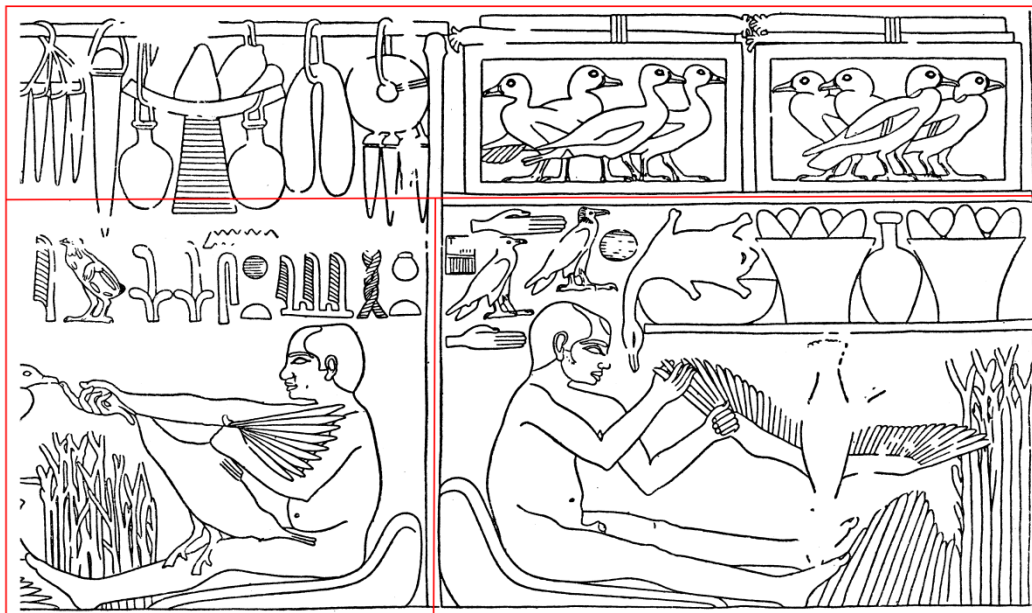


Figure 10: Food Preparation in the tomb of Tjy, Saqqara

(Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122)



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


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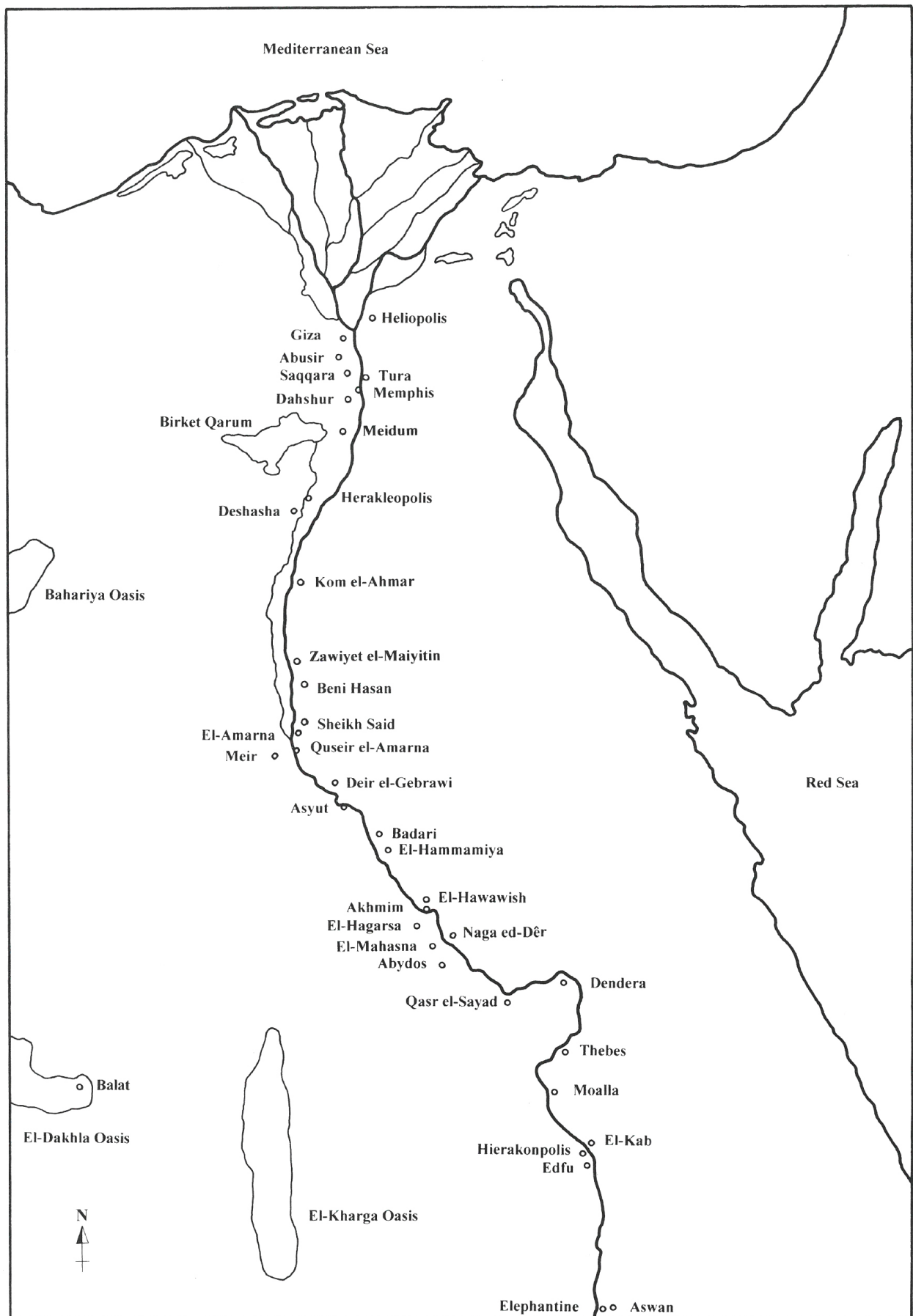
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# Maps

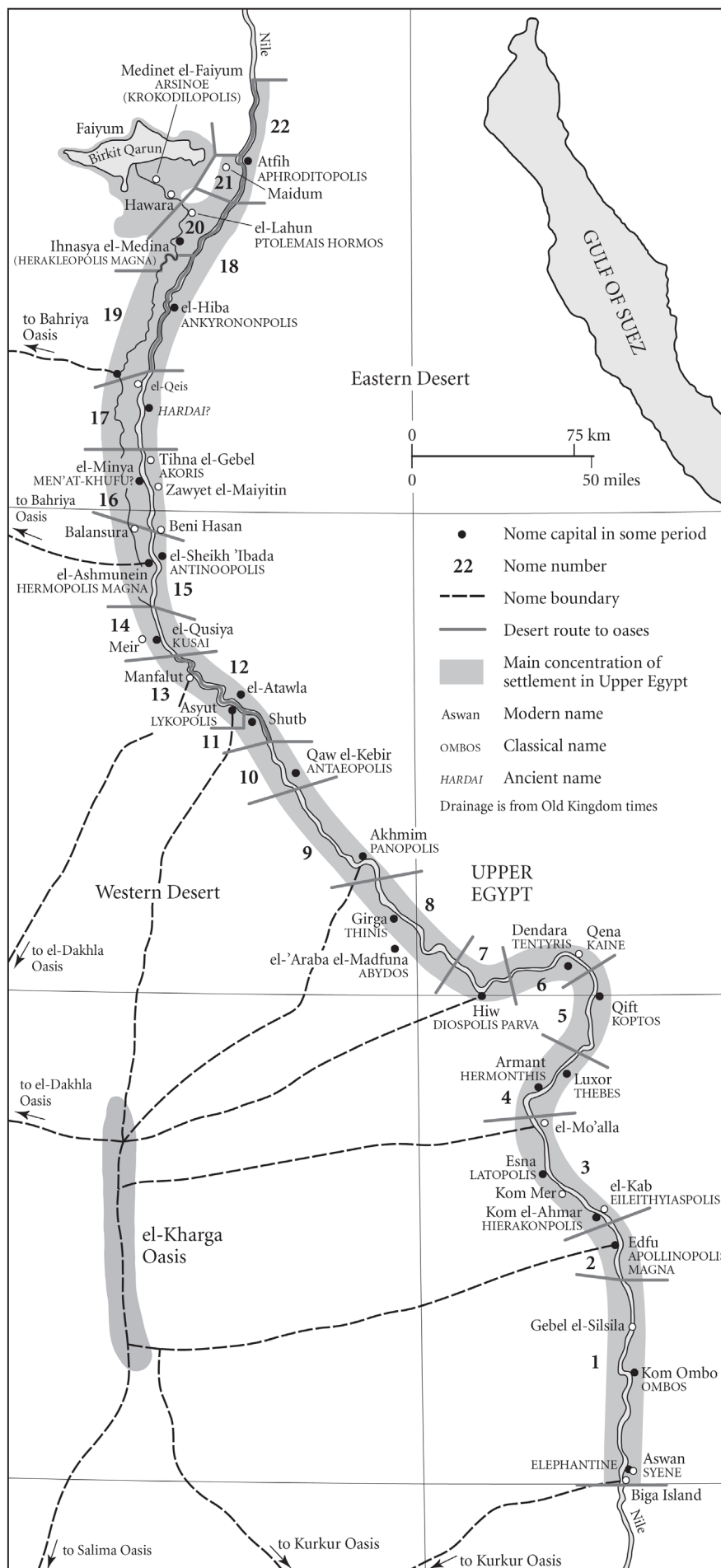
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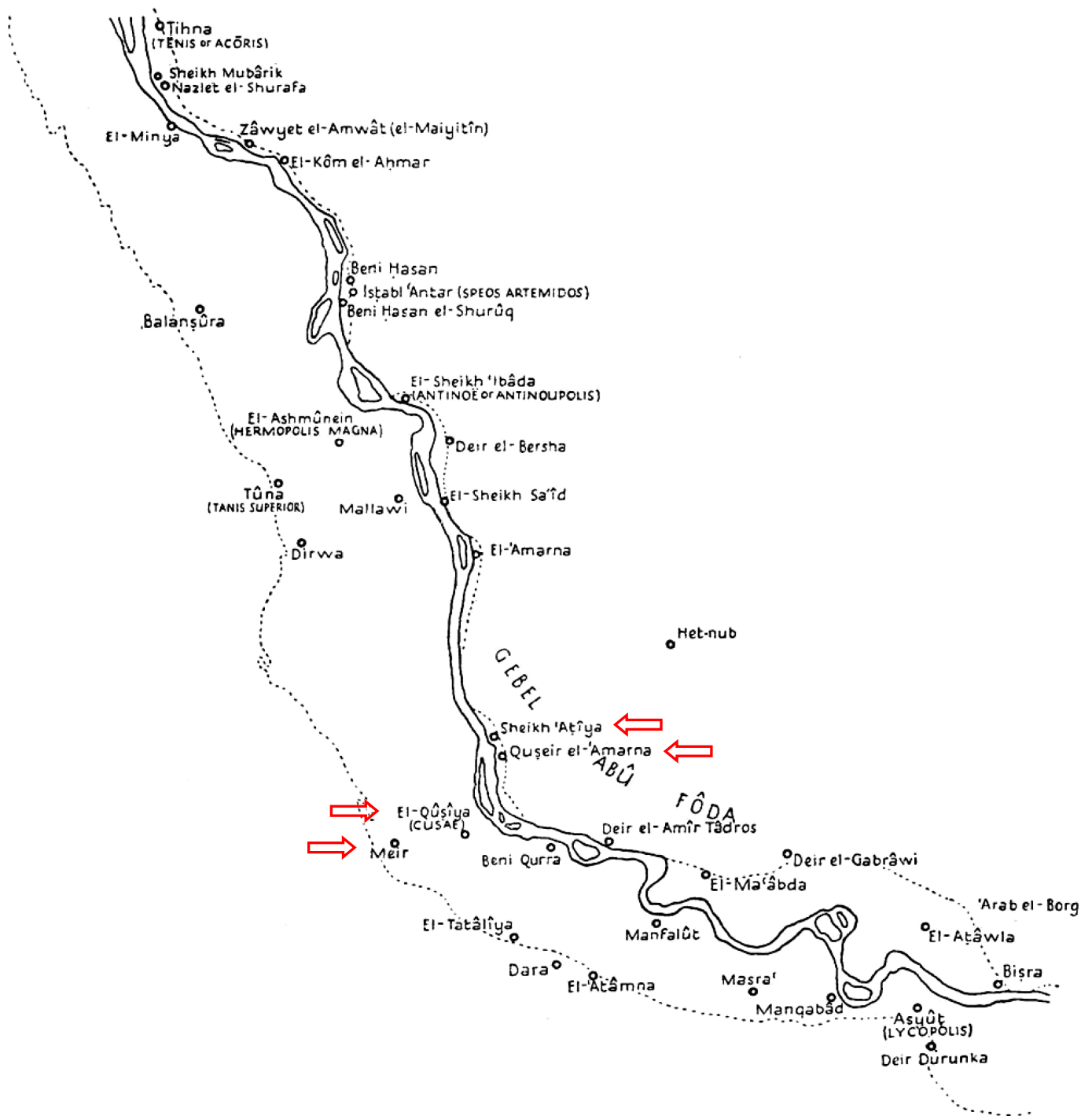




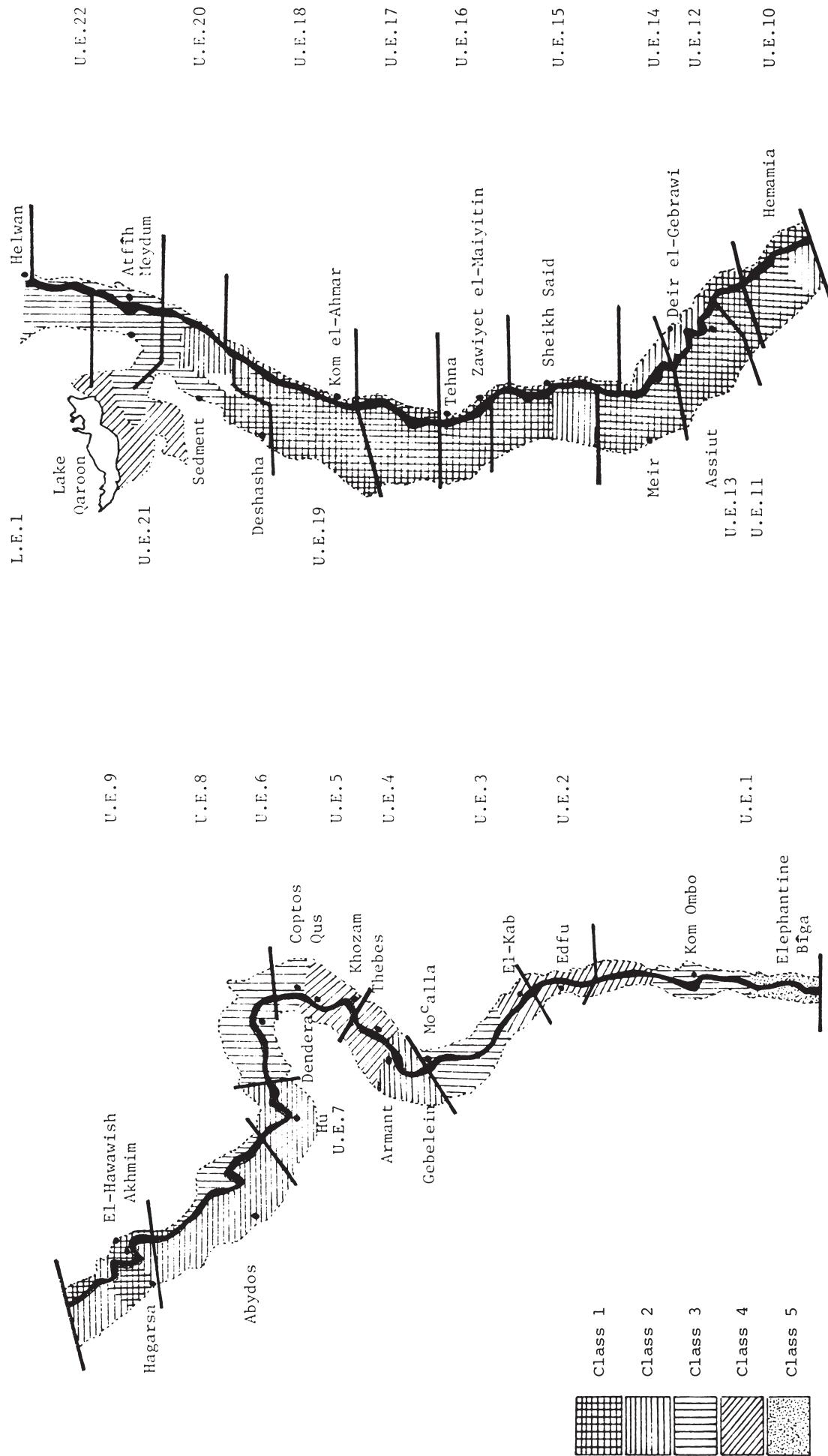
Map 1: General map of Egypt.  
(Kanawati and Woods, *Artists*, 42).



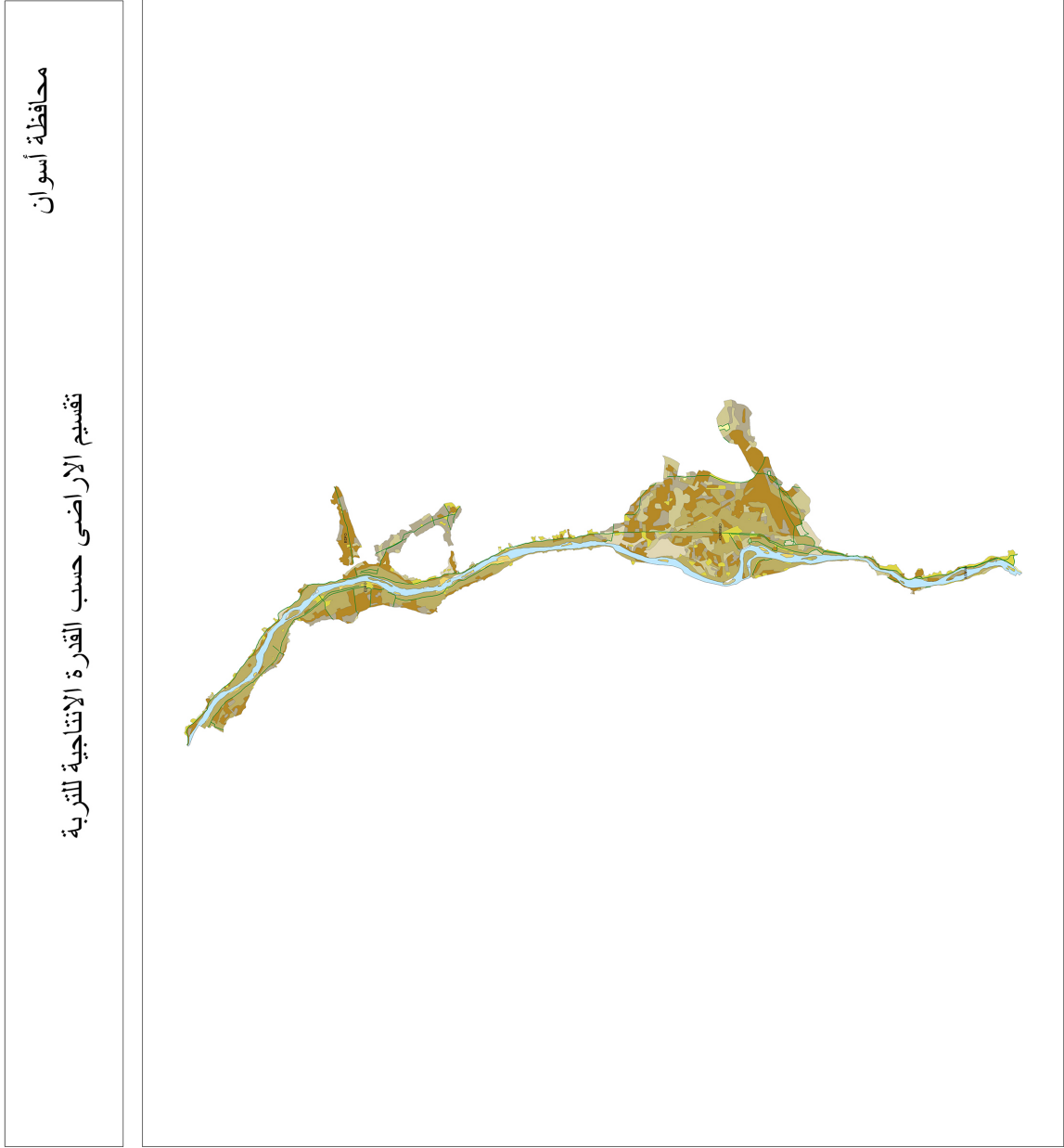
Map 2: Nomes of Upper Egypt.  
(Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 14).



Map 3: El-Qusiya.  
(Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 4, map 5).



Map 4: Classes of Land Productivity in the nomes of Upper Egypt.  
(Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, figs. 1-2).



Class 1: Highest fertility

Class 8: Poorest fertility

Map 5: Land Productivity, Aswan Governorate.  
(Courtesy of Agriculture Research Centre, Egypt).



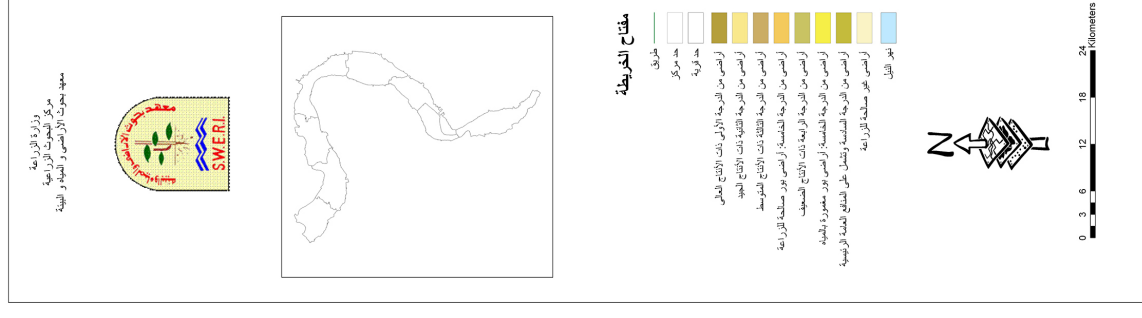
## محافضة قنا

تقسيم الاراضى حسب القدرة الانتاجية للتربة



### Class 1: Highest fertility

### Class 8: Poorest fertility

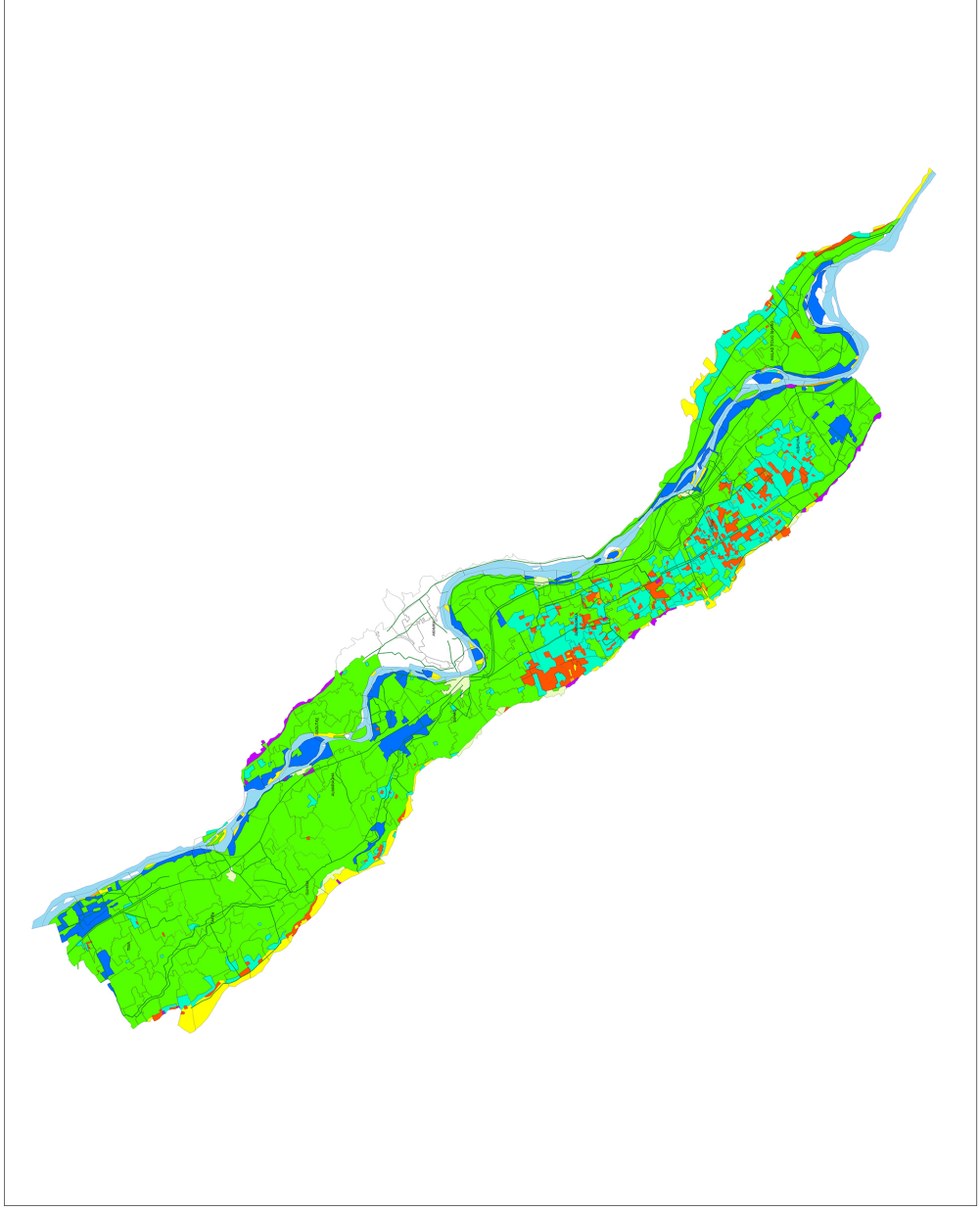


معهد بحوث الأراضي و المياه و البيئة  
مركز البحوث الزراعية  
وزارة الزراعة



# محافظة سوهاج

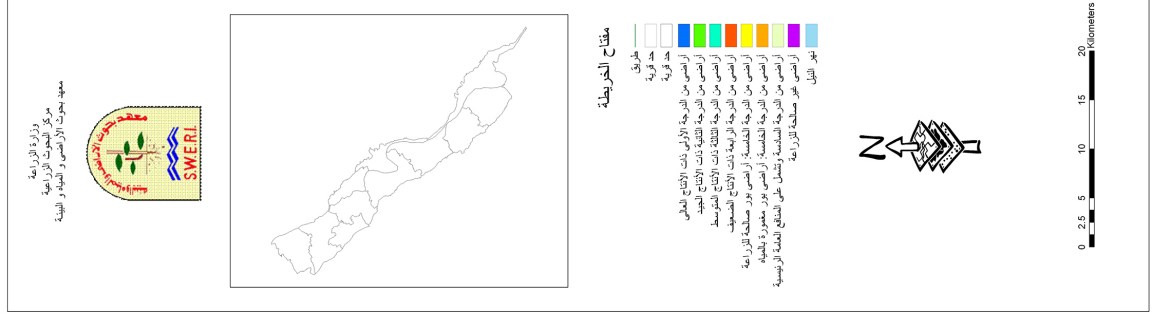
## تقسيم الاراضى حسب القدرة الانتاجية للتربة



Class 1: Highest fertility

Class 2: 'Good' fertility

Class 8: Poorest fertility



وزارة الزراعة  
مركز البحوث الزراعية  
مهندسين الاراضى و المياه و البيئة



### مفتاح الخريطة

- حد قومية
- حد قومية
- أراضي من الدرجة الأولى ذات الإنتاج العالي
- أراضي من الدرجة الثانية ذات الإنتاج الجيد
- أراضي من الدرجة الثالثة ذات الإنتاج المتوسط
- أراضي من الدرجة الرابعة ذات الإنتاج الضعيف
- أراضي من الدرجة الخامسة: أراضي بور صالحة للزراعة
- أراضي من الدرجة السادسة: أراضي بور معزولة وبسيطة
- أراضي من الدرجة السابعة وتتمثل على المناطق المغطاة بالنباتات
- أراضي غير صالحة للزراعة
- بحر النيل



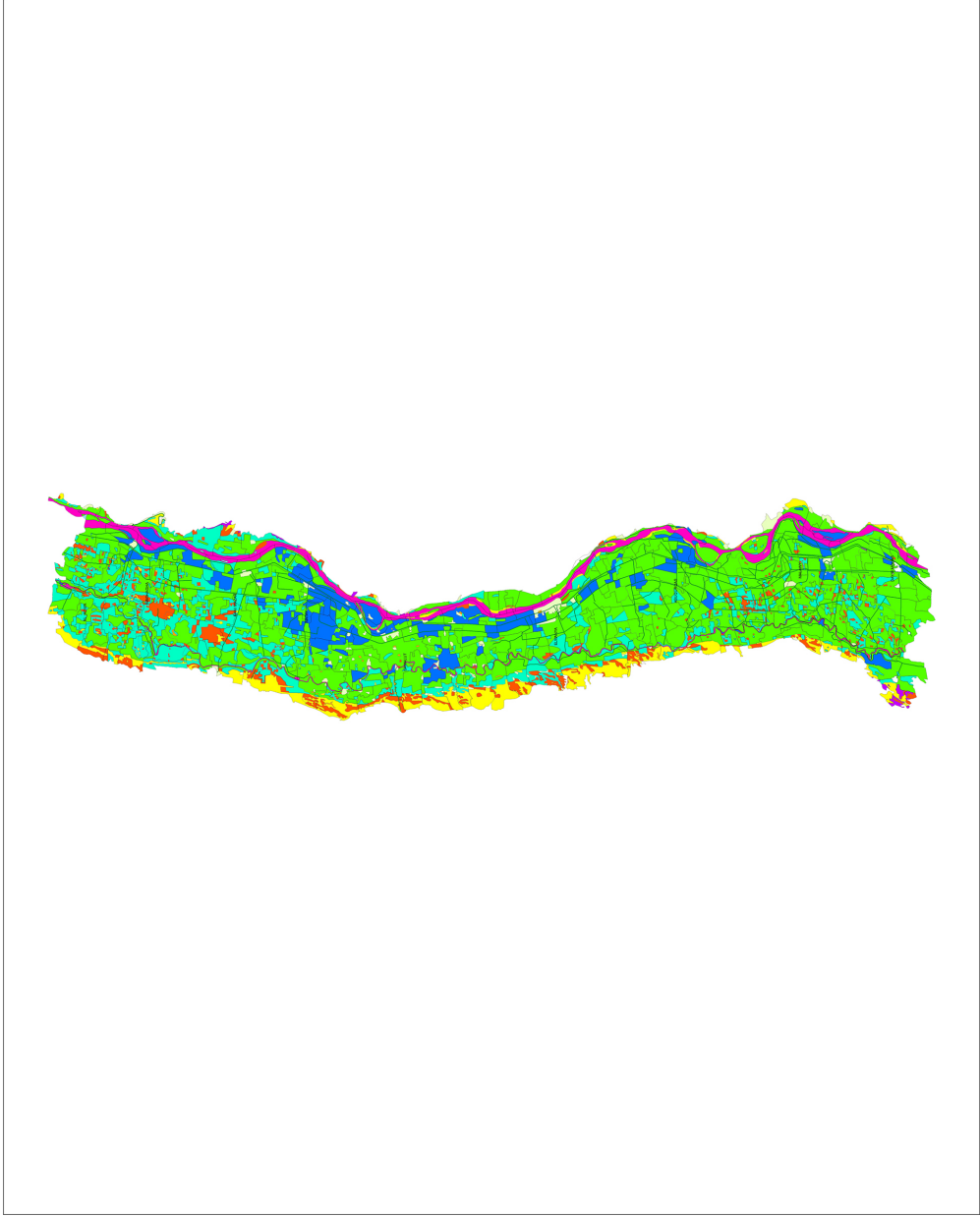
Map 7: Land Productivity, Sohag Governorate.  
(Courtesy of Agriculture Research Centre, Egypt).





تقسيم الاراضى حسب القدره الانتاجيه للتربة

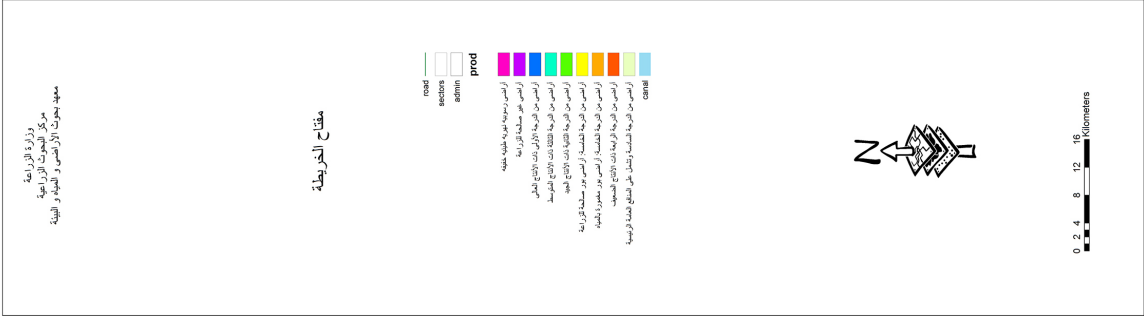
محافظة المنيا



Class 1: Highest fertility

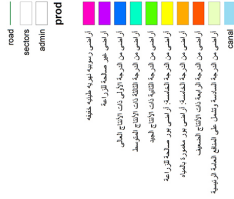
Class 2: 'Good' fertility

Class 8: Poorest fertility



وزارة الزراعة  
مركز البحوث الزراعية  
معهد بحوث الاراضى و المياه و البيئة

مفتاح الخريطة



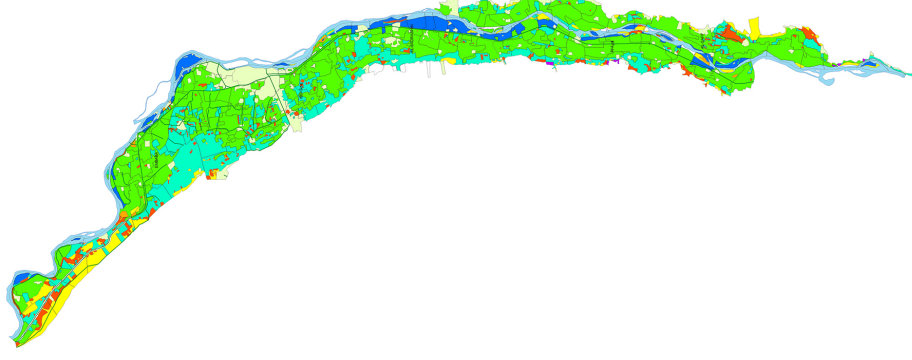
0 2 4 8 12 16 Kilometers

Map 9: Land Productivity, Minya Governorate.  
(Courtesy of Agriculture Research Centre, Egypt).



