

# **Going Through Changes: The Elite Perception of the King in Sixth Dynasty Egypt**

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November 2019

## **Statement of Originality**

*This thesis has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. This is all my own work, except where due reference is made.*

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14<sup>th</sup> November 2019

## **Abstract**

The Sixth Dynasty of Egypt (c. 2305-2152BCE) was a period plagued with royal problems. While Teti apparently suffered an attack on his life at the hands of his “bodyguards”, Pepy I became the victim of an unsuccessful harem conspiracy, and Pepy II seemingly lost control over the number and power of his officials. The breakdown of the Egyptian state after this tumultuous time has resulted in scholars largely attributing its collapse to the instability of the government; however, the research conducted so far has mainly focused on the role played by the king’s growing administration, while largely ignoring the position of the king himself. This thesis seeks to understand how the position of the king changed during the Sixth Dynasty by establishing how he was perceived by his officials and whether there was a marked decline in support for the king during this time. To understand this, elite Sixth Dynasty tomb inscriptions from the capital and selected provinces were analysed and compared to determine if their respect and appreciation for the king changed during the rule of each monarch. The aim of this research was therefore to detect any decline in the pride these officials had in their closeness to the king, and its possible implications on the Old Kingdom.

## **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Naguib Kanawati for his invaluable feedback, knowledge and guidance over the course of this thesis, and for his swift replies to often panicked emails. His support and reassurance have been instrumental in the successful completion of this project. My sincerest thanks also to Dr. Joyce Swinton for her time, advice and endless encouragement, and for reminding me about the importance of relaxation. Special thanks also to Dr. Linda Evans and Dr. Peter Edwell, for their kindness and concern over the course of this project, and to A/Prof. Yann Tristant for his assistance with difficult French translations.

To my wonderful and supportive partner Tim, it is impossible to express how thankful I am for you. Your positivity and encouragement have been a beacon of light in what has sometimes felt like a never-ending tunnel, and I am eternally grateful for all the patience you have shown me this year. Thanks also to the 'Prepared Feedback Society', for all the support, feedback and laughter; and to Elle – who played a large part in the maintenance of my sanity during the writing of this thesis – for all the tea and for your friendship.

Finally, to my parents, for their unwavering support and unconditional love; thank you for encouraging me to pursue my passion. I could not have made it through this year without you.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

In Ancient Egypt, the king was the centre of all existence. As the sole ruler and intermediary between mankind and the gods, the king alone was responsible for upholding *mꜣt*, ‘order’, and repelling *jsft*, ‘chaos’. His followers, the people of Egypt, were also expected to do their part through their obedience to the king – to act against him was to jeopardise the stability of the cosmos.<sup>1</sup> This may explain why matters which threatened the position of the king were dealt with in secret, and why negativity towards the king is absent in the tomb inscriptions of officials. However, the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence and should not be viewed as an indication that negativity towards the king did not occur, especially during times of uncertainty. This thesis seeks to examine one of these uncertain periods, namely, the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2305-2152BCE),<sup>2</sup> to understand how the king’s officials perceived him, and whether this may have contributed to the decline of the Old Kingdom.

## 1.2 Historical Background

One of the most precarious times in Egyptian history, and arguably the most precarious time during the Old Kingdom, was the Sixth Dynasty. Its founder, Teti, ascended the throne by marrying the daughter of Unas, the ninth and final king of the Fifth Dynasty, yet Teti’s origins remain uncertain.<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that Teti was related to the royal family, which may have resulted in questions about his legitimacy as a king and, consequently, a rather difficult accession.<sup>4</sup> However his reign saw the implementation of an important provincial policy, in which officials were sent to, resided in and buried at the provinces they governed. This began a process of decentralisation among the administration, which in turn appeared to give provincial governors a new degree of power.<sup>5</sup> Despite this, Teti’s kingship apparently remained rather problematic, as there is evidence to suggest that his officials carried out an attack on his life towards the end of his reign, the outcome of which is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Teeter 2001, 319.

<sup>2</sup> Krauss & Warburton 2006, 491.

<sup>3</sup> See Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 20-7 for a discussion on the possible origins of Teti.

<sup>4</sup> Kanawati suggests that the difficulties faced by Teti upon his accession may be reflected in his throne name *štp ꜥ.wj*, ‘he who pacifies the two lands’, as throne names formed with *štp* often appeared during periods of difficulties. Kanawati 2003, 148.

<sup>5</sup> This may be suggested from the creation of the new title *ḥrj-tp ꜥꜣ n spꜣt*, ‘great overlord of the nome’, which was first held by *Jsj* of Edfu. Alliot 1933, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Kanawati 2003, *passim*.

Following the death of Teti, a king named Userkare ruled for approximately one or two years, however his assumption of the throne ahead of the rightful heir and his absence in elite tomb inscriptions has raised the possibility that he was a usurper.<sup>7</sup> The crown was eventually reclaimed by the son of the deceased king, Pepy I, but despite being a legitimate member of the new royal bloodline, he also faced difficulties. Not only did there appear to be an early struggle with the Priesthood of Re,<sup>8</sup> but one of his queens conspired against him,<sup>9</sup> possibly with the vizier whose name was removed from a decree dated to *h3t-sp* 21 of his reign,<sup>10</sup> and previously docile foreign powers began to emerge.<sup>11</sup> Such chaos may have prompted the re-centralisation process, which saw Pepy I return provincial officials to the capital, in order to regain control over his administration.<sup>12</sup>

It was not until the reign of Merenre, the son and successor of Pepy I, that the kingship finally regained some of its stability. Although Merenre only ruled for a short period of time before he died,<sup>13</sup> his reign saw another crucial change in the administration, in which the policy of his father was reversed and officials were sent back to the provinces.<sup>14</sup> Although appointing loyal and trusted officials to the provinces may have provided Merenre with a sense of security, the government became largely decentralised by the time of Pepy II, whose reign is largely blamed for the disintegration of the Old Kingdom.<sup>15</sup>

On the surface, the reign of Pepy II seems uneventful, especially in comparison to his dynastic predecessors. Unlike the earlier part of the Sixth Dynasty, there is no evidence to suggest any

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<sup>7</sup> The only remaining evidence for Userkare is the presence of his name on the Abydos Kings List and the Royal Canon of Turin, as well as scattered objects inscribed with his cartouche. That he was a usurper may be inferred from the complete absence of this king in the tombs of officials who are known to have served both Teti and Pepy I, such as the viziers *Hntj-k3j* and *Jnw-Mnw*. See Gardiner 1959, pl. 2 and Gardiner 1961, 436 for the Abydos Kings List and the Royal Canon of Turin, respectively, and Montet 1933, fig. 33 & pl. 83 for objects bearing the name of Userkare.

<sup>8</sup> The evidence for this stems from the change of Pepy I's throne name from *Nfr-s3-Hr* to *Mrjj-Rc*, which probably occurred early in his reign, and may have signalled an eventual compromise with the Re priesthood. See Von Beckerath 1982, 926-7.

<sup>9</sup> This is described in the biography of *Wnj*, which records how he was allowed to hear a "legal case in secret" against a Great Royal Wife. Cairo Museum, CG 1435; Sethe 1933, 98-110; Strudwick 2005, 352-7.

<sup>10</sup> Sethe 1933, 209-13; Strudwick 2005, 103-5.

<sup>11</sup> One of the earliest attestations for foreign expeditions are found in the biography of *Wnj*, where he recalls slaughtering tens of thousands of troops. Cairo Museum, CG 1435.

<sup>12</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 115-8.

<sup>13</sup> The highest known count for Merenre is *h3t-sp* 5 (Sethe 1933, 110), but scholars largely disagree on the length of Merenre's reign: Baines & Malek 1991, 36: nine years; Shaw & Nicholson 1995, 310: nine years; Von Beckerath 1997, 150-2 & 188: six years; Gourdon 2016, 86: eleven years; Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 121: five years.

<sup>14</sup> See Kanawati 2011, 217-32 for a discussion.

<sup>15</sup> Gardiner 1961, 101; James 1979, 48.



hostility between the monarchy and the Priesthood of Re during his reign.<sup>16</sup> However, there is considerable evidence to suggest that Egypt's resources slowly declined while Pepy II was king, and that his officials bore the brunt of it.<sup>17</sup> Elaborately decorated limestone tombs with multi-roomed chapels seen in the earlier part of Dynasty Six ceased to be built and were instead replaced with small mud-brick mastabas with limited decoration.<sup>18</sup> This impoverishment seems to have significantly worsened towards the later years of Pepy II, as mastabas tended to be shared by a number of individuals and even viziers became unable to construct their own tombs.<sup>19</sup> The subsequent disintegration of the central government after the death of Pepy II has preoccupied modern scholars and has resulted in a variety of studies and reasons about who or what was to blame.

### 1.3 Previous Studies

As early as the 1800s, scholars began questioning why the Old Kingdom collapsed, suggesting causes such as foreign invasion,<sup>20</sup> widespread drought<sup>21</sup> and the exhaustion of resources by the elite.<sup>22</sup> However, much of these earlier theories were based on little evidence, and viewed the breakdown of the Old Kingdom as the result of a single catastrophic cause. This has been largely reconsidered in the last forty years, with scholars favouring the idea that multiple crisis factors were to blame.

Petrie's *A History of Egypt* was the first work to attribute the downfall of the Old Kingdom to a "foreign intrusion".<sup>23</sup> Frankfort also assumed this view in a later article, using the presence of "entirely un-Egyptian" button seals in Sedment to argue for a Syro-Cappadocian invasion.<sup>24</sup> Jansen-Winkeln and Vischak refute this theory entirely,<sup>25</sup> and instead argue that external pressures were probably a secondary consequence of internal weakness. Although Moreno Garcia agrees that there is no evidence for a foreign invasion,<sup>26</sup> he convincingly uses the

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<sup>16</sup> This was probably due to the position of the high priest of Re becoming independent in the latter part of Pepy I's reign after being tied to the vizierate in the reign of Teti and the early years of Pepy I. Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 171.

<sup>17</sup> Kanawati 1977, *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Jéquier 1929, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, the burial of *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ* in the tomb of *Mrjj-Rꜥ-jꜣm* in Jéquier 1940, 59-61.

<sup>20</sup> Petrie 1899, 117; Frankfort 1926, 80-99.

<sup>21</sup> Vandier 1936, 3-12; Hayes 1953, 135-6; Bell 1971, 1-26.

<sup>22</sup> Hayes 1953, 131; Smith 1958, 82.

<sup>23</sup> Petrie 1899, 117.

<sup>24</sup> Frankfort 1926, 80-99.

<sup>25</sup> Jansen-Winkeln 2010, 275-6; Vischak 2014, 21-2.

<sup>26</sup> Moreno Garcia 2014, 616-20; Moreno Garcia 2015a, 104-5; Moreno Garcia 2015b, 86-92.

architecture of Kerma, the capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Kush, to suggest that Nubia began to emerge as a potential rival at this time.<sup>27</sup>

As well as favouring the “foreign invasion” theory, earlier works were also prone to the idea of a sudden and immediate environmental disaster, which saw widespread famine and drought across Egypt. Vandier’s *La famine dans l’Egypte ancienne* and Hayes’ *Sceptre of Egypt* were two major studies which employed Middle Kingdom didactic literature as evidence.<sup>28</sup> However, the article written by Bell in the 1970s was the most influential.<sup>29</sup> Although Bell is probably correct in assuming that the inability of the king to maintain *m³t* and cause adequate Nile floods had an effect on his legitimacy and authority,<sup>30</sup> labelling the Sixth-Ninth Dynasties as Egypt’s “first dark age” is far too critical. According to Moreno Garcia, this period saw a circulation of wealth amongst elites and a considerable expansion of international trade,<sup>31</sup> which could hardly have occurred during a so-called ‘Dark Age’. Modern advances have seen several scientific studies conducted on the environmental situation during the Old Kingdom,<sup>32</sup> and their conclusions agree that there is significant evidence for low-level Nile floods and a correspondingly drier climate. However, there seems to be evidence to suggest that, while the drought did occur, it was not an abrupt anomaly that caused an immediate and extensive disaster.<sup>33</sup>

While both external threats and environmental changes almost certainly contributed to the internal turmoil that occurred during this period, it was probably the instability of the government that prompted the downfall of the Old Kingdom. Hayes and Smith attributed this to the extravagant mastabas of officials exhausting government resources,<sup>34</sup> however more recent research by Kanawati, Malek, Barta and Moreno Garcia proposed that it was more likely due to growing administrative complexity and the incompetence of the monarchy.<sup>35</sup> This

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<sup>27</sup> Moreno Garcia 2015b, 86-7.

<sup>28</sup> Vandier 1936, 3-12; Hayes 1953, 135-6.

<sup>29</sup> Bell 1971, 1-26. This may be deduced from the fact that most modern scientific studies on Egypt’s climate during the Old Kingdom reference this piece when discussing the literature.

<sup>30</sup> Bell 1971, 23.

<sup>31</sup> Moreno Garcia 2007, 327-8; Moreno Garcia 2015b, 80.

<sup>32</sup> Hassan 1997, 1-18; Stanley et.al. 2003, 395-401; Moeller 2005, 154-67; Welc & Marks 2014, 124-133.

<sup>33</sup> Moeller 2005, 156.

<sup>34</sup> Hayes 1953, 131; Smith 1958, 82.

<sup>35</sup> Kanawati 1977, 9-75; Malek 2000, 106-7; Kanawati 2003, *passim*, but see 183-5 for a summary; Barta 2013, 174-5; Moreno Garcia 2013, 148-50. Barta views the reign of Niuserre as the start of this growing complexity and royal incompetence as, for the first time, administrative positions became hereditary rather than based on merit. For example, the four generations of officials buried in the Senedjemib Inti burial complex at Giza saw five males reach the position of vizier, the highest administrative title in the state, and all of them hold titles deeply connected

suggestion is now widely accepted, yet studies on the instability of the crown pale in comparison to studies on the administration.<sup>36</sup> No research has been conducted on the elite disassociation from the king during the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>37</sup> and although it has been observed by some scholars,<sup>38</sup> it is usually reduced to a sentence or two within a larger body of work. This thesis addresses this problem by examining the declining authority of the king in the light of his officials' perception, in order to understand whether this may have contributed to the downfall of the Old Kingdom.

## 1.4 Methodology and Scope

When considering research on the instability of the monarchy, one must bear in mind that direct evidence presenting the king in a negative light is highly unusual.<sup>39</sup> The same may be said for the tomb inscriptions of the king's officials, as they were employed by the state and under the command of the king. Accordingly, these inscriptions tend to reflect the nature of their respect and appreciation for the institution of the kingship they served and their pride in any personal contact with the monarch. As most knowledge of Old Kingdom officials is established through close examination of their tomb inscriptions, using this medium was crucial for such an investigation. However, there were several other factors which influenced what was able to be discussed, not only because of the time and word constraints of this thesis, but also in light of the preservation of evidence.

### 1.4.1 Establishing Criteria

When establishing which tombs would be included in this study, it became apparent that many tombs and their inscriptions, both at the capital and in the provinces, were poorly preserved. As a result, two criteria were established that allowed a tomb to be included for study:

- (1) The tomb contained a false door with inscriptions that were preserved enough to provide a reasonably accurate reading of the text.

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to royal construction projects. For more examples see Barta 2013, 168-70. For more on the Senedjemib Inti burial complex, see Brovarski, 2000.

<sup>36</sup> For studies on the instability of the monarchy see, for example, Kanawati 2003; Kanawati & Swinton 2018. For studies on the Egyptian administration, see, for example, Baer 1960; Martin-Pardey 1976; Kanawati 1977; Kanawati 1980b; Strudwick 1985; Kanawati & McFarlane 1992; Moreno Garcia 2013, 19-214; Moreno Garcia 2015a, 76-105; Lashien 2017.

<sup>37</sup> This phenomenon was recognised by Kanawati, who established that there was a complete absence of the royal cartouche during the period end Teti-early Pepy I, however no further research has been conducted. Kanawati 2009, 14.

<sup>38</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, 30; Lashien 2017, 74; Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 167.

<sup>39</sup> One of the only instances to do so during the Old Kingdom is the biography of *Wnj*, which records that there was a secret legal case against a royal wife. Cairo Museum, CG1435; Sethe 1933, 98-110.

- (2) The tomb contained multiple wall inscriptions that were preserved enough to provide a reasonably accurate and reasonably complete reading of the text.

It was important that the tomb met at least one of these criteria in order for the overall study of inscriptions to be balanced in both quantity and quality, so that the data was as comprehensive and unbiased as possible. After establishing which tombs would be included, they needed to be assigned a date to fulfil the chronological component, which will be discussed in section 1.4.3. This was a difficult task, as very few tombs can be securely dated to the reign of a king based on the direct evidence; that is, an inscription clearly stating which king was served by the official. Fortunately, several monumental works on tomb dating and the evidence from the tombs' publications allowed the majority of tombs to be allocated a reasonably secure date and placed into a chronology.

#### **1.4.2 Determining Data**

Due to the expansion of the administration in the Sixth Dynasty, a large number of officials served at and were buried in the provinces. Establishing which provinces would be included largely depended on the preservation of evidence, as many provincial tombs are quite badly damaged, however it was also important for the site to provide tombs of various dates. It was also imperative for the tombs to have been previously discussed and dated by scholarship, as it was outside the scope of this project to implement original dating methods for the tombs. As a result, the following provinces were chosen:

- (1) UE 1: Qubbet el-Hawa
- (2) UE 2: Edfu
- (3) UE 9: Akhmim
- (4) UE 12: Deir el-Gebrawi
- (5) UE 14: El-Qusiya.

These provinces not only fulfilled all the above conditions but have also been extensively and accurately published.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> For the tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa, see Edel 2008; for the tombs and inscriptions of Edfu see Alliot 1933, Michalowski & Bruyere 1937-1950 and El-Khadragy 2002; for the tombs of Akhmim see Kanawati, 1980a-1992; for the tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi see Davies 1902 and Kanawati 2005-2013; for El-Qusiya see Blackman, 1914-1953, El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, Kanawati 2012, Kanawati & Evans 2014 and Kanawati et.al. 2015.

### 1.4.3 Methodology

The tombs under investigation were divided into two sections: Memphite tombs and provincial tombs. The tombs for each section were dated and placed into chronological order, and divided according to whether the official served Teti, Pepy I or Pepy II. In cases where officials may have served more than one king, the official was placed under the subheading of the first king they served, even if some of their tomb may have been inscribed under a successor.<sup>41</sup> An exception to this are the tombs of *Jnw-Mnw*, *Rmnj*, *Hwj* and *Mrj-Ttj* located at Saqqara, and *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jzj I* of Deir el-Gebrawi. Although the earliest date for these tombs is thought to be the end Teti period,<sup>42</sup> it is likely that these officials mostly served Pepy I, and consequently completed most of their tombs' decoration under this same king. As a result, it seemed more reasonable to include these tombs as part of the analysis of Pepy I, given that most of their inscriptions probably related to him rather than Teti. Nonetheless, the methodology for this study was as follows:

- (1) Each tomb consulted had its date established by reference to the following sources:<sup>43</sup>
  - (a) Baer 1960, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*.
  - (b) Kanawati 1977, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*.
  - (c) Strudwick 1985, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The highest titles and their holders*.
  - (d) Harpur 1987, *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and scene content*.
  - (e) Cherpion 1989, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire: le problème de la datation*.
  - (f) Swinton 2014, *Dating the tombs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom*.
- (2) For ease of comparison, the collected data was chronologically recorded in two tables, Memphite and provincial.<sup>44</sup> For each table, this data included:

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<sup>41</sup> This was done in order to avoid confusion and to present the evidence according to the dates provided in chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>42</sup> See pages 11, 22-3, 25, 16-7 and 33 for a discussion on the date of the tombs of *Jnw-Mnw*, *Rmnj*, *Hwj*, *Mrj-Ttj* and *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jzj I*, respectively.

<sup>43</sup> Although this is not an exhaustive list of all the works available on Old Kingdom tomb dating, the problem of dating will be thoroughly scrutinised in future research and will include additional works such as Grimal 1998, *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* and Baud 1999, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien*.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix 1 for these tables.

- (a) The number of cartouches in the tomb which were not formed as part of a title.<sup>45</sup>
  - (b) The number of times the king was referenced in the tomb using the words *hm*, ‘majesty’, *nb*, ‘lord’ and *nsw*, ‘king’.
- (3) Basic comparisons and conclusions were drawn from the tables.
- (4) These comparisons and conclusions were then studied in the light of the main issue of the thesis. Where possible, they were considered in relation to situations involving the king and other officials who did not appear in the tables.

#### 1.4.4 Limitations

Time and word constraints on this project inevitably caused limitations to be placed on its content. Due to these, an investigation of titularly which included the king was omitted. An analysis of the *hṯp di nsw* formula was also excluded, as this phrase was consistently used from the beginning of the Old Kingdom right through to the New Kingdom.<sup>46</sup> This includes the First and Second Intermediate Periods, when Egypt failed to be controlled by a single monarch or was ruled by foreigners, which indicates that its presence was not a personal inclination or a reflection of the political situation at the time, but a convention of elite tomb inscriptions. The apparent homogeneity of this phrase meant that its study and use were unlikely to produce significant results, as would be required for this project, and thus was not included.

Due to the nature of ancient evidence, there were some unavoidable problems with the data used in this study. Although there was a great deal of evidence available for examination, there is also great deal of evidence that has been lost. A reasonable number of tombs at Pepy II’s cemetery at Saqqara, as well as at Akhmim and Qubbet el-Hawa, are so badly damaged that they were unable to be analysed for this project. Meanwhile, elite perceptions of Userkare and Merenre II, who briefly succeeded Teti and Pepy II, respectively, were not able to be determined, as evidence for their reigns is limited to the presence of their cartouches on the Abydos Kings List. It was also implausible to examine how the elite perceived Merenre I, as there are no Memphite tombs included in this study dated to his reign, while the few provincial officials that are known to have served him also served under Pepy I and/or Pepy II. This has resulted in total silence about his perception at the capital, and his perception being largely lost between his predecessor and successor at the provinces.

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<sup>45</sup> An analysis of titles was unfortunately outside the scope of this project.

<sup>46</sup> See Leprohon 2001, 569-72 for an overview of the *hṯp di nsw* formula during the pharaonic period.

## **1.5 Research Objectives**

### **1.5.1 Statistical Analysis**

The first objective of this thesis was to establish the frequency and attestation of the king's cartouche and words that refer to the king (*hm*, *nb*, *nsw*) in the tombs of Sixth Dynasty officials. This was determined for each individual separately and placed into a table, the figures of which were then plotted on a graph in order to establish a trend. Statistics were used to provide a clear representation of the data and eliminate any bias that may have arisen from the preconceived ideas of the author due to the interpretations of earlier scholarship.

### **1.5.2 Conclusions**

After creating a visualisation of the data set, the significance of the figures was discussed and, where possible, trends were identified about the position of the king and how he was perceived by his contemporary officials. The potential reasons for these trends were discussed in relation to the events of the Sixth Dynasty, but where there was no clear trend, officials were examined independently. For most of the data, however, a trend was able to be established which illuminated the 'highs and lows' of the officials' perception of the king. Studying this aspect of the Sixth Dynasty was able to shed new light on the factors which may have contributed to the downfall of the Old Kingdom and further shatter the façade of stability projected by the Egyptian state.

## Chapter 2: Dating the Memphite Tombs

### 2.1 Saqqara

#### Burial of *Jbj* in the Tomb of *Ndt-m-pt, rn nfr Tjt*

*Teti Cemetery*

Although the tomb of *Ndt-m-pt* is dated to late Teti, *Jbj*'s burial within her tomb may not date to the same period.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, there is no evidence to indicate the relationship, if any, between *Ndt-m-pt* and *Jbj*, however there may be evidence to suggest that *Jbj* added his two false doors at a later stage. The shape of *Jbj*'s false door is common in the Teti cemetery, yet the T-shaped panel certainly indicates a date after the reign of this king.<sup>48</sup> The earliest attestation of this type of panel is in the tomb of *Hntj-k3.j*, on the false door of *Ppjj-ddj* (end Pepy I),<sup>49</sup> while the unusual type of kilt worn by *Jbj* on his southern false door is also found in the tomb of *Idw* (Pepy I) at Giza.<sup>50</sup> Kanawati & Hassan speculate that the floor-level position of the false doors may indicate that *Ndt-m-pt*'s chapel was still easily accessible for *Jbj*, even after the tomb was completed.<sup>51</sup>

Date: Pepy I, possibly late.

#### Tomb of *Jdj, rn nfr Tp-m-k3w*

*Pepy II Cemetery*

Based on its location in the Pepy II cemetery and its modest size, the tomb of *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w* may be dated to the early-middle years of Pepy II. Although Jéquier originally suggested a date at the end of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>52</sup> which was seemingly based on little evidence, Baer and Kanawati prefer an earlier date.<sup>53</sup> Following Kees' assumption that *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w* was the father of the vizier *Nj-hb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc*,<sup>54</sup> Baer dated *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w* to near the middle of Pepy II's reign.<sup>55</sup> Although Kanawati did not agree with Kees' and Baer's assumption of a familial connection between the two,<sup>56</sup> he proposed that the size of the tomb suggested an early-middle Pepy II date.<sup>57</sup> Given that the tomb is quite poorly preserved and cannot be examined in light of its decorative program, an early-middle Pepy II date may be tentatively assigned.

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

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<sup>47</sup> Kanawati & Hassan 1996, 31.

<sup>48</sup> Strudwick 1985, 18.

<sup>49</sup> James 1953, pl. XLII.

<sup>50</sup> Simpson 1976, fig. 34.

<sup>51</sup> Kanawati & Hassan 1996, 31.

<sup>52</sup> Jéquier 1940, 2.

<sup>53</sup> Baer 1960, 62 [74]; Kanawati 1977, 152 [49].

<sup>54</sup> Kees 1940, 45-7.

<sup>55</sup> Baer 1960, 62 [74].

<sup>56</sup> Kanawati 1977, 14.

<sup>57</sup> Kanawati 1977, 152 [49].



### **Tomb of *Jnw-Mnw***

*Teti Cemetery*

The suggested date for the tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* is end Teti-early Pepy I, which is based largely on the presence of Pepy I's cartouche and similarities to the nearby tomb and titles of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* (mid Teti). It is certain that *Jnw-Mnw* survived into the reign of Pepy I, as his tomb contains the first throne name of Pepy I, *Nfr-s3-Hr*, which was chiselled out and replaced with his new throne name, *Mrjj-Rc*.<sup>58</sup> If the suggestion that Pepy I changed his throne name in his early years is correct,<sup>59</sup> it seems likely that the decoration of *Jnw-Mnw*'s tomb was near contemporary with this event. It also seems likely that *Jnw-Mnw* was *Nj-k3w-Jssj*'s immediate successor as *jmj-r Šmꜥw*, due to the architectural similarities in their tombs<sup>60</sup> and the likelihood that this title was only able to be held at the capital by one official at any given time.<sup>61</sup> If this is correct, *Jnw-Mnw* must have assumed this office upon *Nj-k3w-Jssj*'s death near the end of Teti's reign<sup>62</sup> and may have begun constructing his tomb around the same time.

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Jwn-Mnw, rn nfr Tttw***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Jwn-Mnw/Tttw* has been tentatively assigned a date in the early years of Pepy I, which is largely based on the tomb's location in the Teti cemetery. The tomb of *Jwn-Mnw/Tttw* is located close to that of *Dsj*, whose tomb contains the cartouche of Pepy I,<sup>63</sup> while to the east of the tomb lies the tomb of *Jhjj-m-s3.f*, dated to early Pepy I.<sup>64</sup> The close proximity of *Jwn-Mnw/Tttw*'s tomb to these two officials also indicates a Pepy I date for *Jwn-Mnw/Tttw*.<sup>65</sup> As the nearby tombs of *Mmj* (early Pepy I) and *K3-jn-n(j)/Ttj* (early Pepy I) were probably the first to be constructed in this area, followed by the tombs located further north and finally those to the south,<sup>66</sup> the more southern position of the tomb of *Jwn-Mnw/Tttw* may indicate a date around the middle years of Pepy I.

Date: mid Pepy I.

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<sup>58</sup> Kanawati 2006, pls. 7a & 44.

<sup>59</sup> Von Beckerath 1982, 926-7.

<sup>60</sup> These similarities include both tombs' burial chambers facing to the west; both tombs containing two small, squarish rooms leading to a bigger, rectangular offering room; and both tombs containing shafts which open into the floor of a rectangular room sitting parallel to the offering room. Kanawati 2006, 16.

<sup>61</sup> Edel 2008, 115-6.

<sup>62</sup> The date of *Nj-k3w-Jssj*'s burial is recorded in his tomb as *h3t-sp* 11, presumably of Teti. See Kanawati 2000, 25-32 for a discussion on *Nj-k3w-Jssj*'s burial.

<sup>63</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, 10.

<sup>64</sup> Kanawati 2003, 66.

<sup>65</sup> See Kanawati et.al. 1984, 7-12.

<sup>66</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 10-1.

### **Tomb of *Jr-n-ḥtj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The mastaba of *Jr-n-ḥtj* has been assigned a date early in the reign of Pepy I.<sup>67</sup> Although Kanawati et.al. initially suggested a date in Pepy I's later years based on the tomb's location and lack of inscribed architrave,<sup>68</sup> Kanawati's re-examination of the evidence reassigned the tomb to the period mid-late Teti, or immediately after.<sup>69</sup> He cited the decorative program of the tomb, which was characteristic of Teti's reign, and the tomb's location as key indicators of this earlier date.<sup>70</sup> However, Kanawati dated *Jr-n-ḥtj*'s immediate neighbour *Hwj* to the period end Teti-early Pepy I, based on the two distinct stages of his career.<sup>71</sup> If this suggestion is correct, the tomb of *Jr-n-ḥtj* cannot be dated mid-late Teti, as *Jr-n-ḥtj* built his tomb against *Hwj*'s west wall.<sup>72</sup> The architecture of the two tombs clearly demonstrates that *Hwj*'s tomb preceded that of *Jr-n-ḥtj*, although probably not by long, indicating that a date early in the reign of Pepy I may be more appropriate for the latter.

Date: early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Jrj.s***

*Teti Cemetery*

There are many similarities between the tomb of *Jrj.s* and the tomb of *Jr-n-ḥtj*, discussed above, such as their location in the Teti cemetery, style of decorative program and the noticeably lower position of their façade.<sup>73</sup> However, the tomb of *Jrj.s* also bears likeness to the nearby tombs of *K3-jn-n(.j)/Ttj* (early Pepy I) and *Smdnt* (late Teti-early Pepy I). The false door of *Ttj-ḥnh* in the tomb of *Jrj.s*, constructed with the tomb as a single project, and the false door in the tomb of *K3-jn-n(.j)/Ttj* contain the same unusual writing of the *ḥtp di nsw* formula.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, both *Ttj-ḥnh* and *K3-jn-n(.j)/Ttj* are shown on the central panel of the false door smelling a lotus flower.<sup>75</sup> Lastly, the false doors of *Ttj-ḥnh*, *K3-jn-n(.j)/Ttj* and *Smdnt* are similar in colour convention, as the false doors themselves are all painted red, while scenes and inscriptions were yellow.<sup>76</sup> Kanawati suggests that the "richness" of the tomb in relation to the position of its owner does not indicate a date after the reign of Teti, and consequently proposes

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<sup>67</sup> Kanawati et.al. note that there is nothing in the decoration of these tombs or the titulary of the tomb owners that suggest a date after the reign of Pepy I. Kanawati et.al. 1984, 11 & 43.

<sup>68</sup> The excavators believed that this apparently indicated "the declining standard with the passing of time". Kanawati et.al. 1984, 11.

<sup>69</sup> Kanawati 2003, 71-2.

<sup>70</sup> Kanawati 2003, 71-2.

<sup>71</sup> Kanawati 2003, 90-2.

<sup>72</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 43.

<sup>73</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 11 & 47.

<sup>74</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, pl. 22.

<sup>75</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 29.

<sup>76</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 48.

a mid-late Teti date. However, given that the tomb's decorative program is quite similar to *K3-jn-n(.j)/Ttj* and *Smdnt*, a late Teti-early Pepy I date may be more likely.

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥr, rn nfr Ssj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥr* has been assigned dates that range from the middle of Teti's reign to the reign of Pepy I;<sup>77</sup> however, a mid-late Teti date seems most likely. It is certain that *ḥnh-m-ḥr* began construction on his tomb later than *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* (early Teti), as the former built his tomb against the external northern wall of the latter.<sup>78</sup> Based on its rectangular shape, the mastaba of *ḥnh-m-ḥr* is more akin to the later tombs in the Teti cemetery which belong to *Mrrw-k3.j* (mid-end Teti) and *Hntj-k3.j* (late Teti-early Pepy I). Additionally, the rather rough relief work in *ḥnh-m-ḥr*'s tomb is quite similar to that in the chapel of *Mrj-Ttj* (end Teti-mid Pepy I) and particularly in that of *Hntj-k3.j*, which seems indicative of the latter part of Teti's reign.<sup>79</sup>

Date: mid-late Teti.

### **Tomb of *Wr-nww***

*Teti Cemetery*

The mid-late Teti date assigned to the tomb of *Wr-nww* rests heavily on its architecture and decoration. Like the mastaba of *Mrrj* (mid-late Teti) and other earlier tombs in the Teti cemetery, the tomb of *Wr-nww* is constructed entirely of stone.<sup>80</sup> An earlier date may also be supported by the double representation of the tomb owner on his false door, which is only seen in the tombs of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* (early Teti) and *Hfj* (mid Teti).<sup>81</sup> Swinton believes the tomb of *Wr-nww* may not date much later than the tombs of Teti and Pepy I's shared viziers,<sup>82</sup> which she believes is supported by the fact that *Wr-nww* was a *hntj-š* under Teti<sup>83</sup> and his immediate

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<sup>77</sup> Baer 1960, 64 [94]: Pepy I; Kanawati 1977, 152 [60]: mid-Teti; Strudwick 1985, 75 [30]: mid-late Teti; Harpur 1987, 273 [374]: late Teti-early Pepy I; Cherpion 1989, 153: Teti; Swinton 2014, 18-9 [15]: mid Teti-early Pepy I.

<sup>78</sup> Swinton 2014, 19.

<sup>79</sup> Strudwick 1985, 100-1 [68].

<sup>80</sup> Davies et.al. 1984, pl. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Kanawati 2003, 131.

<sup>82</sup> Swinton later contradicts herself and assigns the tomb a late Pepy I-early Pepy II date, however this was clearly influenced by the unsubstantiated view of Davies et.al. that the tomb may be considerably later. Swinton 2014, 20 [20].

<sup>83</sup> Davies et.al. 1984, pl. 26.

neighbour *Dsj*'s tomb contains a cartouche of Pepy I.<sup>84</sup> There is little evidence to suggest a “considerably later date” as speculated by Davies et.al.<sup>85</sup>

Date: mid-late Teti.

### **Tomb of *Pnw***

### *Pepy II Cemetery*

The tomb of *Pnw*, located at the Pepy II pyramid cemetery, has been assigned an early-mid Pepy II date. Jéquier's reasoning for assigning this tomb an end-Sixth Dynasty date seems rather unclear,<sup>86</sup> but it may have been assigned based on the tomb's poorly executed and unfinished decorative program.<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, both Baer and Kanawati assign the tomb of *Pnw* a date in the reign of Pepy II,<sup>88</sup> presumably based on its location. Although Baer does not refine his 'Pepy II' date any further, Kanawati suggests that the trend in tomb sizes of officials during the Sixth Dynasty may indicate an early-middle Pepy II date.<sup>89</sup>

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Mmj***

### *Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Mmj* was likely to have been built during the reign of Pepy I,<sup>90</sup> however the only decoration in this tomb is on the false door, which somewhat hinders the ability to assign the tomb a more secure date. Applying Baer's title-ranking system is also ineffective, as this produces a date anywhere in the Sixth Dynasty with the exception of the middle years of Pepy II.<sup>91</sup> Kanawati et.al. suggest the only indicator of a more specific date are the rare style of *wd3t* eyes on the inner jambs of the false door,<sup>92</sup> which are also seen on the false doors of *Jsj*<sup>93</sup> (Teti-early Pepy I) and *Q3r*<sup>94</sup> (Merenre-early Pepy II) of Edfu.<sup>95</sup> However, the chronology of the tombs in the Teti cemetery deem a date as late as Merenre-early Pepy II for *Mmj* highly unlikely, and a date under Teti or Pepy I much more appropriate. As *Mmj*'s tomb was built

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<sup>84</sup> Davies et.al. 1984, 43-5.

<sup>85</sup> Davies et.al. 1984, 1. Harpur provides a Merenre-early Pepy II date, yet apparently remains unconvinced, as indicated by the question mark after the provided date. Harpur 1987, 273 [380].

<sup>86</sup> Jéquier 1940, 2.

<sup>87</sup> This date seems odd, particularly given that Jéquier himself acknowledged the exceptional quality of the hieroglyphs. Jéquier 1940, 45.

<sup>88</sup> Baer 1960, 71 [139].

<sup>89</sup> Kanawati 1977, 153 [91].

<sup>90</sup> This date was originally suggested by Kanawati et.al. 1984, 12 & 26 and was redated by Kanawati 2003, 95 to the reign of Teti; however, the evidence suggests that a date under Pepy I is more likely.

<sup>91</sup> Baer 1960, 233-9.

<sup>92</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 26.

<sup>93</sup> Alliot 1933, pl. 8.

<sup>94</sup> Sethe 1933, 251ff.

<sup>95</sup> Strudwick 2005, 340-4.

against the west wall of the tomb of *Hwj* (end Teti-early Pepy I),<sup>96</sup> it seems likely that *Mmj*'s tomb may be contemporary or perhaps slightly later than that of *Hwj*.

Date: early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Mrw/Tjt-snb***

*Teti Cemetery*

There can be little doubt that *Mrw/Tjt-snb* lived under Teti and Pepy I.<sup>97</sup> The inscriptions from his tomb reveal that he held priesthoods in Teti's pyramid and Pepy I's temple, while the names *Tjt-snb*, *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-snb* and *Ppjj-snb* were probably acquired during his service under these same kings.<sup>98</sup> Kanawati divides *Mrw/Tjt-snb*'s career into several stages based on the location of his titles in the tomb, and consequently suggests that *Mrw/Tjt-snb* died in the early years of Pepy I.<sup>99</sup> Kanawati also cites the singular occurrence of the name *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-snb* next to an unfinished image of the tomb owner on the façade as further evidence,<sup>100</sup> while Swinton uses the distribution of the names in the tomb to propose a similar date.<sup>101</sup> Given that *Mrw/Tjt-snb* held many of the same titles as *Smdnt* (late Teti-early Pepy I) and that *Smdnt* built his tomb against that of *Mrw/Tjt-snb*, the two officials may be approximately contemporary. A date towards Teti's later years is also supported by Cherpion, who proposed that the tomb's decorative program was characteristic of the late-end Teti period.<sup>102</sup> As a result, the tomb of *Mrw/Tjt-snb* has been assigned a late Teti-early Pepy I date.

Date: mid Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *[M]rrj*, re-used by *Mrjj-Nbtj***

*Teti Cemetery*

A date for the tomb of *[M]rrj* relies on the comparison of its decoration with the tomb of *Mhj/Mh-n.s* (late Teti-early Pepy I).<sup>103</sup> Like that of *Mhi/Mh-n.s*, *[M]rrj*'s architrave contains seven horizontal lines of inscriptions and a statement that his "honour remain before Teti".<sup>104</sup> The tomb lies immediately opposite the tomb of *Hsj* in the Teti cemetery, whose biographical inscriptions securely date him to the reign of this same king, perhaps indicating a similar date under Teti for the tomb's construction by its original owner.<sup>105</sup> The reallocation of the tomb to

<sup>96</sup> Lloyd et.al. 1990, 33-9.

<sup>97</sup> Lloyd et.al. 1990, 6; Kanawati 2003, 104-5; Swinton 2014, 24 [35].

<sup>98</sup> Kanawati 2003, 105.

<sup>99</sup> Kanawati 2003, 103-5.

<sup>100</sup> Kanawati 2003, 105. Lloyd et.al. 1990, pl. 4.

<sup>101</sup> Swinton 2014, 24 [35].

<sup>102</sup> Cherpion 1989, 230.

<sup>103</sup> Kanawati & El Khouli 1988, 25-6, pls. 6-8.