محافضة الجيزة

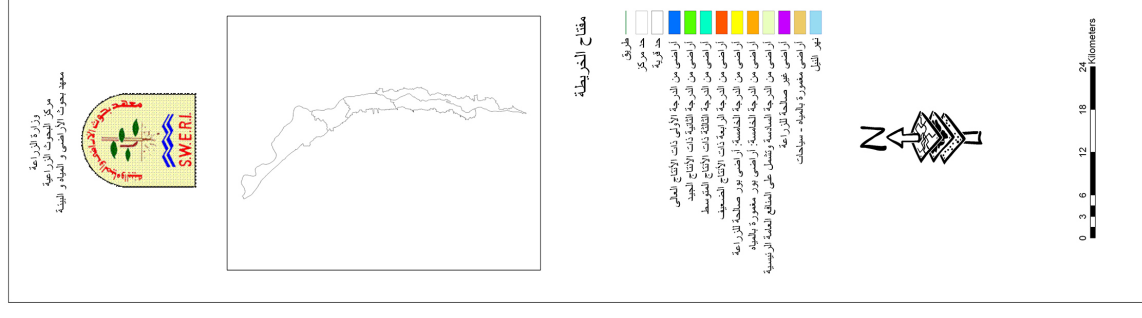
## تقسيم الاراضى حسب القدرة الانتاجية للتربة



Class 1: Highest fertility

### Class 2: 'Good' fertility

### Class 8: Poorest fertility





Map 12: Middle Egypt.  
(Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 121).

# Tables

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## Old Kingdom Chronology<sup>1</sup>

The notation for reign dates follows that established by Harpur<sup>2</sup>

### Key:

**Roman numeral:** Dynasty.

**Arabic numeral:** King by number within each dynasty.

**E:** Early in reign

**M:** Middle of reign

**L:** Late in reign

## FOURTH DYNASTY

<b>IV.1</b>	Sneferu
<b>IV.2</b>	Khufu
<b>IV.3</b>	Djedefre
<b>IV.4</b>	Khafre
<b>IV.5</b>	Menkaure
<b>IV.6</b>	Shepseskaf

## FIFTH DYNASTY

<b>V.1</b>	Userkaf
<b>V.2</b>	Sahure
<b>V.3</b>	Neferirkare
<b>V.4</b>	Shepseskare
<b>V.5</b>	Neferefre
<b>V.6</b>	Niuserre
<b>V.7</b>	Menkauhor
<b>V.8</b>	Djedkare
<b>V.9</b>	Unis

## SIXTH DYNASTY

<b>VI.1</b>	Teti
<b>VI.2</b>	Pepy I
<b>VI.3</b>	Merenre
<b>VI.4E</b>	Pepy II (Yr 1-20)
<b>VI.4M</b>	Pepy II (Yr 20-40)
<b>VI.4L</b>	Pepy II (Yr 40-60)
<b>VI.5</b>	Merenre II

## EIGHTH DYNASTY

**VIII.E** Kings 1-11

**VIII.L** Kings 12-17

## FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

**F.I.P** First Intermediate Period

### Location Abbreviations

**ESP:** East of the Step Pyramid.

**NSP:** North of the Step Pyramid.

**TPC:** Teti Pyramid Cemetery.

**WPC:** Wenis Pyramid Cemetery.

**WSP:** West of the Step Pyramid.

**Table A:** is a list of the tombs used in the art analysis in Chapter III with their dates which are accepted in this study.

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<sup>1</sup> The chronology follows Hornung, et al., *Egyptian Chronology*, 117-158; von Beckernath, *Chronologie*, 148-163.

<sup>2</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, passim.

**Table A: Tombs and dates**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Date Reference</b>
Akhethotep	Saqqara (WSP)	V.8L-9E	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 272 (338).
Akhethotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 152; Petrie and Murray, <i>Tomb Chapels</i> , 7.
Akhethotep (Louvre)	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-8E	Ziegler, <i>Akhethetep</i> , 9; Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 272 (340).
Akhethotep /Hemi (reused by) Nebkauher/Idu	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused) VI.1	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 66.
Akhetmehu	Giza	V.8-9	Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 1, 2.
Akhetmerunesut	Giza	V.9-VI.1	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 265 (8).
Ankhhmahor /Sesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 273 (374).
Ankhnemesmerye II	Fragment Saqqara (south)	VI.2	Kanawati, <i>Conspiracies</i> , 5.
Ankhtify	Moalla	VI.4L-VIII.E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 297.
Baqt I	Beni Hassan	VIII-F.I.P	Decker and Herb, <i>Bildatlas</i> , k.2 106; Newberry, <i>Beni Hasan</i> 2, 32; Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 30.
Bawi	Akhmim	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 295.
Berlin Fragment (14103)	Unknown	V-VI?	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 283 (720),
Cairo Fragments 1782, 1786	Dahshur	VI.1	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 279 (618).
Djau	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.4M-L	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 299.
Hemmin	Akhmim	V.9 E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 296.
Hemre/Isi I	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, 40.
Henqu I/Khetiti	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L	Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, 23.
Henqu II	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.2E-M	Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, 63.
Hermeru/Mereri	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2E	Kanawati, <i>Conspiracies</i> , 27-28 (2).
Hesi (reused by) Seshemnofer	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, 15-16.
Hesimin/Sesi	Akhmim	VI.2-4E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 296.
Hotepherakhti	Saqqara (WSP)	V.6-8	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 275 (467).
Hotpet Fragment	Giza	IV-V	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 72.
Ibi	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 2, 19-22.
Idu I	Dendera	VI.3-4E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 298.
Idu/Seneni	Qasr el-Sayad	VI.4E-M	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 298.
Ihy	Thebes	VI.4E-M	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 297.
Ihy/(reused by) Sesheshet/ Idut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused VI.1)	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, 36-37; Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 336, table 6.18.
Insenofruishtef	Dahshur	VI.1	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: In-snfru-ishtef <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Inti	Deshasha	V.L	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Inti <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati, <i>Conspiracies</i> , 66-70 (17).
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , 35.



Irukaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.7-8	McFarlane, <i>Mastabas at Saqqara</i> , 16-19.
Itsen	Giza	V.6-	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 25.
Iufi	El-Hammamiya	V.E-M	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 21.
Iymery	Giza	V.6	Weeks, <i>Cemetery G 6000</i> , 5.
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 20.
Iynofert/Shanef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 272 (345).
Kaaper	Saqqara (NSP)	V.1-2	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Ka-aper <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Kaemrehu	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Kaemrehu <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Kagemni/Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	Kanawati, <i>Conspiracies</i> , 86-88 (23); Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 154-155 [151].
Kaiemankh	Giza	V.8-9E	Woods, <i>JEA</i> 95 (2009), 161-174.
Kaiemnofert	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8-9	Simpson, <i>Kayemnofret</i> , 1.
Kaihep/Tjetiqer	Akhmim	VI.4M	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 296; Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 1, 13-14.
Khaefkhufu II	Giza	V.6	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 269 (184); Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 152; Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> 2, 541 (180).
Khentika/Ikhekh	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati, <i>Egyptian Administration</i> , 154 (256); Kanawati, <i>Conspiracies</i> , 88-90 (24).
Khenut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 275 (478); Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> 2, 545 (185).
Khewenwekh	Quseir el-Amarna	VI.2	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 300; Kanawati, in: <i>Perspectives on Ancient Egypt</i> , 217.
Khewi/Tjetiqer	Gohaina	VI.VIII.E	El-Masry, <i>BACE</i> 15 (2004), 96-97; Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 297.
Khewnes	Zawiyet el-Maiyetin	V.9	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 301.
Khewnes	Aswan	VI.4L	Kanawati, <i>Egyptian Administration</i> , 154 (251).
Khuuiwer	Giza	V.8-9	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 49.
London British Museum No. 994	Giza	VI.4-5	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: London British Museum No. 994 <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Louvre Fragment E. 26092	Saqqara	V-VI	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (424); Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Mehu <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Merefnebef	Saqqara (WSP)	VI.1L-2L	Myśliwiec, et al., <i>Merefnebef</i> , 246-250.
Mereri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 37.
Mereruka/Meri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M-L	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (420); Kanawati, <i>Conspiracies</i> , 99-102 (30).
Mersyankh III	Giza	IV.4-6	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 7.
Meru/ Tetiseneb	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.2E-M?	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (417).
Meru/Iyiw	Naga-ed-Der	VI.3-4E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 299.

Mery-aa	El- Hagarsa	VI.L-VIII.E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 296.
Meryremeryankhptah /Nekhebu	Giza	VI.2	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 235; Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 267 (89).
Meryrenofer/Qar	Giza	VI.2	Simpson, <i>Qar and Idu</i> , 1; Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 153.
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (426) (VI.2); Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 83 [203B]; Kaplony, <i>Methethi</i> , 7. (VI.E). See Chapter III, p. 164.
Nebemakhet	Giza	IV.6-V.1	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 267 (122).
Nebet	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (438); Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> 2, 489 (115).
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , 44-45.
Niankhnesut	Saqqara	VI.1-2	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (429); Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 39.
Niankhpepy	Zawiyet el-Maiytin	VI.2	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 301.
Niankhpepy the black	Meir	VI.4M-L	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 300; Kanawati, in: <i>Perspectives on Ancient Egypt</i> , 217.
Nikauhathor	Giza	V.6	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Nikauhathor <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Nikausesi/Isesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, 17-23.
Nimaetre	Giza	V.8-9	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 40.
Nofer and Kahai	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Nefer and Kahai <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Nofer I	Giza	V.9-VI.1	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Nefer I <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Noferiretenef	Saqqara (ESP)	V.8-9	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 274 (440).
Noferseshem-ptah/Sheshi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Noferseshem-ptah/Sheshi <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Pehenuika	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8E	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Pehenuika <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 300; Kanawati, in: <i>Perspectives on Ancient Egypt</i> , 217.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 300; Kanawati, in: <i>Perspectives on Ancient Egypt</i> , 217.
Ptahhotep I	Saqqara (WSP)	V.8M-L	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Ptahhotep I <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>

Ptahhotep II /Tjefi	Saqqara (WSP)	V.9M-L	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Ptahhotep II /Tjefi <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Ptahhotep: Iyniankh	Saqqara WSP	V.9-VI.1	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Ptahhotep: Iyniankh <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Raemka	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6 (reused in) V.7	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Raemka <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Rakhaefankh	Giza	V.3-6	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Rakhaefankh <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Remni	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 9, 18.
Reshepses	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8	Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> 1, 75, n. 388 ; Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 234.
Sabni I	Aswan	VI.4L	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 282 (692).
Sabni II	Aswan	VI.4L	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 53.
Seankhuiptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 53.
Sekhemankhptah	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8-9	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 276 (504); Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 135-136 [124].
Sekhemka	Giza	V.9?	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Sekhemka <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Sekhemkare	Giza	V.2	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Sekhemkare <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Seneb	Giza	IV- VI	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 89; Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 269 (212).
Senedjemib/ Inti	Giza	V.8L-9	Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 1, 23-26; Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 54.
Senedjemib/Mehi	Giza	V.9L	Kanawati, <i>Egyptian Administration</i> , 154 (295); Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 55.
Senefruenistef	Dahshur	VI.1	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 2279 (614); Cherpion, <i>Mastabas et hypogées</i> , 235.
Seshemnofer IV	Giza	V.9-VI.1E	Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , 270 (235); Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 57.
Seshemnofer/Ifi	Fragment Saqqara	V-VI	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 74.
Sesheshet /Waatetkhethor	Saqqara TPC	VI.1M-L	Kanawati, and Abder-Raziq, <i>Mereruka and His Family</i> 2, 15.
Setka	Aswan	VI-VIII	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 297.
Shepsipumin/Kheni	Akhmim	VI.4L	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, 11-14; Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 296.
Shepsipumin?	Akhmim	VI.2L-3	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 8, 14.
Sopedhotep	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6L-8	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Sopedhotep <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Theti-aa	El-Hawawish	VI.4L-VI.L	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 296.

Tjy	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 63.
Twau	Nag' el-Deir	VI.2	Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Akhmim</i> , 299.
Werirni	Sheikh Said	V.9	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 29.
Werimiptah	Saqqara	V.3-5?	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database: Werimiptah <a href="http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oea_ahrc_2006/queryTombs">http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oea_ahrc_2006/queryTombs</a>
Wernu	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Woods, <i>Day in the Marshes</i> 2, 30.

**Table 1: Tomb owner figure facing left in spear-fishing**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , pls. 74-75.
Akhetmehu	Giza	V.8-9	Unpublished, Giza Archives Project: Photo number: A5798_NS (Mohammedani Ibrahim: 8/06/1930).
Berlin Fragment (14103)	Unknown	V-VI?	Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> 1, pl. 377.
Mereri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Davies, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 1, pl. 5.
Hermeru/Mereri	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2E	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 3, fig. 42.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 12- 13.
Idu I	Dendera	VI.3-4E	Petrie, <i>Denderah</i> , pl. 5.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 84.
Sabni I	Aswan	VI.4L	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 146; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 14.
Khewnes	Aswan	VI.4L	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 159; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 21.

**Table 2: Holding a spear almost horizontally with both arms sharply bent**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Hotepherakhti	Saqqara (WSP)	V.6-8	Mohr, <i>Hetep-her-akhti</i> , fig. 34, pl. 2.
Noferiretenef	Saqqara (ESP)	V.8-9	van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , pl. 1.
Akhetmehu	Giza	V.8-9	Unpublished, Giza Archives Project: Photo number: A5798_NS (Mohammedani Ibrahim: 8/06/1930).
Akhethotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Petrie and Murray, <i>Tomb Chapels</i> , pl. 6.
Henqu I/Khetiti	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 28; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 39.
Remni	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 9, pls. 45- 46.
Mereri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Davies, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 1, pl. 5.
Hermeru/Mereri	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2E	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 3, fig. 42.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 12- 13.
Khewenwekh	Quseir el-Amarna	VI.2	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pl. 38.

**Table 3: Holding a spear at an angle with both arms almost straight**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , pl. 12.
Kaiemankh	Giza	V.8-9E	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 4, fig. 8; Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> 1, pl. 31.
Meryrenofar/Qar	Giza	VI.2	Simpson, <i>Qar and Idu</i> , figs. 16, 19 (d).
Henqu II	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.2E-M	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 23; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 54.
Bawi	Akhmim	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 9, fig. 15.
Shepsipumin?	Akhmim	VI.2L-3	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 8, fig. 5.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 80.
Baqti I	Beni Hassan	VIII-F.I.P	Newberry, <i>Beni Hassan</i> 2, pl. 29.

**Table 4: Holding a spear at an angle with arms sharply bent**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , pls. 74-75.
Senedjemib/ Inti	Giza	V.8L-9	Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 2, fig. 24; Lepsius, <i>Erg.</i> , pl. 17.
Iynofert/Shanef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 37 (b).
Senedjemib/Mehi	Giza	V.9L	Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 2, fig. 100; Lepsius, <i>Erg.</i> , pl. 12.
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pls. 69, 76.
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 44.
Meryremeryankhptah /Nekhebu	Giza	VI.2	Smith, <i>BMFA</i> 56 (1958), 85- 60, fig. 2.
Berlin Fragment 14103	Unknown	V-VI	Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> 1, pl. 377.
Hesimin/Sesi	Akhmim	VI.2-4E	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 6, fig. 3.
Ibi	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 1, pl. 3; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 2, pl. 46.
Idu I	Dendera	VI.3-4E	Petrie, <i>Denderah</i> , pl. 5.
Djau	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.4M-L	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 3, pls. 57, 69.
Kaihep/Tjetiger	Akhmim	VI.4M	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 1, fig. 8.
Shepsipumin/Kheni	Akhmim	VI.4L	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 18.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 84.
Sabni I	Aswan	VI.4L	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 146; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 14.
Khewnes	Aswan	VI.4L	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 159; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 21.
Khewi/Tjetiger	Gohaina	VI.VIII.E	El-Masry, <i>BACE</i> 15 (2004), 92-94, fig. 2.

**Table 5: Water mound**

<b>Type of Khewenwekh and Pepyankh the middle</b>			
<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Seankhuiptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pls. 69, 76.
Khewenwekh	Quseir el-Amarna	VI.2	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pl. 38.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 80.
Sabni I (almost a similar water mound is depicted)	Aswan	VI.4L	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 146; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 14.
Khewnes	Aswan	VI.4L	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 159; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 21.
<b>Type of Pepyankh the black</b>			
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , pl. 12.
Senefruenishtef	Dahshur	VI.1	de Morgan, <i>Dahchour</i> 2, pl. 24.
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 44.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 24; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 84.

**Table 6: Wife in pointing position**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Marsh Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Spear-fishing and fowling	Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , pl. 12.
Kagemni/Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	Spear-fishing	Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 494(9).
Mereruka/Meri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M-L	Fowling	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pls. 15- 19; Kanawati, et al., <i>Mereruka and His Family</i> 3:1, pl. 69.
Seankhuiptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pls. 69, 76.
Hemre/Isi I	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L-2E	Papyrus pulling	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 62.
Hermeru/Mereri	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2E	Spear-fishing	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 3, fig. 42.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 80.
Ibi	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	Fowling	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 1, pl. 5; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 2, pl. 68.
Idu/Seneni	Qasr el-Sayad	VI.4E-M	Fowling	Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , pl. 8.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Fowling	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 88.

**Table 7: Wife with lotus flowers head dress**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Marsh Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Noferiretenef	Saqqara (ESP)	V.8-9	Spear-fishing	van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , pl. 1.
Senedjemib/ Mehi	Giza	V.9L	Fowling	Lepsius, <i>Erg.</i> , pl. 11.
Merefnebef	Saqqara (WSP)	VI.1L-2L	Fowling	Myśliwiec, et al., <i>Merefnebef</i> pls. 21, 63-65.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing and fowling	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 10-13.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 80.



**Table 8: Papyrus thicket shown without individually rendered stems**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , pl. 12.
Khaefkhufu II	Giza	V.6	Papyrus pulling	Simpson, <i>Kawab</i> , fig. 47.
Akhetmehu	Giza	V.8-9	Spear-fishing	Unpublished, Giza Archives Project: Photo number: A5798_NS (Mohammedani Ibrahim: 8/06/1930)
Hemmin	Akhmim	V.9 E	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 5, figs. 6-7.
Khenut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Papyrus pulling	Munro, <i>Unas-Friedhof</i> , pl. 33.
Nebet	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Papyrus pulling Pleasure cruise	Munro, <i>Unas-Friedhof</i> , pls. 10-11.
Akhethotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Petrie and Murray, <i>Tomb Chapels</i> , pl. 6.
Iynofert/Shanef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 37 (b).
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	Fowling	Kaplony, <i>Methethi</i> , figs. 1-1 (a).
Ihy/(reused by) Seshseshet/ Idut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused VI.1)	Pleasure cruise	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 54.
Nikauisesi/Isesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M	Fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, pl. 50.
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pls. 44, 46.
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pls. 69, 76.
Hemre/Isi I	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L-2E	Papyrus pulling	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 62.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing, fowling and pleasure cruise	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 9-13.
Khewenwekh	Quseir el-Amarna	VI.2	Spear-fishing	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pl. 38.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing and fowling	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pls. 80-81.
Kaihep/Tjetiqer	Akhmim	VI.4M	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 1, fig. 8.
Shepsipumin/Kheni	Akhmim	VI.4L	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 18.

**Table 9: Birds flying above the papyrus thicket in rows  
with alternate direction in each row**

Tomb Owner	Tomb Location	Date	Type of Scene	Number of Rows	Scene Reference
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	Composite spear- fishing and fowling	2 (probably facing opposite directions, scene missing parts)?	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , pls. 74-75.
Khenut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Papyrus pulling	2 (probably facing opposite directions, scene missing parts)?	Munro, <i>Unas-Friedhof</i> , pl. 34.
Iynoferet/ Shaenef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Composite spear- fishing and fowling	5	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 37 (b).
Akhethotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Composite spear- fishing and fowling	2	Petrie and Murray, <i>Tomb Chapels</i> , pl. 6
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	Fowling	2	Kaplony, <i>Methethi</i> , figs. 1-1 (a).
Ihy/ (reused by) Seshseshet/ Idut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused VI.1)	Pleasure cruise	5	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 54.
Hesi (reused by) Seshemnofer	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing and fowling	2 2	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pls. 53-54.
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Composite spear- fishing and fowling	2	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pls. 69, 76.
Meru/ Tetiseneb	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Fowling	4	Lloyd, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 2, pl. 6.
Merefnebef	Saqqara (WSP)	VI.1L-2L	Fowling	3	Myśliwiec, et al., <i>Merefnebef</i> , pls. 21, 63-65.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing and pleasure cruise	3 4	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , 9, pls. 12-13.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing and fowling	2 2	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pls. 80-81.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Spear-fishing Fowling	3 3	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pls. 84, 88.
Khewi/ Tjetiqer	Gohaina	VI.L-VIII.E	Spear- fishing	2	El-Masry, <i>BACE</i> 15 (2004), 92-94, fig. 2.

**Table 10: A mongoose and/or genet with fledgling bird between its jaws**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Akhethotep	Saqqara (WSP)	V.8L-9E	General marsh scene	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep</i> 2, pls. 13-14.
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	Fowling	Kaplony, <i>Methethi</i> , figs. 1-1 (a).
Ihy (reused by) Seshseshet/Idut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused) VI.1	Pleasure cruise	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 54.
Mereruka/Meri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M-L	Spear-fishing and fowling	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pls. 9-13, 15-19; Kanawati, et al., <i>Mereruka and His Family</i> 3:1, pls. 67, 69-70.
Nikauisesi/Isesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M	Fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, pl. 50.
Hesi (reused by) Seshemnofer	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pls. 53-54.
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Fowling	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 46.
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pls. 69, 76.
Merefnebef	Saqqara (WSP)	VI.1L-2L	Fowling	Myśliwiec, et al., <i>Merefnebef</i> , pls. 21, 63-65.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing, fowling and pleasure cruise	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 9-13.
Meryrenofer/Qar	Fragment Giza	VI.2	Spear-fishing	Simpson, <i>Qar and Idu</i> , figs. 16, 19d, pl. 5 (b).
Ibi	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	Fowling some parts are missing?	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 1, pl. 5; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 2, pl. 47.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Fowling	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 17; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 81.
Djau	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.4E-M	Fowling some parts are missing?	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 3; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 3, pl. 70.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Fowling	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 28; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 88.
Sabni II	Aswan	VI.4L	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Begelsbacher-Fischer, <i>Ägypten</i> , fig. 182, 134; Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , pl. 24; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 56.

**Table 11: Papyrus boat's binding only on the prow and stern**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Hotpet Fragment	Giza	IV-V	Pleasure cruise	Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> 1, pl. 376.
Seneb	Giza	IV- VI	Papyrus pulling	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 5, fig. 15.
Itsen	Giza	V.6-8	Papyrus pulling	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 5, pl. 37.
Iynofert/Shanef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 37 (b).
Niankhnesut	Saqqara	VI.1-2	Fowling	Taylor, in: <i>Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum</i> 23 (1932), 11, 13, 15.
Kagemni/Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	Fowling and pleasure cruise	Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 491 (3), 494 (9).
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 44.
Hemre/Isi I	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L-2E	Fowling	Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 50.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing, fowling and pleasure cruise	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 9, 11, 13.
Khewenwekh	Quseir el-Amarna	VI.2	Spear-fishing	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pl. 38.
Ibi	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing and fowling	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 1, pls. 3, 5; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 2, pls. 46-47.

**Table 12: Papyrus boat shown without a wooden deck**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Hotpet Fragment	Giza	IV-V	Pleasure cruise	Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> 1, pl. 376.
Mersyankh III	Giza	IV.4-6	Papyrus pulling	Dunham, and Simpson, <i>Mersyankh III</i> , fig. 4.
Seneb	Giza	IV-VI	Papyrus pulling	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 5, fig. 15.
Iufi	El-Hammamiya	V.E-M	Pleasure cruise	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>El-Hammamiya</i> , pls. 50- 51.
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	Pleasure cruise	Schürmann, <i>Ii-nefret</i> , pl. 21.
Kaiemankh	Giza	V.8-9E	Papyrus pulling	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 4, pl. 9; Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> 1, pl. 36.
Senedjemib/Inti	Giza	V.8L-9	Pleasure cruise	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 77; Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 2, fig. 42.
Khuuiwer	Giza	V.8-9	Papyrus pulling	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 43 (a); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 5, fig. 104.
Senedjemib/Mehi	Giza	V.9L	Spear-fishing	Lepsius, <i>Erg</i> , pl. 12; Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 2, figs. 100-101.
Hemre/Isi I	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.1L-2E	Fowling	Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 50.
Bawi	Akhmim	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 9, fig. 15.
Khewenwekh	Quseir el-Amarna	VI.2	Spear-fishing	El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , pl. 38.
Niankhpepy	Zawiyet el-Maiytin	VI.2	Spear-fishing	Varille, <i>Ni-ankh-Pepi</i> , pl. 9 (b-c).
Meru/Iyiw	Naga-ed-Der	VI.3-4E	Fowling	Peck, <i>Naga ed- Dêr</i> , pl. 15.
Djau	Deir el-Gebrawi	VI.4E-M	Spear-fishing	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 3, pl. 69.
Shepsipumin/Kheni	Akhmim	VI.4L	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 18.
Sabni II	Aswan	VI.4L	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Begelsbacher-Fischer, <i>Ägypten</i> , figs. 182, 134; Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , pl. 24; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 56.
Setka	Aswan	VI-VIII	Composite spear-fishing and fowling	Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 72.
Ankhtify	Moalla	VI.4L-VIII.E	Spear-fishing and fowling	Vandier, <i>Moʿalla</i> , pls. 13-14, 40.

**Table 13: A pile of equipment shown on the stern of the papyrus boat**

Tomb Owner	Tomb Location	Date	Type of Scene	Looped cushion	Head rest*	Fly whisk	Scene Reference
Seshemnofer /Ifi	Fragment Saqqara	V-VI	Spear-fishing	x			Barsanti, <i>ASAE</i> 1(1900), 159, fig. 14.
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	Fowling				Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , pl. 12.
Kaiemankh	Giza	V.8-9E	Spear-fishing				Junker, <i>Gîza</i> , fig. 8; Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> 1, pl. 31.
Nebet	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Papyrus pulling and pleasure cruise				Munro, <i>Unas-Friedhof</i> , pls. 10-11.
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	Fowling				Kaplony, <i>Methethi</i> , figs. 1-1 (a).
Ihy (reused by) Seshseshet/Idut	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused) VI.1	Pleasure cruise				Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 54.
Senefruenistef	Dahshur	VI.1	Spear-fishing	x			de Morgan, <i>Dahchour</i> 2, pl. 24.
Kagemni/Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	Pleasure cruise	x			Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 491(3).
Hesi (reused by) Seshemnefer	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing	x			Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pls. 53-54.
			Fowling	x		x	
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing			x	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 44.
Wernu	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing				Davies, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 1, pl. 25 (a-b).
Merefnebef	Saqqara (WSP)	VI.1L-2L	Fowling	x			Myśliwiec, et al., <i>Merefnebef</i> , pls. 21, 63-65.
Ankhnesmeryre II	Fragment Saqqara (south)	VI.2	Papyrus pulling				Leclant et al., <i>Orientalia</i> 69 (2000), 245, pl. 17 (8).
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing	x			Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 11, 13.
			Fowling	x			
Meryremeryankh-ptah /Nekhebu	Giza	VI.2	Spear-fishing		x		Smith, <i>BMFA</i> 56 (1958), fig. 2.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing	x			Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pls. 7, 17; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pls. 80- 81.
			Fowling	x		x	
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Spear-fishing				Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pls. 24, 28; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pls. 84, 88.
			Fowling		x		
Shepsipumin /Kheni	Akhmim	VI.4L	Spear-fishing	x			Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 18.
Sabni I	Aswan	VI.4L	Fowling a mat is shown				de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , 146; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 14.

\* A head rest is shown in the composite spear- fishing and fowling scene of (Khunes, VI.4L, Aswan), placed behind the tomb owner's figure while he is spear- fishing (Morgan de, *Catalogue des monuments*, 159; Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* 1, 21.

**Table 14: A hippopotamus attacking a crocodile in an aggressive behavior**

Tomb Owner	Tomb Location	Date	Type of Scene	Scene Reference
Tjy	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8	Pleasure cruise	Épron, Daumas and Wild, <i>Ti</i> 2, pls. 117, 119.
Akhetmerunesut	Giza	V.9-VI.1	Spear-fishing	Decker and Herb, <i>Bildatlas</i> 2, pl. 216. Giza Archive Project: Photo ID n. C12741_NS (Mohammedani Ibrahim: 01/20/1931)
Akhethotep/Hemi (reused by) Idu	Fragment Saqqara (WPC)	V.9 (reused) VI.1	Unclear scene Hassan states that “a battle between a red hippopotamus and a yellow crocodile” is represented on the fragment.	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 1, 8, fig. 5 (c).
Snefruinishtef	Dahshur	VI.1	Spear-fishing	de Morgan, <i>Dahchour</i> 2, pl. 24.
Kagemni/Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	Fowling, pleasure cruise and fishing scene	Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 491 (3), 494 (9), 499 (16).
Mereruka/Meri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M-L	Fowling	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pls. 15-19; Kanawati, et al., <i>Mereruka and His Family</i> 3:1, pls. 69-70.
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 44.
Khentika/Ikhekhi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Fragment Unclear	James, <i>Khentika</i> , pl. 15.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Spear-fishing	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 13.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 80.
Idu/Seneni	Qasr el-Sayad	VI.4E-M	Fowling	Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , pl. 8.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	Fowling	Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 88 (clear in this record only)
Sabni I	Aswan	VI.4L	Spear-fishing	Morgan de, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , 146; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> I, pl. 14.

**Table 15: Frogs perched on the water weeds below the papyrus boat**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Tomb Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Scene</b>	<b>Scene Reference</b>
Louvre Fragment E. 26092	Saqqara	V-VI	Spear-fishing	Ziegler, <i>Catalogue des stèles</i> , No. 61, 298- 301.
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	Pleasure cruise	Schürmann, <i>Ii-nefret</i> , pl. 21.
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	Spear-fishing	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , pls. 74- 75.
Reshepses	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8	Fowling and pleasure cruise	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 60.
Hesimin	Akhmim	V.8L-9E	Spear-fishing	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 4, figs. 12-13.
Kaiemankh	Giza	V.8-9E	Spear-fishing	Junker, <i>Gîza</i> , fig. 8; Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> 1, pl. 31.
Noferiretenef	Saqqara (ESP)	V.8-9	Spear-fishing	van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , pl. 1.
Iynofert/Shanef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	Spear-fishing	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 37 (b).
Seshemnofer IV	Giza	V.9-VI.1E	Spear-fishing	Junker, <i>Gîza</i> 11, fig. 60, pl. 16 (c).
Cairo Fragments 1782, 1786	Dahshur	VI.1	Spear-fishing	Decker and Herb, <i>Bildatlas</i> 2, pl. 119; Smith, <i>HESPOK</i> , pl. 51.
Kagemni/Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	Spear-fishing, Fowling and pleasure cruise	Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 491 (3), 494 (8-9).
Mereruka/Meri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M-L	Spear-fishing, fowling and papyrus pulling	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 2, 9- 13, 15-19, 127-129; Kanawati, et al., <i>Mereruka and His Family</i> 3:1, pls. 67, 69; vol. 3:2, pl. 85.
Nikauisesi/Isesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1M	Fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, pl. 50.
Hesi (reused by) Seshemnofer	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Fowling	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pl. 54.
Wernu	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing	Davies et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 1, pl. 25 (a-b).
Mereri	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	Spear-fishing	Davies, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 1, pl. 5.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	Pleasure cruise	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 9.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	Spear-fishing	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 7; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 80.



**Table 16: Fishing with a Dragnet**

Tomb Owner	Tomb Location	Date	Symmetrical Arrangement	Equal number of men	Same movements	Supervisor in the middle	Rope on Shoulder	Reference
Kaaper	Saqqara (NSP)	V.1-2	x	x		man instead		Fischer, <i>JNES</i> 18 (1959), fig. 6; Bárta, <i>Abusir</i> 5, figs. 4, 14-16.
Iymery	Giza	V.6	x				x	Weeks, <i>Cemetery G 6000</i> , fig. 40.
Nikauhathor	Giza	V.6	x	x	x			Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 6: 3, 175, fig. 168.
Nofer and Kahai	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	symmetrical in general	lack one man			x one man	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> , pls. 1, 4; Lashien, <i>Kahai</i> , pl. 81.
Khaefkhufu II	Giza	V.6					x some men	Simpson, <i>Kawab</i> , fig. 47.
Irenkaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6					x	Moussa and Junge, <i>Two Tombs</i> , pl. 12.
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	x	x	same body direction but not faces direction		x all but two at the two ends	Schürmann, <i>Ii-nefret</i> , figs. 9 (a, b), 21.
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	x	x		x	x all but two at the two ends	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, <i>Niankhkhnum</i> , 626 (73).
Akhethotep (Louvre)	Saqqara WPC	V.6-8E	x	one man fish-gutting			x two men	Ziegler, <i>Akhethetep</i> , 132- 133.
Pehenuika	Saqqara NSP	V.6-8E	x? parts missing			x a man	x some men	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 46.
Hotepherakhti	Saqqara WSP	V.6-8	x	x			x some men	Mohr, <i>Hetep-herakhti</i> , figs. 28-29.
Tjy	Saqqara NSP	V.6-8	x	x		x	x some men	Épron, Daumas and Wild, <i>Ti</i> 2, pl. 123.
Irukaptah	Saqqara WPC	V.7-8	x	x		x	x some men	McFarlane, <i>Mastabas at Saqqara</i> , pl. 46.