<sup>104</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001, pl. 44.

<sup>105</sup> Kanawati 2003, 98-9.

*Mrjj-Nbtj* appears to have taken place immediately after *[M]rrj* fell into disgrace,<sup>106</sup> as suggested by the close study of the former's false door, such as the owner's chair and types and heights of bread.<sup>107</sup>

Date: late-end Teti for *[M]rrj*.

### **Tomb of *Mrj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The first complete publication<sup>108</sup> of *Mrj*'s mastaba suggests an earlier rather than later date in the reign of Teti.<sup>109</sup> Davies et.al. cite the entrance of the tomb being on the "favoured" eastern side, and the tomb's proximity to the larger mastabas of *K3-gm-n.j* (early Teti) and *Mrrw-k3.j* (mid-end Teti) as evidence for this date.<sup>110</sup> The tomb of *Mrj* used stone for its walls, not unlike the tombs of *K3-gm-n.j*, *Nfr-sšm-Rc* (early Teti), *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr* (mid-late Teti), *Nfr-sšm-Pth* (mid Teti) and *Hntj-k3.j* (late Teti-early Pepy I), while the shelf present in the burial chamber is also found in the tombs of *K3-gm-n.j*, *ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr* and *Nfr-sšm-Rc*.<sup>111</sup> However, the unique architecture and decorative program of *Mrj*'s tomb points to a date closest to that of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* (mid Teti). Both tombs contain a shaft inside their chapel and an internal stairway,<sup>112</sup> and both men are depicted sitting on a chair with four, rather than two, bull's legs.<sup>113</sup> As a result, the tomb of *Mrj* may be approximately contemporary with that of *Nj-k3w-Jssj*.

Date: mid-late Teti.

### **Tomb of *Mrj-Ttj***

*Teti Cemetery*

Based on *Mrj-Ttj*'s paternity and the decorative program of his chapel, his tomb may be dated with a reasonable degree of certainty to the period end Teti-mid Pepy I. Baer placed *Mrj-Ttj* between Merenre and early Pepy II based on the sequence of his titles,<sup>114</sup> however this is not supported by other evidence. *Mrj-Ttj* was the son of *Mrrw-k3.j* (mid-end Teti), whose extravagant tomb contains *Mrj-Ttj*'s chapel,<sup>115</sup> and held three titles associated with the pyramid of Pepy I.<sup>116</sup> Cherpion's dating also lends support to a date under Pepy I, as the long chain with

<sup>106</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001, 34.

<sup>107</sup> Cherpion 1989, 35-6 [criterion 12] & 46-7 [criterion 18].

<sup>108</sup> The smaller mastabas immediately north of the Teti Pyramid, including that of *Mrj*, were initially excavated and published in 1943, yet their publication was incomplete. Saad 1943, 453-7. Drioton 1943, 487-513.

<sup>109</sup> Davies et.al. 1984, 1.

<sup>110</sup> Davies et.al. 1984, 1.

<sup>111</sup> Swinton 2014, 24 [36].

<sup>112</sup> Kanawati 2003, 96.

<sup>113</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2000, pl. 48; Davies 1984, pl. 12.

<sup>114</sup> Baer 1960, 80-1, 290 [189].

<sup>115</sup> See Kanawati et.al. 2004 for the chapel of *Mrj-Ttj*.

<sup>116</sup> Swinton 2014, 23 [33].

an amulet worn by *Mrj-Ttj* on the south wall of room C1 falls out of use after the reign of this king.<sup>117</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq concede that the chapel of *Mrj-Ttj* is quite similar to that of *Jnw-Mnw* (end Teti-early Pepy I), whose tombs are comparable in area, ratio of decorated to undecorated rooms and content of their decorative program, which may indicate that they were at least in part contemporaries.<sup>118</sup> According to Nims, the chapel of *Mrj-Ttj* was certainly finished in the reign of Pepy I, but probably began during the reign of Teti.<sup>119</sup> This hypothesis is also supported by Swinton, who suggests that the decoration of the chapel was unlikely to have been completed before mid Pepy I, less than a generation after *Mrrw-k3.j* decorated his own rooms.<sup>120</sup>

Date: end Teti-mid Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m***

### *Pepy II Cemetery*

Given the name of the tomb owner and the tomb's location, the mastaba of *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* has been dated to the early-middle years of Pepy II. Jéquier proposed that the cartouche of Pepy I in the name of the tomb owner suggests *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* was born under Pepy I, and that his tomb was one of the first to be built under Pepy II.<sup>121</sup> He cites the favourable location of the tomb as evidence for an early date, and consequently places *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* at the beginning of Pepy II's reign, as one of his earliest viziers.<sup>122</sup> Kanawati and Strudwick, however, believe the date for the tomb may be slightly later. Kanawati cites Baer's title sequence examination as evidence for an approximately mid Pepy II date,<sup>123</sup> while Strudwick suggests that *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* succeeded the vizier *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w* (early-mid Pepy II) due to a representation of the two in Pepy II's mortuary temple.<sup>124</sup> Consequently, an early-mid Pepy II date seems more reasonable for both the construction, decoration and completion of the tomb and the owner's assumption of the vizierate.

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

<sup>117</sup> Cherpion 1989, 183-4 [criterion 36].

<sup>118</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2004, 18.

<sup>119</sup> Nims 1938, 638-47.

<sup>120</sup> Swinton 2014, 23 [33].

<sup>121</sup> Jéquier 1940, 55.

<sup>122</sup> Jéquier 1940, 55.

<sup>123</sup> Kanawati 1977, 14: Pepy II year 15-35, following Baer 1960, 79-80 [184].

<sup>124</sup> Jéquier 1940, pls. 48 & 71; Strudwick 1987, 95-6 [61]. This representation shows a line of officials, one with the name of *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m*, headed by the vizier *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w*. Strudwick does note, however, that it is uncertain whether the *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* represented here is the same *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* as the owner of this tomb.

**Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j, rn nfr Mrj****Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of the vizier *Mrrw-k3.j* is well-dated to the reign of Teti,<sup>125</sup> with the evidence suggesting a date in the middle years of this king. It appears that *Mrrw-k3.j* assumed the vizierate of Lower Egypt following the death of *ḥnh-m-ḥHr* (mid-late Teti), due to similarities in the titulary, location and architecture of the two tombs.<sup>126</sup> However, the relative chronology of *Mrrw-k3.j* and the corresponding vizier of Upper Egypt, *K3-gm-n.j* (early Teti) has long been questioned. More recent examination of the two tombs by Kanawati revealed that the northern section of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s chapel was built against the west wall of *K3-gm-n.j*'s chapel, suggesting that *Mrrw-k3.j* began construction on his tomb slightly later than that of *K3-gm-n.j*, but perhaps not by long.<sup>127</sup>

Date: mid-end Teti.

**Tomb of *Mhj****Pepy II Cemetery*

The tomb of *Mhj* is located in the Pepy II cemetery, which may imply a date under this king for his tomb. Although a more specific date was not provided, Jéquier believed that the decoration in *Mhj*'s burial chamber was the finest in the cemetery,<sup>128</sup> which does not seem to suggest a date late under Pepy II. Kanawati dated the tomb more specifically to the early-middle years of Pepy II, based on the size and decoration of the tomb,<sup>129</sup> and conceded that *Mhj* may be approximately contemporary with *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w* (early-mid Pepy II).

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Mhj/Mḥ-n.s****Teti Cemetery*

It is reasonably certain that the tomb of *Mhj/Mḥ-n.s* dates to the reign of Teti, as the tomb owner refers to himself as being honoured before this king<sup>130</sup> and no other king is mentioned in the tomb. However, the cartouche of Teti has been inscribed on a separate block of stone, which El-Khouli & Kanawati describe as “inferior in quality and workmanship”.<sup>131</sup> The authors propose that this was due to *Mhj/Mḥ-n.s* serving another king from whom he wished to disassociate himself, the most likely candidate for which is Userkare, the immediate successor

<sup>125</sup> Baer 1960, 82 & 290 [197]; Kanawati 1977, 153 [131]; Strudwick 1985, 100-1; Harpur 1987, 274 [420].

<sup>126</sup> Kanawati & Hassan 1997, *passim*; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 11ff; Kanawati et.al. 2010, 32.

<sup>127</sup> Kanawati 2003, 101.

<sup>128</sup> Jéquier 1929, 70.

<sup>129</sup> Kanawati 1977, 153 [135].

<sup>130</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, pl. 6.

<sup>131</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, 12 & pl. 6.



of Teti and probable usurper of Pepy I's intended throne.<sup>132</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati reasonably suggest that the cartouche of Userkare was replaced with that of Teti after Pepy I rightfully regained the throne, and that the tomb may be dated to the same period, or slightly before.<sup>133</sup> Kanawati believes that evidence from the neighbouring tombs also support this date, as the mastaba of *Mh̥j/Mh̥-n.s* is located in the same east-west street as those belonging to *Hf̥j* (mid Teti), *Hs̥jj* (late-end Teti), *[M]rrj* (late-end Teti) and *S̥c̥nh-w(j)-Pth* (late Teti).<sup>134</sup>

Date: late Teti for the tomb's construction;  
early Pepy I for the tomb's completion.

### **Tomb of *Mh̥w***

### *Unas Cemetery*

There has been much debate about the correct date for the tomb of *Mh̥w*. While earlier scholarship tended towards a date in the reign of Pepy II,<sup>135</sup> this date has generally been disregarded.<sup>136</sup> Altenmüller, who excavated and published the tomb in the late 1990s, considers a date in the reign of Teti more appropriate.<sup>137</sup> He believes that the tomb's construction may have begun under Unas, given its close proximity to his pyramid and the multiple domains of this king listed in his tomb, yet was certainly decorated under Teti.<sup>138</sup> While this is plausible, Altenmüller's subsequent suggestion that *Mh̥w* may also have died under Teti contradicts the evidence. Inscriptions on the inner pillars of his courtyard clearly describe *Mh̥w* as *sh̥d̥ ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-nfr-Mrj̥-R̥c̥*,<sup>139</sup> indicating he was alive for at least the early years of Pepy I's reign. Both Strudwick and Lashien use these inscriptions to propose that *Mh̥w* began construction on his tomb under Pepy I, and cite the tomb's seemingly odd location<sup>140</sup> and decorative program as supporting evidence.<sup>141</sup> Harpur believes that the tomb's decorative program is unusual for the reign of Teti, and seems more characteristic of the period mid Pepy I-Merenre, a suggestion which is also supported by Lashien.<sup>142</sup> With the evidence as it stands, a date in the reign of Teti

<sup>132</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, 12; Kanawati 2003, 94-5.

<sup>133</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, 12.

<sup>134</sup> Kanawati 2003, 93-4.

<sup>135</sup> Baer 1960, 290 [202]: mid Pepy II; Kanawati 1977, 153 [136]: mid Pepy II.

<sup>136</sup> Kanawati 1980b, 34: Pepy I; Strudwick 1985, 102: early-mid Pepy I; Harpur 1987, 40: mid Pepy I-Merenre; Altenmüller 1998, 82: Teti; Lashien 2017, 292: mid Pepy I-Merenre.

<sup>137</sup> Altenmüller 1998, 82-3.

<sup>138</sup> Altenmüller 1998, 83.

<sup>139</sup> Altenmüller 1998, fig. 22a, 22b & 23 [texts 404-10].

<sup>140</sup> The location of *Mh̥w*'s tomb near the Unas cemetery may be explained by the fact that all known viziers of Pepy I constructed their tombs away from the pyramid of the reigning monarch.

<sup>141</sup> Strudwick 1985, 101-2 [69]; Lashien 2017, 47-8.

<sup>142</sup> Harpur, 1987, 40; Lashien 2017, 223-4.

for the tomb of *Mḥw* appears to be slightly too early, and instead may be dated to the reign of Pepy I, perhaps to his early-middle years.

Date: early-mid Pepy I.

### **Burial of *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* in the tomb of *Mrjj-Rc-j3m***

*Pepy II Cemetery*

The burial of *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* has been assigned a date in the later years of Pepy II, due to the nature of his name and his somewhat miserable burial. Jéquier, Kanawati and Strudwick all agree that *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* may have been born around year 30 of Pepy II's reign, as the *ḥb-sd* of a king was usually celebrated at this time, and was accordingly named to commemorate the occasion.<sup>143</sup> Strudwick speculates that the joint burial of *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* and *Mrjj-Rc-j3m* may indicate that they were relatives, and proposes a date in the last third of Pepy II, although their relationship remains unknown.<sup>144</sup> Kanawati believes that the poor state of *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc*'s burial indicates a date at the end of Pepy II's reign,<sup>145</sup> but both scholars agree that Kees'<sup>146</sup> identification of *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* as the son of the vizier *Jdj/Tp-m-k3w* (early-mid Pepy II) is unwarranted.<sup>147</sup>

Date: late-end Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jssj, rn nfr Jssj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The mid Teti date assigned to the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* has been ascertained by comparing its architecture and position in the cemetery to other well-dated tombs in this area. Like the tombs of *Nfr-sšm-Rc* (early Teti), *K3-gm-n.j* (early Teti) and *ḥn-m-ḥr* (mid-late Teti), the mastaba of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* was constructed entirely of stone and contained a staircase leading to the roof.<sup>148</sup> Additionally, *Nj-k3w-Jssj*'s tomb is positioned between that of *K3-gm-n.j* and *Ḥsj* (late-end Teti) who both outlined their career progression under Isesi, Unas and Teti.<sup>149</sup> This tomb owner is presumably the same *Nj-k3w-Jssj* depicted on the causeway of Unas and again mentioned in a decree from early in Teti's reign.<sup>150</sup> The date of *Nj-k3w-Jssj*'s burial is recorded in his tomb

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<sup>143</sup> Jéquier 1940, 60-1; Kanawati 1977, 14; Strudwick 1985, 103 [72].

<sup>144</sup> Strudwick 1985, 103 [72].

<sup>145</sup> Kanawati 1977, 14.

<sup>146</sup> Kees 1940, 45-7.

<sup>147</sup> This is largely due to the fact that *Nj-ḥb-sd-Ppjj*, the son of the vizier *Jdj*, and *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* do not share the same titles. Strudwick 1985, 64 [16] & 103 [72]; Kanawati 1977, 14.

<sup>148</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2000, 17.

<sup>149</sup> Strudwick 2005, 102-3.

<sup>150</sup> Kanawati 2003, 114. Additionally, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq firmly believe that the inclusion of the name of Isesi in that of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* leaves little doubt that the latter began his career under Isesi in the Fifth Dynasty. Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2000, 19-20.

as *h3t-sp* 11, presumably of Teti,<sup>151</sup> indicating that the tomb was probably finished around this same time.

Date: mid Teti for construction;  
end Teti for completion.

**Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth/Wd-h3-ttj, rn nfr Ššj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* is built behind the tomb of *nh-m-c-Hr*, whose construction appears to have begun around the middle of Teti's reign. The evidence suggests that they were constructed quite close in time, although it cannot be ascertained which mastaba was built first.<sup>152</sup> The disparity between the high-quality decoration of rooms two and three and the poorly executed decoration of room seven suggests *Nfr-sšm-Pth* died before his tomb could be completed.<sup>153</sup> Although Kanawati has suggested that the hastily completed decoration of room seven was carried out by a son of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* who bore the same name as his father and held titles under Pepy I's pyramid,<sup>154</sup> Lloyd et.al. maintain that the damaged condition of the wall deems it "impossible to establish the existence of this *Nfr-sšm-Pth* junior".<sup>155</sup> Although it is clearly disputed as to whether *Nfr-sšm-Pth* died in the late years of Teti or the early years of Pepy I, it is widely accepted that construction on his tomb began around the middle of Teti's reign.

Date: mid Teti.

**Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Rc, rn nfr Ššj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Rc* has been assigned an early-mid Teti date based on its architecture and decoration. Architecturally, the shape of the mastaba is square, like that of *K3-gm-n.j* (early Teti), while the mastabas of other high officials in the Teti cemetery are rectangular.<sup>156</sup> Although there has been much discussion about the relative chronology of these two mastabas,<sup>157</sup> their respective decorative programs suggests that *Nfr-sšm-Rc* built his tomb first. The coarse stone used for the chapel of *Nfr-sšm-Rc* was unable to be decorated and differed

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<sup>151</sup> See Kanawati 2000, 25-32 for a discussion on the date of the death of *Nj-k3w-Jssj*.

<sup>152</sup> Unfortunately, modern restoration has hidden the join between the two walls, and it therefore remains unknown whether the two tombs were constructed individually or as a single project. Despite this, Lloyd insists the tombs were built as a single project. Kanawati & Hassan 1997, 18; Lloyd et.al. 2008, 1-2.

<sup>153</sup> Lloyd et.al. 2008, 1-2.

<sup>154</sup> Kanawati 2003, 108-10.

<sup>155</sup> Lloyd et.al. 2008, 2 [footnote 9].

<sup>156</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6.

<sup>157</sup> Firth & Gunn 1926, 15-6; Strudwick 1985, 112; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6 & Swinton 2014, 18-9, 30-1.

from that of *K3-gm-n.j* and other later officials, who richly adorned their chapel walls.<sup>158</sup> Also unlike *K3-gm-n.j*, and indeed unlike all other viziers who served under Teti and early in Pepy I's reign, *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* did not use limestone to case or decorate his burial chamber.<sup>159</sup> These distinct differences between the two tombs may suggest that *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* was the first to construct his tomb in the Teti cemetery.<sup>160</sup>

Date: early Teti.

### **Tomb of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr***

*Teti Cemetery*

Although the tomb of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* does not contain a biographical inscription, a date in the reign of Pepy I seems very likely. The tomb's decorative program suggests a date after the reign of Teti, and it is doubtful that *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* served Pepy II,<sup>161</sup> as those who served this king at the capital were buried in his cemetery and *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* was buried near the Teti pyramid.<sup>162</sup> This evidence suggests that *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* should be dated to the reign of Pepy I, which may be refined upon further examination of the tomb's decorative program and location. El-Fikey believes that the chapel of *Mrj-Ttj* (end Teti-mid Pepy I) is similar to that of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* in both relief quality and decoration,<sup>163</sup> while the position of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*'s tomb at the south-east corner of the Teti pyramid approximately corresponds to that of *Hntj-k3.j* (late Teti-mid Pepy I),<sup>164</sup> who is located at the north-east corner. Given *Hntj-k3.j*'s more favourable location at the north of Teti's pyramid, it may be suggested that *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* constructed his tomb some time later.<sup>165</sup> Strudwick and Kanawati's proposition that the tomb dates to the later years of Pepy I remains largely speculative,<sup>166</sup> especially if *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* is the same vizier whose name was removed from a royal decree dated to *h3t-sp* 21 of Pepy I.<sup>167</sup> The evidence seems to suggest a mid Pepy I date for *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*.

Date: mid Pepy I.

<sup>158</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15.

<sup>159</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6.

<sup>160</sup> Harpur 1987, 274 [444]; Swinton 2014, 30. Strudwick lists *K3-gm-n.j* as the first to construct his tomb followed by *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*, yet also states that this order could be reversed as it is "almost impossible" to separate the two. Strudwick 1985, 112.

<sup>161</sup> Strudwick 1985, 115 [93]; El-Fikey 1980, 44; Kanawati 2003, 116; Swinton 2014, 31-2 [63].

<sup>162</sup> El-Fikey 1980, fig. 1 for a map.

<sup>163</sup> El-Fikey 1980, 44.

<sup>164</sup> El-Fikey 1980, fig. 1.

<sup>165</sup> Strudwick 1985, 115; El-Fikey 1980, 44.

<sup>166</sup> Strudwick 1985, 115; Kanawati 2003, 116.

<sup>167</sup> Sethe 1933, 209-13; Strudwick 2005, 103-5. The highest known count for Pepy I is *h3t-sp* 32. See Dobrev 2003, 174-7.

### **Tomb of *Rmnj*, *rn nfr Mrjw***

*Teti Cemetery*

The mastaba of *Rmnj* is situated in the far north-west corner of the Teti cemetery not far from the tombs of *S<sup>c</sup>nh-wj-Pth* (late Teti), *Hfj* (mid Teti), *Grf* (mid-late Teti), *Hsjj* (late-end Teti), *Jr-n-3htj* (early Pepy I), *Ttj-snb/Jrj* (late Teti) and *Mhj/Mh-n.s* (late Teti-early Pepy I).<sup>168</sup> However, *Rmnj*'s decorated burial chamber and the high quality of his reliefs in comparison to these tombs indicates that he enjoyed a higher status than those buried around him.<sup>169</sup> It has been suggested that, like the officials *Mrrw-k3.j*, *K3-gm-n.j*, *Nfr-sšm-Pth* and *Špsj-pw-Pth*, *Rmnj* was married to a daughter of Teti.<sup>170</sup> An inscription on the architrave of the tomb reveals that *Rmnj* held two offices connected with Teti's pyramid, while Kanawati suggests that the absence of Teti's cartouche in the tomb's interior is characteristic of the turbulent transition period between Teti and Pepy I.<sup>171</sup>

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Hfj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Hfj* appears to have been one of the earlier tombs in the Teti cemetery. It can be said with certainty that the tomb of *Hfj* is earlier than that of his immediate neighbour *Hsj* (late-end Teti) because the latter built his tomb against the east wall of the former.<sup>172</sup> The shape of the mastaba also attests to a date before Teti's later years, as the early mastabas of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*, *K3-gm-n.j* and *Nfr-sšm-Pth* are also square in shape.<sup>173</sup> Additionally, like the earlier mastabas of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*, *K3-gm-n.j*, and *Nj-k3w-Jssj*, the tomb of *Hfj* contains an internal stairway leading to the roof. However, the double representation of *Hfj* on the panel of his false door suggests a date approximately contemporary with *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* (early Teti) and *Wr-nww* (mid-late Teti), as these are the only other tombs in the Teti cemetery whose false door contains this unique representation of the tomb owner.<sup>174</sup>

Date: mid Teti.

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<sup>168</sup> Kanawati 2009, 13-4.

<sup>169</sup> Swinton 2014, 33.

<sup>170</sup> Kanawati 2009, 15-8.

<sup>171</sup> Kanawati 2003, *passim*; Kanawati 2009, 14.

<sup>172</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 16-7.

<sup>173</sup> Kanawati & Hassan 1997, 18; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6.

<sup>174</sup> Kanawati et.al 1998, pl. 58. Apart from the tomb of *Š3bw/Jbbj*, located north of the Step Pyramid, all other examples of this feature are found in the Fifth Dynasty. Strudwick 1985, 1 & 18; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001, 46.

### **Tomb of *Hsj*, re-used by *Sšm-nfr***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Hsj* is one of the more securely dated tombs in the Teti cemetery. The west thickness of the entrance outlines how *Hsj* began his career under Isesi, continued his career under Unas and was ultimately promoted to *hrj-tp nsw* by Teti.<sup>175</sup> *Hsj* was also *t3jtj s3b t3tj*, however as this title is only attested on a pillar and not in his autobiography or titularly listed inside the tomb, it is likely that this promotion came late in his career.<sup>176</sup> *Hsj* does not appear to have enjoyed the vizierate for very long as, unlike other viziers of Teti and early Pepy I, his burial chamber was left undecorated and all the reliefs unpainted.<sup>177</sup> The fact that *Hsj* built his tomb against the mastaba of *Špsj-pw-Pth* (mid-late Teti), which in turn was built against that of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* (mid-end Teti), indicates the tombs were built in relatively quick succession.<sup>178</sup> After *Hsj* presumably fell into disgrace, the king reallocated the tomb to the official *Sšm-nfr*.<sup>179</sup> Although the name of the king is not mentioned, Kanawati has reasonably suggested that it was Pepy I, who may have punished *Hsj* for being involved in a conspiracy against Teti.<sup>180</sup>

Date: late-end Teti.

### **Tomb of *Hsji***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Hsji* has been assigned a late Teti date based on its location in the Teti cemetery, its architecture and the titulary of the tomb owner. *Hsji*'s mastaba is located adjacent to that of *Mhj/Mh-n.s* (late Teti-early Pepy I).<sup>181</sup> Upon examination of the two tombs, El-Khouli & Kanawati did not find any evidence that one mastaba was built against another, indicating that their façades were constructed as a single wall.<sup>182</sup> Architecturally, the tomb of *Hsji* contains several rooms and uses deep shafts to access the burial chamber,<sup>183</sup> not unlike the larger mastabas belonging to *Mrrw-k3j* (mid-end Teti),<sup>184</sup> *Hntj-k3j* (late Teti-mid Pepy I)<sup>185</sup> and *Nj-k3w-Jssj* (mid-end Teti).<sup>186</sup> Finally, given that *Hsji* was *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*, it is curious that he also did

<sup>175</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 22-3 & pls. 7-8.

<sup>176</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 15-6. Swinton 2014, 33.

<sup>177</sup> An undecorated burial chamber occurs in the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*, however the evidence suggests he was the first vizier to construct his tomb in the Teti cemetery. Following *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*, all other tombs of viziers contained decorated burial chambers.

<sup>178</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 16.

<sup>179</sup> It can be said with certainty that *Sšm-nfr* did not usurp the tomb from *Hsj*, as the inscription on the portico added by the former clearly states that it was a boon from the king. Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, pls. 6 & 50.

<sup>180</sup> Kanawati 2003, 61.

<sup>181</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, pl. 1.

<sup>182</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, 18.

<sup>183</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988, 18.

<sup>184</sup> Duell 1938, pl. 1.

<sup>185</sup> James 1953, pl. 3.

<sup>186</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2000, pl. 40-1.

not hold the commonly associated titles *jrj-p<sup>ct</sup>* or *h3tj-<sup>c</sup>*, yet the same phenomenon is observed in the nearby tomb of *Hwj* (end Teti-early Pepy I).<sup>187</sup> The evidence seems to suggest a date in the late years of Teti's reign for the tomb of *Hsjj*, although an end Teti date is also possible.

Date: late-end Teti.

#### **Tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw*, *rn nfr Bjw***

*Pepy II Cemetery*

Based on its location in the Pepy II cemetery, the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw* can be assigned with a reasonable degree of certainty to the reign of this same king. Due to the tomb's close proximity to that of the vizier *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* (early-mid Pepy II), Jéquier considered *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw* to be his immediate successor in this office.<sup>188</sup> A date after the mid Pepy II is also echoed by Kanawati based on the size of the tomb,<sup>189</sup> and Baer's title-ranking also system prefers a date towards the later years of Pepy II.<sup>190</sup> Strudwick, who also assigns the tomb a late Pepy II date, considers the decoration in the mortuary temple of Pepy II to be the key indicator for the tomb's date.<sup>191</sup> According to Strudwick, *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw*'s replacement of another official's name with his own in Pepy II's mortuary temple<sup>192</sup> indicates that he held office after its decoration was completed.<sup>193</sup> While the viziers *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m* and *Šncjj* were included in the temple's original decoration, the absence of *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw* implies he superseded these individuals to the vizierate.<sup>194</sup> As a result, a date in the late years of Pepy II seems most appropriate for *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw*.

Date: late Pepy II.

#### **Tomb of *Hwj***

*Teti Cemetery*

Based on *Hwj*'s titles, his tomb may be dated to the period end Teti-early Pepy I. Kanawati has reasonably suggested that *Hwj*'s career was divided into two stages, the second of which saw *Hwj* hold office in the pyramids of both Teti and Pepy I.<sup>195</sup> If the second phase of *Hwj*'s career began in the early years of Pepy I, which seems likely given that he held a priesthood under this king, his tomb's construction probably began at the end of Teti's reign and its decoration completed early under Pepy I.

<sup>187</sup> Lloyd et.al. 1990, 33; Kanawati 2003, 90-2.

<sup>188</sup> Jéquier 1938, 76.

<sup>189</sup> Kanawati 1977, 154 [236].

<sup>190</sup> Baer 1960, 109 [361].

<sup>191</sup> Strudwick 1985, 121-2 [102].

<sup>192</sup> Jéquier 1938, pl. 57.

<sup>193</sup> Strudwick 1985, 121.

<sup>194</sup> Strudwick 1985, 121.

<sup>195</sup> See Kanawati 2003, 90-2 for his division of *Hwj*'s career.

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Hntj-k3.j, rn nfr Jhhj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Hntj-k3.j* is dated by most scholars to between late Teti and early Pepy I.<sup>196</sup> Like other high officials who served under Teti – *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr*, *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, *Nfr-sšm-Rꜥ*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *K3-gm-n.j* – the tomb of *Hntj-k3.j* is located close to the northern wall of the Teti Pyramid complex. However, its position to the east of this cluster of tombs<sup>197</sup> and the frequent mention of titles connected to Pepy I's pyramid may indicate that *Hntj-k3.j* began construction on his tomb slightly later than these officials.<sup>198</sup> This suggestion is supported by the rectangular shape of the tomb used by later mastabas in the cemetery<sup>199</sup> and the quality of its decoration, which is noticeably inferior. Strudwick established that the high quality relief work in the tombs of *Nfr-sšm-Rꜥ* (early Teti) and *K3-gm-n.j* (early Teti) slightly worsened in the tomb of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥHr* (mid-late Teti) and further deteriorated in *Mrj-Ttj*'s chapel (end Teti-mid Pepy I) in *Mrrw-k3.j*'s tomb, while the tomb of *Hntj-k3.j* contained the poorest quality relief.<sup>200</sup> This suggests the tomb of *Hntj-k3.j* was one of the last to be built in the cemetery, probably in the later years of Teti's reign.

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Sꜥnh-w(j)-Pth, rn nfr Htp-n(j)-Pth***

*Teti Cemetery*

A date for the tomb of *Sꜥnh-w(j)-Pth* may be inferred through an examination of the tomb's location. Its less-than-ideal position in the fourth east-west street of the Teti cemetery behind the vizier *K3-gm-n.j*<sup>201</sup> (early Teti) suggests a somewhat later date for *Sꜥnh-w(j)-Pth*. The tomb which lies opposite and slightly west, that of *Hsj*, is dated to late-end Teti,<sup>202</sup> while the mastabas directly in front of *Sꜥnh-w(j)-Pth*, those belonging to *Špsj-pw-Pth* and *Nj-k3w-Jssj*,<sup>203</sup> are dated mid-late Teti and mid-end Teti, respectively. The evidence therefore suggests that *Sꜥnh-w(j)-Pth* should be dated later than *K3-gm-n.j*, *Špsj-pw-Pth* and *Nj-k3w-Jssj*, but certainly before or possibly even contemporary with *Hsj*.

Date: late Teti.

<sup>196</sup> James 1953, 13-4; Baer 1960, 293 [393]; Kanawati 1977, 13; Strudwick 1985, 125-6 [109]; Swinton 2014, 19 & 35 [79]. An exception to this is Harpur, who assigns the tomb a mid Pepy I date. Harpur 1987, 275 [479].

<sup>197</sup> See James 1953, pl. 2 for a map which includes the tomb's location.

<sup>198</sup> James 1953, 12-4.

<sup>199</sup> See Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6 for a discussion.

<sup>200</sup> Strudwick 1985, 100-1.

<sup>201</sup> Kanawati 2003, fig. 2.24.

<sup>202</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 15-6. Swinton 2014, 33.

<sup>203</sup> Kanawati 2003, fig. 2.24.



### **Tomb of *Sbkjj***

*Pepy II Cemetery*

The tomb of *Sbkjj*, located in the Pepy II cemetery, may be dated to the later years of this same king. Although Daresy, the excavator, conceded that the tomb was dated to the reign of Pepy II yet could not further refine this date,<sup>204</sup> Kanawati suggests a late Pepy II date.<sup>205</sup> Although *Sbkjj* was a high official under Pepy II, his modest tomb only contained a small amount of text inscribed into the façade and did not possess a chapel.<sup>206</sup> Kanawati believes this may be indicative of the later years of Pepy II, as the economic capacity of officials had significantly diminished by this time.<sup>207</sup>

Date: late Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Snj***

*Pepy II Cemetery*

The tomb of *Snj* has been tentatively assigned a date in the middle-late years of Pepy II. Although Jéquier assigned the tomb an end-Sixth Dynasty date,<sup>208</sup> there is nothing in the tomb's decoration or titulary that indicates such a late date. Kanawati believes that the reasonable size of the mastaba is more indicative of a mid-late Pepy II date,<sup>209</sup> however there has been little discussion about this tomb in academia. Consequently, Kanawati's suggested mid-late Pepy II date has cautiously been assigned.

Date: mid-late Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Smdnt***

*Teti Cemetery*

Although Kanawati et.al. proposed that the tomb of *Smdnt* could not have been built before the reign of Pepy I,<sup>210</sup> a reconsideration of the evidence may suggest a date under Teti, at least for the tomb's construction. Given that *Smdnt* used the west wall of *Mrw/Ttj-snb*'s tomb for his own tomb's east wall, it can be said with certainty that *Smdnt* constructed his tomb after *Mrw/Ttj-snb* (mid Teti-early Pepy I).<sup>211</sup> Lloyd et.al. argue that, based on the distribution of the names *Ttj-snb*, *Ppjj-snb* and *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-snb* in the tomb, this mastaba was probably built and most of the decoration completed under Teti, but was not finished until the early years of Pepy I.<sup>212</sup> If Lloyd et.al. are correct, and construction on the tomb of *Mrw/Ttj-snb* began in the reign of

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<sup>204</sup> Daresy 1916, 194-5.

<sup>205</sup> Kanawati 1977, 154 [277].

<sup>206</sup> Kanawati 1977, 23.

<sup>207</sup> Kanawati 1977, 39-40.

<sup>208</sup> Jéquier 1940, 39-40.

<sup>209</sup> Kanawati 1977, 154 [283].

<sup>210</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 15-6. This tomb was also published by Lloyd et.al. 1990, 21-31.

<sup>211</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 10; Kanawati 2003, 123-4.

<sup>212</sup> Lloyd et.al. 1990, 6. This suggestion is also supported by Swinton 2014, 24 [35].

Teti, then the date for *Smdnt*'s tomb may only be slightly later. A late date under Teti is also supported by Cherpion, who assigns the tomb a late-end Teti date based on its decoration and the similarities in the workmanship of the false doors of *Smdnt* and *Dsj*,<sup>213</sup> the latter of which is dated to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>214</sup>

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of Špsj-pw-Pth**

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of Špsj-pw-Pth likely dates to the reign of Teti.<sup>215</sup> His tomb's location in the Teti cemetery suggests that Špsj-pw-Pth constructed his tomb during the reign of Teti and consequently probably served this same king. However, a more precise date may be ascertained by comparing the architecture of his tomb to that of *Nj-kʷw-Jssj* and *Hsj*. Špsj-pw-Pth built his tomb against the northern part of the east wall of *Nj-kʷw-Jssj*,<sup>216</sup> while the tomb of *Hsj* was built between the north wall of *Nj-kʷw-Jssj* and the west wall of Špsj-pw-Pth.<sup>217</sup> Špsj-pw-Pth is therefore later than *Nj-kʷw-Jssj* but earlier than *Hsj*. As the tomb of *Nj-kʷw-Jssj* probably dates to mid Teti and the likely date for *Hsj* is late-end Teti,<sup>218</sup> it seems reasonable to suggest that Špsj-pw-Pth lies somewhere in between.

Date: mid-late Teti.

### **Tomb of Kʷ-jn-n(.j), rn nfr Tj**

*Teti Cemetery*

The mastaba of Kʷ-jn-n(.j) may be dated to the early years of Pepy I. The evidence suggests that Kʷ-jn-n(.j) began construction on his tomb simultaneously with that of *Mmj* (early Pepy I), as the brickwork on the lower part of their tombs is perfectly joined together.<sup>219</sup> The main false door in the tomb of Kʷ-jn-n(.j) may also indicate an early Pepy I date, as the high quality of its workmanship appears to refute a later date.<sup>220</sup> Although the other two false doors in Kʷ-jn-n(.j)'s contain a T-shaped central panel,<sup>221</sup> which Strudwick observes as exclusively occurring from the later years of Pepy I onwards,<sup>222</sup> these two false doors were probably carved Kʷ-jn-

<sup>213</sup> Cherpion 1989, 230.

<sup>214</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 15-6. The tomb of *Dsj* contains a partly preserved inscription containing the cartouche of Pepy, presumably Pepy I, reasonably suggesting a date in the reign of this king for the decoration of the tomb.

<sup>215</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001, 14-5; Swinton 2014, 39.

<sup>216</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001, 14-5; Swinton 2014, 39.

<sup>217</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 15-6; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001, 15.

<sup>218</sup> See pages 20 and 23-4 for a discussion on the dates of *Nj-kʷw-Jssj* and *Hsj*, respectively.

<sup>219</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 10-11 & 38.

<sup>220</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 37.

<sup>221</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, pls. 22-4.

<sup>222</sup> Strudwick 1985, 18-9.

*n(.j)*'s. His false door already occupied the north wall, which was commonplace for the owner of the tomb, indicating that these two false doors were added after that of *K3-jn-n(.j)*.<sup>223</sup>

Date: early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *K3(j)-cpr(w)***

*Teti Cemetery*

The mastaba of *K3(j)-cpr(w)* is located in the Teti Cemetery, suggesting a date no earlier than the reign of Teti for the construction of this tomb.<sup>224</sup> While earlier tombs in the cemetery were constructed completely of stone, *K3(j)-cpr(w)* was the first to use mudbrick for his entire tomb.<sup>225</sup> As *K3(j)-cpr(w)*'s immediate neighbour, *Nfr-sšm-Pth* (mid Teti), used a combination of both stone and mudbrick, *Nfr-sšm-Pth* may date to a slightly earlier period.<sup>226</sup> There is a distinct absence of titles relating to Teti's priesthood in the tomb of *K3(j)-cpr(w)*, which is a peculiarity seen in almost all tombs of officials dated to the transitional period between Teti and Pepy I,<sup>227</sup> indicating that *K3(j)-cpr(w)* may date to around this same time.

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *K3-gm-n.j, rn nfr Mmj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *K3-gm-n.j* is well-dated to the early years of Teti's reign. His tomb biography, which relays the beginnings of his career under Isesi and Unas before being promoted by Teti,<sup>228</sup> and the tomb's extremely favourable position in the cemetery, leaves little doubt that its construction began almost immediately after Teti's ascension to the throne.<sup>229</sup> However there has been much discussion about the relative chronology of *K3-gm-n.j* and his neighbour, *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*. Both Harpur and Strudwick place *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* before *K3-gm-n.j*, although Strudwick also notes that it is possible to reverse the chronology of the two tombs.<sup>230</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq and Swinton firmly believe that the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* was built first, as he is the only vizier under Teti not to decorate his burial chamber or case it with limestone.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Kanawati et.al. 1984, 37.

<sup>224</sup> Kanawati & Hassan 1996, 37-8.

<sup>225</sup> The earliest tombs in this street belong to *cnh-m-c-Hr* and *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*. See Kanawati & Hassan 1997 & Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, respectively.

<sup>226</sup> Lloyd et.al. 2008, pls. 32-43.

<sup>227</sup> See, for example, the tombs of *Mhj/Mh-n.s*, *Hsij* and *Jšff* in El-Khouli & Kanawati 1988.

<sup>228</sup> Strudwick 2005, 285-7.

<sup>229</sup> Swinton 2014, 43 [111].

<sup>230</sup> Strudwick 1985, 101; Harpur 1987, 274 [444] & 276 [534]. The chronology proposed by Harpur, which sees *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* dated to mid Teti and *K3-gm-n.j* to mid-late Teti, varies greatly to those of other scholars, majority of which date both officials to the early-middle years of Teti. For example, Firth & Gunn 1926, 15; Baer 1960, 295 [548]; Kanawati 1977, 153 [190] & 155 [361]; Strudwick 1985, 101; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6; Brovarski 2006, 72-3; Swinton 2014, 19 & 43 [111].

<sup>231</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998, 15-6; Swinton 2014, 19 & 43 [111].

Despite disagreements about the relative chronology of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* and *K3-gm-n.j*, both officials can be dated with some certainty to the early years of Teti.

Date: early Teti.

### **Tomb of *Grf, rn nfr Jtj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Grf* has been assigned to the mid-late Teti period, although it has been somewhat difficult to date as the only surviving inscriptions are on the false door and the architrave. The style and similarity of the inscriptions to those in neighbouring tombs<sup>232</sup> and the shape and elongated panel of the false door<sup>233</sup> seem to indicate a date in the reign of Teti, which may be confirmed by the tomb's location in the Teti cemetery. *Grf*'s tomb is located in the same street as that of *Mhj/Mh-n.s* (late Teti-early Pepy I) and *Ttj-snb/Jrj* (late Teti), which lie to the immediate west, perhaps indicating a similar date for the tomb of *Grf*.