Kaemrehu	Saqqara NSP	V.8					x two men	Mogensen, <i>Le Mastaba égyptien</i> , 3, fig. 3.
Kaiemnofert	Saqqara NSP	V.8-9	x	x			x some men	Simpson, <i>Kayemnofret</i> , pl. G.
Khuuiwer	Giza	V.8-9	x	x	x			Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 43 (a); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 5, 245, fig. 104.
Noferiretenef	Saqqara ESP	V.8-9	x	x		x	x some men	van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , pl. 13.
Werirmi	Sheikh Said	V.9	x	x			x some men	Davies, <i>Sheikh Saïd</i> , pl. 12.
Khewnes	Zawyet el- Maiyetin	V.9	x misses parts	x?	x?			Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 106 (a).
Iynofert /shanef	Saqqara WPC	V.9	x	x	x?	x	x some men	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 39.
Sekhemka	Giza	V.9?					x some men	Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> 1, fig. 4.
Senedjemib /Mehi	Giza	V.9L	x				x one man	Lepsius, <i>Erg.</i> , pl. 14; Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 1, fig. 114.
Akhethotep /Hemi (reused by) Nebkauher/Idu	Saqqara WPC	V.9 (reused) VI.1	x misses part	x		x	x some men	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 1, pl. 24 (A).
Seshemnofer IV	Giza	V.9- VI. 1E	x	x				Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, 168, fig. 66.
Ptahhotep: Iyniankh	Saqqara WSP	V.9-VI.1	x	x		x		Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 2, 94, fig. 37.
Fragment CG 1720	Saqqara	V.9- VI.1-2					x one man	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> 2, pl. 92 (CG1720).
Kagemni /Memi	Saqqara TPC	VI.1E	misses parts				x some men	von Bissing, <i>Gem-ni-kai</i> , pl. 19, 21; Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 498 (15).
Nikauisesi /Isesi	Saqqara TPC	VI.1M	x	x		x		Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 6, pl. 47.
Insenofruishtef	Dahshur	VI.1	x	x		x	x some men	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> 2, pl. 103 (CG 1772).
Mereruka /Meri	Saqqara TPC	VI.1M-L	1- x	x		x	1-x all but one man at end	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> 1, pls. 41-43, 55; Kanawati, et al., <i>Mereruka and His</i>

			2-x symmetrical in general	Lack one man			2-x all but two at the two ends	<i>Family</i> 3:1, pls. 79, 84.
Seshseshet /Waatetkhethor	Saqqara TPC	VI.1M-L	x	x		x	x all but one man at end	Kanawati, and Abder- Raziq, <i>Mereruka and His Family</i> 2, pl. 56.
Hesi (reused by) Seshemnofer	Saqqara TPC	VI.1L-2E	not a perfect symmet- -ry	lack one man		x	x not all	Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pl. 55.
Inumin	Saqqara TPC	VI.1L-2E	x	x	x	x	x not all	Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 48.
Merefnebef	Saqqara WSP	VI.1L-2L	x					Myśliwiec, et al., <i>Merefnebef</i> , pl. 21.
Henqu II	Deir el- Gebrawi	VI.2E-M	x parts missing	x	x	x	x not all	Kanawati, <i>Deir El- Gebrawi</i> 1, pl. 55.
Mehu	Saqqara WPC	VI.2-3	symm- etrical in general	Lack one man		x	x many but not all	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 35 (b).
Ibi	Deir el- Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	x	x	x		x all but two at the two ends	Davies, <i>Deir el- Gebrāwi</i> 1, pl. 4; Kanawati, <i>Deir El- Gebrawi</i> 2, pl. 67.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	x	x	x	x	x all but two at the two ends	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 79.
Kaihep /Tjetiger	Hawawis h	VI.4M	x	x	x			Kanawati, <i>El- Hawawish</i> 1, fig. 12.
Niankhpepy the black	Meir	VI.4M-L	x	x	x	x	x	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 13.
Shepsipumin /Kheni	Hawawis h	VI.4L	x	x	x	x		Kanawati, <i>El- Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 22.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	x	x	x	x	x all men but last two at ends	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 90.
London British Museum No. 994	Giza	VI.4-5					x	Hall and Lambert, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> 6, pl. 17; James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> 1 [2], pl. 25.

**Table 17: Representation of different stages of bird trapping**

Tomb Owner	Location	Date	Stages of Bird Trapping	Progression Order	Separation between stages	Reference
Nebemakhet	Giza	IV.6-V.1	-Ready to pull -Removal of net	2 registers Bottom to top	1 register agriculture scene: Plough scene	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 12 (a); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 4, 133, fig. 76.
Sekhemkare	Giza	V.2	-Ready to pull -Removal of net	1 register		Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 42 (a, lower); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 4, 111, fig. 58.
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	-Ready to pull -Final net closure	2 registers Bottom to top		Schürmann, <i>Ii-néfred</i> , figs. 8 (a, b), 21.
Tjy	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8	-Preparing clap net -Pulling the net -Final net closure	3 main registers Top to bottom		Épron, Daumas and Wild, <i>Ti</i> 2, pl. 122.
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	-Ready to pull / Pulling the net -Final net closure	2 registers Top to bottom		Ziegler, <i>Catalogue des stèles</i> , 128, 144, 150-151.
Ptahhotep II /Tjefi	Saqqara (WSP)	V.9M-L	-Ready to pull -Final net closure	2 registers Bottom to top		Paget and Pirie, <i>Ptah-hotep</i> , pl. 32; Davies, <i>Ptahhotep</i> 1, pls. 21, 25-26.
Seshemnofer IV	Giza	V.9-VI.1E	-Net closure? -Removal of net	2 registers Bottom to top		Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, 234, fig. 91.
Kagemni /Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	-Ready to pull -Net closure	1 register		von Bissing, <i>Gem-ni-kai</i> , pl. 8-10; Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 497 (14).
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	-Ready to pull -Final net closure ( <b>double closing</b> )	2 main registers Top to bottom		Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pl. 75.
Noferseshem-ptah/Sheshi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	-Ready to pull -Final net closure	2 registers Bottom to top	1 register poultry yard scene	Lloyd, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 3, pls. 15-16.
Ankhmahor /Sesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	-Ready to pull -Final net closure	2 registers Bottom to top		Kanawati and Hassan, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 42.

Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	-Ready to pull  -Pulling the net  -Final net closure ( <i>triple closing</i> )	3 main registers  Bottom to top ( trapping different birds)		Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Taf. 7.
Twau	Nag' el- Deir	VI.2	Not clear, destroyed	2 registers		Peck, <i>Naga ed- Dêr</i> , pl. 1.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	-Pulling the net  -Final net closure	2 registers  Bottom to top	1 register activities following bird trapping	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 79.
Niankhpepy the black	Meir	VI.4M-L	-Ready to pull  -Pulling the net	2 registers  Bottom to top	1 register activities following bird trapping	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 13.

**Table 18: Leaning back and/or standing on heels postures**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Leaning back</b>	<b>Bending and Standing on heels</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Hotepherakhti	Saqqara (WSP)	V.6-8		x on both heels	Mohr, <i>Hetep-herakhti</i> , figs. 24-25.
Tjy	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8		x standing, one foot flat and the other on the heel	Épron, Daumas and Wild, <i>Ti</i> 2, pl. 122.
Inti	Deshasha	V.L		x on both heels	Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 5; Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , pl. 33.
Meru/ Tetiseneb	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.2E-M?		x on both heels	Lloyd, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 2, pl. 8.
Seshemnofer/ Ifi	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-4?	x but standing on heels	x not bending but standing on both heels	Barsanti, <i>ASAE</i> 1 (1900), 155, fig. 9.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E		x standing, one foot flat and the other on the heel	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 79.
Ihy	Thebes	VI.4E-M	x standing with feet flat		Saleh, <i>Tombs at Thebes</i> , figs. 61-62, pl. 18.
Niankhpepy the black	Meir	VI.4M-L	x standing with feet flat		Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 13.
Mery-aa	El- Hagarsa	VI.L-VIII.E	x standing with feet flat		Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> 3, pl. 35.

**Table 19: Lying on Ground Posture**

Tomb Owner	Location	Date	Lying on ground	Bodies Overlapped	Similarities and differences to Meir's scenes	Reference
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	x	x	Sitting with upward back and bent legs	Schürmann, <i>Ii-nefret</i> , figs. 8 (a, b), 21.
Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7	x	x	Upward back and stretched legs (similar to scene of <i>Pepyankh the middle</i> ).	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , Abb. 12; Harpur and Scremin, <i>Niankhkhnum</i> , 626(73).
Pehenuika	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8E	x	x	Lying on back with legs stretched.	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 46.
Tjy	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8	x	x	Lying on back with legs stretched. (similar to scene of <i>Pepyankh the middle</i> ).	Épron, Daumas and Wild, <i>Ti</i> 2, pl. 122.
Nimaetre	Giza	V.8-9	x	x	Sitting with upward back and bent legs	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 2, 221, fig. 240.
Metjetji	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9-VI.2	x	x	Lying on back with legs slightly raised off the ground. (similar to scene of <i>Pepyankh the middle</i> ).	Ziegler, <i>Catalogue des stèles</i> , 128, 144, 150- 151.
Ptahhotep II /Tjefi	Saqqara (WSP)	V.9M-L	x	x	Lying on back with legs stretched. (similar to scene of <i>Pepyankh the middle</i> ). <i>In the ready stage, they are sitting.</i>	Paget and Pirie, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , pl. 32; Davies, <i>Ptahhetep</i> 1, pls. 21, 25- 26.
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	x	x some parts	Sitting (similar to scene of <i>Pepyankh the black</i> ).	Kanawati and Abder- Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pl. 75.
Noferseshemptah/ Sheshi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	x	x	Similar to scene of <i>Pepyankh the middle</i> .	Lloyd, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 3, pls. 15-16.
Ankhmahor/ Sesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	x	x almost	Lying on ground with back raised and legs bent.	Badawy, <i>Nyhetep-Ptah</i> , fig. 33, pls. 40- 43; Kanawati and Hassan, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 42.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	x	x	Upward back and bent legs.	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pl. 7.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E	x	x	Back and legs stretched on ground.	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 79.
Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer	El-Hawawish	VI.4M	x		Lying on backs with legs raised up.	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 1, fig. 12.
Shepsipumin /Kheni	El-Hawawish	VI.4L			Lying on backs with legs raised up.	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 22.

Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	x		legs stretched and back raised off the ground.	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 90.
Khewnes	Qubbet el-Hawa	VI.4L	x		Similar to those of <i>Pepyankh the black</i> , legs are a slightly different.	Morgan de, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> 1, 160; Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> 1, pl. 22.
Theti-aa	El-Hawawish	VI.4L-VI.L	x		Lying on backs with legs raised up.	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 8, fig. 13 (a).

**Table 20: Details in bird trapping with clap net**

Tomb Owner	Location	Date	Cloth Signal	Hand signal	Running to the net to collect birds	Collecting birds from the net	Reference
Mersyankh III	Giza	IV.4-6	x			<i>Plucking a bird</i>	Dunham, and Simpson, <i>Mersyankh III</i> , fig. 4.
Nebemakhet	Giza	IV.6-V.1	x				Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 12 (a); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 4, 133, fig. 76.
Sekhemkare	Giza	V.2	x				Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 42 (a, lower); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 4, 111, fig. 58.
Werirniptah	Saqqara	V.3-5?	x				Hall and Lambert, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> 6, pl. 11; James, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> 1, 29.
Rakhaefankh	Giza	V.3-6	x hands raised				Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 9 (lower).
Nofer and Kahai	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6	x				Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> , pls. 1, 5-6; Lashien, <i>Kahai</i> , pl. 82.
Khaefkhufu II	Giza	V.6	x				Simpson, <i>Kawab</i> , fig. 47.
Iymery	Giza	V.6	x				Weeks, <i>Cemetery G 6000</i> , fig. 40.
Itisen	Giza	V.6		x			Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 5, fig. 123.
Iynofert	Giza	V.6	x				Schürmann, <i>Ii-nefret</i> , Abb. 8 (a, b), 21.
Raemka	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6 (reused in) V.7	x hands raised				Hayes, <i>Scepter of Egypt</i> 1, 97, fig. 55.



Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-7		x	x		Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , fig. 12; Harpur and Scremin, <i>Niankhkhnum</i> , 626 (73).
Akhethotep (Louvre)	Saqqara (WPC)	V.6-8E	x				Ziegler, <i>Akhethetep</i> , 132- 133.
Pehenuika	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8E				x	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 46.
Hotepherakhti	Saqqara (WSP)	V.6-8	x				Mohr, <i>Hetep-her-akhti</i> , figs. 24-25.
Tjy	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6-8		x		x	Épron, Daumas and Wild, <i>Ti</i> 2, pl. 122.
Sopedhotep	Saqqara (NSP)	V.6L-8	x				Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> 2, pl. 60 (CG 1671).
Irukaptah	Saqqara (WPC)	V.7-8	x				McFarlane, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 1, pl. 46.
Ptahhotep I	Saqqara (WSP)	V.8M-L	x				Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> 1, pl. 11; Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> 2, pls. 37-39.
Kaiemnofert	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8-9	x	x			Simpson, <i>Kayemnofret</i> , pl. G.
Khuuiwer	Giza	V.8-9	x hands raised				Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 43 (a); Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 5, 245, fig. 104.
Sekhemankh-ptah	Saqqara (NSP)	V.8-9	x				Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , pl. D.
Nimaatre	Giza	V.8-9	x	x			Hassan, <i>Giza</i> 2, 221, fig. 240.
Khewnes	Zawyet el-Maiyetin	V.9	x				Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 105 (b); Varille, <i>Ni-ankh-Pepi</i> , fig. 3.
Werirni	Sheikh Said	V.9	x				Davies, <i>Sheikh Saïd</i> , pl. 12.
Iynofert /Shanef	Saqqara (WPC)	V.9	x				Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 38.
Ptahhotep II /Tjefi	Saqqara (WSP)	V.9M-L	x				Paget and Pirie, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , pl. 32; Davies, <i>Ptahhetep</i> 1, pls. 21, 25-26.
Sendjemib /Mehi	Giza	V.9L		x			Lepsius, <i>Erg.</i> , pl. 14; Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> 1, fig. 114.
Inti	Deshasha	V.L	x				Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 5; Kanawati and McFarlane, <i>Deshasha</i> , pl. 33.
Seshemnofer IV	Giza	V.9-VI.1E	x			x	Junker, <i>Giza</i> 11, 234, fig. 91.
Nofer I	Giza	V.9-VI.1	x hands raised				Junker, <i>Giza</i> 6, 59, fig. 14, 17.

Kagemni/ Memi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1E	x	x			von Bissing, <i>Gem-ni-kai</i> , pls. 8-10; Harpur and Scremin, <i>Kagemni</i> , 497 (14).
Seankhuptah	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	x		x	x	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 3, pl. 75.
Noferseshem- ptah/ Sheshi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E		x	x	x	Lloyd, et al., <i>Saqqâra Tombs</i> 3, pls. 15-16.
Hesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	x				Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 5, pl. 55.
Inumin	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E	x				Kanawati, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 8, pl. 48.
Ankhmahor/ Sesi	Saqqara (TPC)	VI.1L-2E		x kneeling		x	Badawy, <i>Nyhetep-Ptah</i> , fig. 33, pls. 40-43; Kanawati and Hassan, <i>Teti Cemetery</i> 2, pl. 42.
Mehu	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-3	x 2 scenes	X catching cranes			Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , pls. 6-8, 31 (b), 34 (a, b).
Seshemnofer/ Ifi	Saqqara (WPC)	VI.2-4?				x	Barsanti, <i>ASAE</i> 1 (1900), 155, fig. 9.
Ibi	Deir el- Gebrawi	VI.3-4E	x				Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> 1, pl. 6; Kanawati, <i>Deir El-Gebrawi</i> 2, pls. 48, 68.
Pepyankh the middle	Meir	VI.3-4E		x	x		Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 4, pl. 8; Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> 1, pl. 79.
Ihy	Thebes	VI.4E-M	x probably				Saleh, <i>Tombs at Thebes</i> , figs. 61-62, pl. 18.
Kaihep /Tjetiger	El- Hawawish	VI.4M				x	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 1, fig. 12.
Niankhpepy the black	Meir	VI.4M-L		x			Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 13.
Shepsipumin /Kheni	El- Hawawish	VI.4L				x	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 2, fig. 22.
Pepyankh the black	Meir	VI.4L	x			x	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> 5, pl. 30; Kanawati and Evans, <i>Meir</i> 2, pl. 90.
Tjeti-aa	El- Hawawish	VI.4L- VI.L	x				Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> 8, fig. 13 (a).
Mery-aa	El- Hagarsa	VI.L- VIII.E		x			Kanawati, <i>EL-Hagarsa</i> 3, pl. 35.

# Figures

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Figure 1: Tomb of Khewenwekh, east wall.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44).

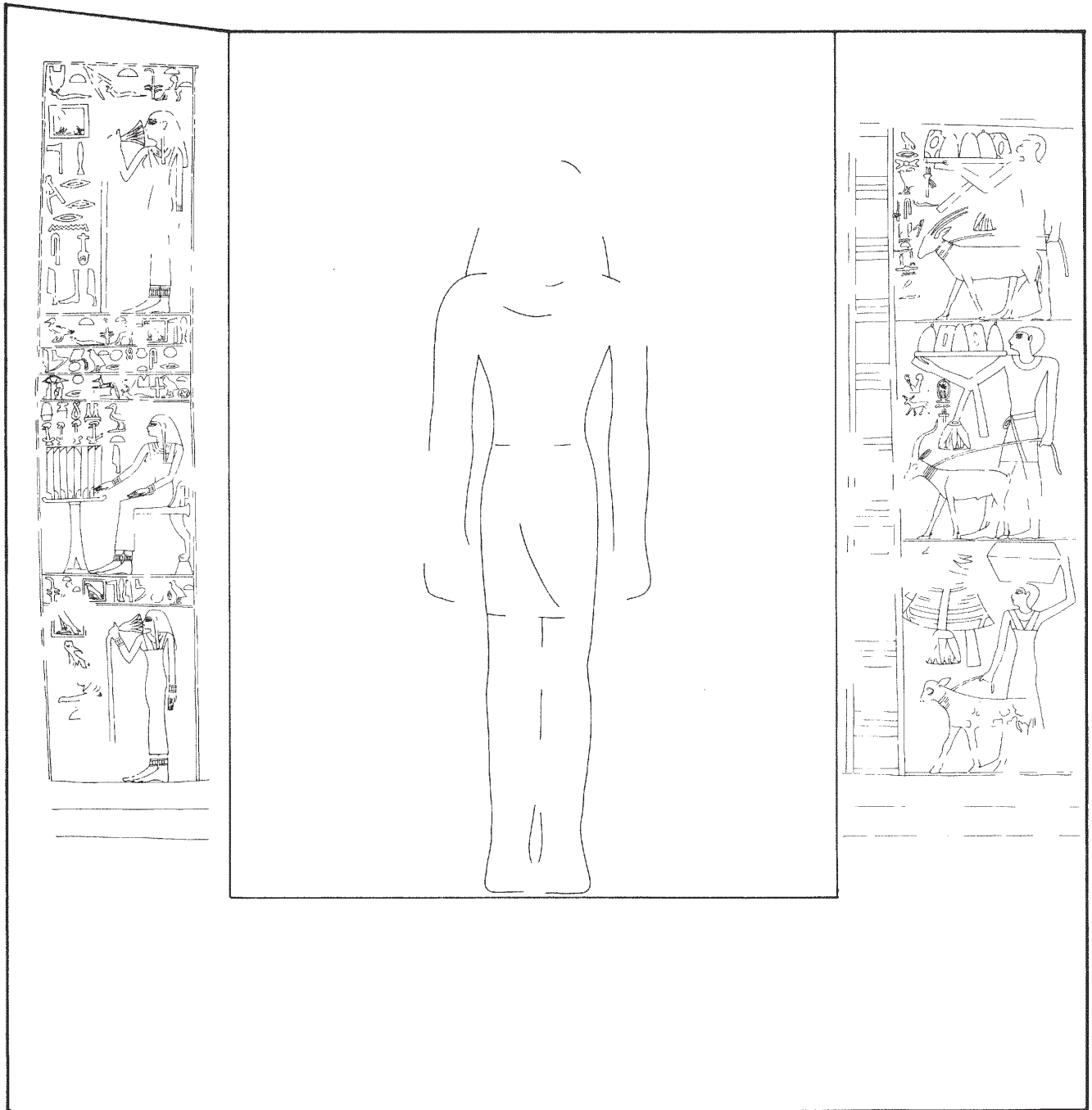
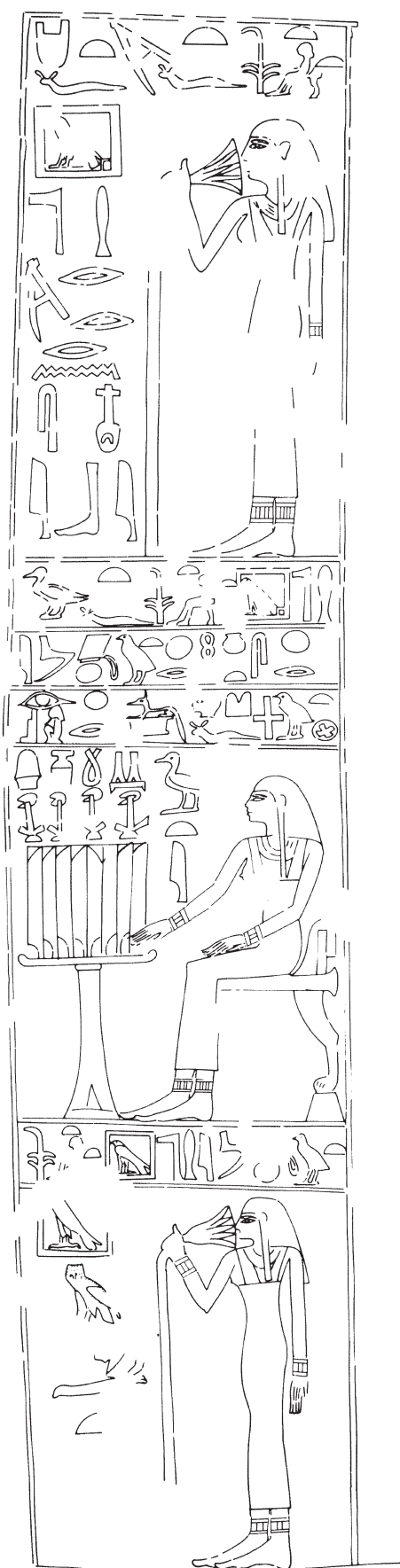


Figure 2: Tomb of Khewenwekh, south wall.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 45).



(a) Left panel



(b) Right panel

Figure 3: Tomb of Khewenwekh, south wall.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46).

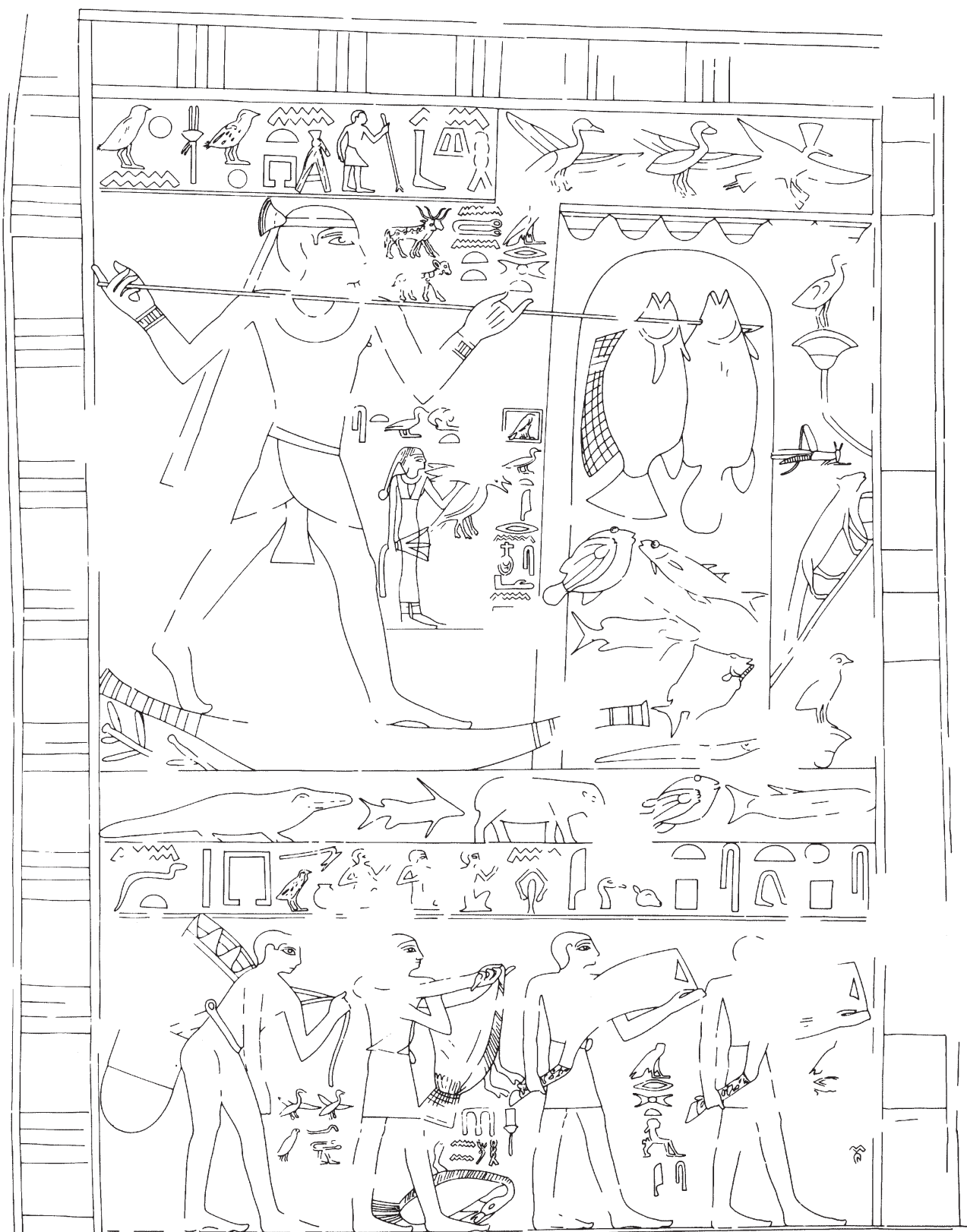


Figure 4: Tomb of Khewenwekh, west wall.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38).



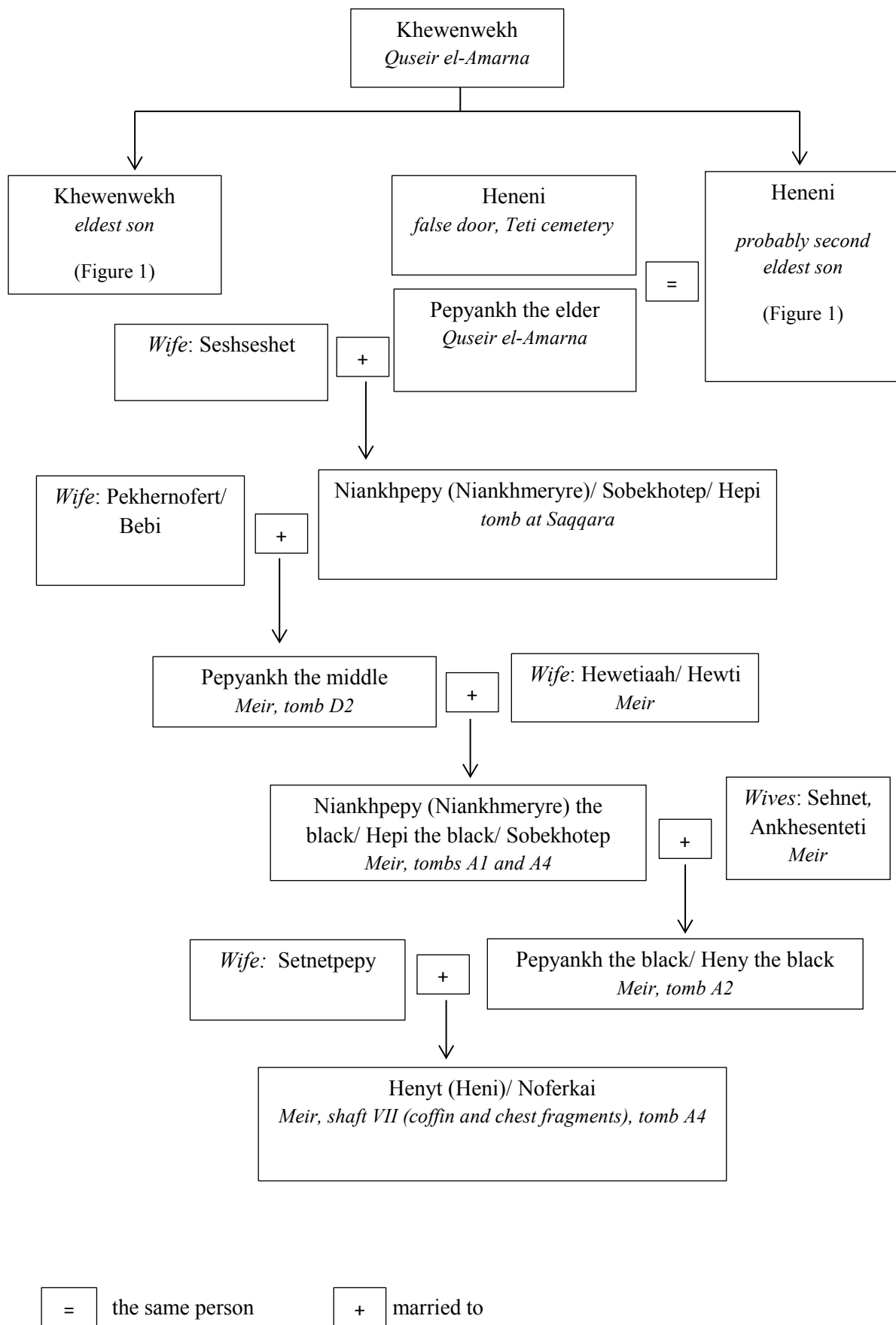


Figure 5: Family tree of El-Qusiya nobles.

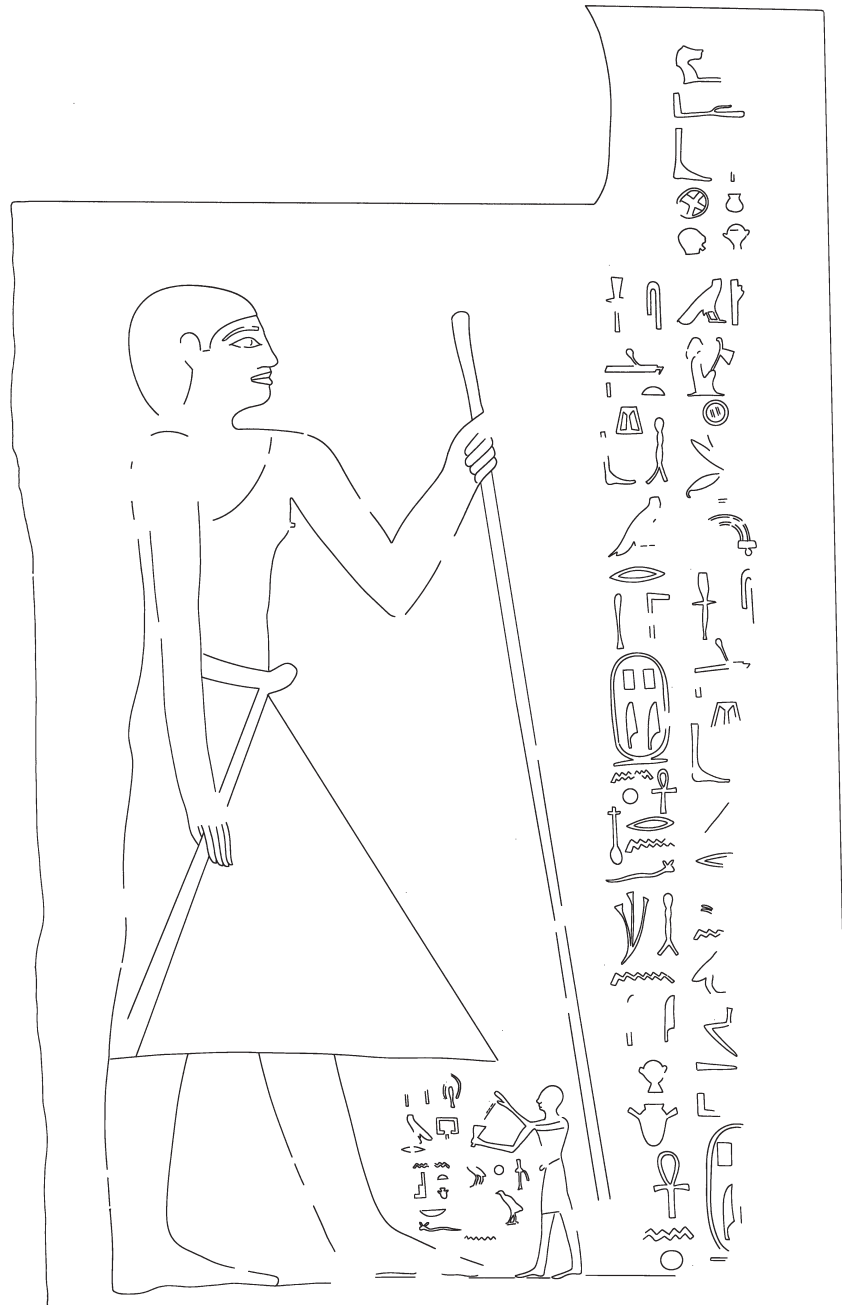
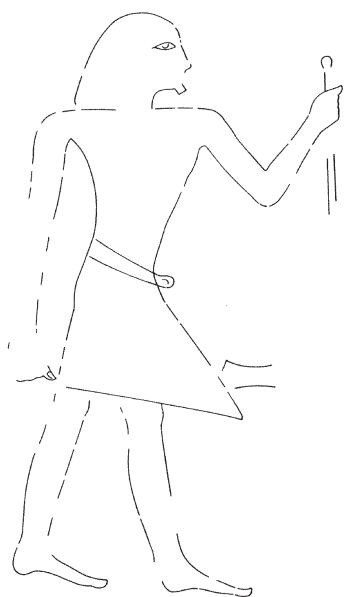


Figure 6: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, entrance, north thickness.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 78).



(a) Entrance drum.



(b) Right door thickness.



(a) Pillar 2, west face.



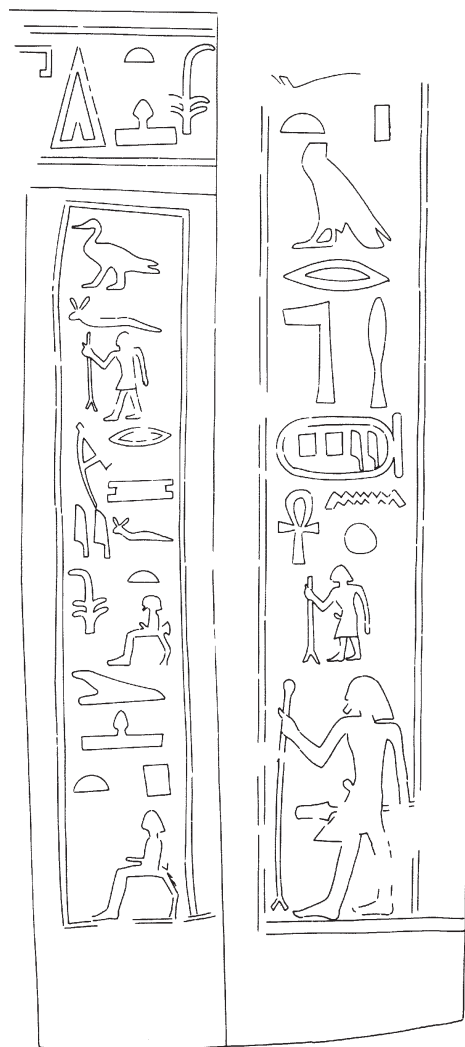
(b) Pillar 2, west face.



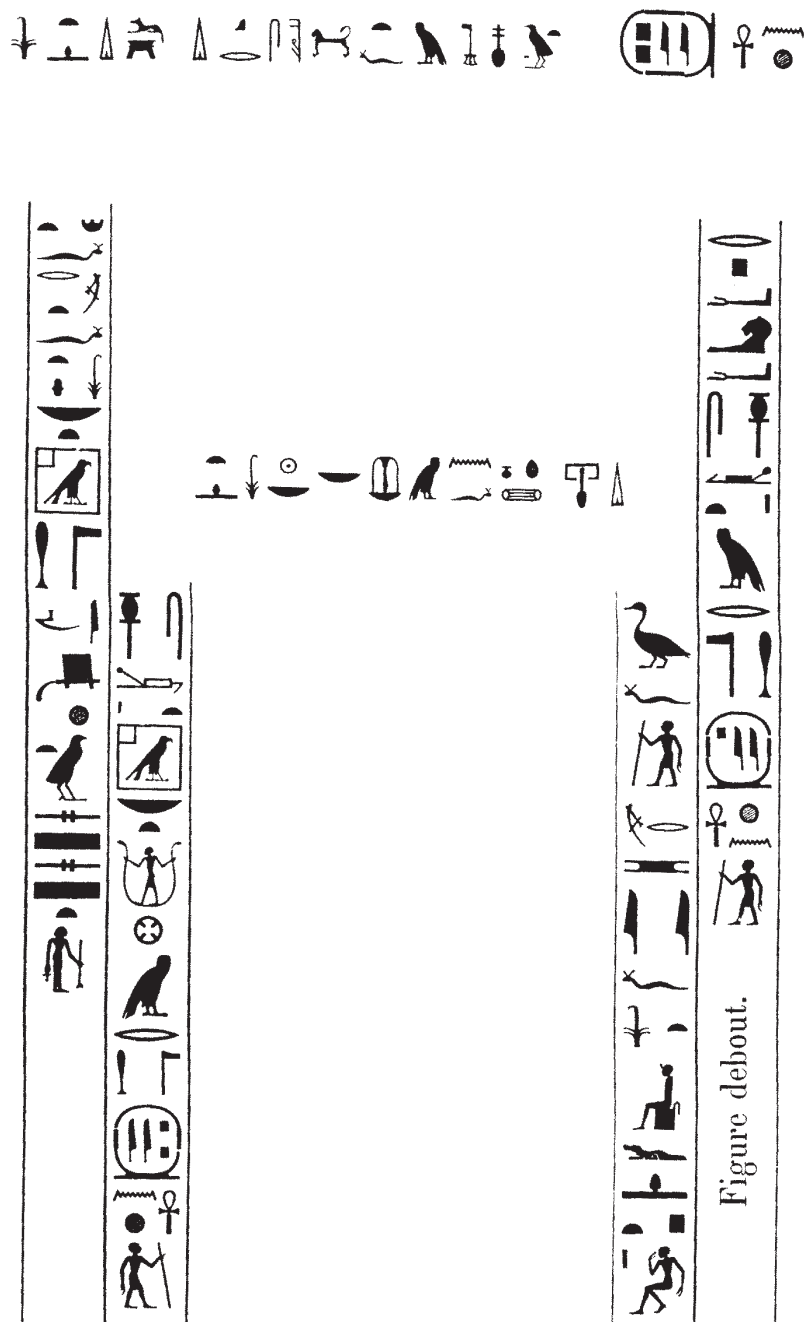
(c) Pillar 1, west face.

Figure 7: Tomb of Pepyankh the elder.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 26).

Figure 8: Tomb of Pepyankh the elder.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 27;  
Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 252).



(a) False door, right jamb.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*,  
pl. 28 (a)).



(b) False door.  
(Chabân and Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 252-253).

Figure 9: Tomb of Pepyankh the elder, false door.

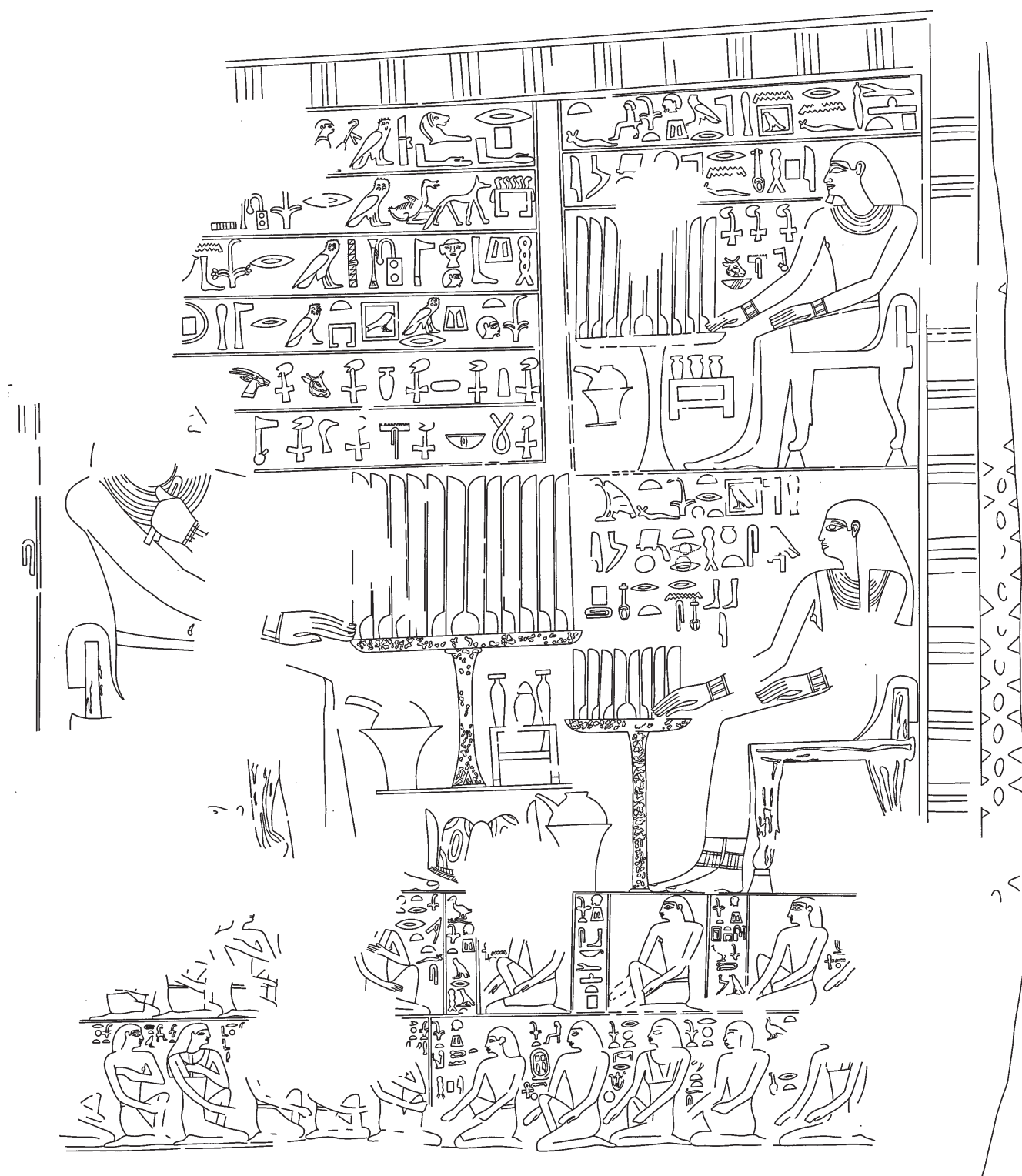


Figure 10: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, south wall.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 83).

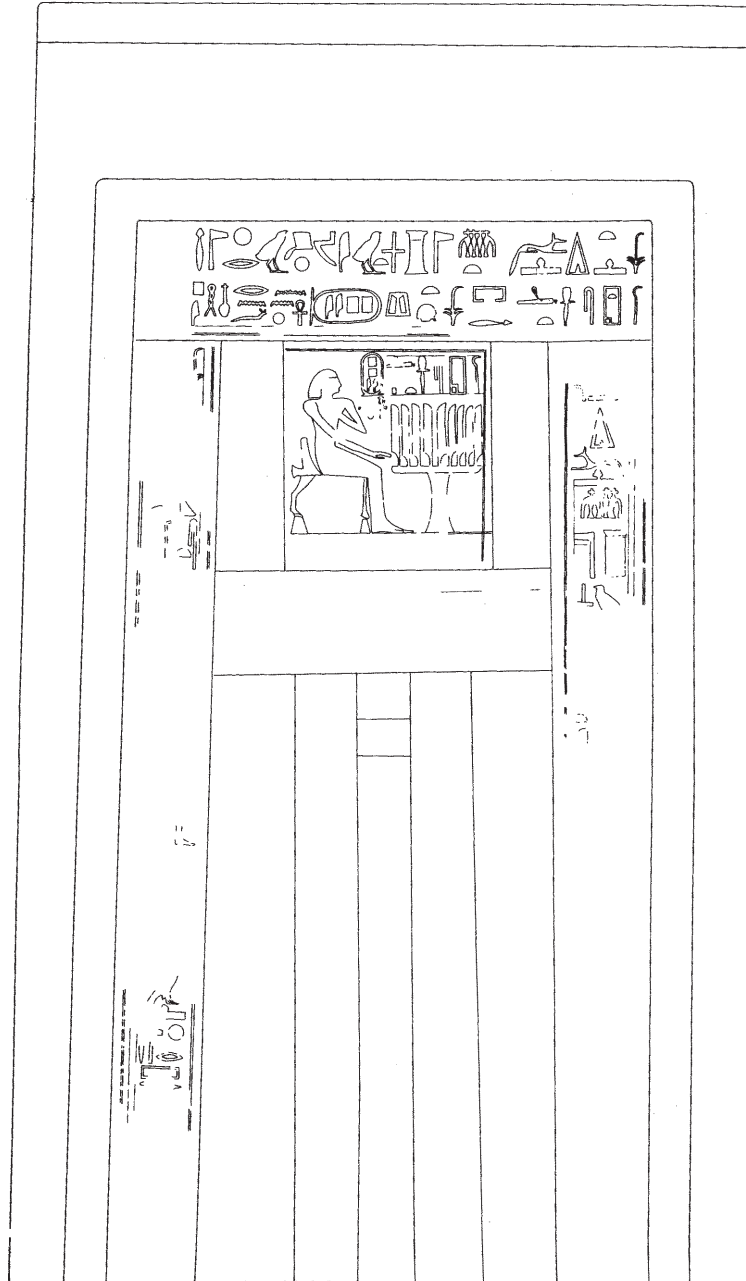
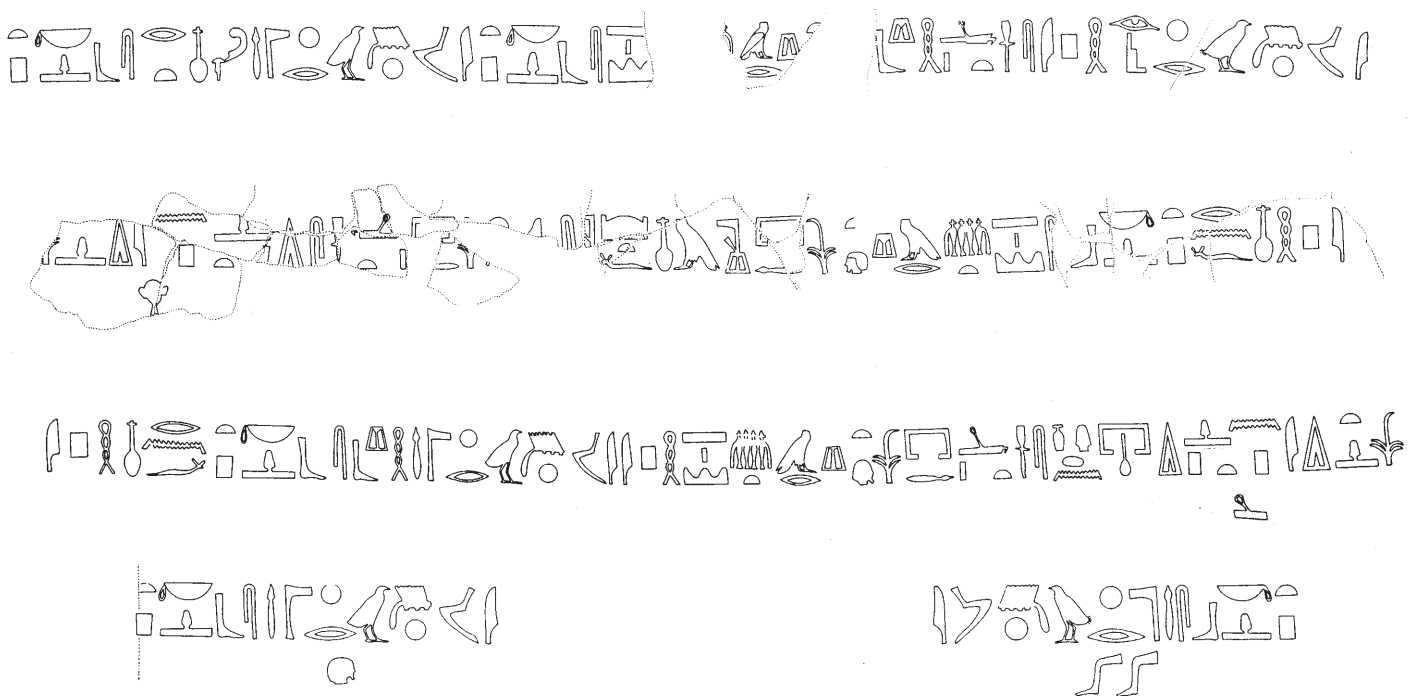


Figure 11: False door of Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).  
(Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), fig. 2).



(a) South side.



(b) Inscriptions on the sarcophagus.

Figure 12: Sarcophagus of Niankhpepy/ Sobekhotep/ Hepi (Saqqara).  
(Kanawati, *GM* 201 (2004), pl. 1, fig. 3).



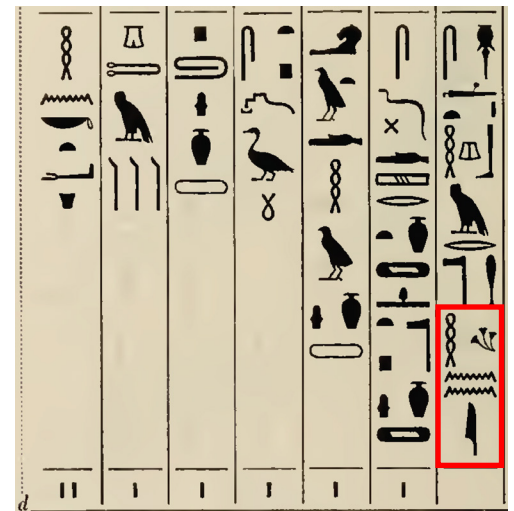
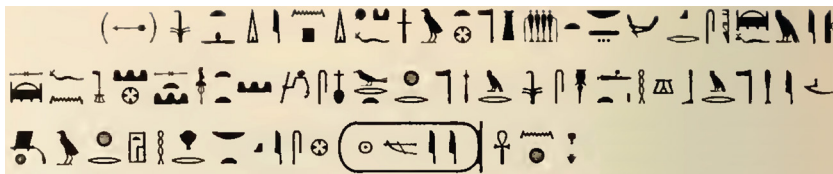






Figure 15: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, west wall.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84).

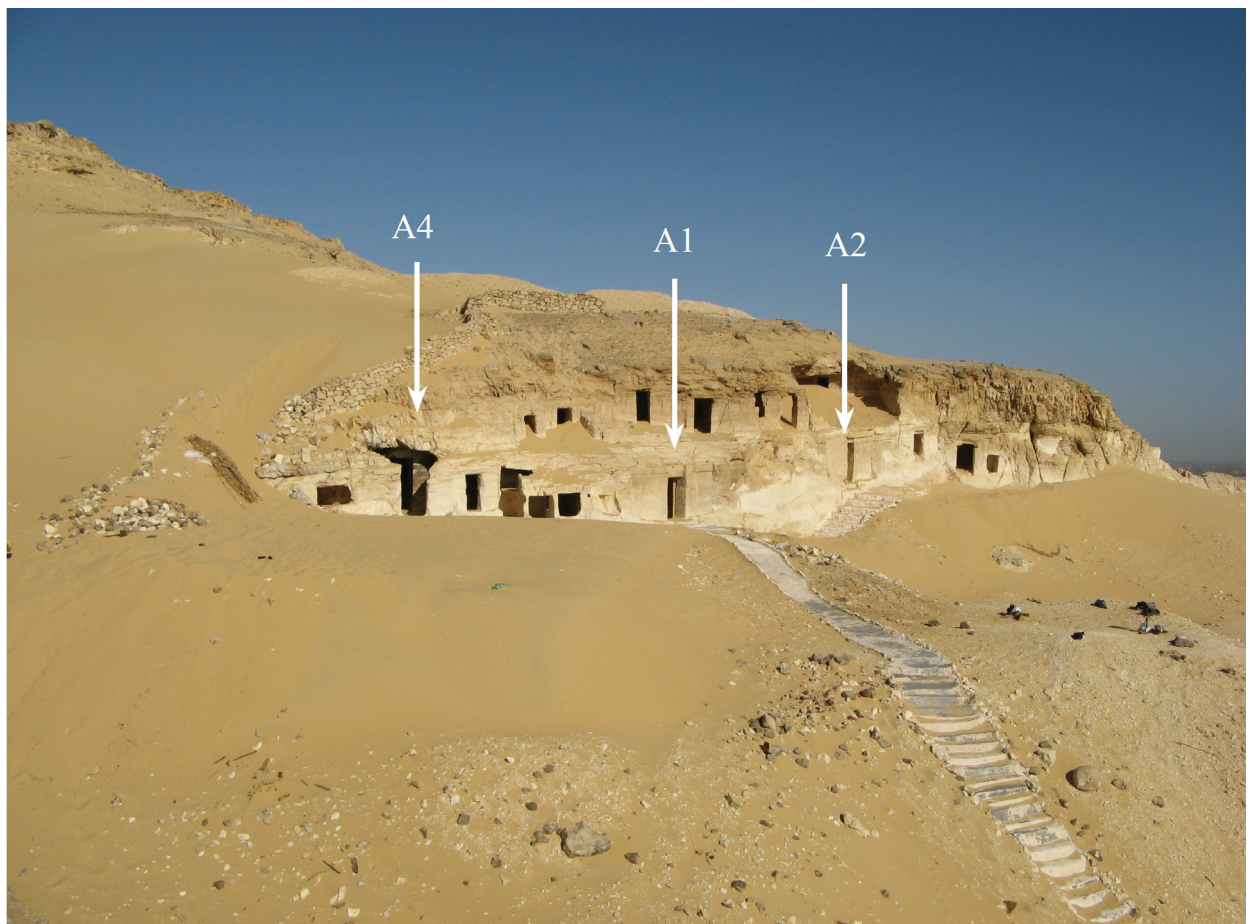


Figure 16: Tombs of section A, Meir.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 1 (b)).

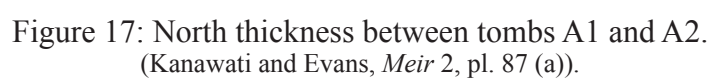
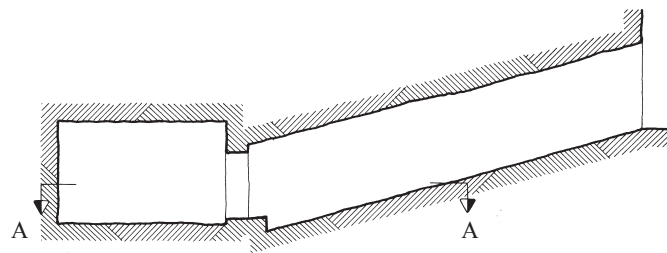


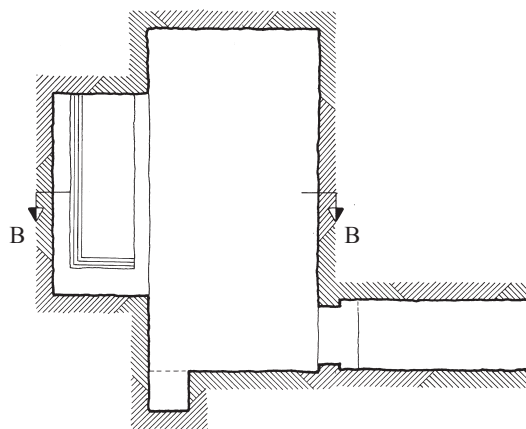
Figure 17: North thickness between tombs A1 and A2.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 87 (a)).



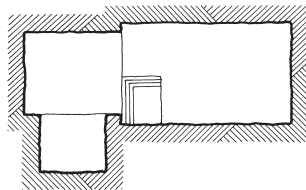
Figure 18: Architectural plan of tombs A1, A2 and A4.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



Passage II, section.



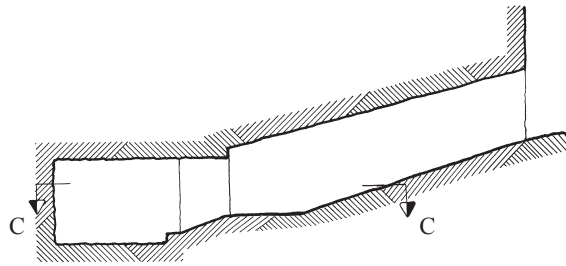
Section plan A-A.



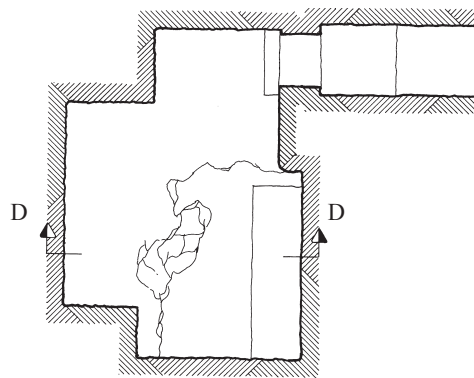
Section B-B.



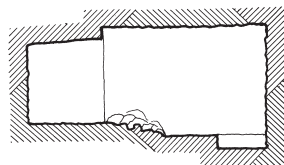
Figure 19: Sections of the burial chamber of Niankhpepy the black, tomb A4.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



Passage III, section.



Section plan C-C.



Section D-D.



Figure 20: Sections of burial chamber of Niankhpepy the black's wife.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



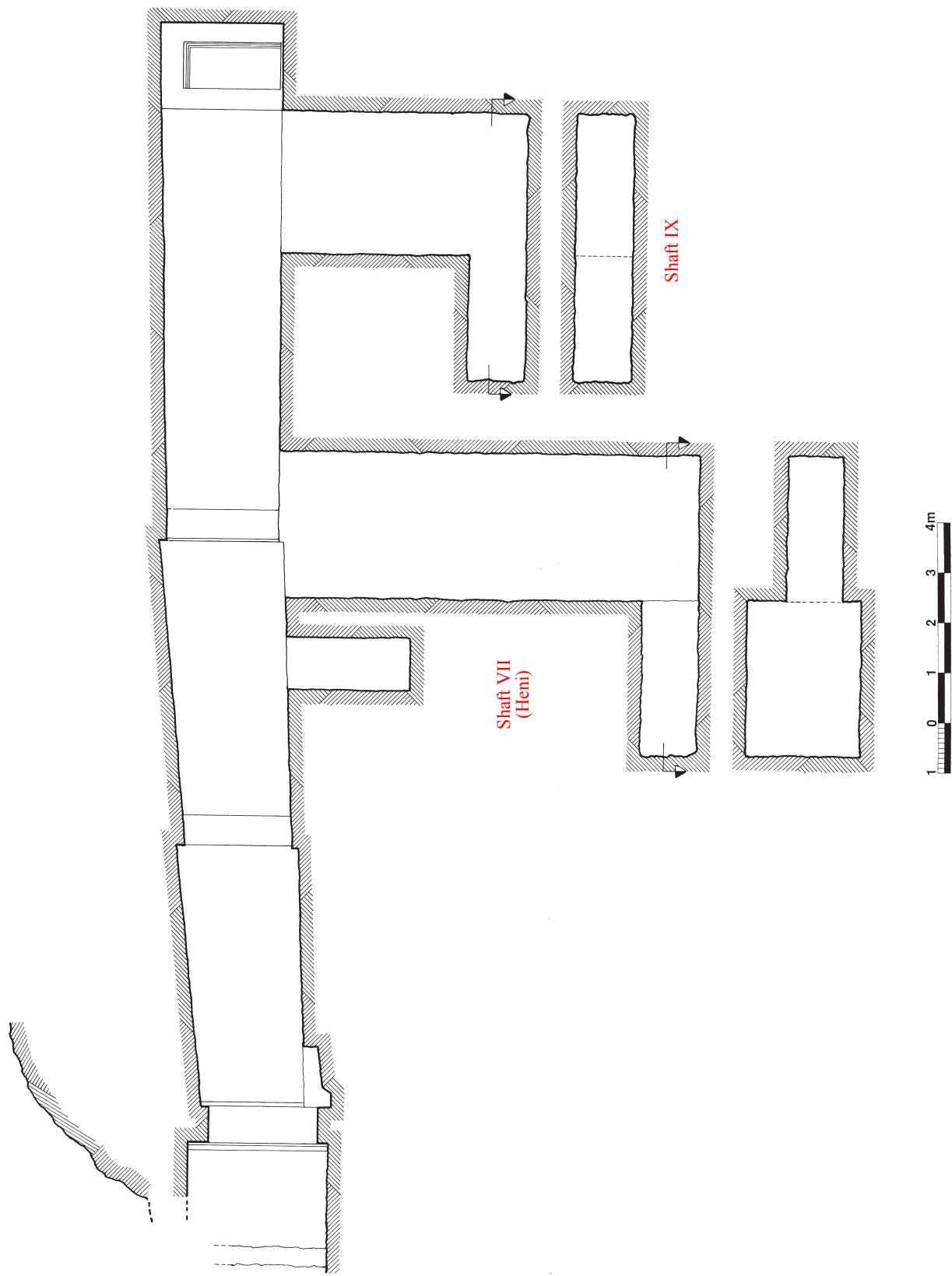


Figure 21: Section of shaft VII and burial chamber of Henyt (Henri)/ Noferkai, tomb A4.  
 (Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

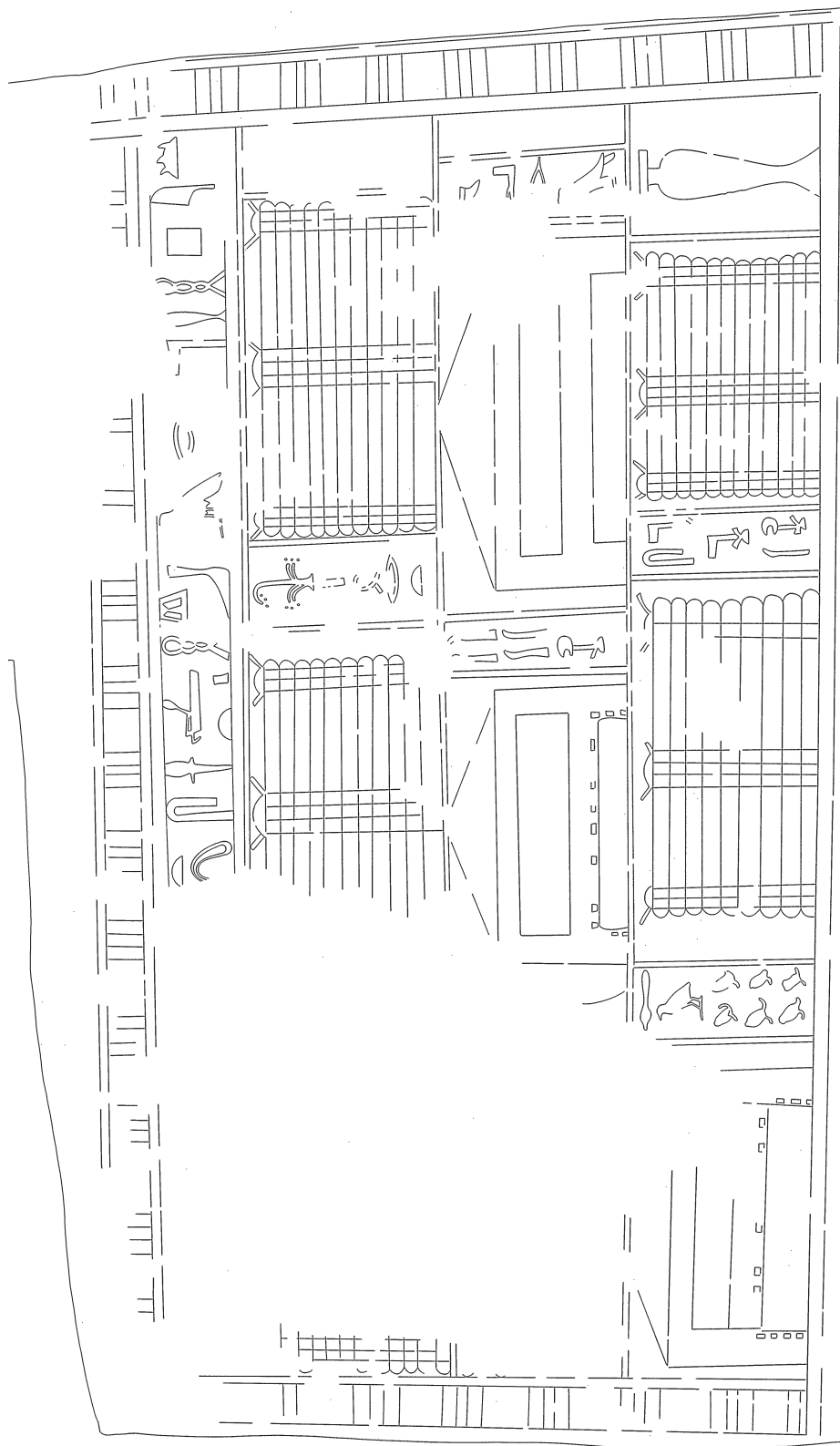


Figure 22: Burial chamber of Niankhpepy the black, south wall of burial pit, tomb A4.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

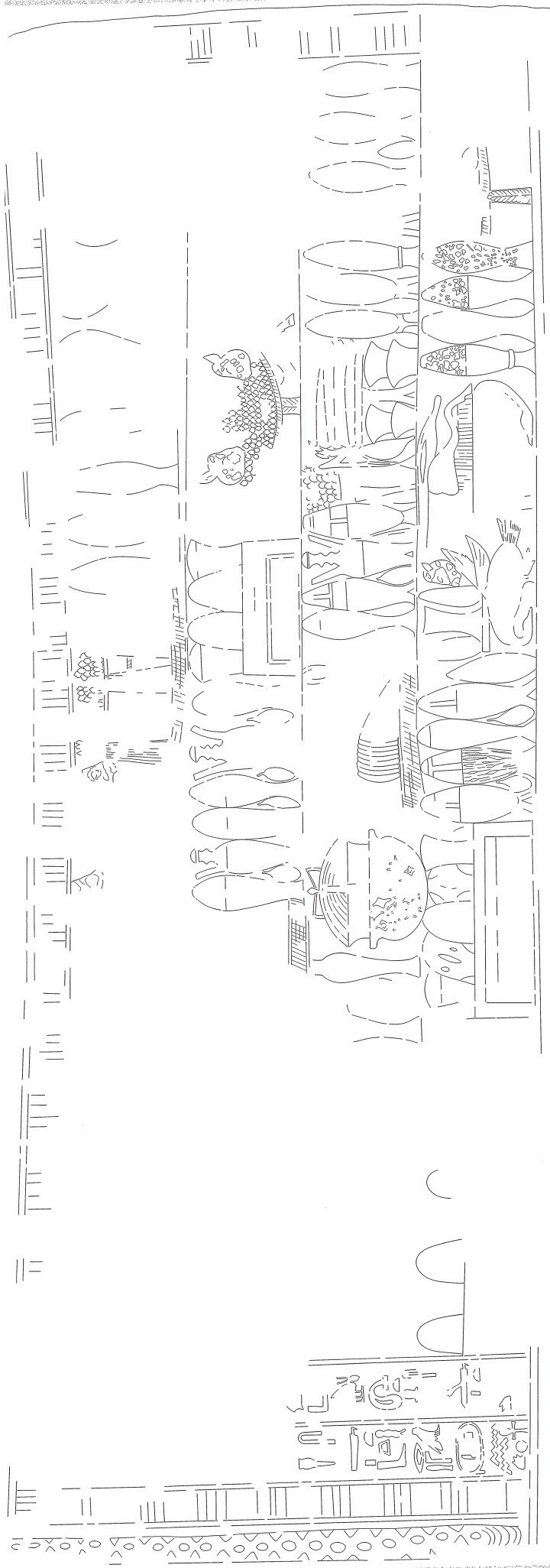


Figure 23: Burial chamber of Niankhpepy the black, north wall, tomb A4.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



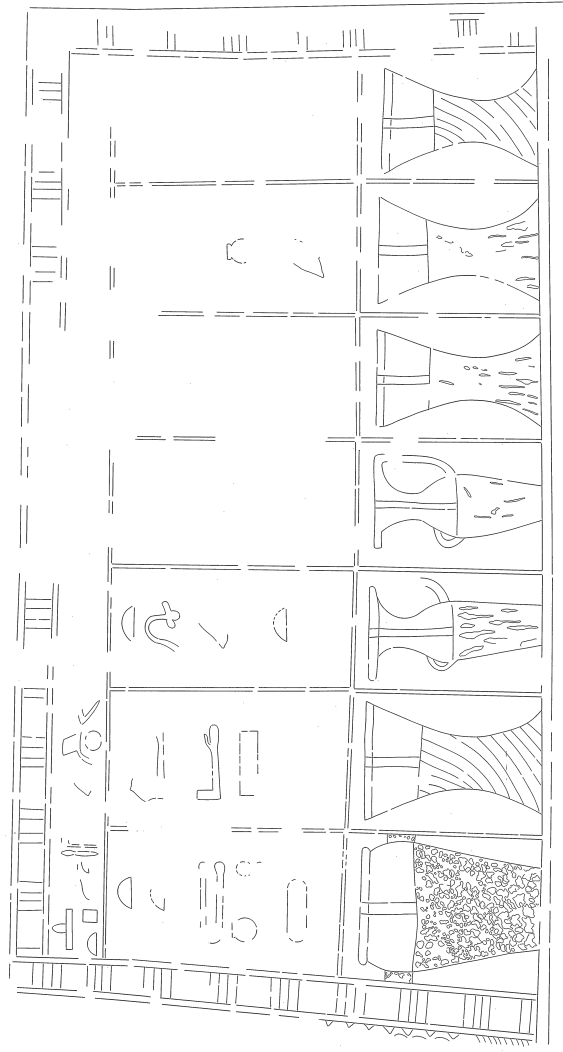


Figure 24: Burial chamber of Niankhpepy the black, north wall of burial pit, tomb A4.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