Date: mid-late Teti.

### **Tomb of *Ttj-snb, rn nfr Jrj***

*Teti Cemetery*

The tomb of *Ttj-snb/Jrj* has been tentatively dated to the later years of Teti. Kanawati proposes that the replacement of the name *Ttj-snb* with the name *Jrj* on the entrance lintel may indicate this official's desire to distance himself from Teti.<sup>234</sup> If this is correct, this disassociation may have taken place under Userkare, not unlike the odd situation on the architrave of the tomb belonging to *Mhj/Mh-n.s*.<sup>235</sup> This striking, and otherwise unattested, similarity between the two tombs, plus the fact that the tombs are located directly adjacent to one another, may indicate that they were constructed around the same time.<sup>236</sup>

Date: late Teti.

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<sup>232</sup> Kanawati & Hassan 1996, 71.

<sup>233</sup> Strudwick 1985, 18.

<sup>234</sup> Kanawati 2003, 75-8.

<sup>235</sup> See pages 18-9 for a discussion on the date of *Mhj/Mh-n.s*.

<sup>236</sup> Kanawati 2003, 75.

## Chapter 3: Dating the Provincial Tombs

### 3.1 UE 1: Qubbet el-Hawa

#### **Tomb of *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)*, *rn nfr Ḥqʿ-jb I***

There have been several dates proposed for tomb QH35, belonging to *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb I*.<sup>237</sup> While Edel favoured a late-end Pepy II date based on the apparently dire political situation described in the tomb owner's biography,<sup>238</sup> Vischak has challenged this date. She argues that the location, size, plan and design of the tomb are almost identical to that of *Hrw-ḥwj.f* (Merenre-beginning Pepy II), and that this likeness is unattested elsewhere in the cemetery.<sup>239</sup> As a result, Vischak has suggested that *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb I* built his tomb "close on the heels" of *Hrw-ḥwj.f*, perhaps in the early years of Pepy II.<sup>240</sup> The obvious difference in the two tombs' decorative program, however, may indicate that *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb I* lived and decorated his tomb well into the reign of Pepy II, while *Hrw-ḥwj.f* completed his tomb shortly before he died, probably in Pepy II's early years.<sup>241</sup>

Date: early Pepy II.

#### **Tomb of *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)*, *rn nfr Ḥqʿ-jb II***

There has been great discussion about the tomb of *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb*, owner of tomb QH35d, with both Habachi and Edel believing this individual to be one and the same as the owner of tomb QH35 discussed above, also named *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb*.<sup>242</sup> Habachi speculated that QH35 was too small to belong to such an important individual, and as a form of compensation, *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb* built a second tomb for himself to the north.<sup>243</sup> This view was supported by Edel, who unequivocally allocated both tombs to the one individual due to *Ppjj-nḥt(w.)/Ḥqʿ-jb*'s apparent "rich and famous" status.<sup>244</sup> However, Vischak argues that the stark differences in the two tombs' decorative programs places them at "opposite chronological points" in the reign of Pepy II, and consequently suggests that the two tombs belonged to different

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<sup>237</sup> Baer 1960, 276: end Pepy II; Harpur 1987, 282 [689]: Dynasty 7-8; Strudwick 2005, 333: mid Pepy II; Edel 2008, 698: end Pepy II; Vischak 2014, 225-31: early Pepy II.

<sup>238</sup> Edel, for example, described this as "unrest and bloody uprisings" in Nubia, which he believed could only have occurred at the very end of Pepy II's reign. Edel 2008, 698.

<sup>239</sup> This is particularly true for the design, style of the figures and layout of the texts on the façade. Vischak 2014, 230-1.

<sup>240</sup> Vischak 2014, 230.

<sup>241</sup> Vischak 2014, 231.

<sup>242</sup> Habachi 1981, 11-27; Edel 2008, 667-77, 698 & 786.

<sup>243</sup> Habachi 1981, 11-27.

<sup>244</sup> Edel 2008, 786.

individuals.<sup>245</sup> According to Vischak, the content of the two tombs represent equally whole and separate monuments: each tomb contains an entrance, multiple false doors, a shaft, burial chamber, images of the tomb owner with his titulary, images of *ka*-servants and other secondary figures.<sup>246</sup> While Habachi used the rock cut stairs leading from QH35d to QH35 to argue that the two tombs were for the same person,<sup>247</sup> Vischak believes this architectural connection is more indicative of a close, probably familial, relationship between the tomb owners.<sup>248</sup> Due to the lack of evidence in QH35d which would securely assign the tomb a date and the convincing argument put forth by Vischak, the tomb of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* has tentatively been assigned a late Pepy II date.

Date: late Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Mhw, rn nfr Jnj-jtj.f* and *S3bnj I***

The joint tomb of *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and his son *S3bnj I* can be firmly placed in the reign of Pepy II, as the biography of *S3bnj I* recounts how he received a portion of land from the *hnty-š* of Pepy II's pyramid for retrieving and burying *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* after his unexpected death in Nubia.<sup>249</sup> Although Edel places *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S3bnj I* in the last third of Pepy II's reign,<sup>250</sup> his discussion of the title *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*, an office which was held by *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f*, may suggest an earlier date. If this title was only held by one official at any given time, as Edel reasonably proposed,<sup>251</sup> *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* may only be slightly later than *Hrw-hwj.f*. It is known that *Hrw-hwj.f* was the first official in the cemetery to be *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*, as the lengthy texts inscribed into his tomb façade describe his titularly and career under Merenre and in the very early years of Pepy II.<sup>252</sup> *Hrw-hwj.f*'s obviously high status under these kings indicates that he was also probably a man of some age and may have died in the early years of Pepy II's reign.<sup>253</sup> Given that both *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S3bnj I* were also *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* under Pepy II, it seems likely that *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* became *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* upon *Hrw-hwj.f*'s death, who was then succeeded in this office by his son *S3bnj I*.<sup>254</sup> It also appears that *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* was not *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* for very long before he died,

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<sup>245</sup> Vischak 2014, 225.

<sup>246</sup> Vischak 2014, 228.

<sup>247</sup> Habachi 1981, 12-6.

<sup>248</sup> Vischak 2014, 228.

<sup>249</sup> Edel 2008, 49-57.

<sup>250</sup> Edel 2008, 229-30.

<sup>251</sup> Edel 2008, 115-6. This view is also supported by Kanawati and Vischak. Kanawati 1980b, 142 & Vischak 2014, 235.

<sup>252</sup> Strudwick 2005, 328-33; Edel 2008, 621-8.

<sup>253</sup> See page 44 for a discussion on the date of *Hrw-hwj.f*.

<sup>254</sup> Vischak 2014, 235.

as the title is absent from his tomb program and only appears on his sarcophagus.<sup>255</sup> Presumably after the sudden death of his father, *S3bnj I* expanded and completed the tomb to incorporate a similar-sized chapel for himself,<sup>256</sup> which, according to Vischak's revised chronology, was probably completed around the middle years of Pepy II.<sup>257</sup>

Date: close to mid Pepy II for *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* tomb's construction, and  
mid Pepy II for the tomb's expansion and completion by *S3bnj I*.

### **Tomb of *Hw(w)j***

There has been much discussion about the date of *Hw(w)j*.<sup>258</sup> Although both Fischer and Edel placed the tomb at the end of the Old Kingdom on stylistic grounds,<sup>259</sup> a reconsideration of the evidence may indicate a date in the early years of Pepy II. The decorative program in the tombs belonging to *Hw(w)j* and *Ttj* (tomb QH103) both include a man named *Hnmw-htp* and his daughter *Hrw-m-k3w.s*, reasonably suggesting the same father and daughter are depicted in both programs and creating a chronological link between the two tombs.<sup>260</sup> If the *Ttj* mentioned in an inscription at Wadi Hammamat from late in the reign of Pepy I is the same *Ttj* who owns tomb QH103,<sup>261</sup> the tomb of *Hw(w)j* may be much earlier than the date proposed by Edel and Fischer.<sup>262</sup> Both Kanawati and Vischak support this identification, although Vischak identifies *Hw(w)j* and *Ttj* as near contemporaries of *Hrw-hwj.f*,<sup>263</sup> while Kanawati believes *Hw(w)j* and *Ttj* preceded *Hrw-hwj.f*.<sup>264</sup> Based on the tomb's decorative program in what is termed by Vischak as 'Sunken C style',<sup>265</sup> an early Pepy II date seems most reasonable for *Hw(w)j*.

Date: early Pepy II.

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<sup>255</sup> Vischak 2014, 235.

<sup>256</sup> The expansion of the tomb was completed in three clear phases. Edel 2008, 8-20.

<sup>257</sup> Vischak 2014, 235.

<sup>258</sup> See for example El-Dissouky 1969, 109-25; Fischer 1976, 69-80; Kanawati 1980b, 22; Edel 2008, 502-3; Vischak 2014, 231-2.

<sup>259</sup> Fischer 1976, 69-80; Edel 2008, 503.

<sup>260</sup> Vischak 2014, 231.

<sup>261</sup> Eichler firmly believes the *Ttj* mentioned in one of the Wadi Hammamat inscriptions is the same *Ttj* who owns tomb QH103. As this inscription shares a rock surface with an inscription dated to *h3t-sp* 18 of Pepy I's reign, Eichler believes the date of *Ttj*'s inscription is approximately contemporary. Eichler 1993, 68 [116].

<sup>262</sup> Fischer 1976, 76; Edel 2008, 502-3.

<sup>263</sup> Vischak 2014, 232.

<sup>264</sup> Kanawati 1980b, 22.

<sup>265</sup> Vischak 2014, 152-3.

### Tomb of *Hwj.ns*

Although initially dated by Edel to the early years of Pepy I,<sup>266</sup> more recent scholarship suggests a date in the reign of Pepy II for the tomb of *Hwj.ns*.<sup>267</sup> Edel equated the *Hwj.ns* buried at Qubbet el-Hawa with the *Hwj.ns* mentioned in an inscription at Lower Nubia, dated to early Pepy I,<sup>268</sup> as evidence for the date of the tomb.<sup>269</sup> However, the titles held by the *Hwj.ns* of the Nubian inscription, ‘*šḥd hntj-š pr-ꜥ3*’ and ‘*jmj-r ʿw*’, are not recorded in the tomb of *Hwj.ns* at Qubbet el-Hawa, creating difficulty when attempting to link the two individuals.<sup>270</sup> Vischak believes that, based on the tomb’s decorative program, *Hwj.ns* may be approximately contemporary with the joint tomb of *Mḥw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S3bnj I*, suggesting a mid Pepy II date.<sup>271</sup> However her argument is unconvincing, and even acknowledges herself that the tomb’s decorative scheme does not provide clear evidence.<sup>272</sup> The suggestion put forth by Jiménez-Serrano is much more plausible, who proposes that, based on the tomb’s monumentality,<sup>273</sup> location and internal features, a date at the end of Pepy II’s reign seems most likely.<sup>274</sup>

Date: end Pepy II.

### Tomb of *Hrw-ḥwj.f*

The tomb of *Hrw-ḥwj.f* has been dated to the early years of Pepy II based on the texts inscribed on the façade, which include a lengthy biography and a letter to the tomb owner from Pepy II.<sup>275</sup> *Hrw-ḥwj.f*’s biography recounts how Merenre sent him to Nubia multiple times in order to expand foreign trade and forge relations with local leaders,<sup>276</sup> suggesting *Hrw-ḥwj.f* was already a man of quite high status, and probably relatively mature age, during the reign of Merenre. As the letter from Pepy II inscribed on the tomb’s façade is dated to *h3t-sp* 2 of his

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<sup>266</sup> Edel 2008, 575.

<sup>267</sup> Kanawati 1980b, 140: end Pepy II or immediately after; Gasse & Rondot 2007, 24: do not provide a specific date but certainly rule out a date under Pepy I; Jiménez-Serrano 2013, 13-23: end Pepy II; Vischak 2014, 232-6: mid Pepy II.

<sup>268</sup> Sethe 1933, 208.

<sup>269</sup> Edel 2008, 575.

<sup>270</sup> Jiménez-Serrano 2013, 13-4; Vischak 2014, 233.

<sup>271</sup> Vischak 2014, 232-4.

<sup>272</sup> See Vischak 2014, 234.

<sup>273</sup> Jiménez-Serrano’s argument on monumentality is largely based on the work of Alexanian, whose research has suggested that “the rank-titles of the tomb owners are directly related to the size of their tombs”. Jiménez-Serrano 2013, 20; Alexanian 2006, 1-8.

<sup>274</sup> Jiménez-Serrano 2013, 20. This date has also been proposed by El-Dissouky 1969, 154-5 and Kanawati 1980b, 140.

<sup>275</sup> Strudwick 2005, 328-33; Edel 2008, 621-8; 648.

<sup>276</sup> Strudwick 2005, 330-1.



reign,<sup>277</sup> it is reasonable to suggest that the tomb's construction began around the same time, in the very early years of Pepy II, or perhaps during the reign of Merenre.<sup>278</sup>

Date: Merenre-beginning Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Hwj-n-Hnmw***

Based on the pottery recovered from the tomb, *Hwj-n-Hnmw* has been dated to the middle of Pepy II's reign. While Edel was excavating the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, it became apparent that tomb owners offered pottery inscribed with their name to other individuals in the cemetery. As a result, Edel was able to establish a relative chronology among many of the tomb owners based on the presence or absence of names on the recovered pots. The pottery offerings found in the tomb of *Hwj-n-Hnmw* reveal that he was a contemporary of *S3bnj I*, while the absence of offerings from *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* may indicate that he was already deceased by the time *Hwj-n-Hnmw* began construction on his tomb.<sup>279</sup> If Vischak's recent revision of Edel's chronology is correct, and *S3bnj I* completed his and his father's joint tomb around the middle of Pepy II's reign,<sup>280</sup> a mid-Pepy II date for *Hwj-n-Hnmw* also seems appropriate.

Date: mid Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *S3bnj II***

Based on the titles held by *S3bnj II* and the date for the neighbouring tomb of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq3-jb II*, the tomb of *S3bnj II* has been assigned a late-end Pepy II date. Edel's examination of *S3bnj II*'s titles has established that, except for this tomb owner, no *hrj-tp 3 n sp3t* buried at Qubbet el-Hawa was also *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*, *jmj-r h3s.wt* or *jmj-r 3w*. As a result, Edel suggested that the amalgamation of these responsibilities into the hands of one person only occurred at the end of Pepy II's reign, dating *S3bnj II* accordingly.<sup>281</sup> Although Baer's examination of *S3bnj II*'s titles places him in the middle-late years of Pepy II,<sup>282</sup> a mid-Pepy II date is almost impossible, as the architecture of *S3bnj II*'s tomb reveals that he was predated by *Ppjj-*

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<sup>277</sup> Edel 2008, 627.

<sup>278</sup> Edel believes it is also possible that *Hrw-hwj.f* began to build his tomb under Pepy I, although it must be noted that a date under this king seems unlikely as there is no mention of Pepy I in his texts. Edel also considers the possibility that the tomb's construction began under Merenre yet settles on an early Pepy II date to be on the "safe side". Edel 2008, 648.

<sup>279</sup> Edel 2008, 1442.

<sup>280</sup> Vischak 2014, 234-5.

<sup>281</sup> Edel 2008, 115-6.

<sup>282</sup> Baer 1960, 238.

*nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* (late Pepy II).<sup>283</sup> A date after the reign of Pepy II has also been suggested,<sup>284</sup> however *S<sup>3</sup>bnj II*'s description of his expedition to *W<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>t* in the name of the king deems this unlikely.<sup>285</sup>

Date: late-end Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Snnw/Snj/<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f***

The pottery offerings recovered from the tomb of *Snnw/Snj/<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f* suggest the tomb may be dated to the middle years of Pepy II. It is reasonably certain that *Snnw/Snj/<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f* was a contemporary of both *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S<sup>3</sup>bnj I*, as pottery offerings from these individuals were found in *Snnw/Snj/<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f*'s tomb.<sup>286</sup> Although Edel dated *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S<sup>3</sup>bnj I* to the last third of Pepy II's reign, Vischak convincingly re-dated the construction and completion of *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S<sup>3</sup>bnj I*'s tomb to the middle years of Pepy II.<sup>287</sup> Accordingly, a date close to mid-Pepy II has been assigned to the tomb of *Snnw/Snj/<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f*.

Date: close to mid Pepy II.

## **3.2 UE 2: Edfu**

### **Tomb of *Jsj***

The tomb of *Jsj* can be dated with certainty to the reign of Teti, as his biography records that he was an official of Isesi and Unas before Teti sent him to Edfu.<sup>288</sup> *Jsj*'s titles reveal that he had quite a substantial Memphite career before his provincial appointment,<sup>289</sup> which suggests that he was of some age when he was posted to Edfu. As a son named *Ppjj-snb* is represented twice in the tomb as an adult,<sup>290</sup> it can be said with reasonable certainty that *Jsj*'s tomb was still being decorated in the reign of Pepy I,<sup>291</sup> however *Jsj*'s mature age makes it unlikely that

<sup>283</sup> It can be said with certainty that *S<sup>3</sup>bnj II*'s tomb is later than that of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* (late Pepy II), as the tomb of *S<sup>3</sup>bnj II* contains a passage which connects his forecourt to that in the tomb of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II*. It has also been suggested that *S<sup>3</sup>bnj II* was the son of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II*. Although the architectural connection between the two tombs imply a familial connection, neither *S<sup>3</sup>bnj II* nor *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* is depicted or identified in the other's decorative program. Habachi 1981, 16; Edel 2008, 854; Vischak 2014, 236-7.

<sup>284</sup> Harpur 1987, 282 [693], Edel 2008, 854.

<sup>285</sup> Strudwick 2005, 339; Edel 2008, 816.

<sup>286</sup> Edel 2008, 1608.

<sup>287</sup> See page 42 for the opposing views of Edel and Vischak on the date of *Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *S<sup>3</sup>bnj I*.

<sup>288</sup> Edel 1954, 11-17.

<sup>289</sup> Alliot 1933, 24-5.

<sup>290</sup> Alliot 1933, 26. *Ppjj-snb* is recorded as holding the titles *w<sup>c</sup>b hm-ntr* and *hm-k<sup>3</sup>*, which conclusively demonstrate that he was not a child when the tomb was decorated. Kanawati 1977, 45.

<sup>291</sup> Lashien clearly refutes Baer's suggestion that the son's figure was a later addition to *Jsj*'s tomb, as the representation and position of *Ppjj-snb* does not support such a theory. Baer 1960, 225 [62]; Lashien 2017, 105.

this was much later than Pepy I's early years.<sup>292</sup>

Date: Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Q3r, rn nfr Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr***

The biographical inscription of *Q3r* securely dates his tomb to the period Merenre-early Pepy II.<sup>293</sup> *Q3r* records that he was a youth during the time of Teti and served in the capital under Pepy I, before Merenre sent him to Edfu as *hrj-tp 3 n sp3t*. Accordingly, his tomb should be dated to the time of Merenre or the beginning of Pepy II.

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

## **3.3 UE 9: Akhmim**

### **Tomb of *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj***

Taking into account the tomb's architecture and iconography, *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* may be dated to late Teti. The rectangular shape of *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj*'s chapel is similar to that of the nomarch *Nhwt-d3r* (end Teti-early Pepy I), as is the "gentle slope" of the passage that leads directly to the burial chamber.<sup>294</sup> The false door of *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* also bears likeness to that of *Nhwt-d3r*, as both false doors contain torus moulding, a cavetto cornice and a *h<sub>tp</sub>* platform in front.<sup>295</sup> The poorly preserved garment worn by *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj*'s wife appears to have been a bead-net dress,<sup>296</sup> which was also worn by the wife of *Nhwt-d3r*, and was common among earlier tombs at Akhmim.<sup>297</sup> Kanawati suggests that the unusual position of the *wd3t* eyes on the panel of the false door may suggest a date early after this feature was introduced, before standardisation.<sup>298</sup> Given that the cutting of tombs generally progressed from the lower level upwards, it is reasonable to suggest that the tomb of *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* is earlier than that of *Nhwt-d3r*, as the latter is located slightly higher up the mountain. Thus, a date in the latter part of Teti's reign seems most likely for *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj*.

Date: late Teti.