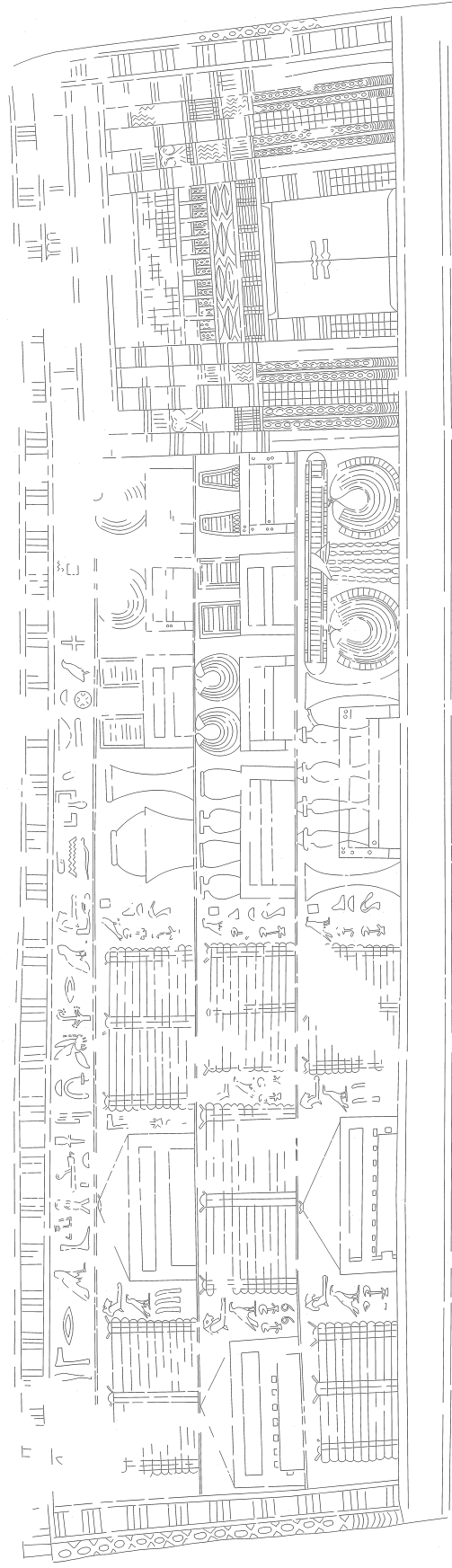


Figure 25: Burial chamber of Niankhpepy the black, west wall, tomb A4.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



Figure 26: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1), west wall, south section.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

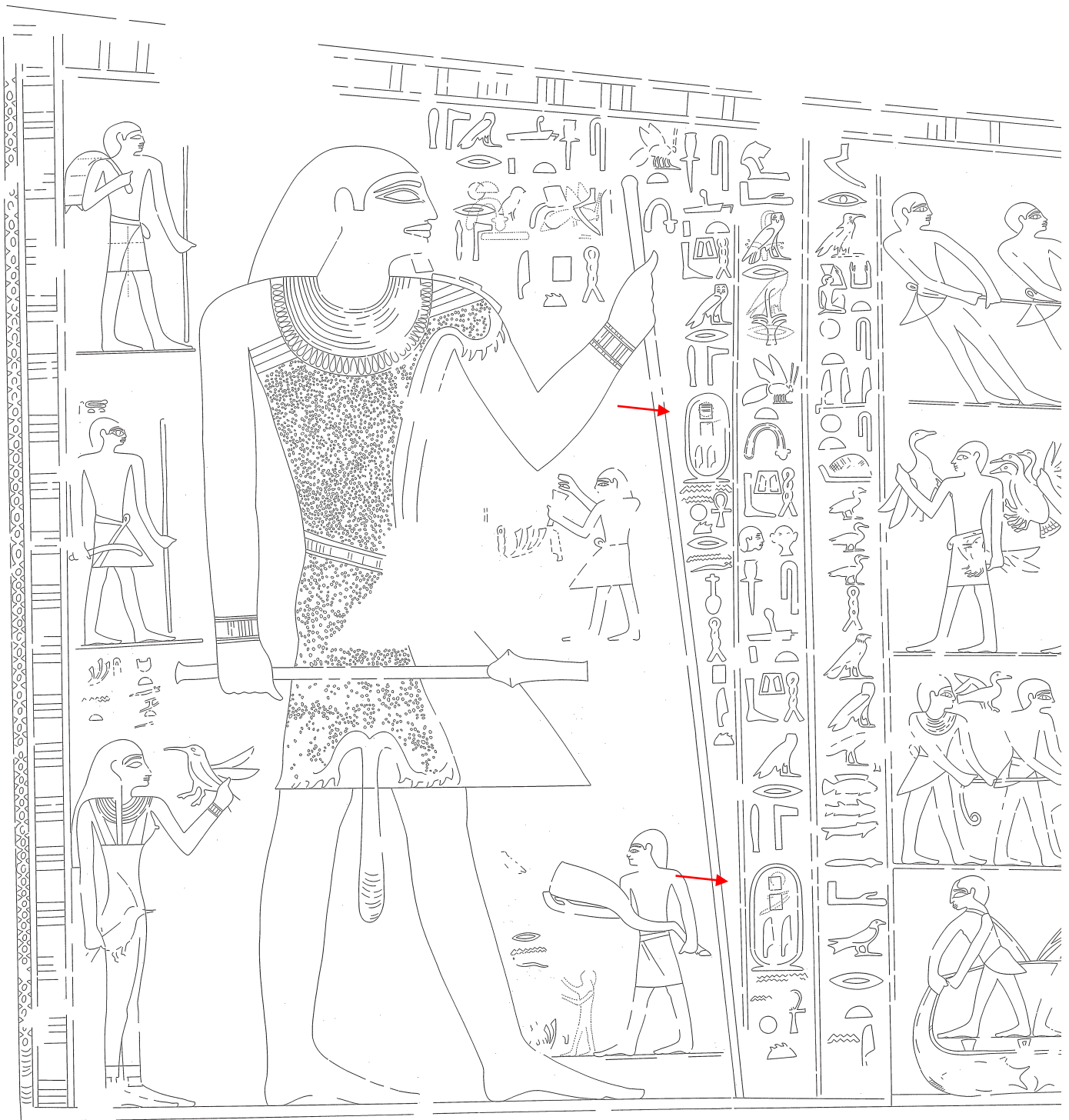


Figure 27: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1), east wall.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

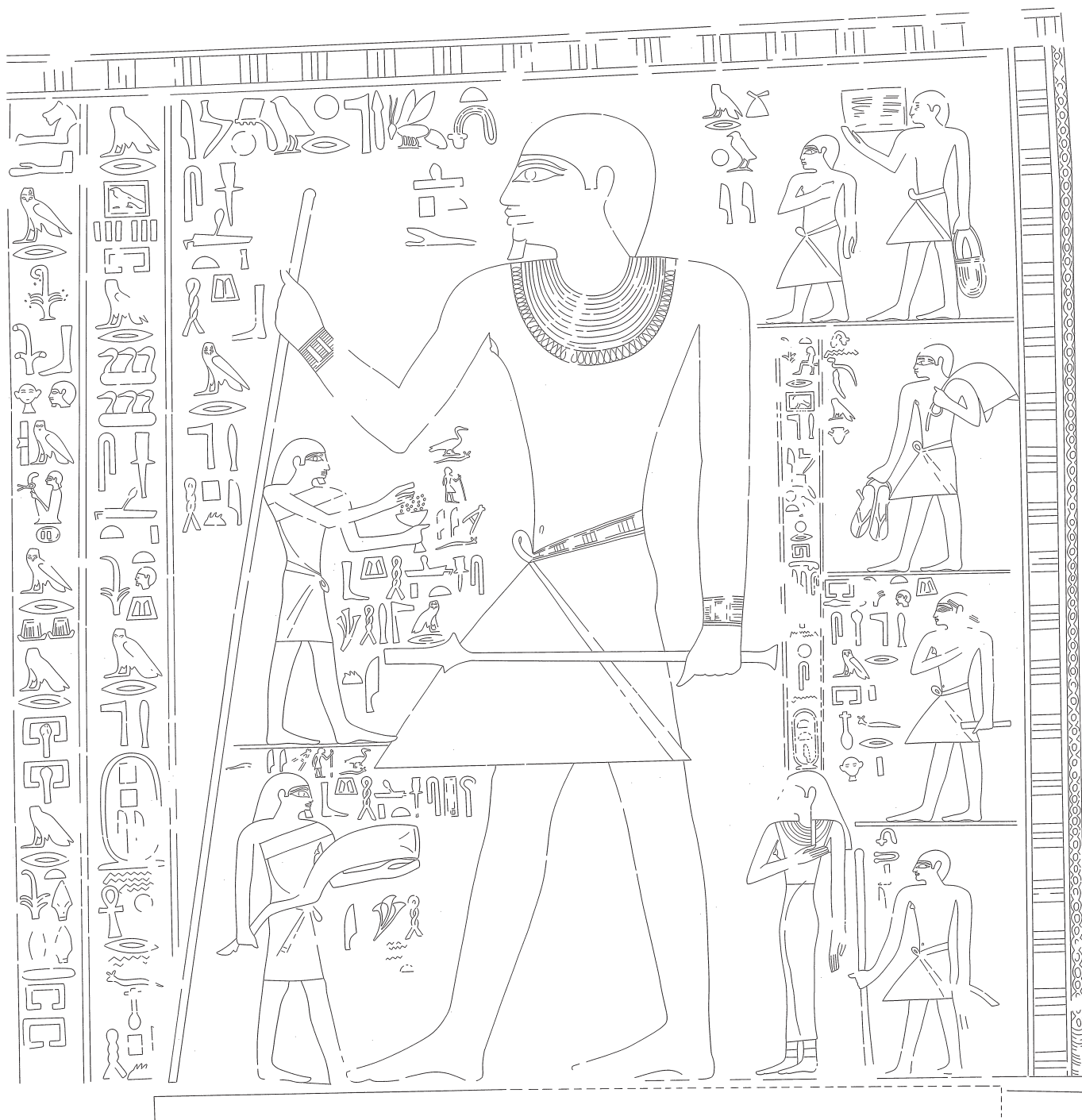


Figure 28: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1), north wall, east section.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



Figure 29: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1), upper part of the west facade.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



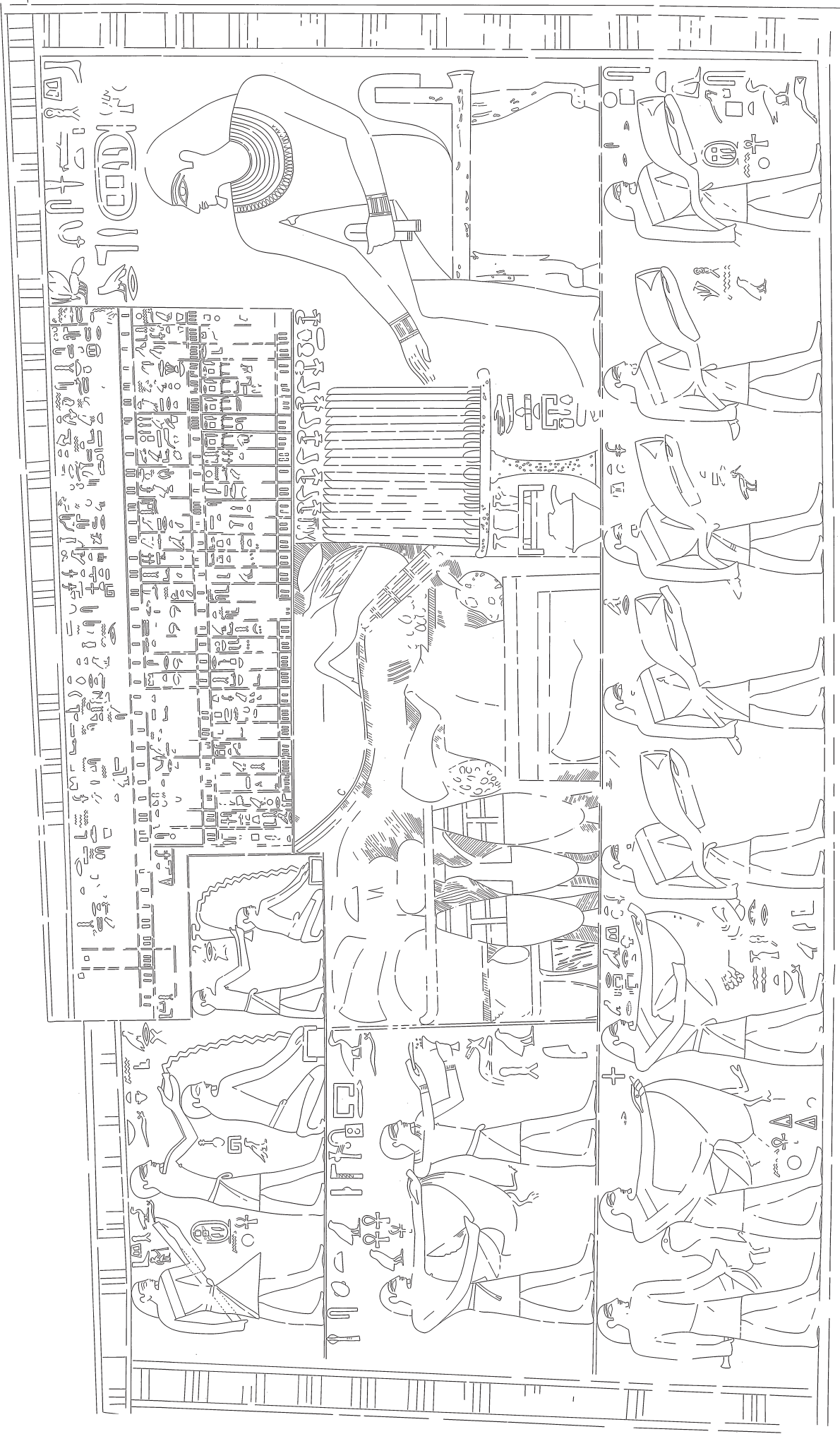


Figure 30: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1), west wall, north section.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



Figure 31: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 1, south wall.  
(Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 3 (3)).

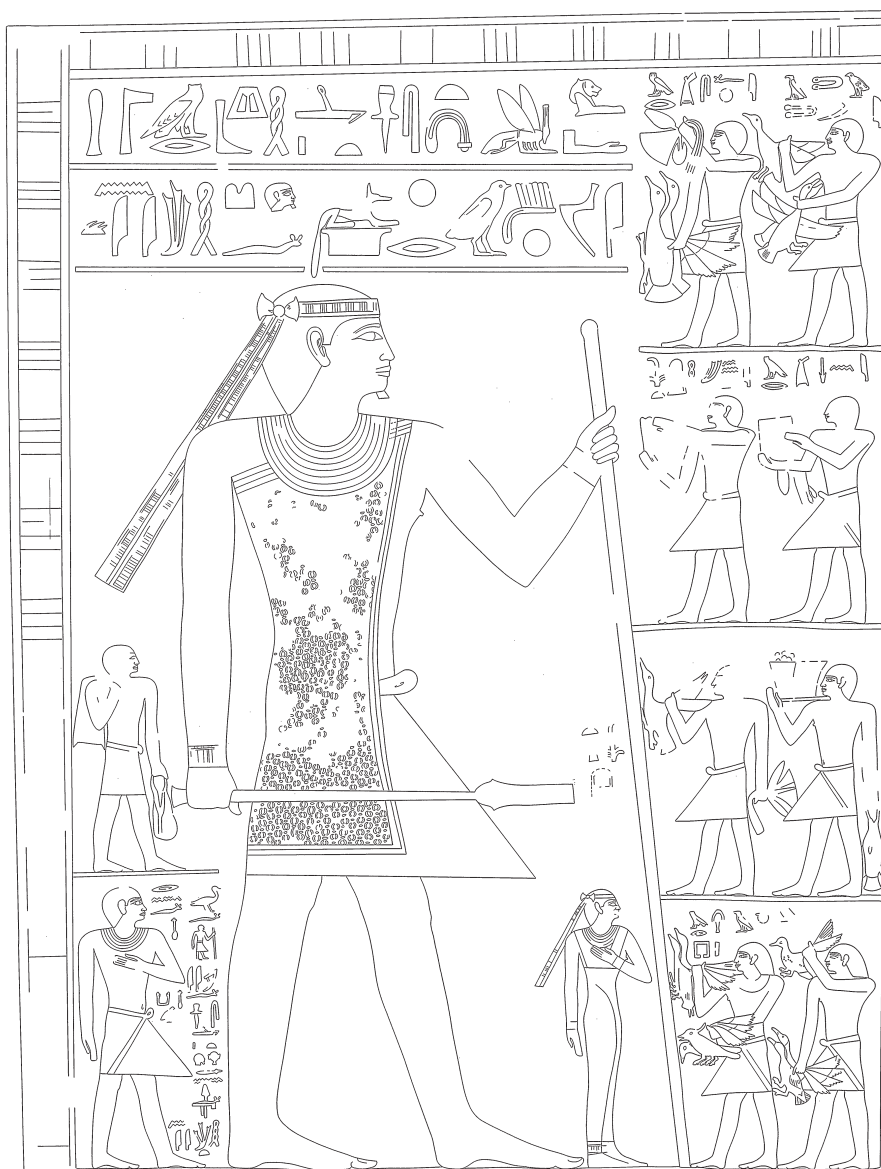


Figure 32: Tomb of Pepyankh the black A2, room 4, west wall, north section.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88).

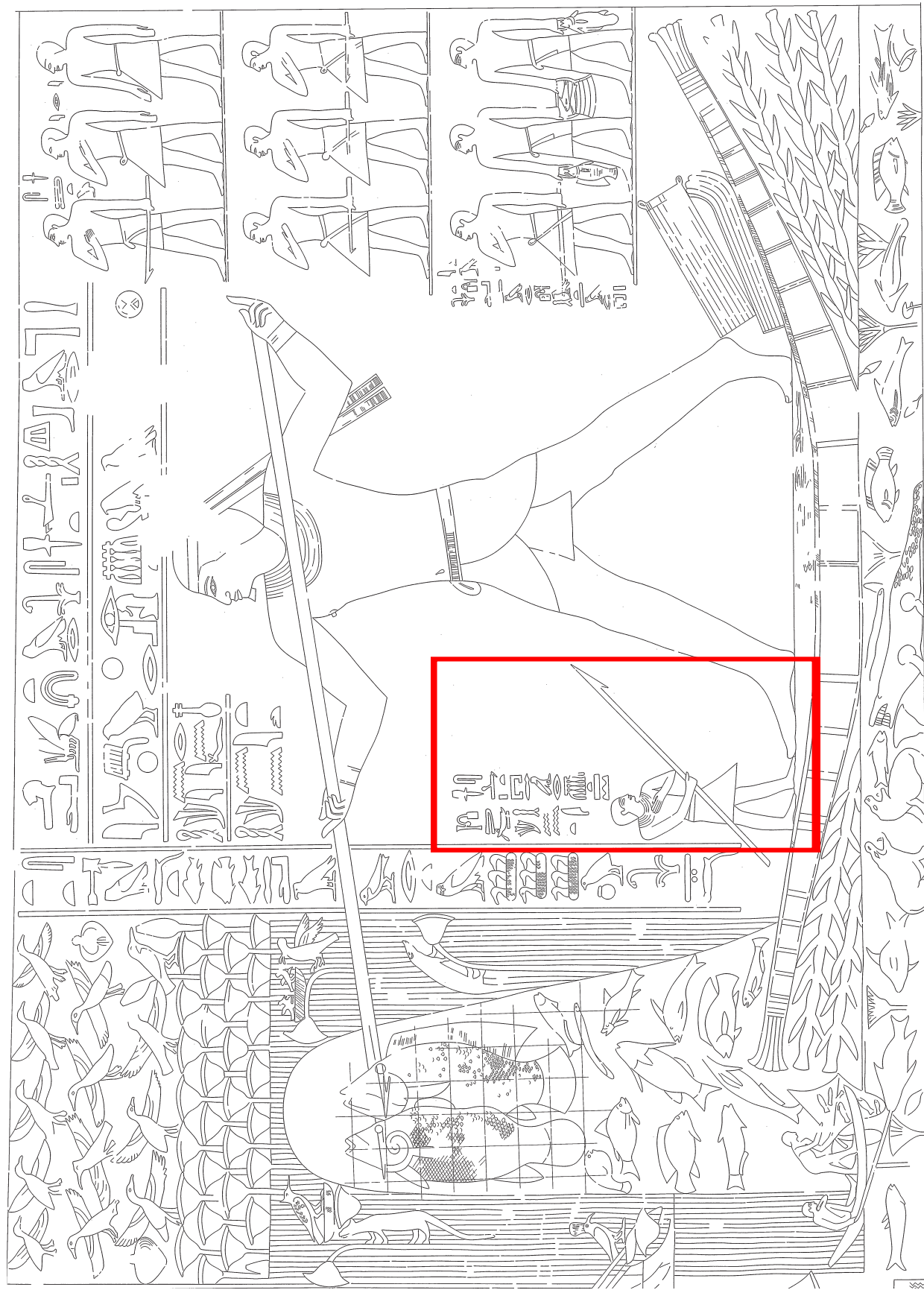


Figure 33: Tomb of Pepyankh the black A2, room 4, south wall, west section.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 84).





Figure 34: Pepyseneb in the tomb of Isi, Edfu.  
(Ruszczyćówna, in *Rocznik* 3, 70, figs. 16-17).



Figure 35: Stele of Nebet and  
Khui, Abydos (CG1578).  
(Courtesy of Museum of Cairo).





Nome	Number of Estates
9	3
10	4
11	4
12	2
13	4
14	3
15	3
16	5
18	3
22	3

Figure 36: Upper Egyptian royal funerary estates listed in the southern valley temple of Senefru.  
(According to Fakhry, *Sneferu* 2:1, 22-47, fig. 15).

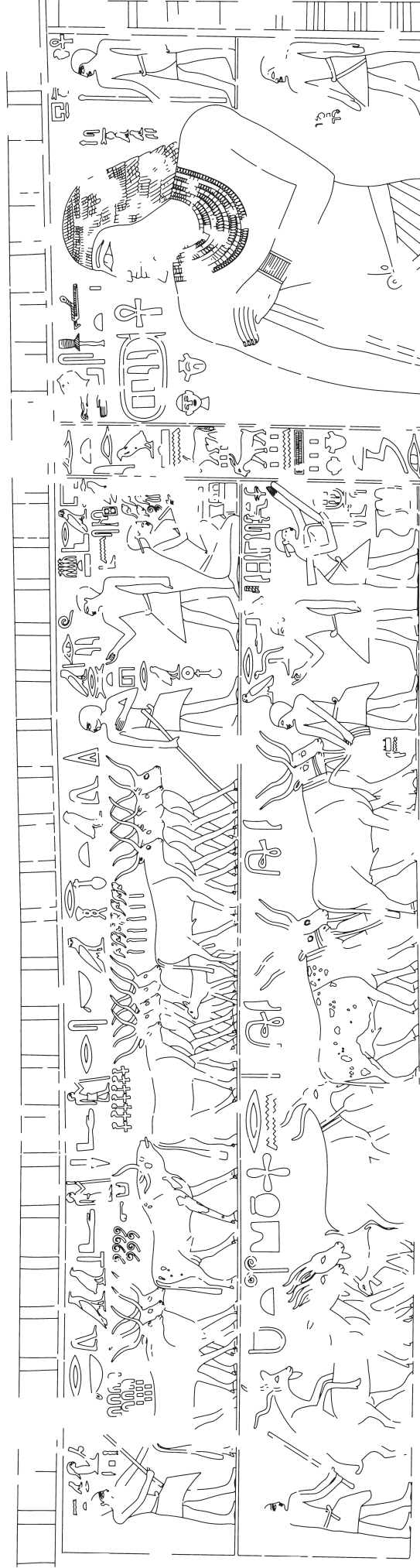


Figure 37: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, east wall.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 82).



Figure 38: Tomb of Pepyankh the black, room 4, east wall.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 92).

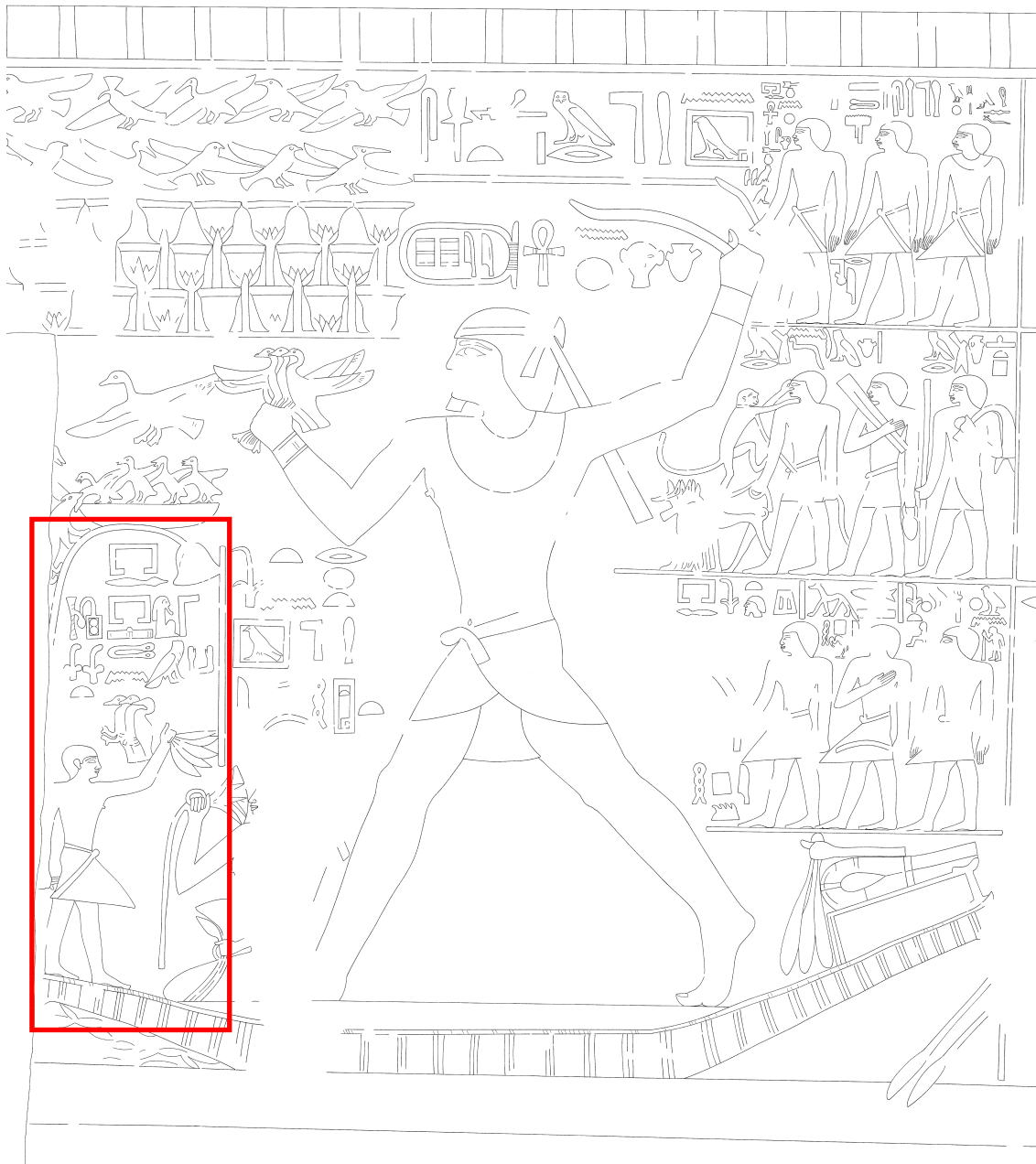


Figure 39: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, east wall, south section.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81).

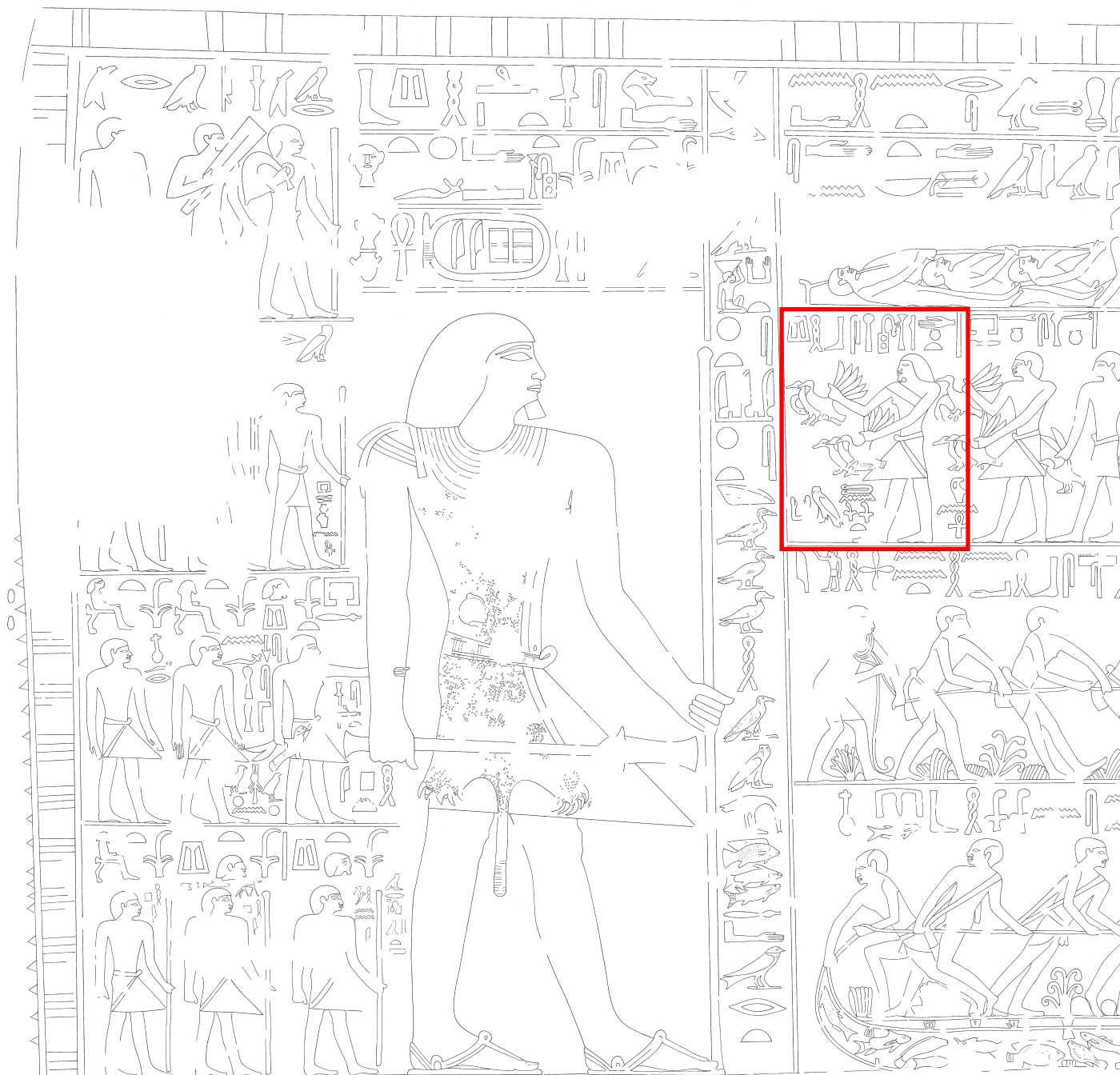


Figure 40: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, east wall, north section.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79).

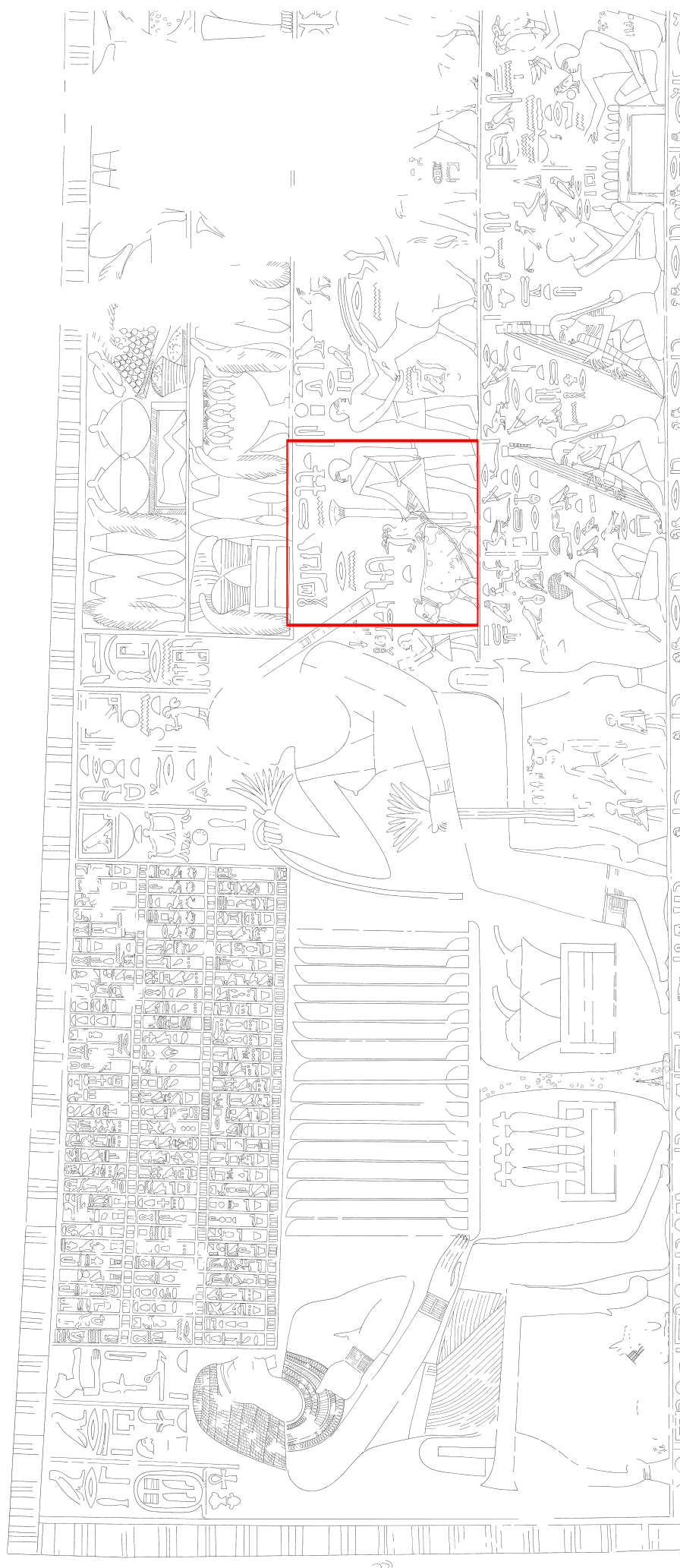


Figure 41: Tomb of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, north wall, west section.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 88).





Figure 42: Tomb of Mehu, the artist Kaiemtjenenet accompanying Mehu in the marshland.  
(Photograph by author).