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<sup>292</sup> Kanawati 1980, 23-4; Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 49.

<sup>293</sup> El-Khadragy 2002, 209-11; figs. 2 & 3. See also Kanawati 2011, 217-32 for the Memphite tomb of *Q3r/Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr*.

<sup>294</sup> Kanawati 1986, 8-10; Kanawati 1992, 181.

<sup>295</sup> Kanawati 1992, 181.

<sup>296</sup> Kanawati 1986, pl. 1a.

<sup>297</sup> Kanawati 1983, fig. 9.

<sup>298</sup> Kanawati 1992, 181.

### **Tomb of Špsj-pw-Mnw, rn nfr Hnj-*ḥ*hw**

The tomb of Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-*ḥ*hw has been tentatively assigned an early Pepy II date.<sup>299</sup> Using the tombs of Ppjj-*ḥ*h(.w)-hrj-jb, Jbj, Jttj/Šdw and the proposed dates for them at the time,<sup>300</sup> Kanawati initially assigned the tomb of Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-*ḥ*hw a date at the end of Pepy II's reign.<sup>301</sup> However, the dates of the aforementioned tombs have now been revised, as has Kanawati's "end Pepy II" date for Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-*ḥ*hw.<sup>302</sup> It is now believed that the tombs of Ppjj-*ḥ*h(.w)-hrj-jb, Jbj, and Jttj/Šdw may be dated to early Pepy II, Merenre-early Pepy II and Teti-early Pepy II, respectively.<sup>303</sup> It follows that the criteria Kanawati used to date Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-*ḥ*hw still suggests a date in the reign of Pepy II,<sup>304</sup> but may now date to his earlier rather than later years.<sup>305</sup> This date appears to be further supported by Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-*ḥ*hw's familial connection to the nomarch K3.j-*ḥ*p/Ttj/Tt (Merenre-early Pepy II),<sup>306</sup> who was probably his father.<sup>307</sup>

Date: early Pepy II.

### **Tomb of Qrrj**

The tomb of Qrrj contains the only *in situ* inscription at Akhmim which mentions the king served by the tomb owner.<sup>308</sup> The fact that Qrrj explicitly stated that he served under Pepy I,<sup>309</sup> plus the tomb's shallow burial apartment, absence of a false door and blue-green painted decoration, date the tomb with reasonable certainty to the reign of this king.<sup>310</sup> As the reign of this king saw a downward trend in tomb size,<sup>311</sup> the small area of Qrrj's tomb may suggest a date in Pepy I's later years. This is seemingly supported by a comparison of Qrrj's tomb to the

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<sup>299</sup> Kanawati 1981a, 11-4.

<sup>300</sup> Ppjj-*ḥ*h(.w)-hrj-jb: late Pepy II, Jbj: early-mid Pepy II and Jttj/Šdw: late Sixth Dynasty in Kanawati 1981a, 12-4.

<sup>301</sup> Kanawati 1981a, 12-4.

<sup>302</sup> Swinton 2014, 35-6 [80].

<sup>303</sup> Swinton 2014, 161 [Chart X].

<sup>304</sup> For example, the names and titles present in the tomb, the type of offering list and the apparent enlargement of the tomb which occurred frequently in tombs dated to the reign of Pepy II. Kanawati 1981a, 12-4.

<sup>305</sup> Swinton 2014, 35-6 [80].

<sup>306</sup> This date can be assigned with certainty, as the biographical inscription of K3.j-*ḥ*p/Ttj/Tt recounts his career under Pepy I and Merenre. Unfortunately, the remainder of the text is lost, yet it is reasonable to suggest his career continued under Pepy II. McFarlane 1987, 63-70.

<sup>307</sup> Kanawati, McFarlane and Swinton regard K3.j-*ḥ*p/Ttj/Tt and K3.j-*ḥ*p/Ttj-*iq*r as grandfather and grandson, while Harpur believes the two are father and son. Kanawati 1981a, 14-5; Harpur 1987, 298 [69a]; Kanawati & McFarlane 1992, 102-3 & 106; Swinton 2014, 42 [109].

<sup>308</sup> The tomb of K3.j-*ḥ*p/Ttj/Tt originally contained an inscription which recounted his career under Pepy I and Merenre, however it was removed from its original location. See McFarlane 1987, 63-70.

<sup>309</sup> Kanawati 1986, fig. 20c.

<sup>310</sup> McFarlane in Kanawati 1992, 229-30.

<sup>311</sup> The early years of Pepy II saw the sizes of tombs suddenly spring upward, indicating Qrrj began work on his tomb before Pepy II ascended the throne. Kanawati 1977, 63.

neighbouring tomb of *Wbnw/Wbnjj* (late Pepy I),<sup>312</sup> which exhibits similarities in location, architecture and decoration.<sup>313</sup>

Date: late Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *K3.j-ḥp, rn nfr Ttj-jqr***

The tomb of *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr* has been assigned a mid Pepy II date, based on iconographic, architectural and titular evidence. The subject matter of reliefs and the unusually elevated position of the chapel attest to a later Sixth Dynasty date, however *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr*'s titularly may suggest a more specific date.<sup>314</sup> The title *ḥrj-tp ʿ3 n sp3t*, held by *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr*, was first introduced in the reign of Teti, but it was not until the reign of Merenre that *ḥrj-tp ʿ3 n sp3t* uniformly resided and were buried in their respective nomes.<sup>315</sup> Thus, the tomb of *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr* probably dates to the reign of Merenre or his successor Pepy II. Given that *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr* was probably the grandson of *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* (Merenre-early Pepy II), the generational gap between the two indicates that the tomb of *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr* may be dated to mid Pepy II.<sup>316</sup>

Date: mid Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *K3.j-ḥp, rn nfr Ttj-Tt***

The tomb of *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* at Akhmim<sup>317</sup> has been assigned a Merenre-early Pepy II date, based on the identification of the tomb owner as the same *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* from lintel fragments Louvre AF9460 and Chicago Field Museum 31700.<sup>318</sup> The partly-preserved biography inscribed on these fragments describe how *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* was appointed to office by Pepy I and later promoted by Merenre. The remainder of the text is unfortunately lost, but it is reasonable to suggest that *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* continued his career under Pepy II, and probably began to build his tomb under this king or his predecessor.<sup>319</sup>

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

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<sup>312</sup> Kanawati 1986, 41-4.

<sup>313</sup> McFarlane in Kanawati 1992, 230.

<sup>314</sup> Kanawati 1980a, 13-4.

<sup>315</sup> Kanawati 1980b, 44ff.

<sup>316</sup> Kanawati 1981a, 14-5; Kanawati 1992, 102-3 & 106. Swinton suggests that, based on the tomb's decorative program, a date early in the reign of Pepy II is also possible, however the familial connection between *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr* and *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* deems this unlikely. Swinton 2014, 42-3 [109].

<sup>317</sup> See also Moreno Garcia 2005, 109-115 for a discussion on the tomb of *Jn-k3.f/Jnj* at Saqqara, which, based on the remaining titles and its chronology, was probably the original tomb of *K3.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* before he was sent to Akhmim.

<sup>318</sup> McFarlane 1987, 63-70.

<sup>319</sup> Kanawati 1982, 10-4; McFarlane 1987, 63-70; Kanawati 1992, 98-9; Swinton 2014, 42 [108].

### 3.4 UE 12: Deir el-Gebrawi

#### Tomb of *Jbj*

The tomb of *Jbj* can be securely dated to the period Merenre-early Pepy II. The fragmentary biography recorded in his tomb states that he was a boy under Pepy I, was appointed *hrj-tp ʿ3 n sp3t* by Merenre, and continued his career under Pepy II.<sup>320</sup> Consequently, it is likely that *Jbj* began construction on his tomb under Merenre upon his provincial appointment, or possibly in the early years of Pepy II.<sup>321</sup> However, it is uncertain how long *Jbj* lived for after he completed the decoration of his tomb. *Jbj*'s eldest son *Dꜥw/Šm3j* was also *hrj-tp ʿ3 n sp3t* during the reign of Pepy II, yet the evidence indicates that their deaths probably occurred relatively close in time.<sup>322</sup> If this is correct, it follows that *Jbj* died perhaps around the middle of Pepy II's reign, shortly before his son *Dꜥw/Šm3j*.<sup>323</sup>

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

#### Tomb of *Nb-jb*

Dating the tomb of *Nb-jb* has been more difficult than other tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi due to its modest decoration. The only decorated wall in the tomb contains three lines of mostly complete inscriptions, and an image of the tomb owner and his wife seated before an offering table. The position of their hands when holding perfume jars is indicative of the period late Teti-early Pepy II,<sup>324</sup> while the tomb's size and less than favourable position at the far-east end of the northern cliff may suggest a date under Pepy I.<sup>325</sup> Following Kanawati's reversal of Davies' initial chronology,<sup>326</sup> it now appears that *Nb-jb* preceded *Jbj* (Merenre-early Pepy II), as the tomb of *Nb-jb* exhibits artistic similarities to the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f* (early-mid Pepy I).<sup>327</sup> Kanawati consequently proposes that these two tombs may have been constructed quite close in time.<sup>328</sup>

Date: mid Pepy I.

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<sup>320</sup> This biography has been largely reconstructed by Sethe, who reasonably suggests that the inscriptions detailed how *Jbj* was a boy under Pepy I and continued his career under Pepy II, which has been generally accepted by scholars. Sethe 1933, 142-5.

<sup>321</sup> Baer 1960, 56; Strudwick 1985, 173; Harpur 1987, 280; Kanawati 2007a, 19; Swinton 2014, 16.

<sup>322</sup> See Kanawati 2013, 22-3 for a discussion.

<sup>323</sup> Swinton 2014, 16.

<sup>324</sup> Kanawati 2005, 15.

<sup>325</sup> The work of Kanawati has indicated that there was a decrease in the size and wealth of tombs during the reign of Pepy I. Kanawati 1981b, 203-217.

<sup>326</sup> Davies proposed that the tombs of the southern cliff preceded those of the northern cliff, however Kanawati's re-recording and publication of the tombs revealed that the northern cliff was probably occupied first. Davies 1902b, 38-43; Kanawati 2005, 12-20.

<sup>327</sup> Kanawati 2005, 20.

<sup>328</sup> Kanawati 2005, 20.

### **Tomb of *Hnqw, rn nfr Jj...f***

The date assigned to the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f* lies in the early years of Pepy I. Kanawati suggests that the decoration of the tomb is characteristic of a date before Merenre,<sup>329</sup> and that the tomb is architecturally analogous to that of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I* (end Teti-early Pepy I).<sup>330</sup> However, the serdab located opposite the entrance of the tomb is not found in the tomb of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I*, but is found in the later tombs of *Hw.n-wh* (early Pepy I) and *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh-wr* (mid Pepy I) at Quseir el-Amarna.<sup>331</sup> The incorporation of this feature may suggest a date early under Pepy I rather than a date under Teti for *Hnqw/Jj...f*, as he appears to have begun construction on his tomb after *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I*.

Date: early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *Hnqw, rn nfr Httj***

The tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* has been dated to the reign of Teti; tentatively assigned a date late in his reign.<sup>332</sup> Although the architecture of the tomb is identical to that of *Hm-Mnw* (Unas), *Nhwt-dšr* (end Teti-early Pepy I) and *K3.j-hp/Ttj/Tt* (Merenre-early Pepy II) of Akhmim,<sup>333</sup> a date akin to *K3.j-hp/Ttj/Tt* is unlikely, as the tomb's decoration and inscriptions are more characteristic of the late Fifth and earlier part of the Sixth Dynasty. A date in the reign of Teti may be inferred by the type of chair *Hnqw/Httj* sits on, the angle of his spear in the spear fishing scene and the titles of and garment worn by his wife.<sup>334</sup>

Date: Teti, possibly late.

### **Tomb of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup> I, rn nfr Js I***

Much of the criteria used to date of the tomb of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I*<sup>335</sup> is similar to that of *Hnqw/Httj* discussed above. As the tomb's architecture is typical of the phase succeeding that of *Hnqw/Httj*, it appears that *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I* began construction on his tomb at a slightly later date.<sup>336</sup> This may also be supported by the fact that *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I* held the title *hry-sšt3 n htmt-ntr*,<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> The features used as evidence for this date include the garments worn by both *Hnqw/Jj...f* and his wife and the position of their hands when holding perfume jars. Kanawati 2005, 15. For examples see James 1953, pl. 21; Simpson 1976, fig. 30; El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, figs. 5 & 18.

<sup>330</sup> Kanawati 2005, 40.

<sup>331</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, pls. 18-20.

<sup>332</sup> Kanawati 2005, 23.

<sup>333</sup> Kanawati 2005, 13.

<sup>334</sup> Cherpion 1989, 26; El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, pls. 1, 13 & 38.

<sup>335</sup> There is another official buried at Deir el-Gebrawi named *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js I*, however his tomb was too damaged to include as part of this project. For the tomb of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Js II* see Kanawati 2005, 48-59.

<sup>336</sup> Kanawati 2005, 14.

<sup>337</sup> Jones 2000, 638 [2340].

which fell out of use by the middle of the Sixth Dynasty<sup>338</sup> and is not attested in tombs of the later, southern cliff at Deir el-Gebrawi.

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of $\underline{D}^c w$ , *rn nfr Šmꜣj* and $\underline{D}^c w$**

The joint tomb of the father and son  $\underline{D}^c w/\check{S}mꜣj$  and  $\underline{D}^c w$  can be dated with reasonable certainty to the late years of Pepy II.<sup>339</sup> This date has been allocated based on the inscriptions of *Jbj* of Deir el-Gebrawi, who names a  $\underline{D}^c w/\check{S}mꜣj$  as his eldest son. The titles of the  $\underline{D}^c w/\check{S}mꜣj$  in the tomb of *Jbj* perfectly match those of  $\underline{D}^c w/\check{S}mꜣj$  recorded in his own tomb,<sup>340</sup> clearly establishing *Jbj*,  $\underline{D}^c w/\check{S}mꜣj$  and  $\underline{D}^c w$  as father, son and grandson who succeeded one another as *hrj-tp* <sup>ꜥ</sup> of UE nomes 8 and 12.<sup>341</sup> The autobiography of *Jbj*, although fragmentary, securely dates his appointment as nomarch to the reign of Merenre, suggesting his career continued under Pepy II.<sup>342</sup> After the death of *Jbj*, probably in the middle years of Pepy II,<sup>343</sup>  $\underline{D}^c w/\check{S}mꜣj$  inherited his father's titles but seemingly did not live long enough to have constructed a tomb for himself. As a result, the younger  $\underline{D}^c w$  constructed one tomb for both of them.<sup>344</sup> This seems to have occurred in the later years of Pepy II, as by this time,  $\underline{D}^c w$ 's own children were already occupying reasonable positions, as indicated by their titles recorded in his tomb.<sup>345</sup>

Date: late Pepy II.

## **3.5 UE 14: El-Qusiya**

The officials of El-Qusiya were buried in two different cemeteries on opposite sides of the river: Meir on the western side and Quseir el-Amarna on the eastern side. However, a discussion of their chronology, and indeed their perception of the king, necessitates an approach which looks at both cemeteries as a whole. In the early-mid 1900s, Blackman recorded and published the tombs at Meir, proposing that both cemeteries were used concurrently.<sup>346</sup> In the late 1980s, the tombs at Quseir el-Amarna were fully published by El-

<sup>338</sup> Kanawati & McFarlane 1992, 66.

<sup>339</sup> Kanawati 2013, 19-25; Swinton 2014, 44.

<sup>340</sup> Davies 1902a, pl. V & XV; Kanawati 2007a, 51.

<sup>341</sup> Kanawati 2007a, 19; Kanawati 2013, 20-3.

<sup>342</sup> Davies 1902b, pl. 23; Kanawati 2007a, 54-5.

<sup>343</sup> See Kanawati 2013, 22-3 for a discussion on the possible date of *Jbj*'s death.

<sup>344</sup> Kanawati 2007a, 22; Swinton 2014, 44.

<sup>345</sup> Davies 1902b, pl. 9; Kanawati 2013, pl. 61.

<sup>346</sup> Blackman 1914-1953, *passim*.



Khouli & Kanawati,<sup>347</sup> who re-examined the evidence and offered an alternate chronology. They proposed that *Hw.n-wh* and *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh-wr* constructed their tombs at Quseir el-Amarna, before *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* moved the cemetery to Meir, where it remained in use for the rest of the dynasty.<sup>348</sup> The comprehensive evidence used by El-Khouli & Kanawati to reorder the tombs seemingly undermines Blackman’s dating, suggesting that this early chronology should be re-evaluated.

### **Tomb of *Nfr-k3, rn nfr Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb***<sup>349</sup>

### **Meir**

Blackman initially dated *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* to the reign of Pepy II based on his reconstruction of the *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh* family tree.<sup>350</sup> In order to further refine this date, more recent evidence should be considered.<sup>351</sup> *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb*’s biography explicitly states that he was the first to construct his tomb at Meir,<sup>352</sup> however, his tomb inscriptions provide little insight into when this occurred. A tentative reconstruction by Kanawati of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb*’s royal descent posits that he may have been a great-grandson of Teti and the son of Pepy I’s nephew.<sup>353</sup> If this is correct, the tomb of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* may be placed in the early years of Pepy II. The name of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* written alternatively as *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* may indicate that the owner had acquired the right to form a name with the cartouche of Pepy I as a special honour, perhaps as a result of direct contact with the king in the capital.<sup>354</sup> If this is correct, it may be argued that *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* was born and served under Pepy I in Memphis before being sent to El-Qusiya, either by Merenre or Pepy II,<sup>355</sup> where he subsequently “opened up” the necropolis at Meir and constructed his tomb.<sup>356</sup>

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

<sup>347</sup> It should be noted that the tombs of Quseir el-Amarna were published earlier by Chaban & Quibell 1902, 250-8 and Kamal 1912, 128-42, but with no images and many inconsistencies.

<sup>348</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 11-26.

<sup>349</sup> Although officials in this study are usually referred to by their *rn 3*, *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* will be referred to by his *rn nfr* because it is how he is recognised in scholarship.

<sup>350</sup> Blackman 1924, 18.

<sup>351</sup> Strudwick and Kanawati date *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* to the middle of Pepy II’s reign, while Swinton suggests a date between the reign of Teti and early Pepy II. It should be noted, however, that a date in the reign of Teti seems unlikely, as the name of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* occurs with the cartouche of Pepy I. Strudwick 1985, 303; Kanawati 2012, 24-6; Swinton 2014, 167 [chart G-G].

<sup>352</sup> The inscriptions in the tomb of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* state that “it was I who opened up this area... [in] a pure and perfect place, in which no work had been done.” Blackman 1924, pl. IV; Kanawati 2012, pl. 76.

<sup>353</sup> Kanawati 2012, 25. If this is the case, it may explain why *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* is depicted on a block chair typically reserved for royalty. Blackman 1924, pl. V; Kanawati 2012, pls. 4 & 75a.

<sup>354</sup> Martin-Pardey 1976, 135.

<sup>355</sup> The evidence suggests that Pepy I brought provincial officials back to the capital for education, service and probably burial, before Merenre sent them to the provinces once again. See Kanawati 2011, 217-32 for a discussion.

<sup>356</sup> Kanawati 2012, 26; Kanawati & Evans 2014, 18.

The date commonly assigned to *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*'s tomb is late in the reign of Pepy II,<sup>357</sup> although Kanawati & Evans do not rule out a slightly earlier date.<sup>358</sup> In another publication, Kanawati agreed that *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* should be dated to late-end Pepy II.<sup>359</sup> He based this on the frequent use of the name *Hnjj* and its variants rather than the name *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*, which may have reflected the dire political situation in the later years of Pepy II's reign,<sup>360</sup> and his earlier reconstruction of the *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)* family.<sup>361</sup> However, on the east wall of Room 1 in the tomb of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*, the master painter *Jhjj-m-s<sup>3</sup>-Ppjj*'s name is written as *Jhjj-m-s<sup>3</sup>-Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>*.<sup>362</sup> If this important painter received the honour of forming his name with a cartouche of Pepy I, the decoration of the tomb in which he is represented may have occurred well before the late Pepy II period.<sup>363</sup> Lashien reasonably suggests that, due to the presence of a "junior" painter repeatedly represented next to him,<sup>364</sup> *Jhjj-m-s<sup>3</sup>-Ppjj* may have been quite old when he decorated *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*'s tomb.<sup>365</sup> This may be further supported by the fact that *Jhjj-m-s<sup>3</sup>-Ppjj* is also depicted sitting while enjoying the activities in the marshlands.<sup>366</sup> A somewhat earlier date for *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* may also be inferred by the tomb of his father, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km* (mid Pepy II), whose name occurs once with the cartouche of Pepy I.<sup>367</sup> The presence of this single cartouche may indicate that *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km* was born and began his career under Pepy I, in which case he and his son would be quite old upon their provincial appointment.<sup>368</sup> The evidence seems to suggest a mid Pepy II date, although a date which includes Pepy II's later years cannot be completely rejected.

Date: mid-late Pepy II.

<sup>357</sup> Baer 1960, 289 [134]: late-end Pepy II; Strudwick 1985, 303: late Pepy II; Kanawati 2010, 217: late-end Pepy II.

<sup>358</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, 18. Harpur was the first to assign an earlier date to the tomb of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*, who she dated to early-middle Pepy II. Harpur 1987, 280 [649].

<sup>359</sup> Kanawati 2010, 217.

<sup>360</sup> Kanawati 2010, 217.

<sup>361</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 11-26.

<sup>362</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, pl. 12b & 74.

<sup>363</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, 18; Lashien 2017, 157-161.

<sup>364</sup> Blackman 1953, pls. 18-9 & 21; Kanawati & Evans 2014, pls. 94-5.

<sup>365</sup> Lashien 2017, 160-1.

<sup>366</sup> Lashien 2017, 161. See Blackman 1953, pl. 30; Kanawati & Evans 2014, pl. 90.

<sup>367</sup> The name of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km* written as *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-km* is inscribed immediately opposite the entrance to the chapel, perhaps to ensure that it was able to be noticed. Blackman 1953, pl VI; Kanawati & Evans 2015, pls. 6 & 64.

<sup>368</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, 18.

**Tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km, rn nfr Hpj-km/Sbk-htp(.w)*****Meir**

Following the revised chronology and familial reconstruction of the El-Qusiya governors by El-Khouli & Kanawati<sup>369</sup> and Lashien's recent chronological study,<sup>370</sup> the evidence seems to suggest that tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km* should be dated to the middle years of Pepy II. This date is based on the name of the tomb owner formed with a cartouche of Pepy I,<sup>371</sup> as discussed above, which may indicate that *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km* was born and served under this king.<sup>372</sup> This date is also chronologically consistent with the date for *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km*'s father *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb*, who probably began construction on his tomb during the reign of Merenre or early under Pepy II.

Date: mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Hw.n-wh, rn nfr Tj*****Quseir el-Amarna**

Based on the ancestry of those buried at El-Qusiya and *Hw.n-wh*'s tomb inscriptions, this tomb has been tentatively assigned a date in the reign of Pepy I. It is known that all officials buried in this nome and who succeeded *Hw.n-wh* were members of the powerful *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)* family,<sup>373</sup> however the suggestion that *Hw.n-wh* was also a relative is tentative.<sup>374</sup> As the *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)* family appears to have served Merenre and Pepy II,<sup>375</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati have reasonably proposed a date in the reign of Pepy I for *Hw.n-wh*, who was probably the first official to be sent from Memphis to El-Qusiya.<sup>376</sup> This date may also be supported by the fact that, as recorded in the biography of *Nhbw*, Pepy I appears to have showed an interest in El-Qusiya.<sup>377</sup> Although the exact date of *Hw.n-wh*'s tomb remains uncertain, Kanawati has suggested that it may be dated to Pepy I's earlier years,<sup>378</sup> perhaps before the king requested that his officials return to the capital.

Date: Pepy I, possibly early years.

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<sup>369</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 11-26.

<sup>370</sup> Lashien 2017, 7-88.

<sup>371</sup> Blackman 1953, pl VI; Kanawati & Evans 2015, pls. 6 & 64.

<sup>372</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, 18.

<sup>373</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 25-6.

<sup>374</sup> Lashien 2017, 11ff.

<sup>375</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 25-6.

<sup>376</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 25-6; Kanawati 2010, 209 & 217. The suggestion made by Polet that *Hw.n-wh* was a son of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* is unjustified, as the titles of the *Hw.n-wh* mentioned in the tomb of the latter are not recalled in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna. Polet 2008, 81-94; Kanawati 2010, 207-20.

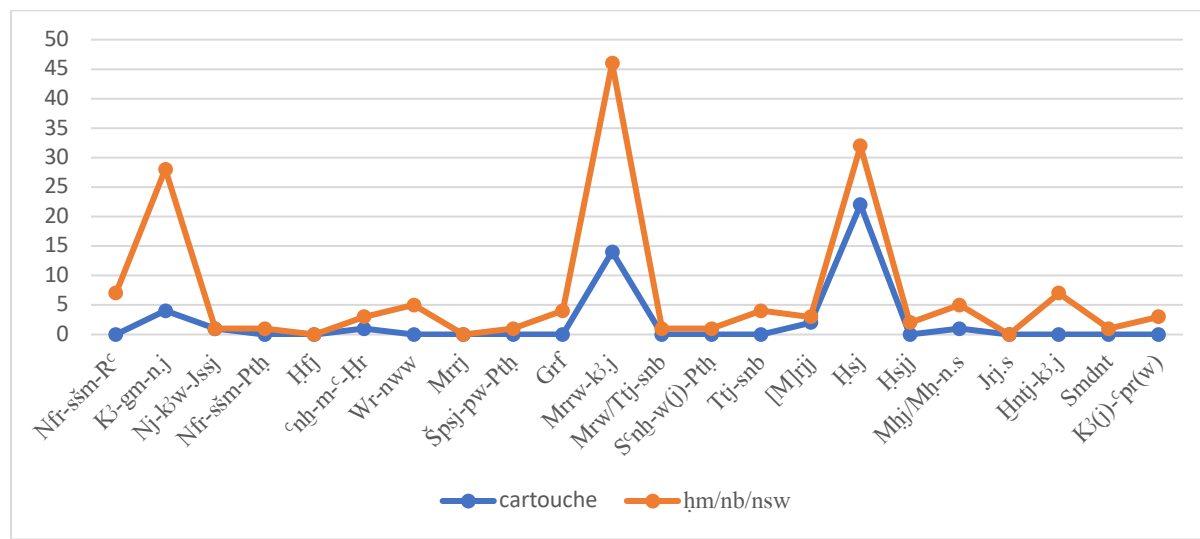
<sup>377</sup> The biography of *Nhbw* records how Pepy I sent him to El-Qusiya in order to dig a canal. Dunham 1938, 2.

<sup>378</sup> Kanawati 2010, 209 & 217.

## Chapter 4: Analysing the Evidence

### 4.1 Memphite Perception of the King

#### 4.1.1 Reign of Teti



Graph 1: Tomb inscriptions of Memphite officials of Teti

Teti's kingship has been traditionally regarded as a turbulent time; however, the evidence does not necessarily indicate that his officials disapproved of him. Of the twenty-two selected officials dated to the reign of Teti, 86% directly referenced the king in their tomb, while 27% included Teti's cartouche in their tomb's decoration. Such emphasis on the king is not indicative of a negative perception, particularly given that these officials largely focused on their status as *im³hw hr nsw/nb*. Graph 1 clearly demonstrates that the amount of direct inscriptional references to the king peaked three times during this period: once in Teti's early years (*K3-gm-n.j*), then around the middle of his reign (*Mrrw-k3.j*), and finally towards his later years (*Hsj*). The amount of direct references to the king in these tombs would certainly suggest a positive attitude from some of Teti's highest officials, but the significance of these individuals should be investigated to understand their position and why they may have showed such adoration of the king.

Given that *K3-gm-n.j* was *s³b ʿd-mr*, 'judge and administrator', under Unas, yet became *t³jtj s³b t³tj*, 'he of the curtain, judge and vizier', early under Teti,<sup>379</sup> it may be suggested that he was one of the "strong men" who supported Teti at the beginning of his reign, for which he

<sup>379</sup> For *K3-gm-n.j*'s biography see Sethe 1933, 194-5.

was rewarded with the vizierate.<sup>380</sup> As the viziers were presumably some of the most influential and loyal officials, it is highly likely that they were in direct contact with the king. In the case of *K3-gm-n.j*, this is certainly the case, as *K3-gm-n.j*'s biography emphasised that he enjoyed a close relationship with Teti where the sovereign knew his character and nobility.<sup>381</sup> This intimacy is stressed throughout *K3-gm-n.j*'s tomb, particularly through repetition of the phrase *im3hw hr nsw*. This does not indicate any attempt at royal disassociation, thus suggesting that *K3-gm-n.j* viewed Teti in a positive light.

There may be many reasons why *K3-gm-n.j* was so accepting of the king, but it seems likely that one of the main reasons was the amount of power that Teti allocated to him. One of Teti's drastic new policies saw *K3-gm-n.j* become the first official to be both *t3jtj s3b t3tj* and *wr-m3 Iwnw*, 'high priest of Re'.<sup>382</sup> By entrusting both positions to a single, presumably trustworthy, official, Teti probably sought to remove independence from the cult of Re and monitor its inner workings.<sup>383</sup> Although the influence of the priesthood likely declined as a result, the individual power held by *K3-gm-n.j* would have undoubtedly increased due to the many administrative and religious responsibilities that were under his control. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that *K3-gm-n.j*'s accumulation of power largely influenced his appreciation for the king, making *K3-gm-n.j* the first official to show explicit and extreme respect for the new sovereign.

This level of respect for the king did not occur again until *Mrrw-k3.j* completed his lavish tomb, although his appreciation for the king seemed to far outweigh that of *K3-gm-n.j*. *Mrrw-k3.j*'s tomb inscriptions represent the cartouche of Teti eight times and contains the most occurrences in which the tomb owner refers to himself as *im3hw hr nsw*, 'the honoured one before the king',<sup>384</sup> suggesting that a connection to this king was worth recording and repeating.<sup>385</sup> Based

<sup>380</sup> Strudwick 1987, 154-5 [151]; Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 35.

<sup>381</sup> Sethe 1933, 194-6; Strudwick 2005, 285-7. This may also be inferred from *K3-gm-n.j*'s marriage to Teti's daughter, *S3s3t*, who is represented in the chapel of his tomb. Von Bissing 1905, pl. XXI; Harpur & Scremin 2006, 152 [240].

<sup>382</sup> Literally, this title is translated as 'Greatest of Seers of Heliopolis'. See Jones 2000, 386-7 [1429]. for this title.

<sup>383</sup> Kanawati 2007b, 22.

<sup>384</sup> This statement occurs thirty-two times in the tomb, a number unparalleled for the entirety of the Sixth Dynasty. The next highest occurrence of this statement comes from the tomb of *Mhw*, where it is recorded nine times. See Duell 1938, *passim* and Kanawati et.al. 2010-11, *passim* for these inscriptions in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j*; see Altmüller 1998, *passim* for these inscriptions in the tomb of *Mhw*.

<sup>385</sup> It should be noted that such an increase in the mention of the king may also have been affected by the enlarged size of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s tomb, and accordingly more space for inscriptions. See Duell 1938, Kanawati et.al. 2010-11.

on the number of his inscriptions which directly reference the king, it may be suggested that *Mrrw-k3.j* was the most explicit about, and the proudest of, his relationship to the king.

Like *K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j* was a son-in-law of the king<sup>386</sup> and was both *t3jtj s3b t3tj* and *wr-m3 Iwnw*, probably acquiring the latter title upon *K3-gm-n.j*'s death.<sup>387</sup> However, the significance and number of his responsibilities surpassed those of *K3-gm-n.j* quite considerably. While *Mrrw-k3.j* was the first, and one of only three officials, to attain the unique title *jmj-r stp-s3 pr-nsw nb*, 'overseer of the protection of every palace',<sup>388</sup> he also held titles that were usually distributed amongst the administration, particularly those which concerned personal service and protection of the king. This indicates that *Mrrw-k3.j* was among the few officials which Teti trusted.<sup>389</sup> The staggering number of *Mrrw-k3.j*'s titles alone is indicative of his importance,<sup>390</sup> and implies that Teti placed much of the religious and administrative power into his hands. There is no evidence to suggest that *Mrrw-k3.j* tried to disassociate himself from or was dissatisfied with the monarchy, likely as a result of his high standing. In a similar way to *K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j* showed great appreciation for the king, perhaps as a result of his unprecedented amount of responsibilities.

The last of Teti's officials to express their appreciation for the king through tomb inscriptions was the vizier *Hsj*, who records the cartouche of Teti sixteen times and directly references the king ten times.<sup>391</sup> *Hsj*'s biography records that he had direct contact with the king when he was just a junior official, which caused Teti to know his name and listen to his words of wisdom.<sup>392</sup> This suggests that *Hsj* was particularly proud of his relationship with Teti and the exceptional treatment he received from him. The significance of this event is amplified by the fact that it was one of a small number of anecdotes included in *Hsj*'s biography, a text which was probably

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<sup>386</sup> See Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2008 for the chapel of *Wctt-ht-Hr/S3s3st*, daughter of Teti and wife of *Mrrw-k3.j*.

<sup>387</sup> Kanawati 2007b, 55.

<sup>388</sup> Kanawati 2003, 153-4. This title may also be translated as 'overseer of the protection of the whole palace'.

<sup>389</sup> Kanawati suggests that *Mrrw-k3.j*'s aggressive personality, which may be observed in the exaggerated representations of oppression and violence in his tomb, provided Teti with reassurance that he was safe. Given the internal difficulties Teti seemingly faced at this time, including a power struggle with the Re priesthood and threats which saw him increase the number of his *hntj.w-s3*, 'guards', the protection of an intimidating aggressor was probably a source of comfort. Kanawati 2007b, 54-8, figs. 107 & 110-12c. (It should be here noted that the translation for *hntj.w-s3* follows the translation proposed by Kanawati 2003, 13-24, however this term was also translated and discussed by Roth 1995, 40-3, who suggests that the term should be translated as 'attendant'. There is little evidence to support the traditional translation of 'land tenant', as first proposed by Fischer 1968, 170-1.)

<sup>390</sup> *Mrrw-k3.j* records eighty-three titles in his tomb, the most of any official in the Sixth Dynasty. Firth & Gunn 1926, 131-6.

<sup>391</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, *passim*.

<sup>392</sup> See Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, 37-8 & pl. 59b and Strudwick 2005, 275-7 for the biography of *Hsj*.

dedicated to recording only his most noteworthy achievements.<sup>393</sup> Although Teti did not allocate *Hsj* the same amount of power as *K3-gm-n.j* or *Mrrw-k3.j*, perhaps in an attempt to distribute previously concentrated administrative and religious power, several of *Hsj*'s titles indicate that he worked in the presence of the king, such as *jmj-jb n nsw* 'confidant of the king'; *hrj-sšt3 n nsw m st.f nbt* 'privy to the secret of the king in all his places' and *sš ʿw nsw hft hr* 'scribe of the royal records in the presence'.<sup>394</sup> This, along with the anecdote recorded in *Hsj*'s biography, may provide insight into why he was so appreciative and fond of this king. Unlike *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Hsj*'s appreciation for the king does not appear to stem from an extensive amount of administrative and religious power or his marriage to the king's daughter, but rather the fact that the king acknowledged and promoted him while he was still a junior official. For this to have been recorded in *Hsj*'s tomb and documented as one of his proudest achievements certainly does not suggest a negative attitude towards Teti, but rather suggests that the authority and importance of the monarchy was gradually being acknowledged. However, it is ironic that while *Hsj*'s inscriptions expressed such an obviously close relationship to Teti, he evidently fell out of favour, and his tomb was reallocated to *Sšm-nfr*.<sup>395</sup>

*K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Hsj* were three officials who deeply connected themselves to the king. In the case of *K3-gm-n.j*, it seems that he may have supported Teti in his claim to the throne, for which he was rewarded with the vizierate and high priesthood of Re. *Mrrw-k3.j* appears to have been highly depended upon by Teti, perhaps for his protective 'demeanour' and loyalty, which saw him entrusted with the most titles of any individual during the Sixth Dynasty. The reasons for *Hsj*'s promotion remain largely unclear;<sup>396</sup> however, Teti was evidently impressed by his abilities and 'wisdom' to have allocated him so many important responsibilities. *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j* probably expressed their appreciation for the king because of their significantly heightened religious and administrative power, but this concentration of power seems to have been more widely distributed towards the end of Teti's reign. Although *Hsj* was still allocated many important responsibilities, his power never matched that of *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j*. This concentration of power resulted in fewer officials holding many titles and saw

<sup>393</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, pl. 59b; Strudwick 2005, 275-7.

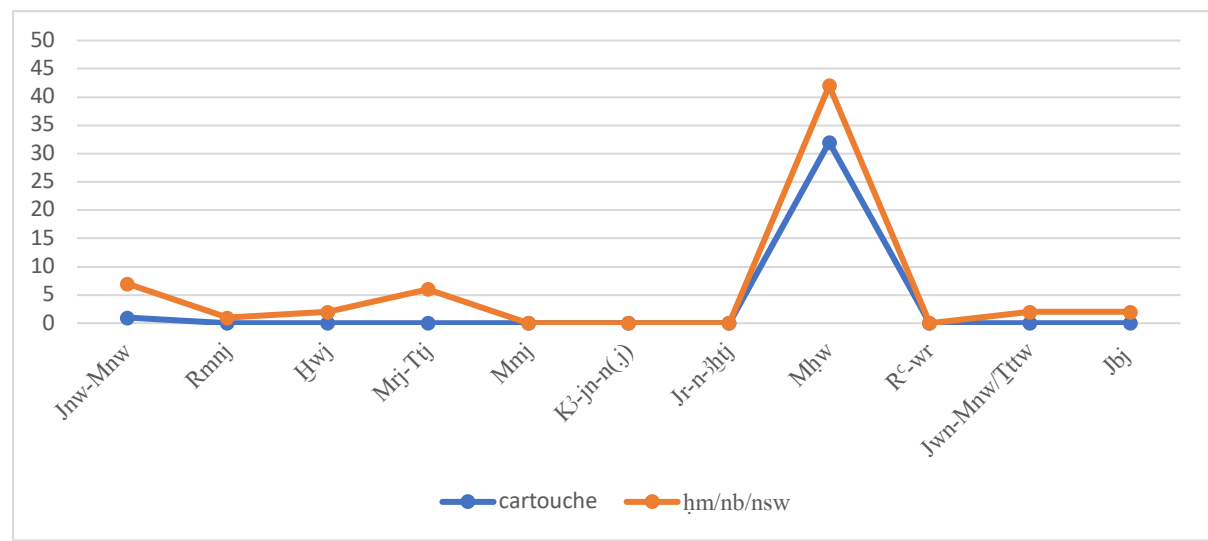
<sup>394</sup> See Jones 2000, 45 [235], 630 [2311] & 840 [3064] for the translation of these titles, respectively.

<sup>395</sup> There can be no doubt that *Sšm-nfr* was assigned this tomb after *Hsj* fell out of favour, as a conspicuously placed inscription clearly states that it was an offering from the king. The reasons for this remain largely speculative, although it is conceivable that it was a form of punishment for his involvement in the attack on Teti's life. Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, pl. 50.

<sup>396</sup> Although *Hsj* describes that he was promoted because the king 'knew his name' and 'remembered one who spoke to him wisely', he does not detail how the king knew his name or what wisdom he spoke. Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999, pl. 59b; Strudwick 2005, 275-7.

important positions less widely distributed, particularly those concerning service for the king's person. Consequently, it may be suggested that this hindered other, less prominent officials' chances to create a personal relationship with the king. This may also explain why *K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Hsj* were so fond of Teti, and why other officials paid much less attention to this same king. It may not have been a matter of 'dissatisfaction' with the monarchy, but rather that they were not given the same opportunities to personally know the king. The few officials who exaggerated their appreciation and respect for Teti probably did so due to their heightened power and because they possessed the ability to form a relationship with the sovereign.

#### 4.1.2 Reign of Pepy I



Graph 2: Tomb inscriptions of Memphite officials of Pepy I

Of the eleven officials of Pepy I that have been examined, 64% included at least one direct reference to the king in their tomb, yet only 9% included Pepy I's cartouche. The number of direct references to the king in each tomb were low but remained relatively constant.<sup>397</sup> *Mhw* was the obvious exception to this, as his tomb inscriptions contained an impressive thirty-two cartouches<sup>398</sup> and ten direct references to the king. However, the data for the Memphite tombs of Pepy I is largely skewed towards his early years, and consequently can only provide hypotheses about this part of his reign. Based on the evidence presented in Graph 2, it may be suggested that Pepy I was not well-accepted by many of his earlier officials.