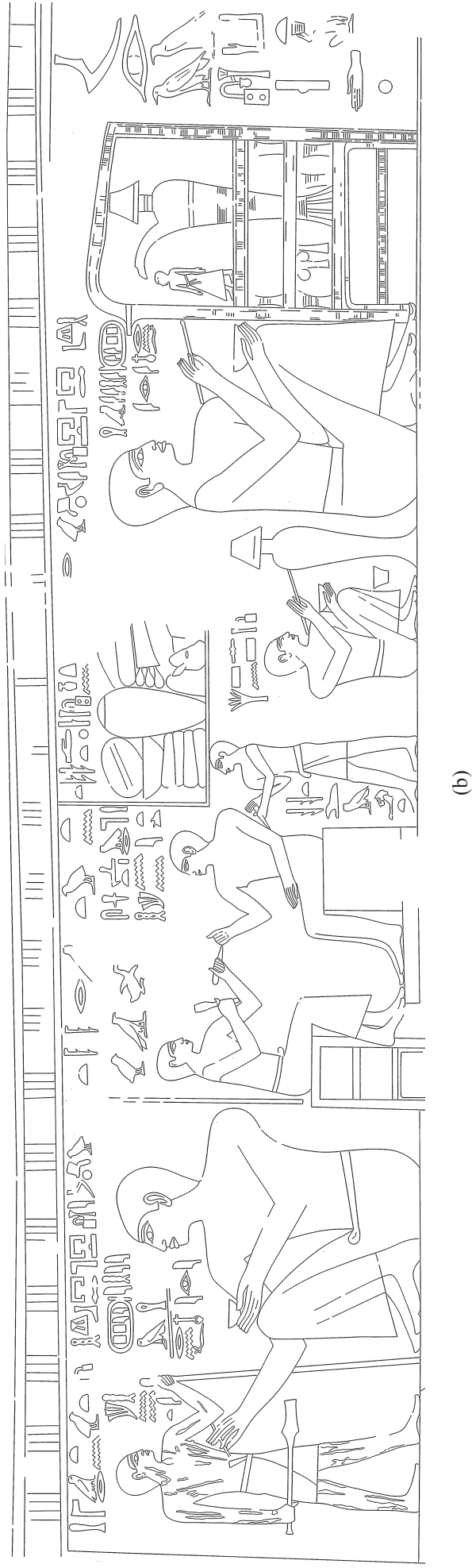


Figure 43: The artist Kaiemtjenenet in the tomb of Mehu.  
(Photograph by author).





(a)



(b)

Figure 44: The artist Ihemsapepy/ Iri in the tomb of Pepyankh the black, room 1.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pls. 73-74).

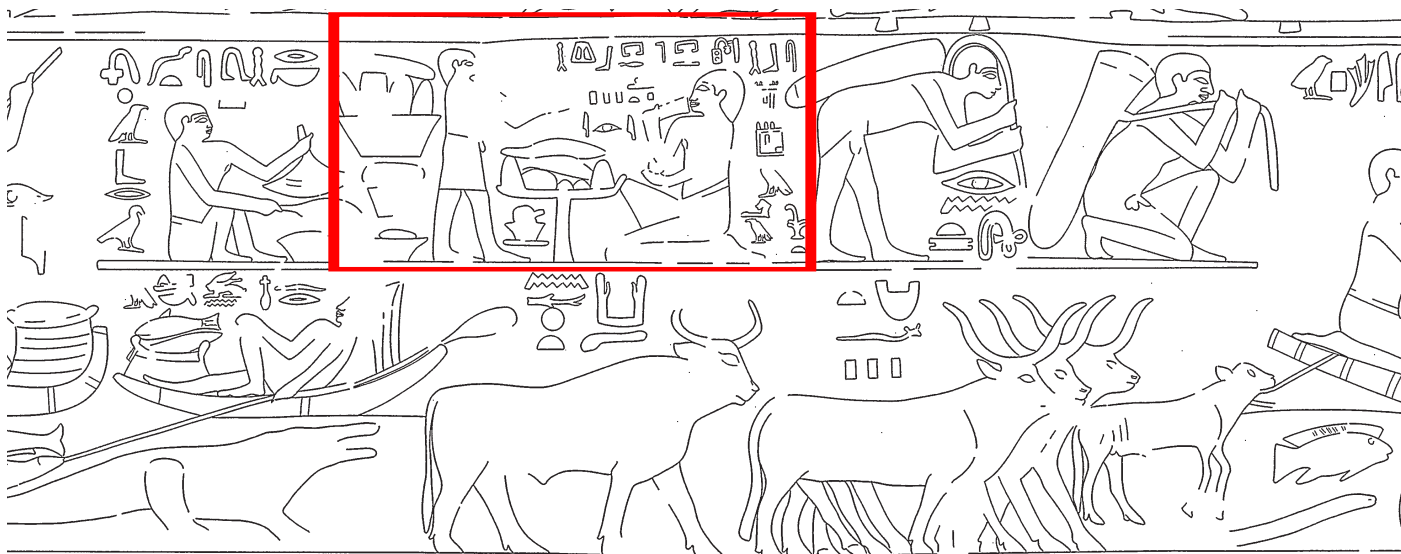


Figure 45: The artist Ihyemsapepy/ Iri in the marshlands, tomb of Pepyankh the black, room 4.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir 2*, pl. 90).

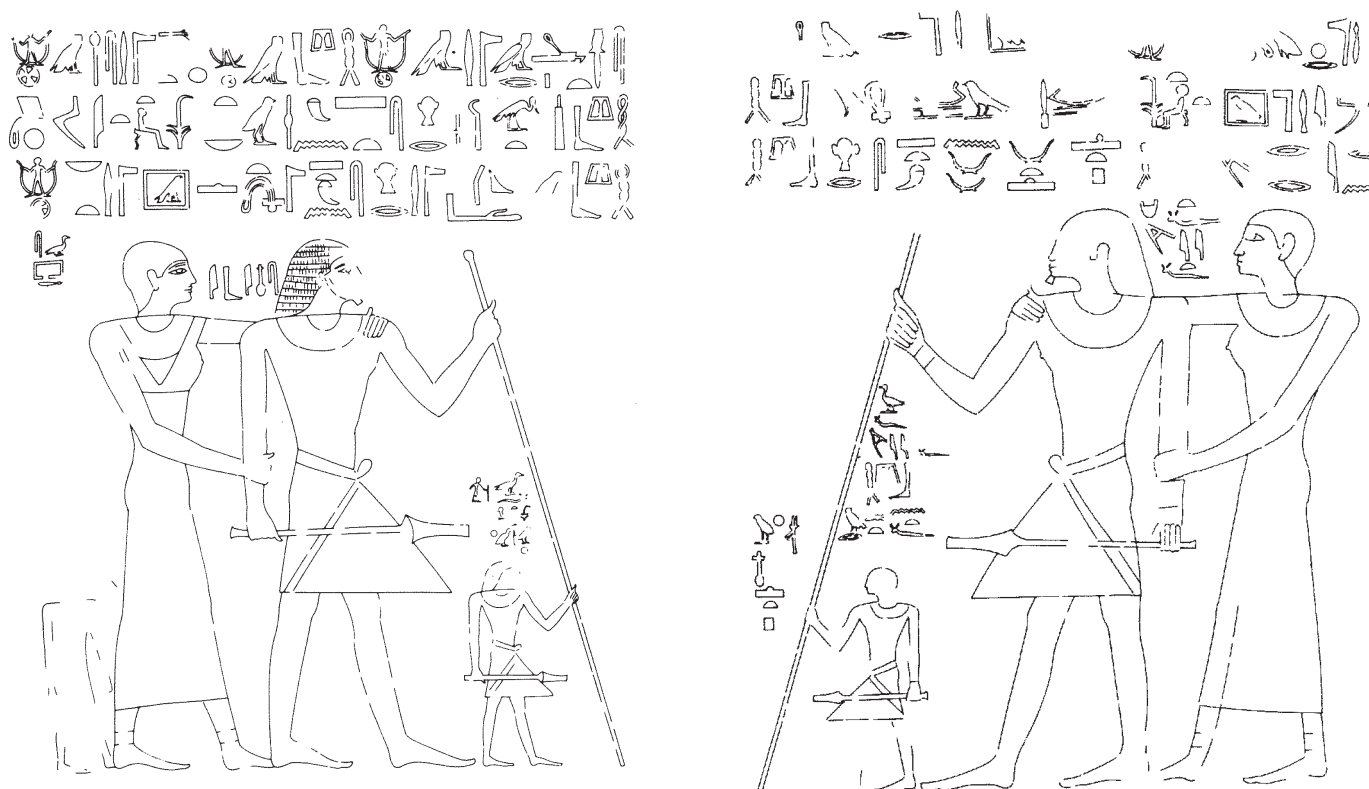


Figure 46: Tomb of Khewenwekh, façade.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 34-35).

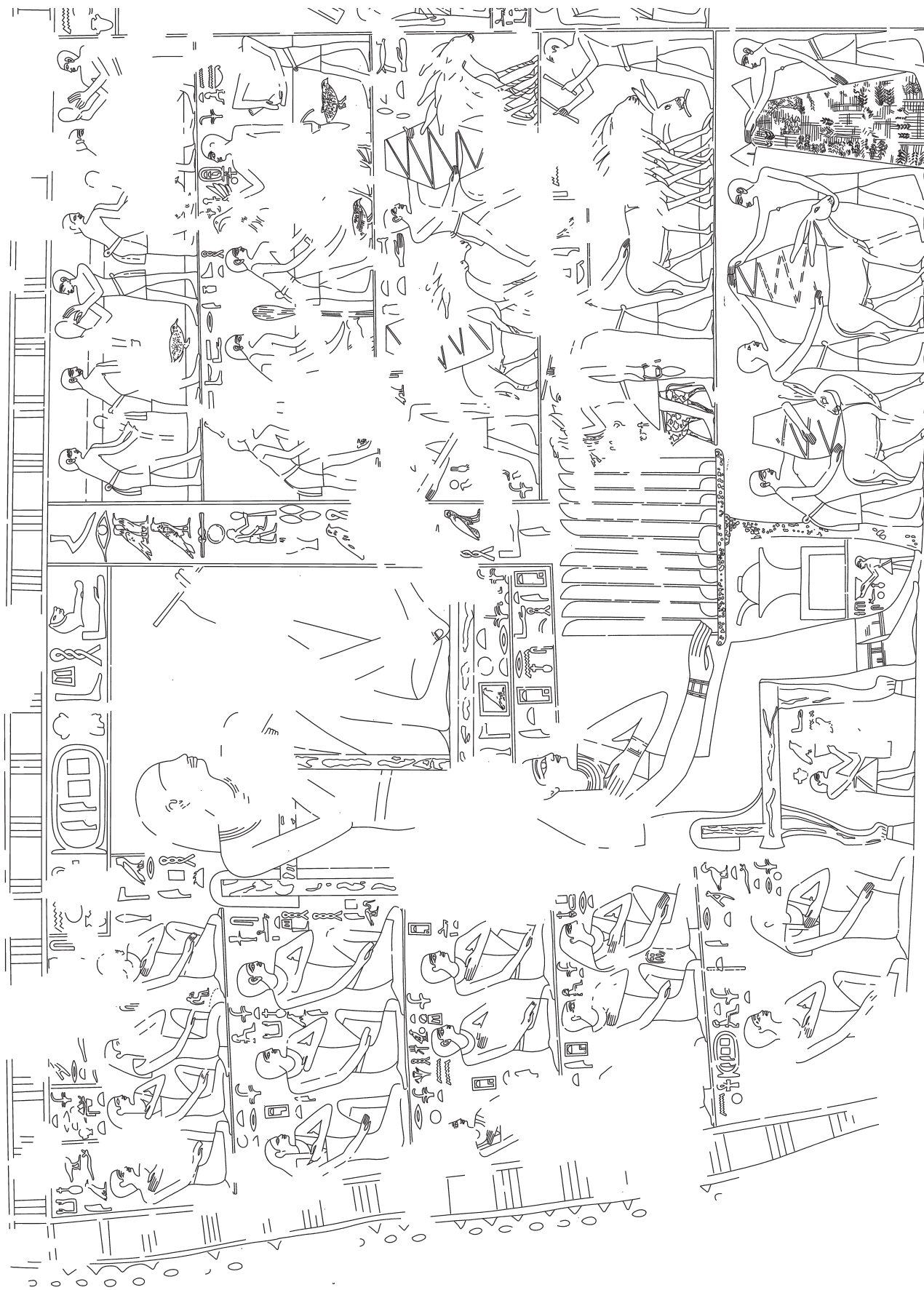


Figure 47: Wife of Pepyankh the middle, room 3, west wall.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84).



Figure 48: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black (A1), north wall, west section.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

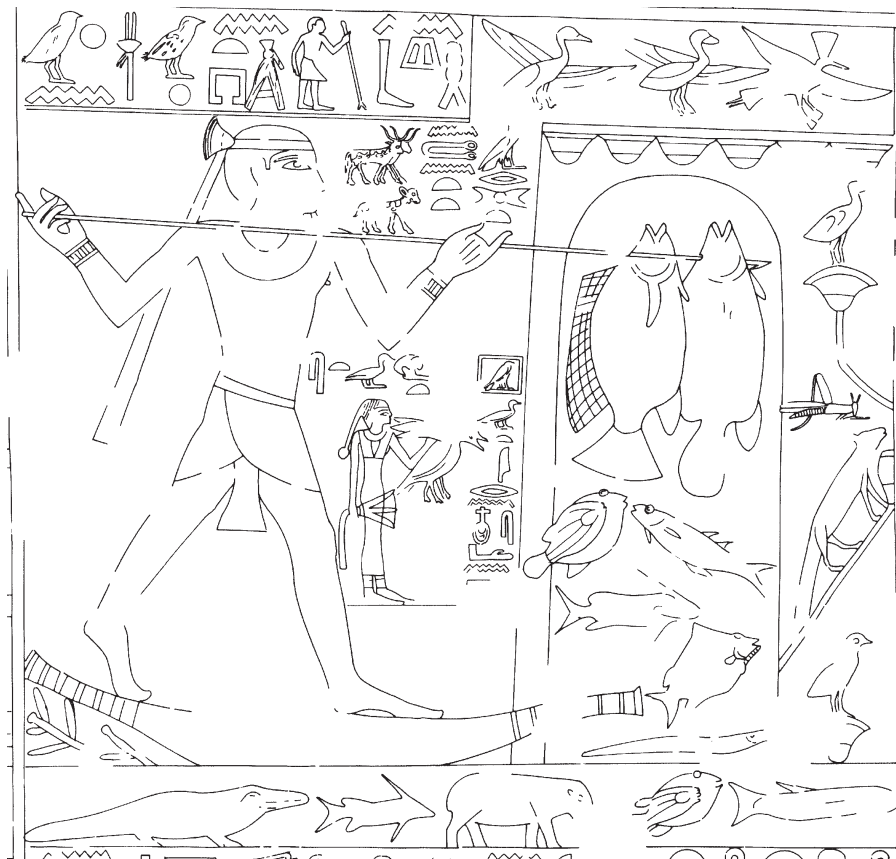


Figure 49: Khewenwekh.  
(El- Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El- Amarna*, pl.38).



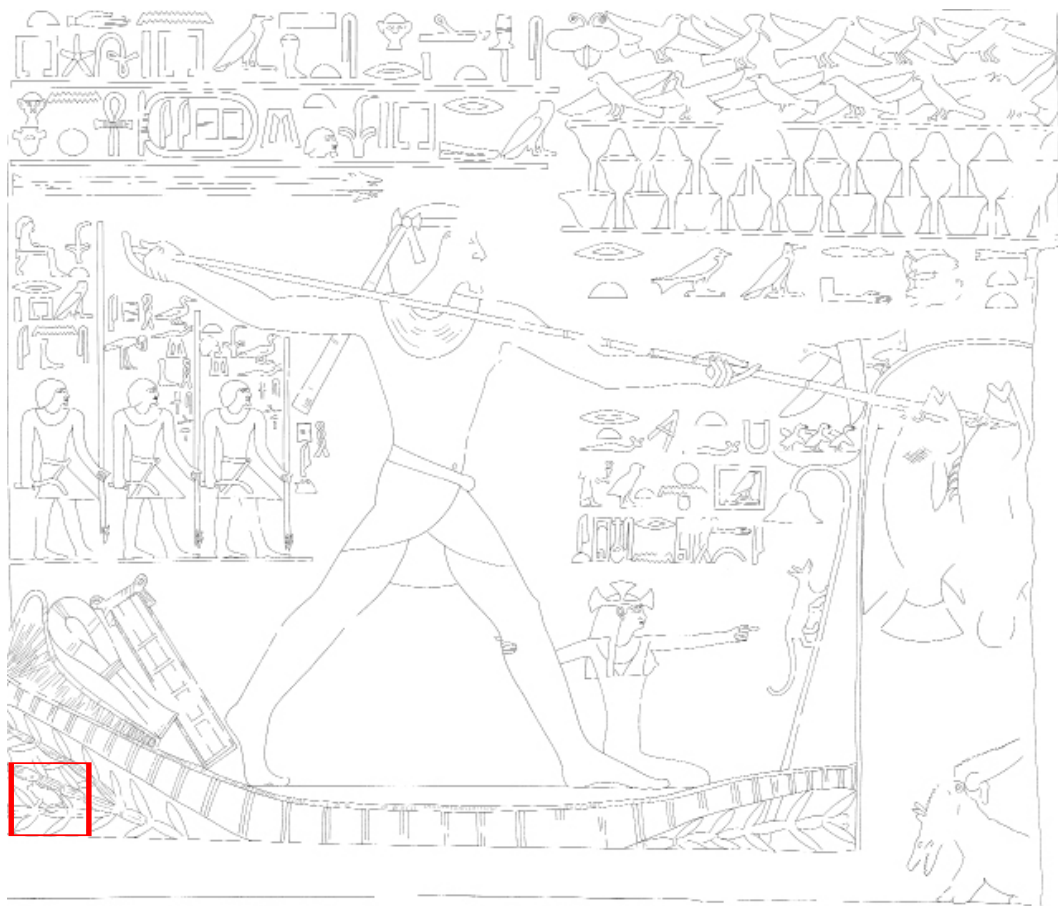


Figure 50: Pepyankh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80).

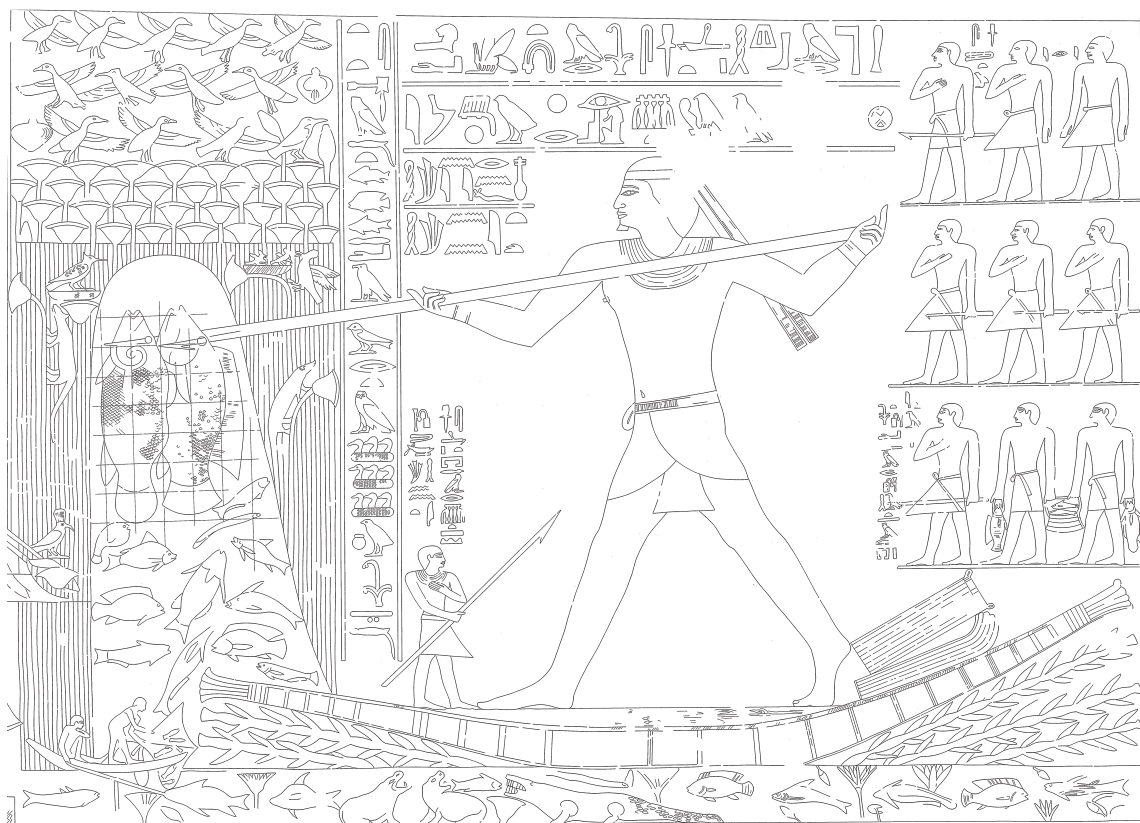
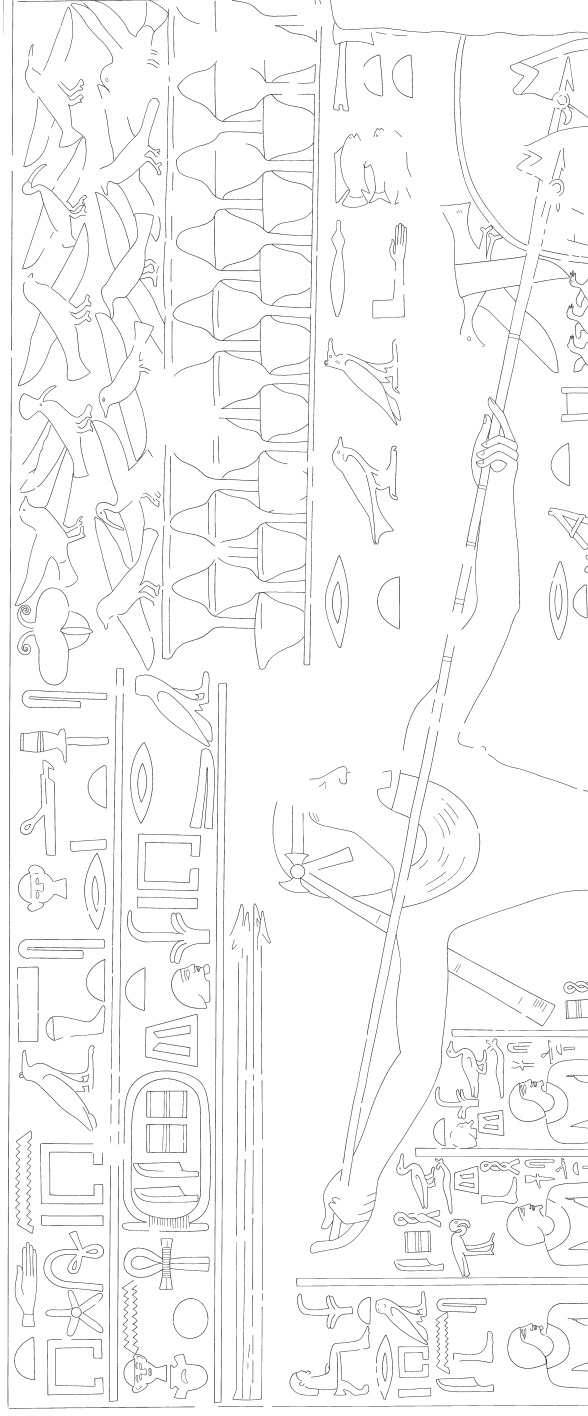


Figure 51: Pepyankh the black.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 84).

(a) Pepyankh the middle, Meir.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80).



(b) Mehu, Saqqara  
(Photograph by author).



Figure 52: Spare spears.

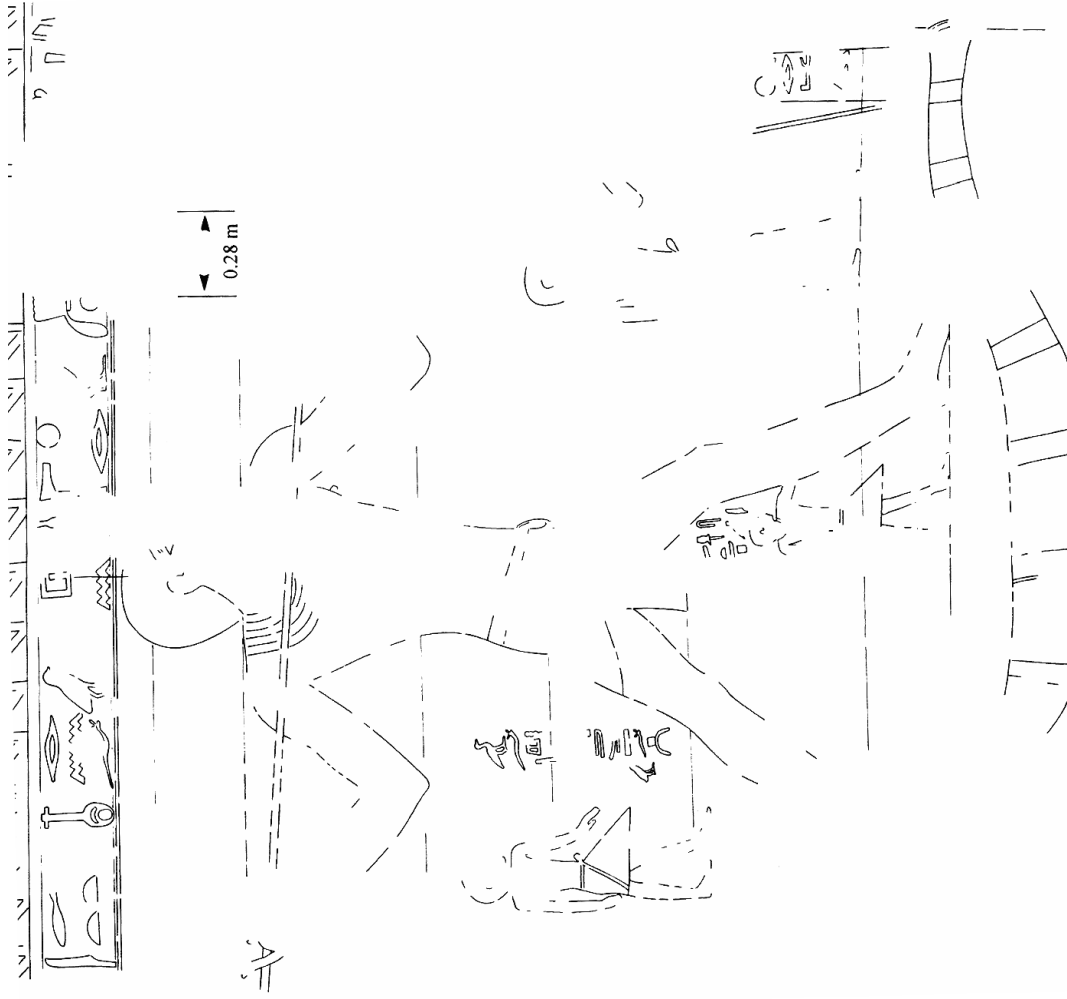


Figure 53: Henqu I/ Khetiti, Deir el-Gebrawi.  
(Kanawati, *Deir El- Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39).

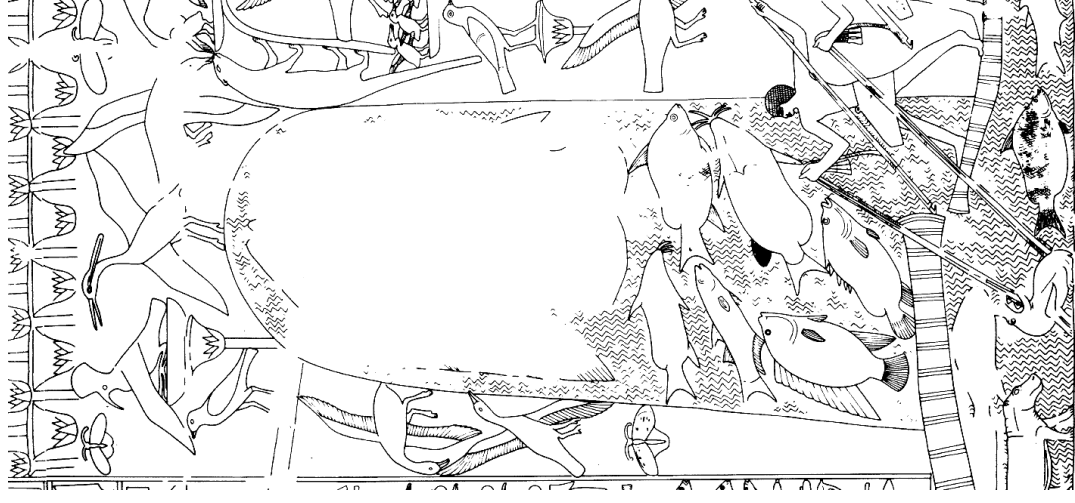


Figure 54: Water mound, tomb of Seankhuipthah, Saqqara.  
(Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 76).



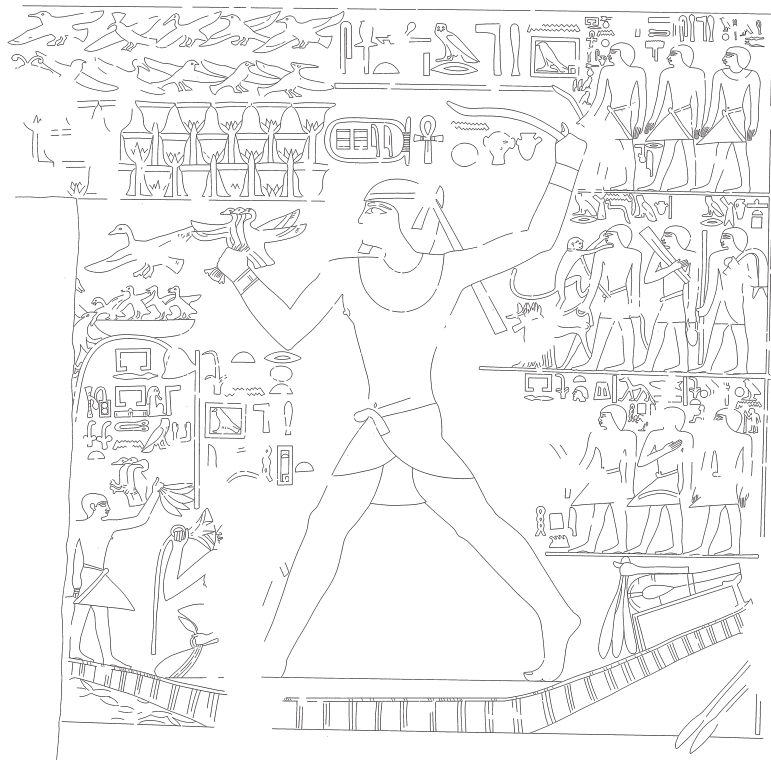


Figure 55: Fowling scene, Pepyankh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81).



Figure 56: Fowling scene, Pepyankh the black.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88).





(a) Merefnebef.  
(Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*, pl. 65).



(b) Mehu.  
(Photograph by author).

Figure 57: Decoy birds, Saqqara.



(a) Wife of Pepyankh the middle, Meir.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80).



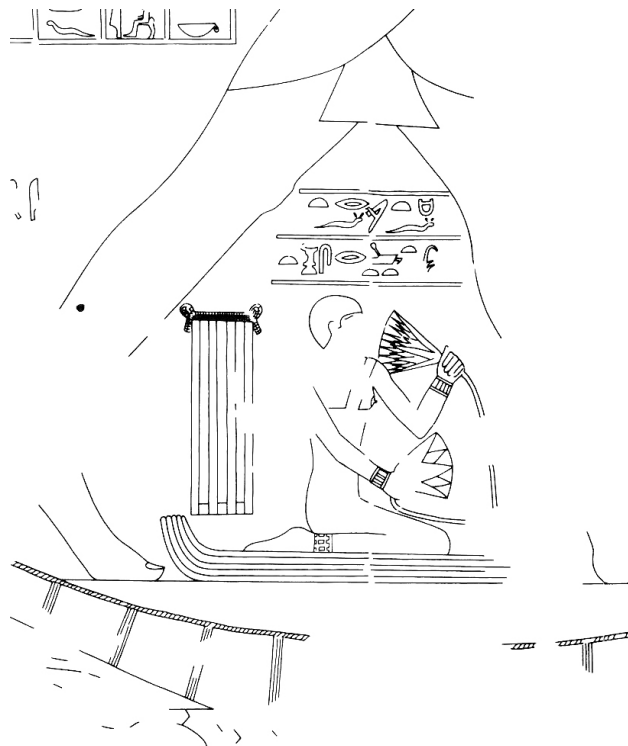
(b) Wife of Mehu, Saqqara.  
(Photograph by author).

Figure 58: Lotus crown with three flowers.





(a) Wife of Pepyankh the middle, Meir.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 81).

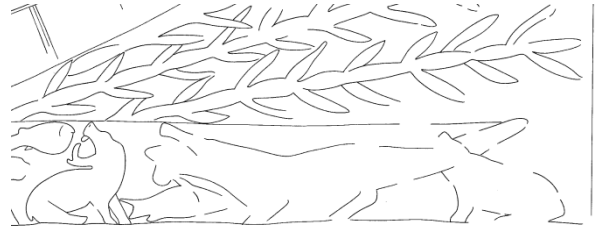


(b) Wife of Kaihep/ Tjeti-iqer, El-Hawawish.  
(Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 1, fig. 8).

Figure 59: Wife holding two lotus flowers.



(a) Pepyankh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 80).



(b) Pepyankh the black.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 88).



(c) Tjy.



(d) Kagemni.



(e) Mehu.



(f) Mereruka.

(c-f) Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

Figure 60: Hippopotamus attacking crocodile.

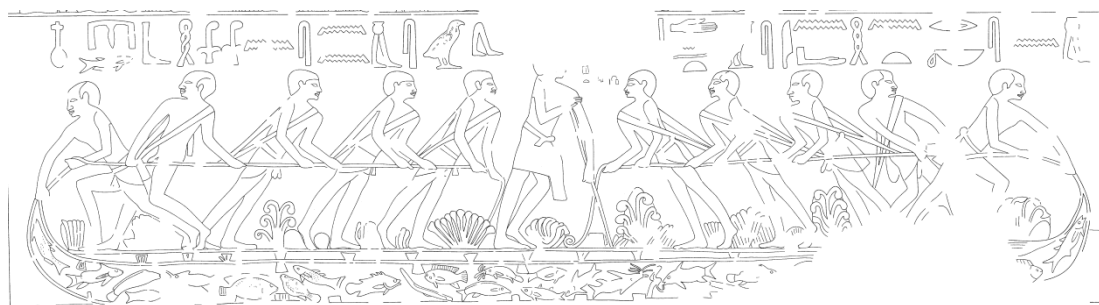


Figure 61: Dragnet scene, tomb of Pepyankh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79).

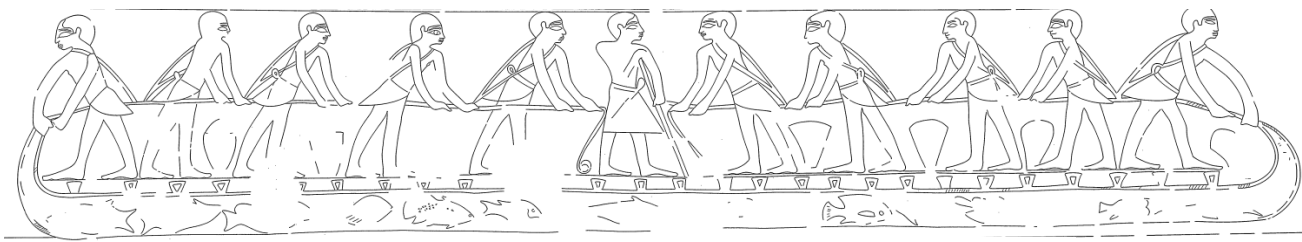


Figure 62: Dragnet scene, tomb of Niankhpepy the black.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

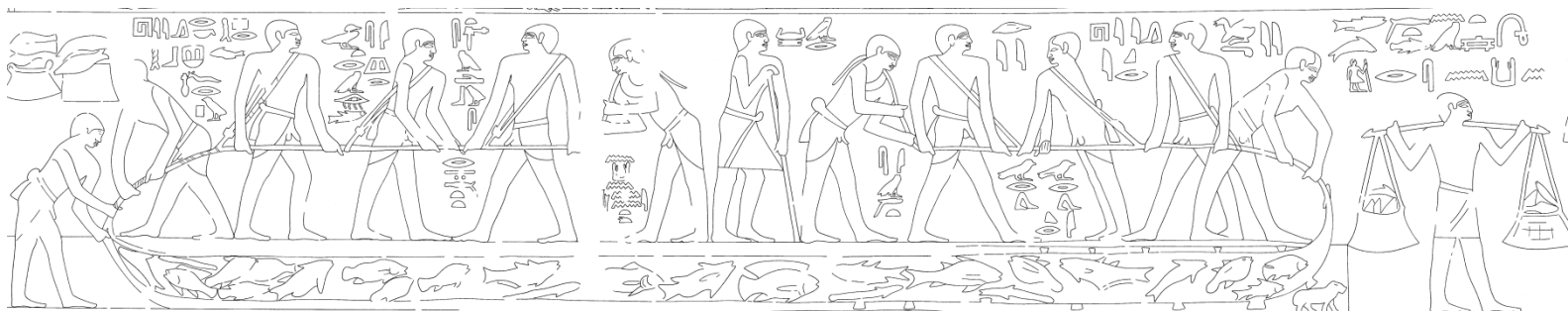


Figure 63: Dragnet scene, tomb of Pepyankh the black.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90).

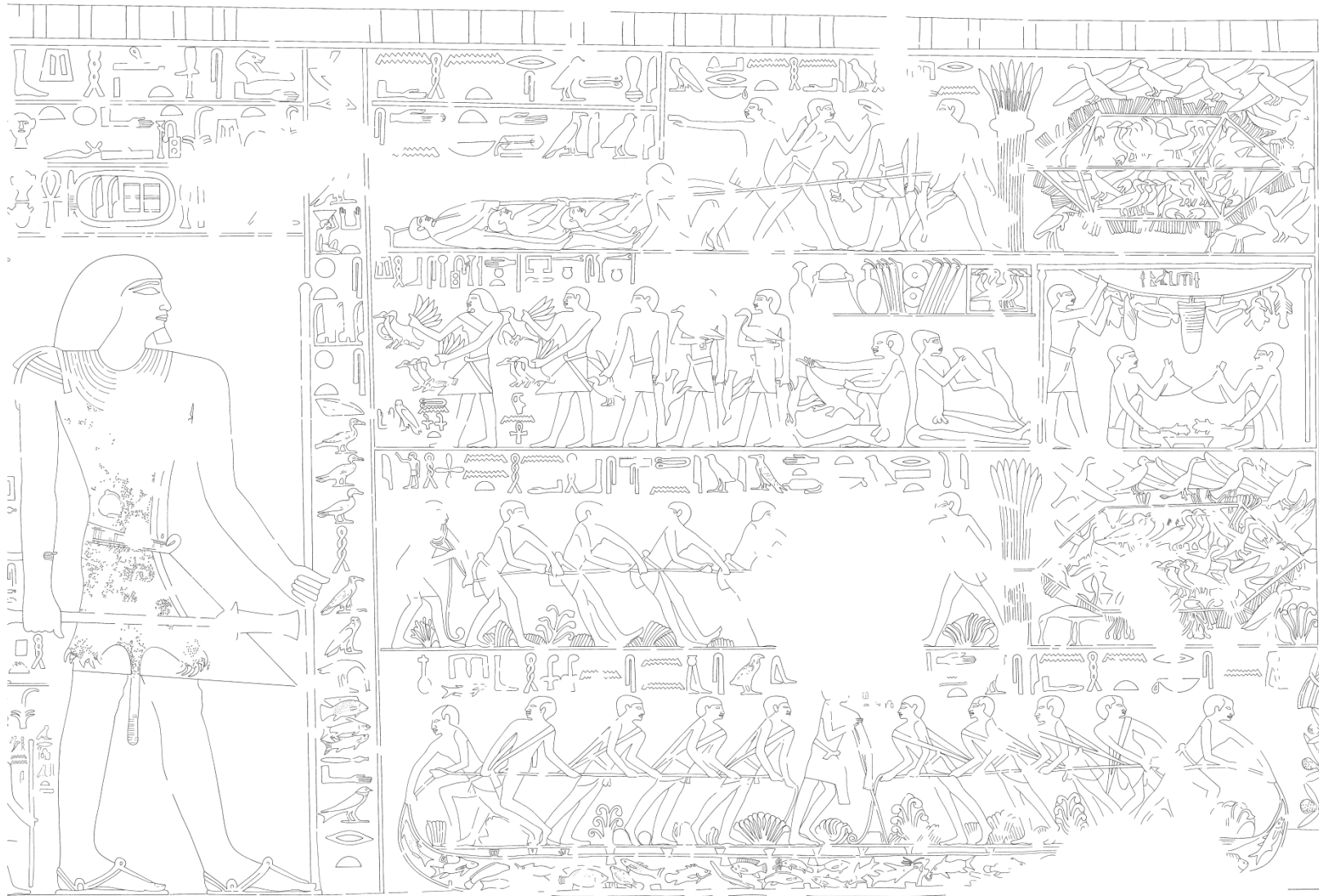


Figure 64: Tomb of Pepynakh the middle, east wall, north section.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79).

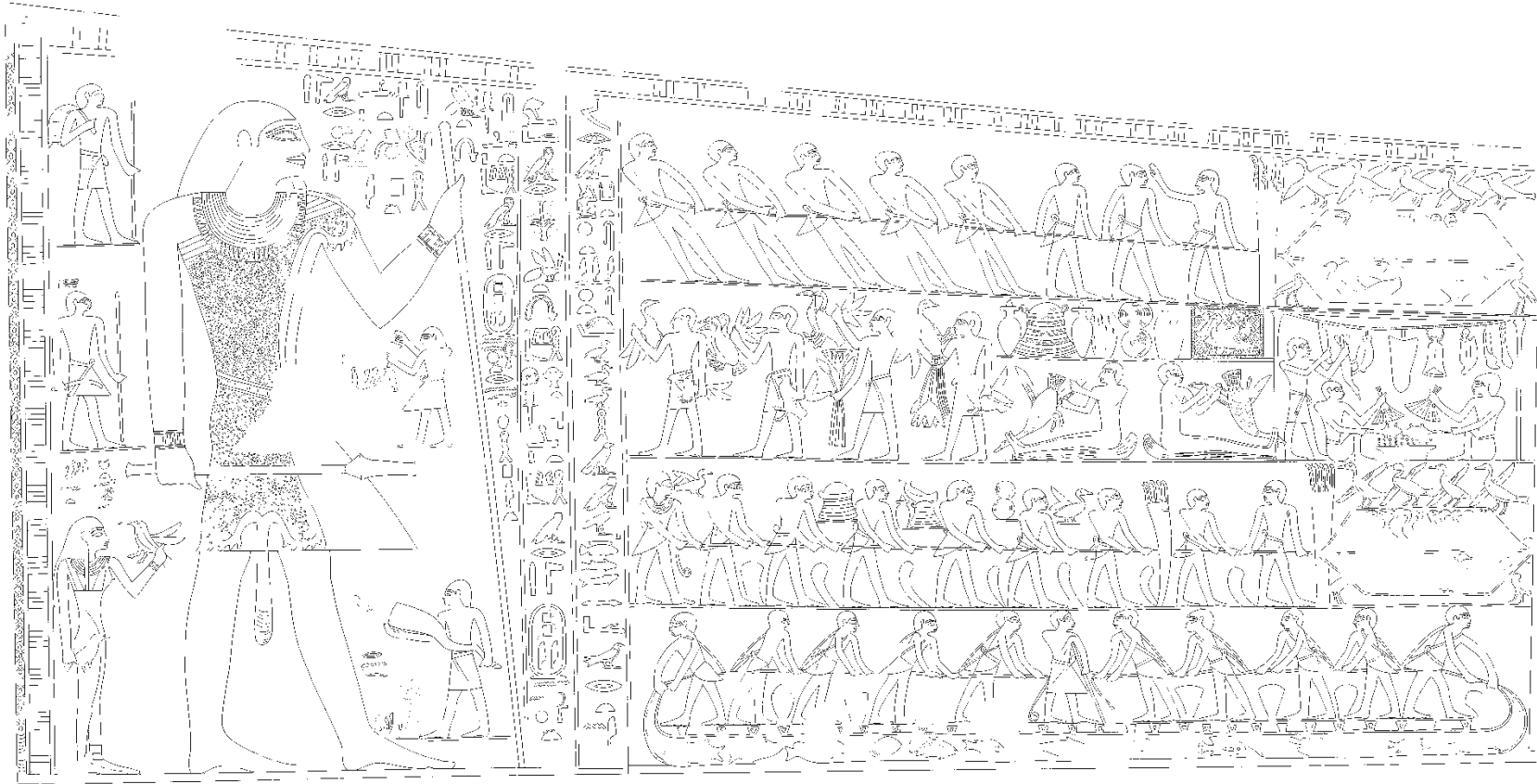


Figure 65: Tomb of Niankhpepy the black, east wall.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

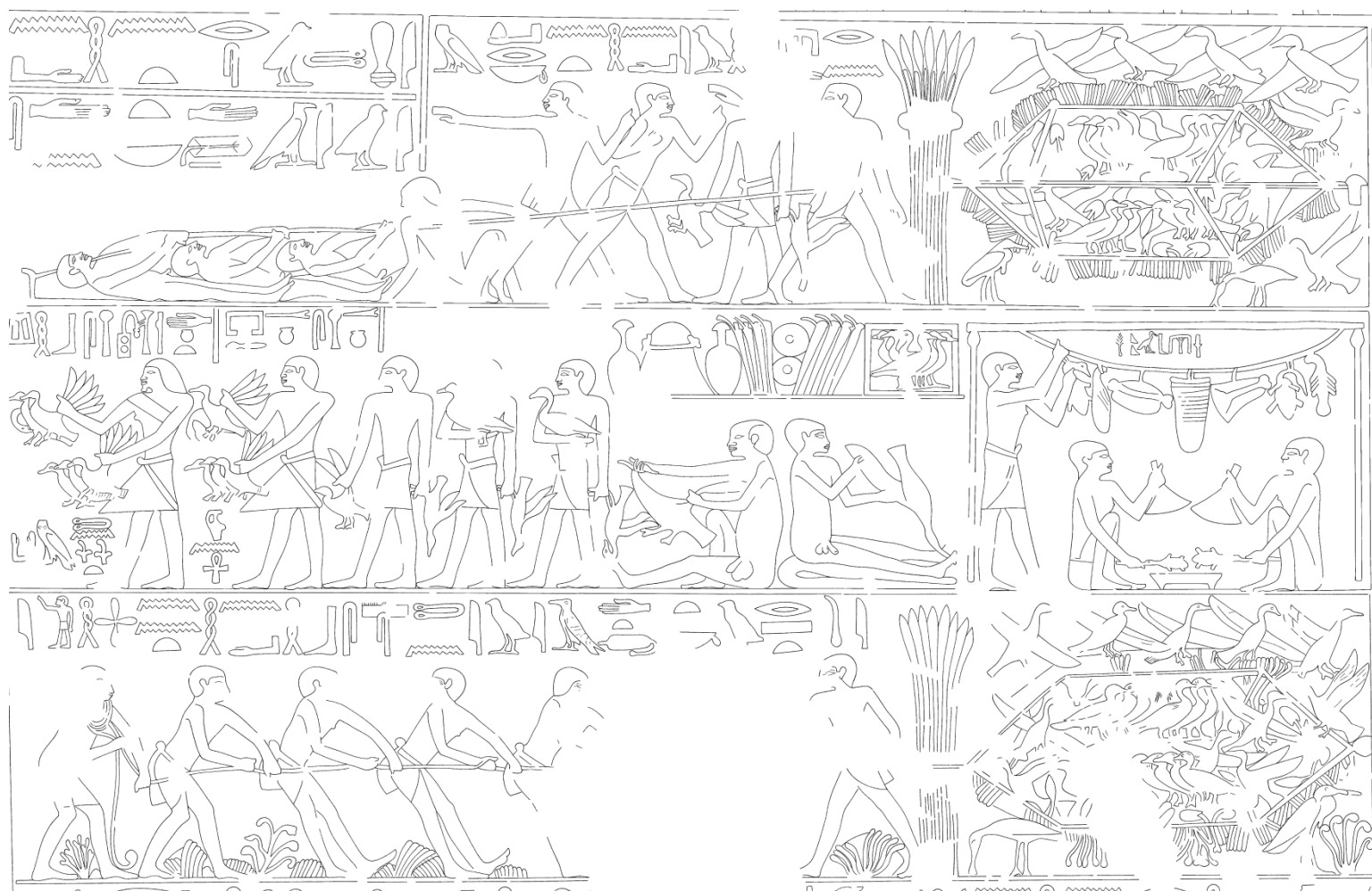


Figure 66: Trapping birds, tomb of Pepynakh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79).



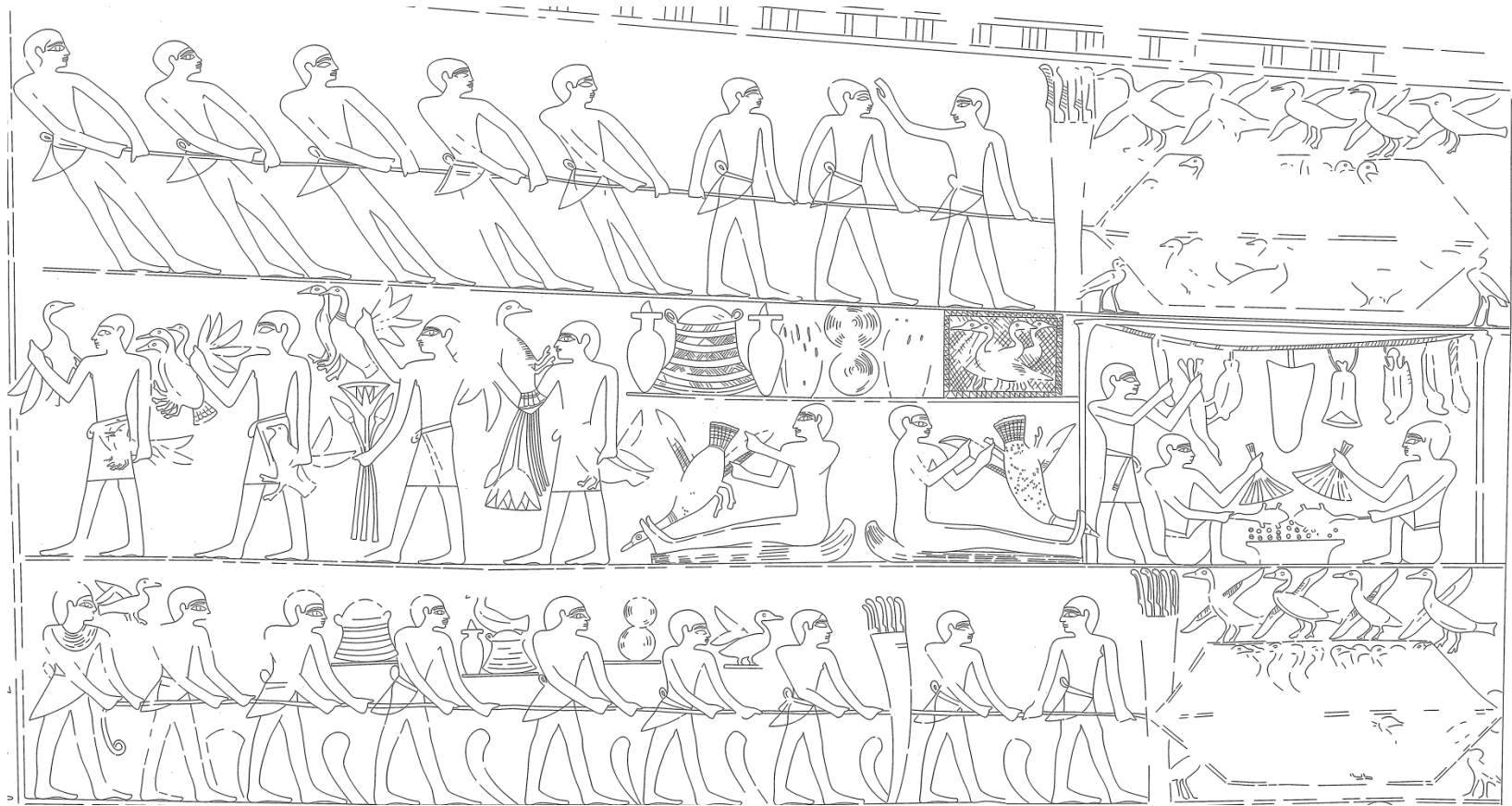


Figure 67: Trapping birds, tomb of Niankhpepy the black.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

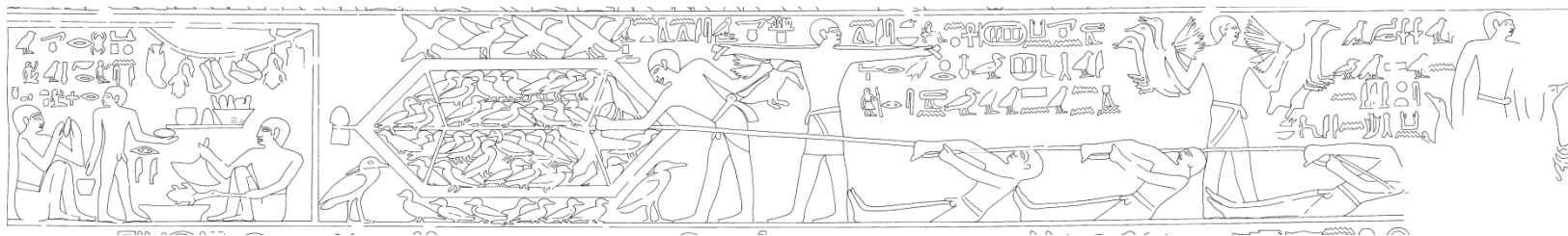
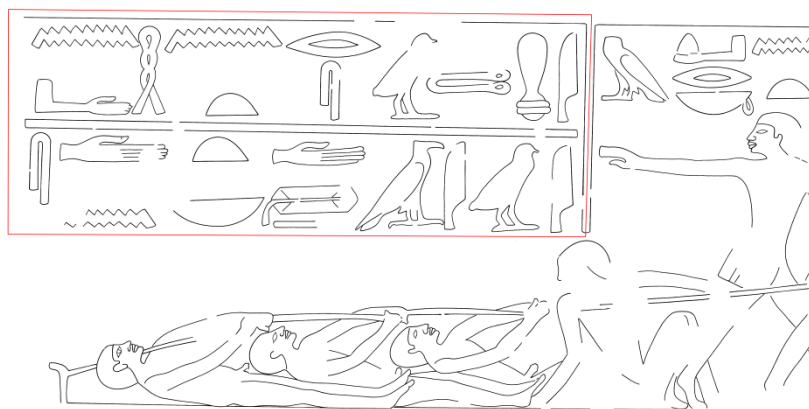
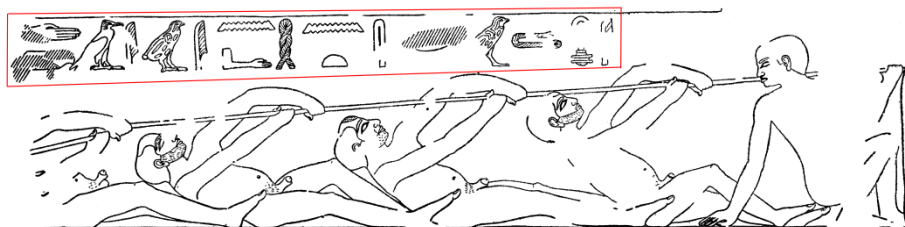


Figure 68: Trapping birds, tomb of Pepyankh the black.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 90).



(a) Pepyankh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 79).



(b) Tjy.  
(Épron, Daumas and Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 122)

Figure 69: Falling haulers.

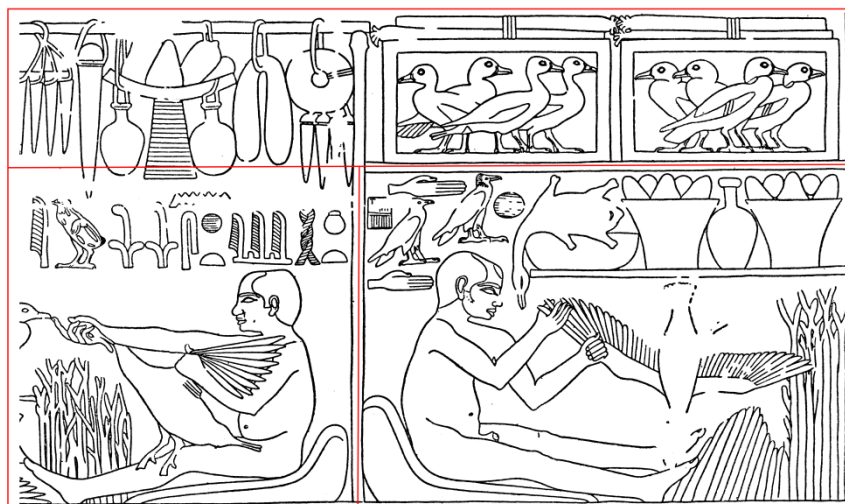
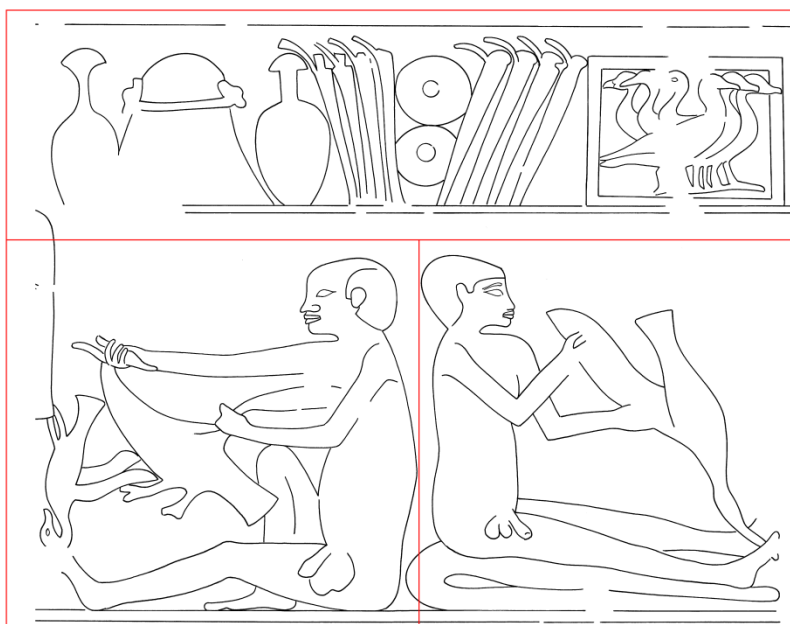


Figure 70: Two naked men holding birds.

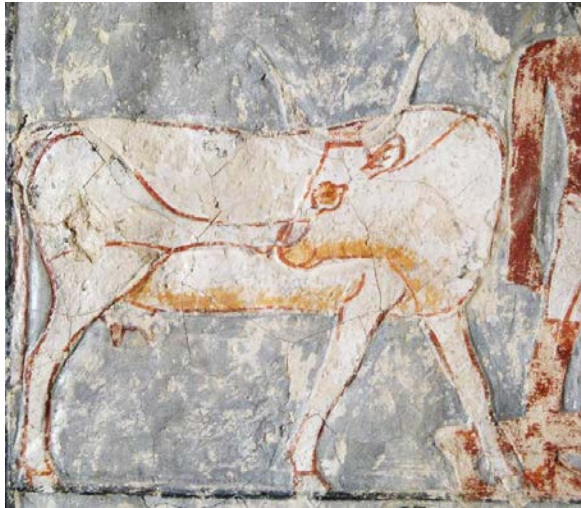


Figure 71: Cow scratching in the tomb of Pepyankh the middle.

(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 84).



(a) Netjerweser.  
(Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 22).



(b) Reshepses.  
(Lepsius, *Erg.* pl. 39 (a)).



(c) Iynofert/ Shanef.  
(Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* 2, pl. 44).

Figure 72: Oxen scratching, Saqqara.



(a) Somali wild ass.

(Photograph by J. Zimmermann (www.arkive.org))



(b) Tomb of Pepyankh the middle.

(Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 14).

Figure 73: The Somali wild ass.



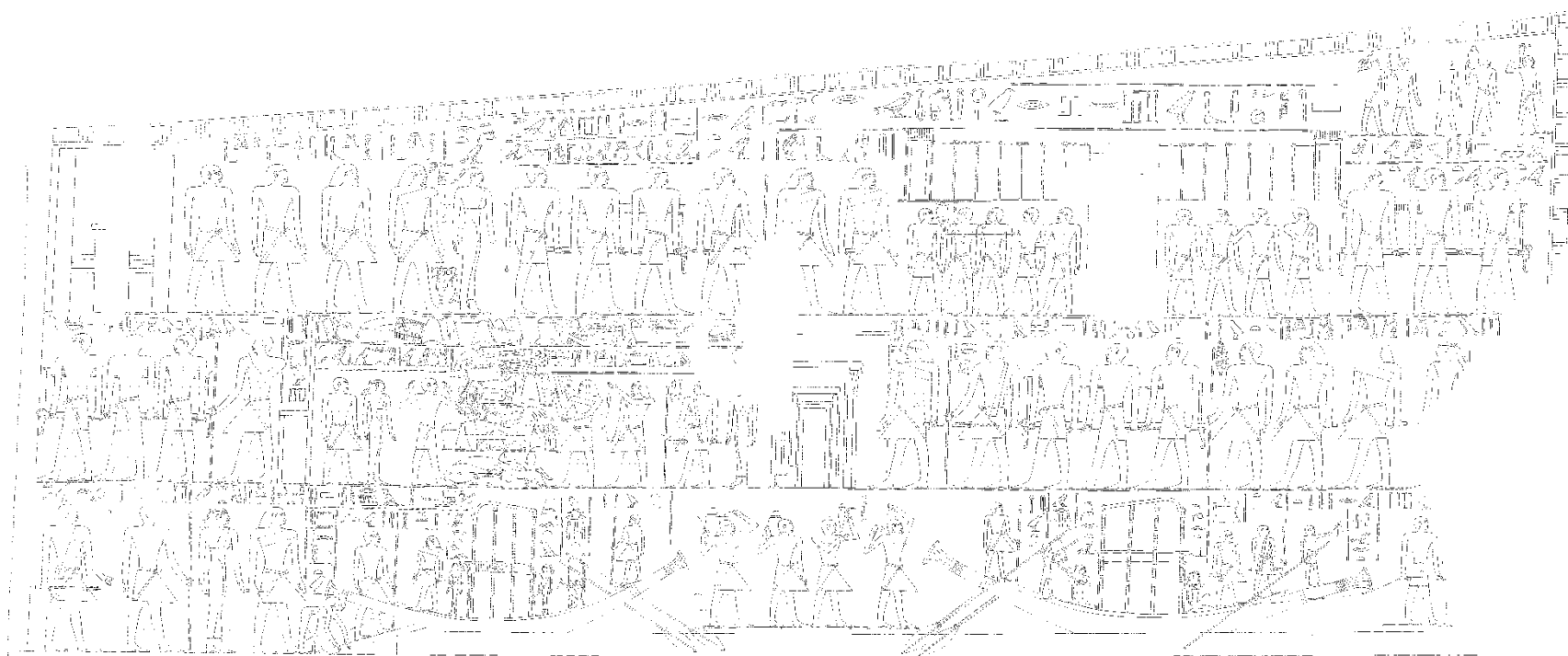


Figure 74: Funerary procession, tomb of Pepyankh the black, room 3, west wall.

(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 79).

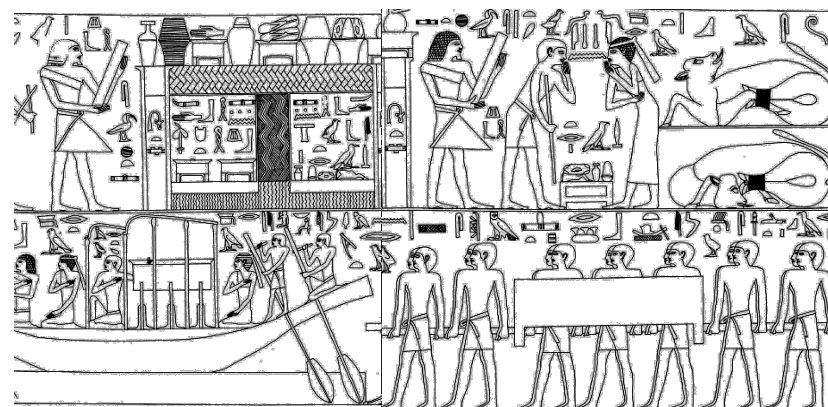
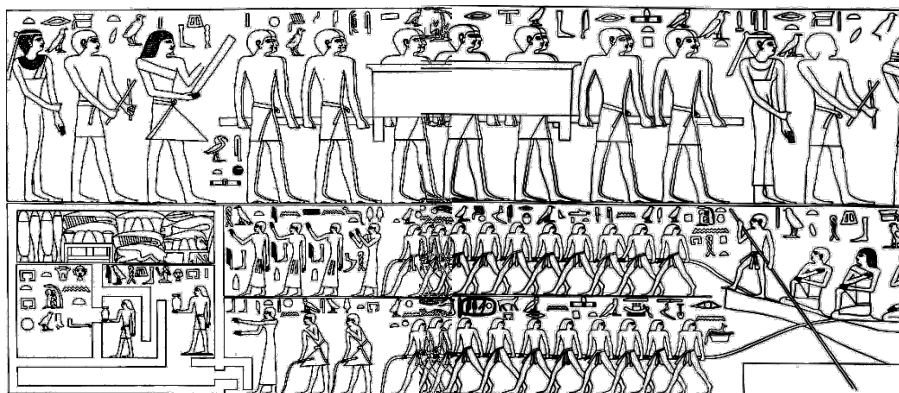


Figure 75: Funerary procession, tomb of Qar, Giza.  
 (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24).



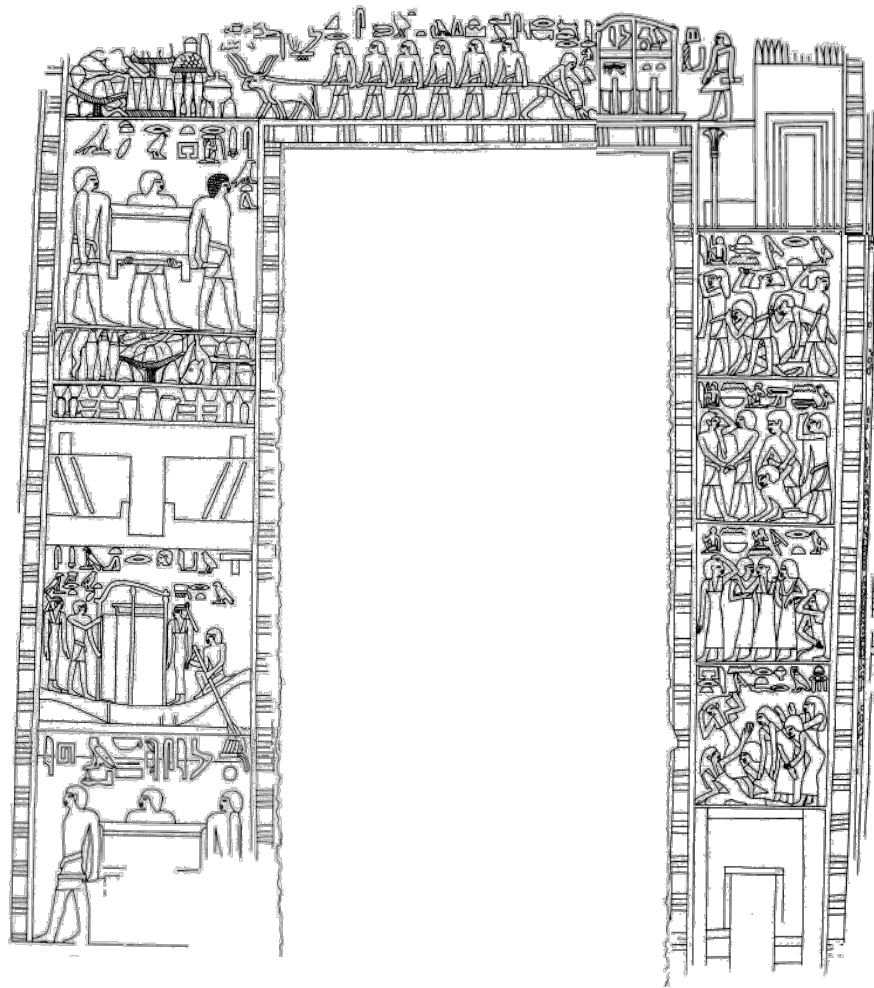
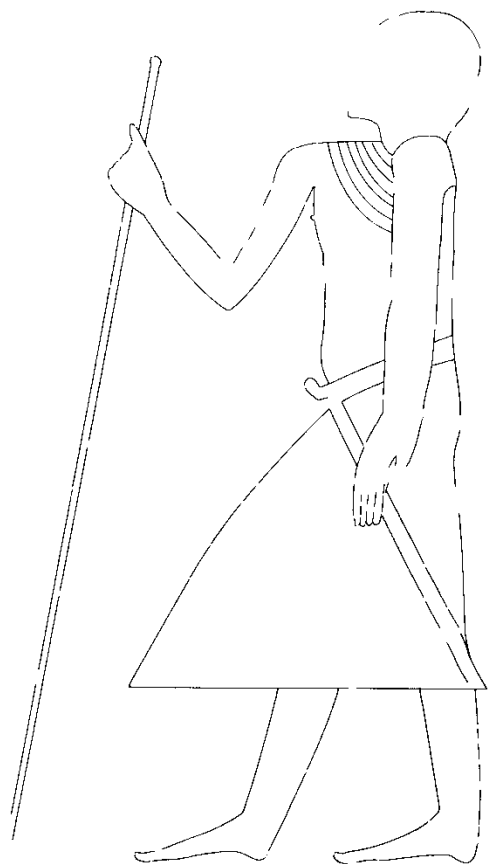
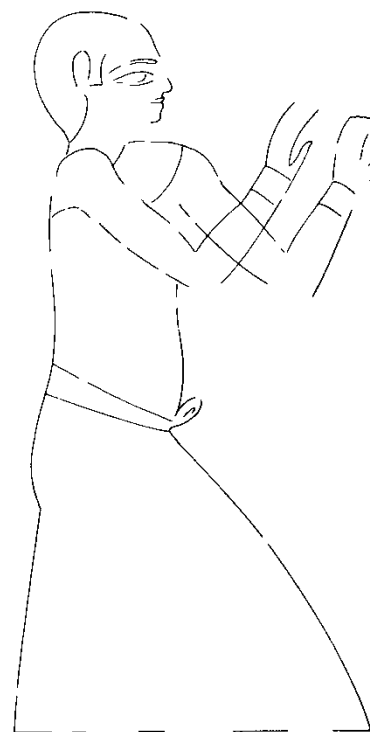


Figure 76: Funerary procession, tomb of Idu, Giza.  
(Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35).



(a) Left door thickness.

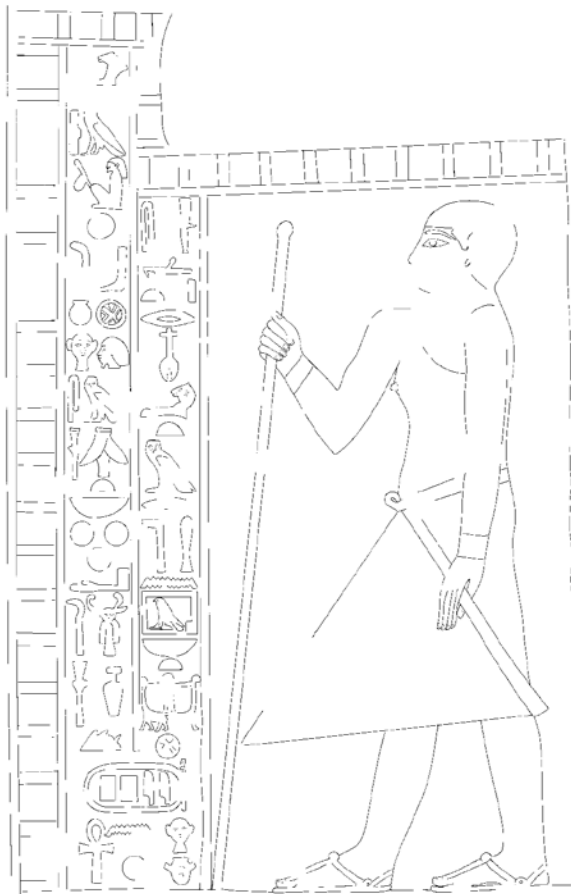


(b) Right door thickness.

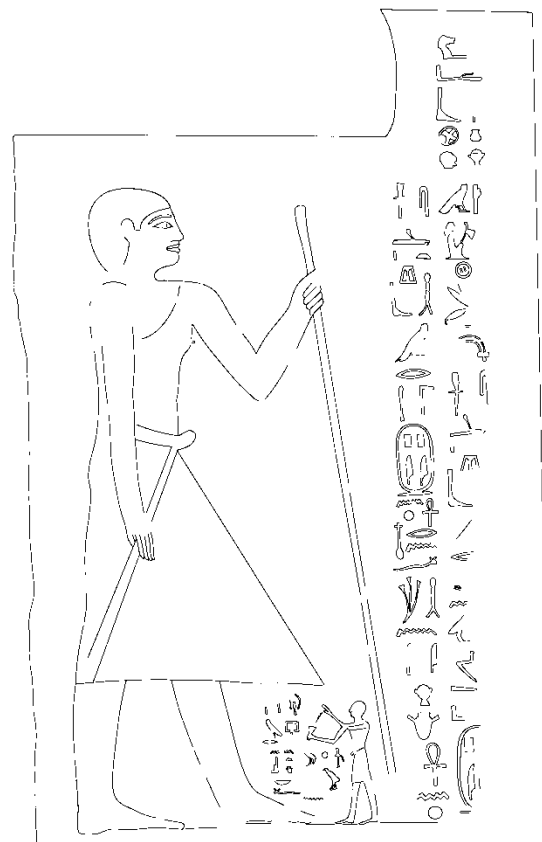
Figure 77: Khewenwekh.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 36).



Figure 78: Pepyankh the elder, pillar 2, west face.  
(El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 27 (b)).



(a) Entrance to room 3, south thickness.



(b) Entrance to room 3, north thickness.

Figure 79: Pepyankh the middle.  
(Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pls. 77-78).

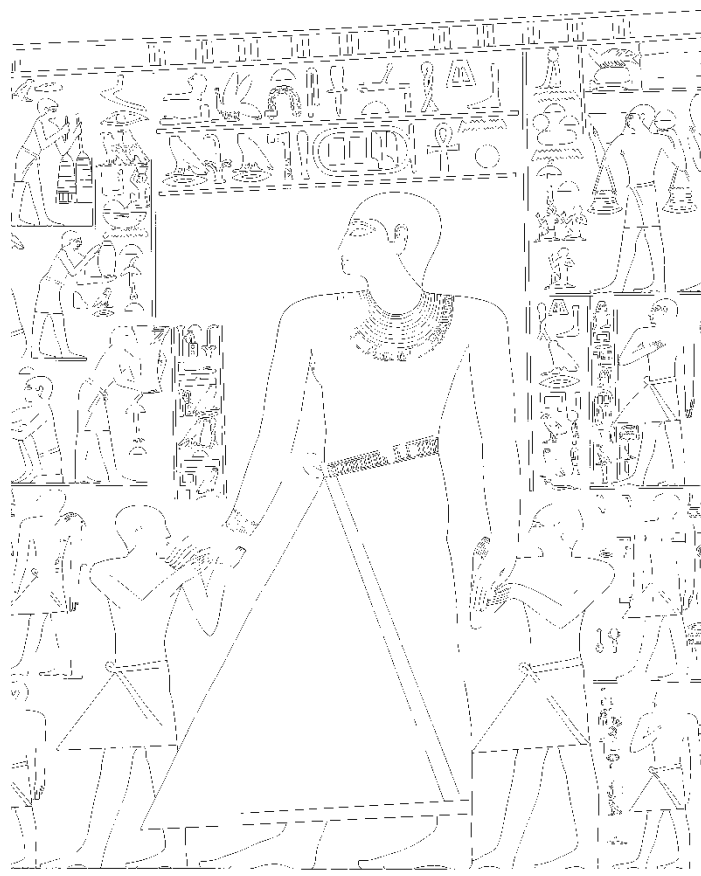


Figure 80: Pepyankh the black.  
(Kanawati and Evans, *Meir* 2, pl. 72 (b)).

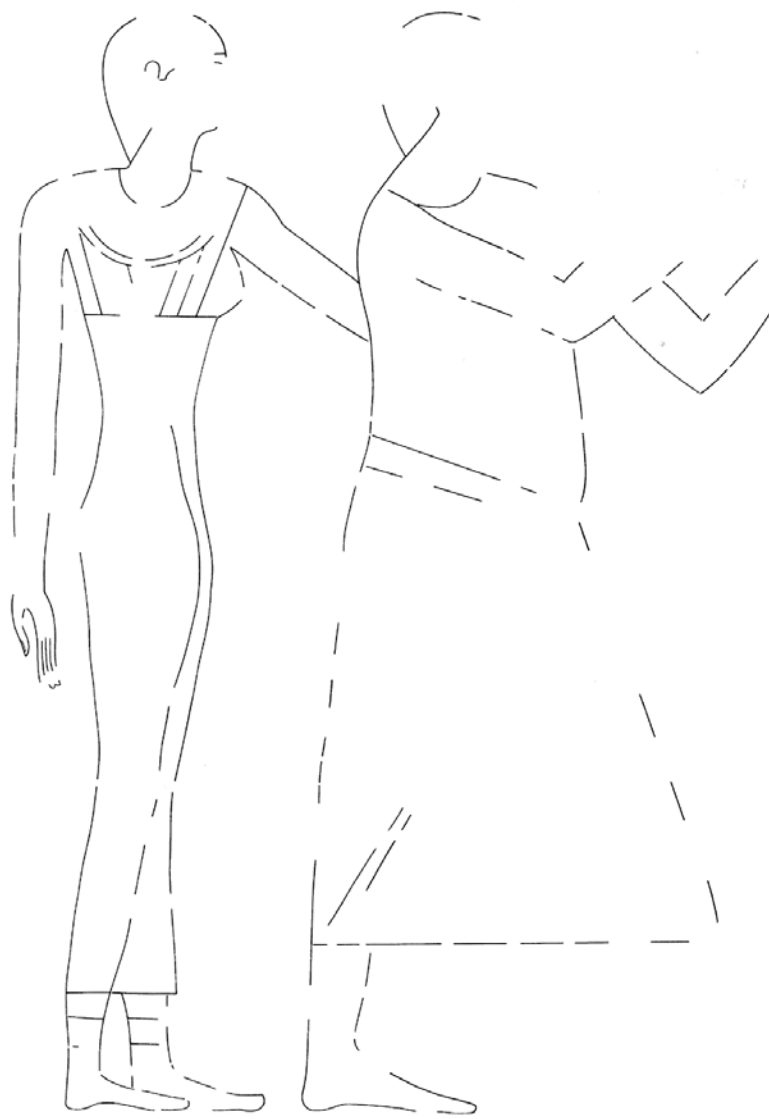


Figure 81: Ibi, Deir el-Gebrawi.  
(Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 44 (a)).



Figure 82: Kaiwab, Giza.  
(Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4).



Figure 83: Seshemnofer IV, Giza.  
(Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 89).

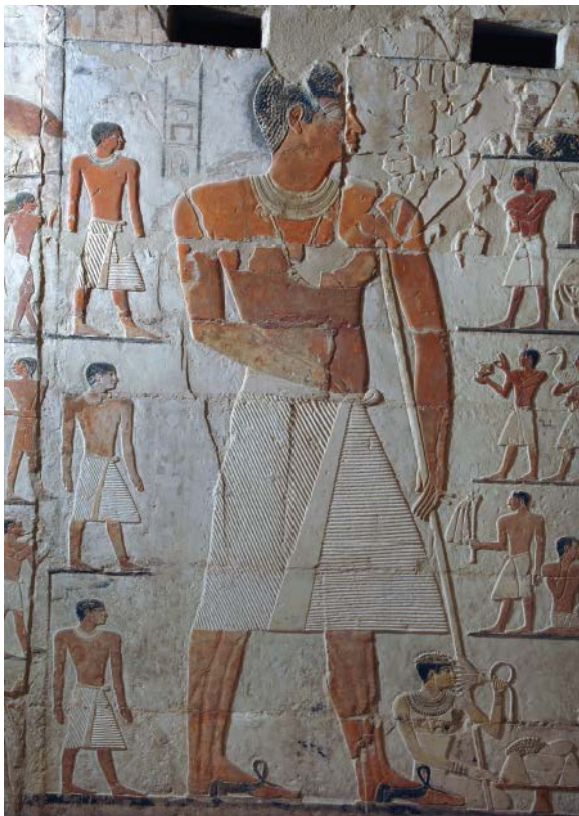
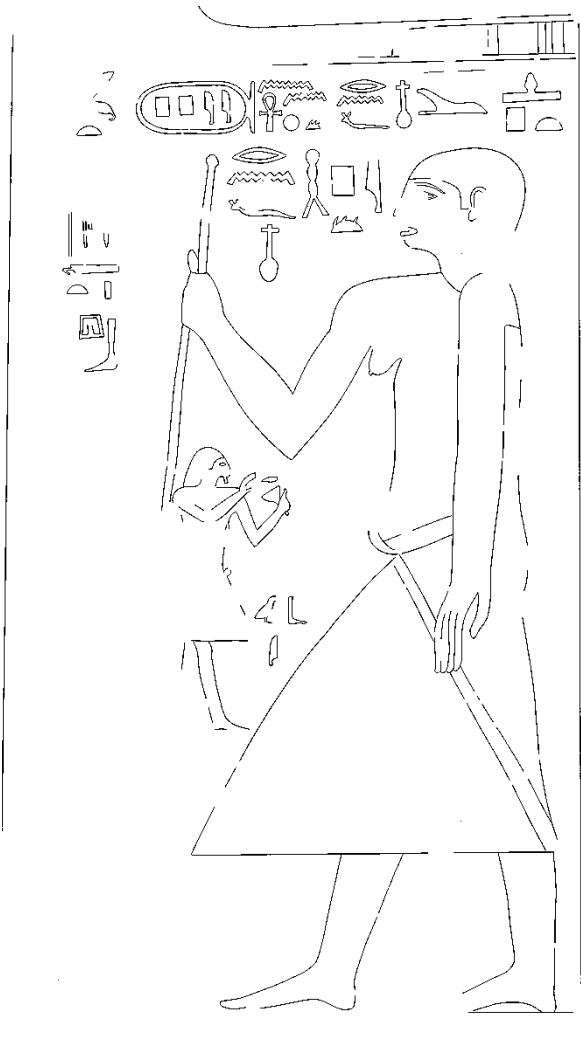
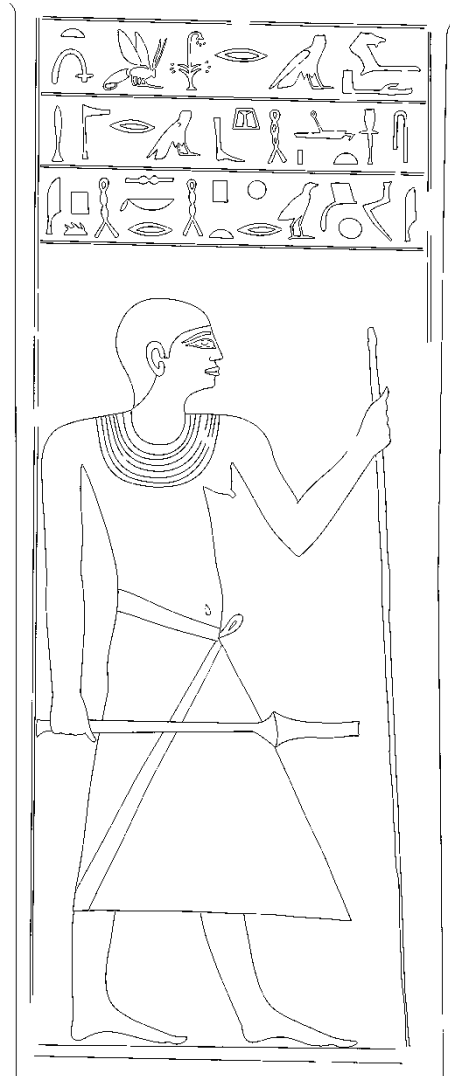


Figure 84: Nofer, Saqqara.  
(Lashien, *Kahai*, pl. 43).





(a) Doorway, west thickness.



(b) Chapel, pillar 1.

Figure 85: Niankhpepy the black, tomb A1, Meir  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

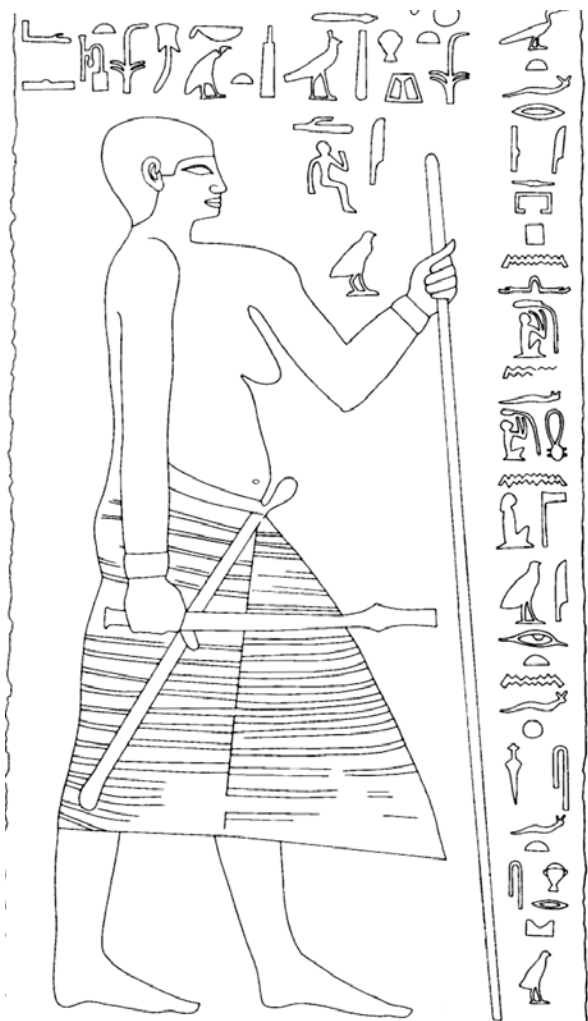


Figure 86: Idu, Giza.  
(Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 34).

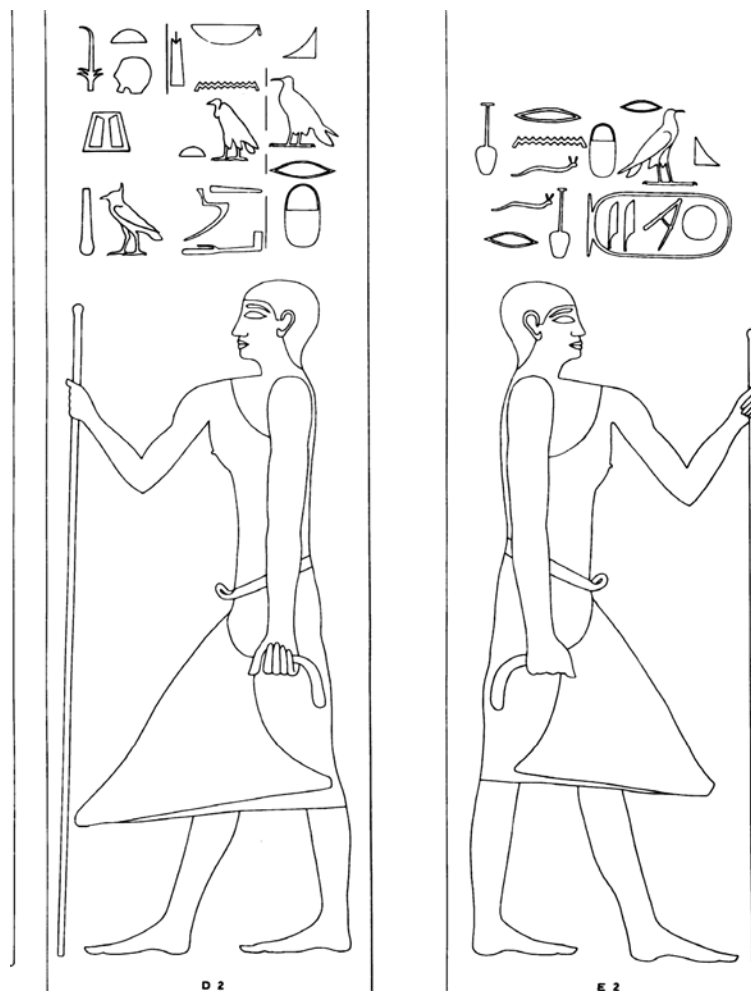


Figure 87: Qar, Giza.  
(Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 21).



Figure 88: Ankhmahor, Saqqara.  
(Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 2*, pl. 36 (a)).



Figure 89: Noferseshemtah, Saqqara.  
(Lloyd, et al., *Saqqâra Tombs 3*, pl. 8).



Figure 90: King Niusere.  
(Borchardt, *Ne-user-ré*, pl. 16).



Figure 91: Queen Nebet, Saqqara.  
(Munro, *Unas-Friedhof*, pl. 12).

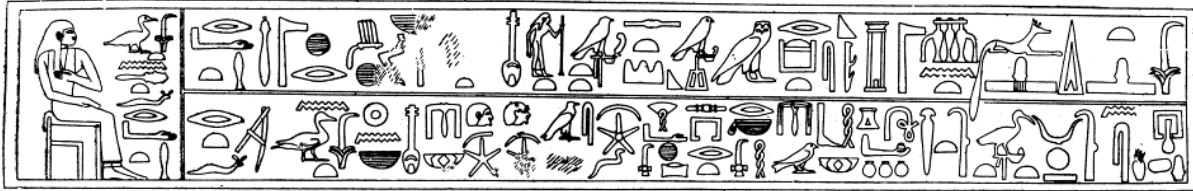


Figure 92: Princess Hemetre, Giza.  
(Hassan, *Giza 6:3*, fig. 46).

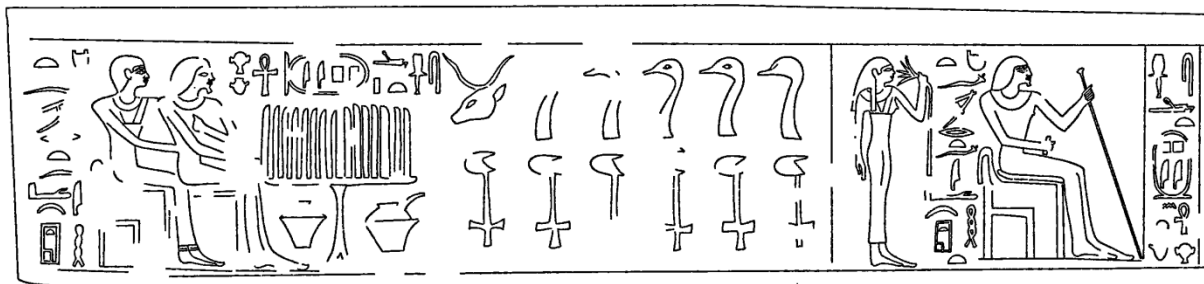
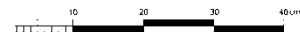
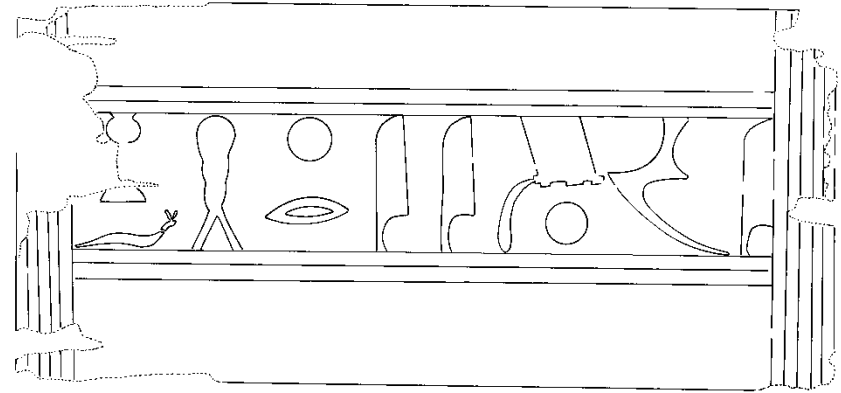


Figure 93: Pepyankh the middle and his wife, Meir.  
(Kanawati, *Meir 1*, pl. 75 (a)).

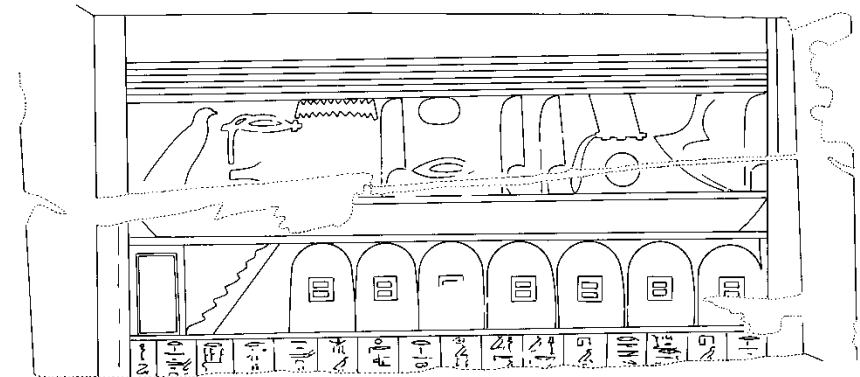


Figure 94: False door of Heneni, Teti Cemetery.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).





(a) Outside.



(b) Inside.

Figure 95: Coffin of Shedu.

(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).





(a) Arrows found in shaft IV.



(b) A model wooden shield found in shaft IV.

Figure 96: Finds from shaft IV, Shedu.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



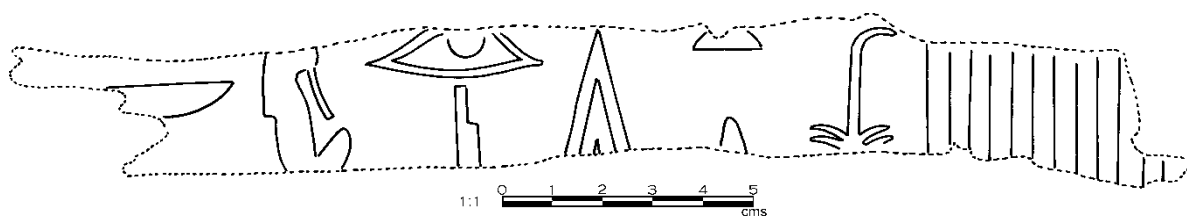


Figure 97: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

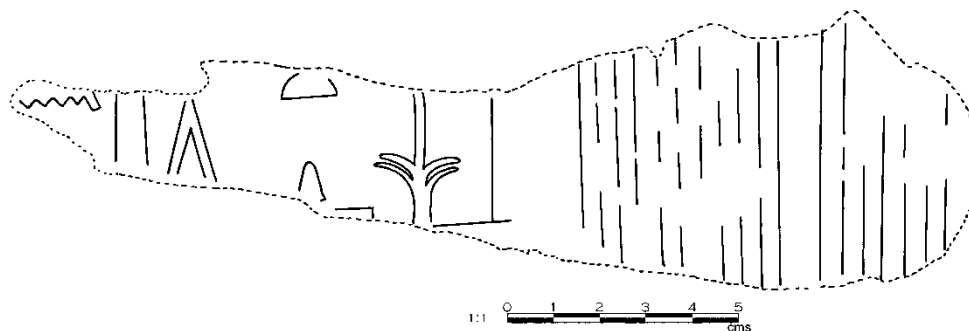


Figure 98: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

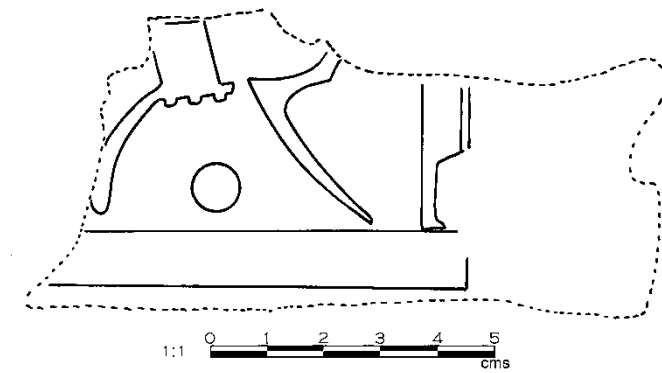


Figure 99: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

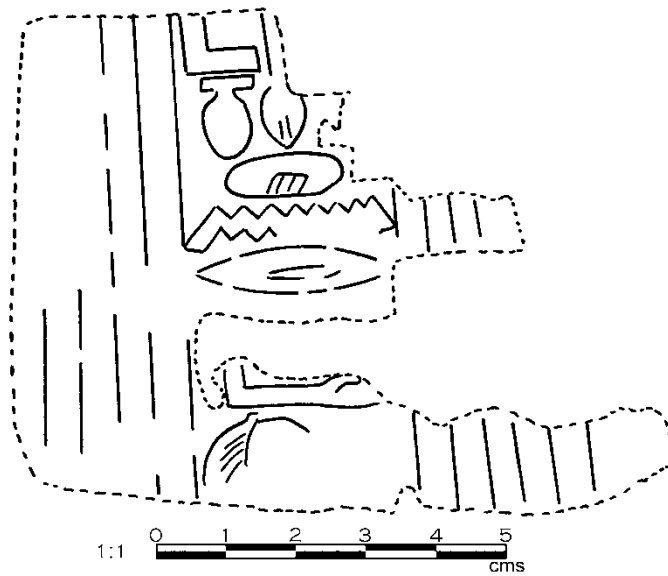


Figure 100: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

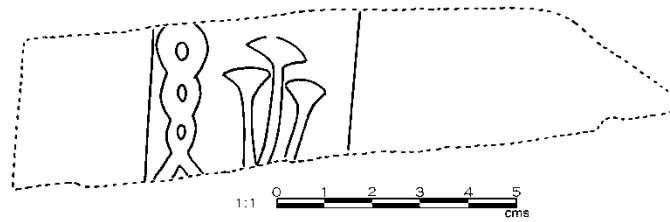


Figure 101: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

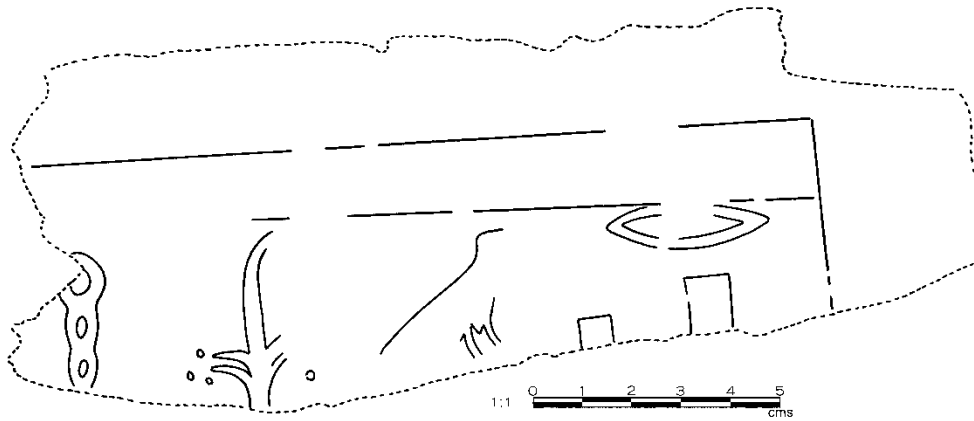


Figure 102: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

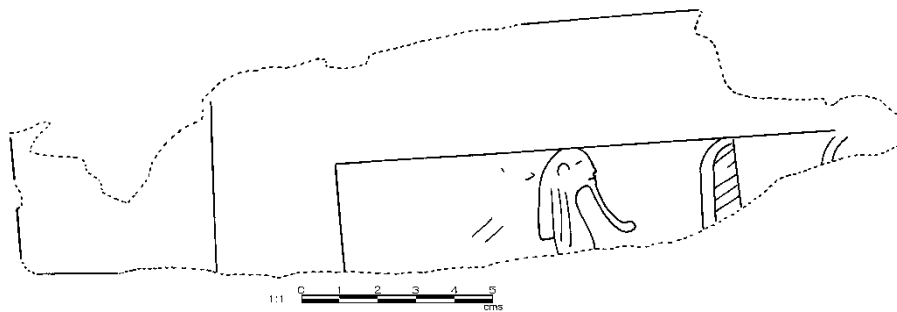


Figure 103: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

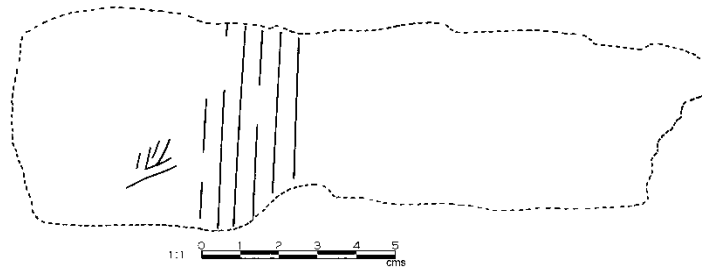


Figure 104: Coffin of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

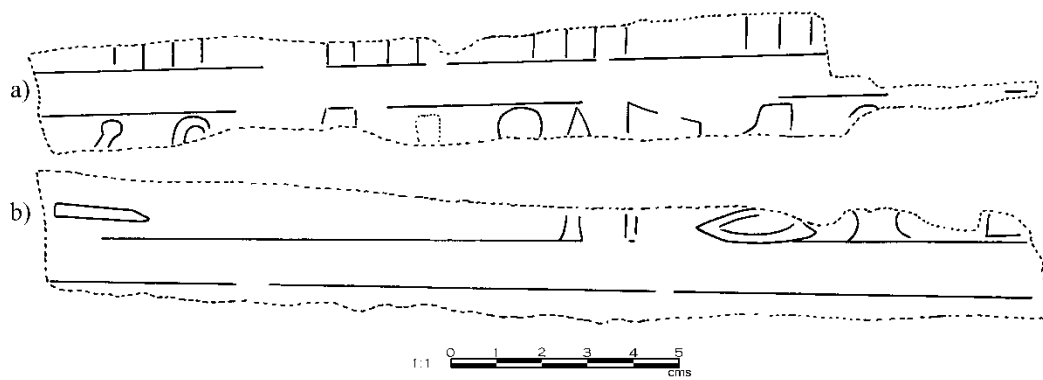


Figure 105: Wooden chest of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).

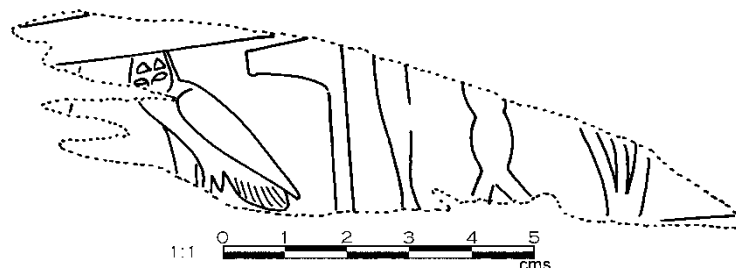
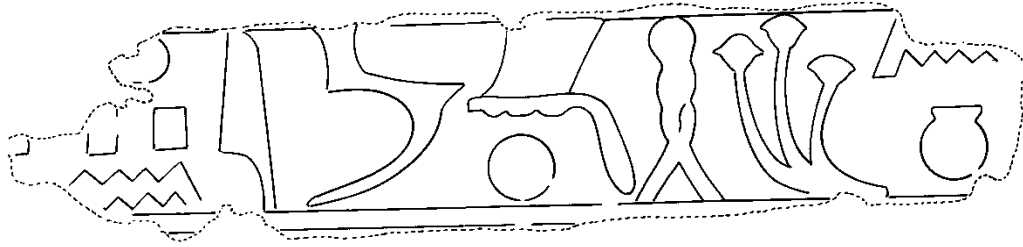
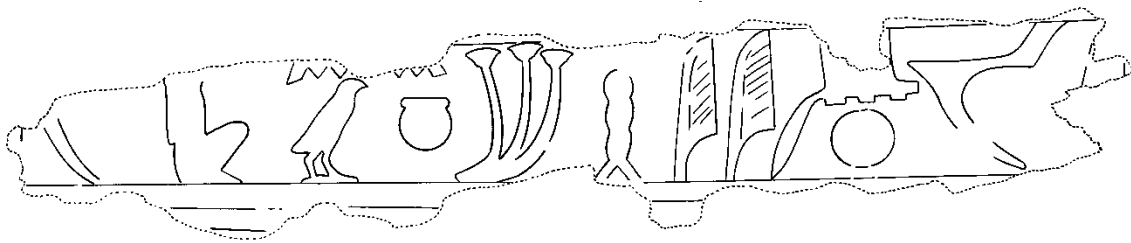


Figure 106: Wooden chest of Heni.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



1:1 0 1 2 3 4 5  
cms

Figure 107: Coffin of Henu.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).



1:1 0 1 2 3 4 5  
cms

Figure 108: Coffin of Henu.  
(Courtesy of The Australian Centre for Egyptology).