<sup>397</sup> See Appendix 1, Table 2.

<sup>398</sup> In the tomb of *Mhw*, the cartouche of Teti was recorded nineteen times; that of Unas found nine times; and that of Isesi found four times. See Altenmüller 1998 for the inscriptions of *Mhw* and Appendix 1, Table 2 for the number of *Mhw*'s inscriptions which mention the king.



The only official to directly mention Pepy I by using his cartouche, and presumably one of the most important Memphite officials of this king, was *Jnw-Mnw*.<sup>399</sup> Before he acquired the vizierate, *Jnw-Mnw* became *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*, ‘overseer of Upper Egypt’, probably upon the death of *Nj-k3w-Jssj* late in Teti’s reign,<sup>400</sup> and also held the prestigious title *jmj-r stp-s3 pr-nsw nb*.<sup>401</sup> Kanawati & Swinton have proposed that *Jnw-Mnw* was one of the “strong men” who supported Pepy I’s challenge to the throne.<sup>402</sup> If this is correct, it may explain why *Jnw-Mnw* was the only official to explicitly associate himself with this king and why he was promoted to the vizierate after Pepy I regained the throne.<sup>403</sup> Within the Teti cemetery, *Jnw-Mnw*’s tomb is one of the only tombs with a finished decorative program and no indication of deliberate damage.<sup>404</sup> Kanawati has reasonably suggested that deliberate damage to the name and image of figures in tombs of the Teti cemetery was a form of “perpetual damnation” designed to punish those involved in the attack on Teti.<sup>405</sup> Thus, the lack of vandalism in *Jnw-Mnw*’s tomb would indicate that he did not have any part in this conspiracy, as he was entirely spared from such punishment. If the deliberate destruction of these names and figures, and in some cases, the reuse of tombs,<sup>406</sup> occurred early under Pepy I,<sup>407</sup> the state of *Jnw-Mnw*’s tomb surely confirms his devotion to the monarchy. Overall, the evidence highlights that *Jnw-Mnw* remained loyal to the crown, despite the trials and tribulations faced by the monarchy during the end Teti-early Pepy I period.

The only other official to serve Pepy I and directly reference a king using their cartouche was *Mhw*, who depicted thirty-two funerary estates in his tomb.<sup>408</sup> However, most of these

<sup>399</sup> The tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* contains the remnants of Pepy I’s original throne name, *Nfr-s3-Hr*, which was chiselled out and replaced by his new throne name, *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>*. Kanawati 2006, pls. 7a & 44.

<sup>400</sup> See Kanawati 2000, 25-32 for the date of the death of *Nj-k3w-Jssj*.

<sup>401</sup> Kanawati 2006, pls. 23 & 50b.

<sup>402</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 77-8.

<sup>403</sup> It is reasonably certain that *Jnw-Mnw* was promoted to the vizierate under Pepy I and not under Teti. As the title is preserved only on his sarcophagus and not in his tomb decoration, this promotion seems to have come late in his career, after his chapel was decorated. Kanawati 2006, pls. 34b & 56c.

<sup>404</sup> It should be noted that there is no deliberate damage to the tomb owner in the tombs of *nh-m<sup>c</sup>-Hr*, *K3-gm-n.j*, *Hntj-k3.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>*, *Mr.f-nb.f* and *S3bw*, but there are signs of damage to sons and dependants in the tomb. See Kanawati 2003, 178-9 for a succinct list of tombs whose owners suffered some sort of punishment, or p. 25-137 for detailed summary of each tomb.

<sup>405</sup> Kanawati 2003, 168. See Spencer 1982, 69-70 and Kanawati 2003, 159-61 for how the inscriptions and images of the tomb owner were crucial in allowing them an afterlife.

<sup>406</sup> See Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1999 for the tomb of *Hsj*, which was re-used by *Sšm-nfr*, and Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 2001 for the tomb of *[M]rrj*, which was re-used by *Mrjj-Nbtj*.

<sup>407</sup> If Teti’s assassination was successful and brought about the end of his reign, it follows that the punishment of his officials would have occurred under his son and rightful heir, Pepy I. It is quite certain that this punishment did not take place under Userkare – being a usurper, it seems unlikely that he would have punished those who allowed or assisted him in taking the throne.

<sup>408</sup> Altenmüller 1998, pls. 26-9.

cartouches are those of Teti, followed by Unas and Isesi – the cartouche of Pepy I is noticeably absent.<sup>409</sup> While Kanawati & Swinton propose that *Mḥw*, like *Jnw-Mnw*, may have been one of the officials who assisted Pepy I in seizing the throne,<sup>410</sup> this is not supported by the evidence from his tomb. The authors believe that the side-by-side placement of *Mḥw*'s titles under Teti's and Pepy I's priesthoods indicates a "balance" between the two kings, but apart from the occasional repetition of this title, the cartouche of Pepy I is otherwise absent from the rest of the tomb.<sup>411</sup> One might expect *Mḥw* to have shown more pride in serving Pepy I if he considered Teti and Pepy I to be equally significant, and if *Mḥw* assisted the latter king in reclaiming the throne.<sup>412</sup> Thus, the absence of Pepy I's cartouche may be interpreted as *Mḥw*'s dissatisfaction with this king, which may in turn suggest that the image of the monarchy had become visibly weak after the murder of Teti.

Due to a lack of data, no trend in the perception of Pepy I can be identified for his later years. However, it is significant that the tomb of the vizier *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* contained no direct reference to the king,<sup>413</sup> as this practice was highly unusual for a vizier during the first part of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>414</sup> and may suggest that Pepy I was not well-received by this official. *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*'s clear disassociation from the crown and the dwindling references to Pepy I in the tombs of earlier officials may be an indication that the institution of kingship had not regained the prestige that it lost during Teti's turbulent reign, Userkare's usurpation, and Pepy I's repossession of the throne.

Overall, there seemed to be little attempt to publicise a relationship with, or even a connection to, Pepy I during the early years of his reign. *Jnw-Mnw* was the only official to include the cartouche of Pepy I in his inscriptions and may have done so due to his unwavering support for, and loyalty towards, this king. The king was still referred to as *ḥm*, *nb* or *nsw* by other officials, but these occurred less than during the reign of Teti. Although Pepy I undoubtedly

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<sup>409</sup> It should be noted that the cartouche of Pepy I is absent from *Mḥw*'s tomb except for within his title *shd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-nfr-Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>*. See Jones 2000, 935 [3448] for this title.

<sup>410</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 77-8.

<sup>411</sup> Except when recording the title *shd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-nfr-Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>*, "Inspector of priests of the pyramid of Pepy I". See Jones 2000, 935 [3448] for this title.

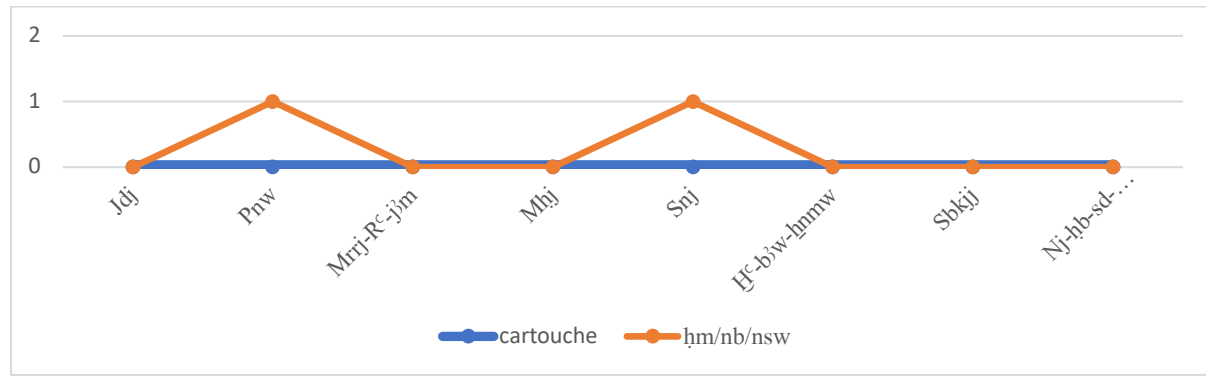
<sup>412</sup> Compare, for example, the inscriptions of *K3-gm-n.j*, who probably supported Teti at the beginning of his reign, and the pride he displayed in his relationship with Teti. Strudwick 2005, 285-7.

<sup>413</sup> It has also been speculated that *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* was the same disgraced vizier whose name was removed from a decree dating to *h3t-sp 21* of Pepy I. El-Fikey 1980, 44. See Sethe 1933, 209-13 and Strudwick 2005, 103-5 for this decree of Pepy I.

<sup>414</sup> Compare, for example, the amount of times the king is directly referenced in the tombs of the earlier viziers *Nfr-s3m-R<sup>c</sup>*, *K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Ḥsj*, *Ḥntj-k3.j*, *Jnw-Mnw* and *Mḥw* in Appendix 1 [Table 1].

tried to maintain an outward appearance of stability and strength, the assassination of a king and the struggle for succession must have been extremely damaging to the dogma of kingship.<sup>415</sup> As Pepy I was largely ignored in his officials' inscriptions and was rarely referred to by his cartouche, it seems reasonable to suggest that Pepy I was not highly favoured or accepted in the capital.

#### 4.1.3 Reign of Pepy II



Graph 3: Tomb inscriptions of Memphite officials of Pepy II

Pepy II is noticeably absent in the tomb inscriptions of his officials who were buried in the capital. Of the eight officials under consideration, none directly mention the king using his cartouche and only 25% reference the king by using the terms *hm*, *nb* or *nsw*.<sup>416</sup> This is a significant decrease from the reigns of Teti (86%) and Pepy I (64%),<sup>417</sup> which may suggest that emphasising such a connection to the king was of little importance by the time of Pepy II. Graph 3 displays that an overwhelming majority almost completely disassociated themselves from this king, however the economic situation under Pepy II should be considered in order to draw conclusions about the attitudes of these men.

Scholarship has long recognised that the reign of Pepy II saw a gradual impoverishment in his officials' tombs.<sup>418</sup> While tombs constructed under his Sixth Dynasty predecessors were largely constructed with limestone, most Memphite tombs from the reign of Pepy II were built using

<sup>415</sup> This may also be seen in the assassinations of Amenemhat I and Ramesses III. See Gardiner 1961, 103-1 and Redford 2002, *passim* for the conspiracies against these kings, respectively.

<sup>416</sup> In this case, both officials (*Pnw* and *Snj*) who reference the king use the term *nb*.

<sup>417</sup> For this data, see Appendix 1, Table 1 and Table 2, respectively.

<sup>418</sup> Jéquier 1929, *passim*; Jéquier 1940, 60; Kanawati 1977, 69-70; Strudwick 1987, 81 [40]; Barta 2013, 175; Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 172-4.

mudbrick.<sup>419</sup> As Pepy II's reign progressed, elite resources seem to have declined, as it became increasingly common for multiple officials to share the one mastaba, probably as an effective way of cutting costs.<sup>420</sup> In the last part of Pepy II's reign, the economic situation appears to have become considerably more severe, as these cost-saving measures became utilised by viziers, who were seemingly unable to afford to construct a tomb for themselves.<sup>421</sup> As a result, there is far fewer elite inscriptions from Memphis, as the texts of these officials were usually limited to the false door or perhaps one or two lines on the tomb's architrave.<sup>422</sup> Consequently, it may be unreasonable to expect the number of direct references to the king to be as high as in the reigns of Teti or Pepy I, but at the same time, the almost total absence of direct reference to the king is significant.

It could be argued that these officials used their limited resources to ensure that their name and image endured on earth, which allowed them the chance at an afterlife. If this is the case, it may have been a matter of self-interest and prioritisation, where the ability to be remembered in this life and live on in the next outweighed the need to emphasise an affiliation with the monarchy. While this is possible, it does not explain why some officials with limited burial space from the reign of Pepy I chose to incorporate the king in their inscriptions, and why those in the same situation under Pepy II almost completely omitted the king.<sup>423</sup>

Rather, it seems more likely that by the reign of Pepy II, the administration had become aware of the destitute economic conditions and the troubles which plagued the reigns of earlier kings, causing them to become dissatisfied with the monarchy. Moreno Garcia has argued that the "collaboration of the elites", that is, collective support for the king, was crucial for the maintenance of royal authority.<sup>424</sup> If this is the case, it seems possible that the elite's reaction to the incompetence of the monarchy was manifest in the lack of direct reference to the king in Memphite tomb inscriptions. As these officials resided and were buried in the capital, their

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<sup>419</sup> It should be noted that officials of Pepy II occasionally incorporated stone elements into their tomb, such as a false door, but the exterior of the tomb was consistently constructed using mudbrick. Jéquier 1929, pl. VI (2).

<sup>420</sup> Jéquier 1929, *passim*.

<sup>421</sup> For example, the vizier *Nj-ḥb-sd-Nfr-k3-Rc* added his burial chamber to the tomb of the vizier *Mrjj-Rc-j3m*, who seems to have served Pepy II in the early years of his reign. Jéquier 1940, 56-62.

<sup>422</sup> Daresy 1916, 194-5; Jéquier 1929, *passim*; Jéquier 1940, *passim*.

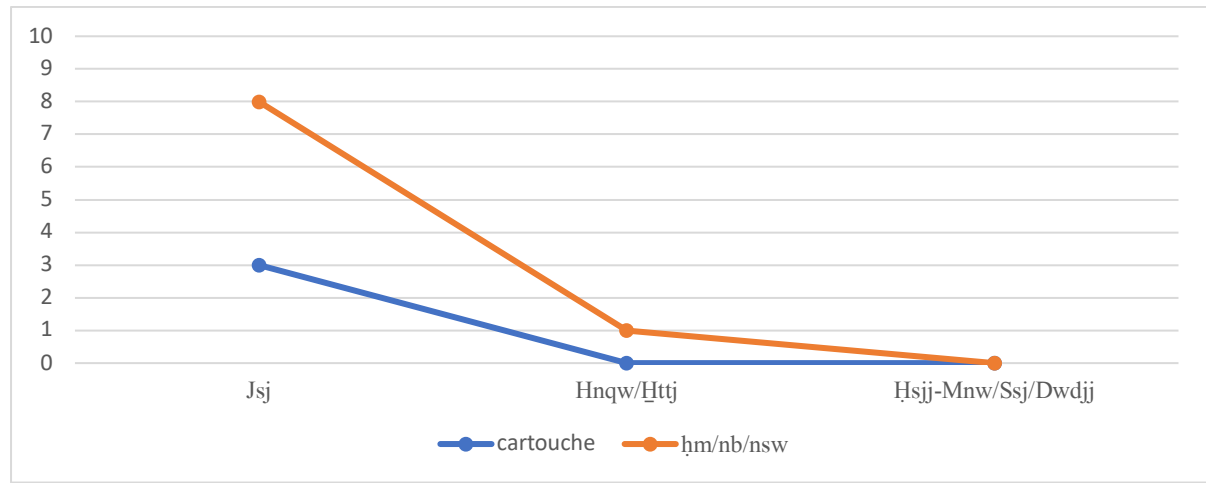
<sup>423</sup> For example, the burial of *Jbj* in the tomb of *Ndt-m-pt*, whose false door contains the statement *im3ḥw ḥr nsw*, and the tomb of *Nb-jb* at Deir el-Gebrawi, whose tomb inscriptions state that he was *im3ḥw ḥr nb.f*. See Kanawati & Hassan 1996, 31-4 & pl. 45 for the inscriptions of *Jbj*, and Kanawati 2005, 85-6 & pl. 60 for the inscriptions of *Nb-jb*.

<sup>424</sup> Moreno Garcia 2013, 104-1.

proximity to the central administration probably meant that they were painfully aware of Egypt's economic state and the adversities which had plagued the administration in the earlier part of the Sixth Dynasty. Perhaps it was due to the general chaos of the Sixth Dynasty that Pepy II was seemingly not well-received or accepted by his Memphite officials.

## 4.2 Provincial Perception of the King

### 4.2.1 Reign of Teti



Graph 4: Tomb inscriptions of Provincial officials of Teti

Of the three provincial officials that may be dated to the reign of Teti, only 33% use the cartouche of Teti in their tomb inscriptions, although 67% directly refer to the king. The small size of this data set makes it difficult to draw conclusions about how the king was perceived by his officials during this time, and so it may be suggested that there is not an obvious trend. However, the individual perception of each official should be considered in order to understand the varying royal perceptions of these men.

One of Teti's most distinguished provincial officials was *JsJ* of Edfu. Like other important men who served Teti,<sup>425</sup> *JsJ* was proud to record that he began his career under Isesi and Unas, before his outstanding ability saw him promoted by Teti and sent to Edfu as *hrj-tp ʿ3 n sp3t*, 'great overlord of the province'.<sup>426</sup> *JsJ* is the earliest known holder of this title, and is the first instance of a provincial vizier. Understandably, *JsJ* expressed great appreciation for this king in his tomb inscriptions and showed no indication of a negative attitude towards Teti. However,

<sup>425</sup> Namely, *K3-gm-n.j*, *Hsjj* and *Mhw*.

<sup>426</sup> Edel 1954, 13ff.

as in the case of *K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Hsj*, *Jsj*'s appreciation of Teti may have been a result of the amount of power that he was allocated. As nomarch of Edfu, *Jsj* would have been in charge of the province's administration<sup>427</sup> and probably exercised a certain amount of supervisory authority; while as vizier, he would have been responsible for reporting directly to Teti and presumably supervising the implementation of any new policies.<sup>428</sup> Such unprecedented provincial authority seems likely to have influenced the obvious appreciation *Jsj* had for the king, however the evidence suggests that *Jsj* was also a son-in-law of Teti, which probably contributed to his ability to create a relationship with the sovereign.<sup>429</sup> Not unlike *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Jsj* probably expressed a clear appreciation for the king because of the power he was able to accumulate, which was further bolstered by his status as an in-law of the king.

The two remaining officials thought to have served Teti, *Hnqw/Httj* of Deir el-Gebrawi and *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* of Akhmim, both show little appreciation for or connection to the reigning monarch. In the case of *Hnqw/Httj*, only one reference to the king is present in his tomb. It is difficult to understand whether *Hnqw/Httj* had a relationship with the king, as evidence for this is largely absent from his tomb inscriptions.<sup>430</sup> However, given that he was probably the earliest official to be posted to UE12 as great overlord,<sup>431</sup> it seems likely that *Hnqw/Httj* created a relationship with Teti at the capital and made a reputation for himself as a trustworthy administrator.<sup>432</sup> If this is the case, it calls into question why the king and *Hnqw/Httj*'s relationship with him is almost complete absent from his tomb inscriptions.<sup>433</sup> Unlike *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj*'s titles do not suggest that he spent any time at Memphis and reveal that he was of much lower status than his contemporary at Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>434</sup> Consequently, *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* probably did not have the opportunity to create a

<sup>427</sup> Kanawati & Swinton suggest that *Jsj* may have been responsible for UE Provinces 1-8, because he was the only nomarch in this region of Upper Egypt at this time. Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 49.

<sup>428</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 48-9.

<sup>429</sup> Kanawati 1976, 150-1. Although *Sšsšt*, was not given the title of *s3.t nsw*, as was customary for members of the royal family, she was given preferential treatment in the way she was depicted in *Jsj*'s tomb. Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 47.

<sup>430</sup> Davies 1902b, XXVIII; Kanawati 2005, 26-33 & pls. 4-11; 37-40.

<sup>431</sup> Davies' suggestion that the tombs of the northern cliff, including that of *Hnqw/Httj*, succeeded those of the southern cliff is highly unlikely. See Davies 1902b, 38-43 for the original chronology of the Deir el-Gebrawi tombs and Kanawati 2005, 12-20 for a revised chronology.

<sup>432</sup> Although the origin of *Hnqw/Httj*'s family remains unknown, his service at the capital is inferred from titles including *hrp j3t nb(t)*, 'director of every office'; *hrp hndt nbt*, 'director of every kilt' and *sš md3t-ntr*, 'scribe of the god's book', as well as his epithet *jm3hw hr Pth-Skr*. Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 60.

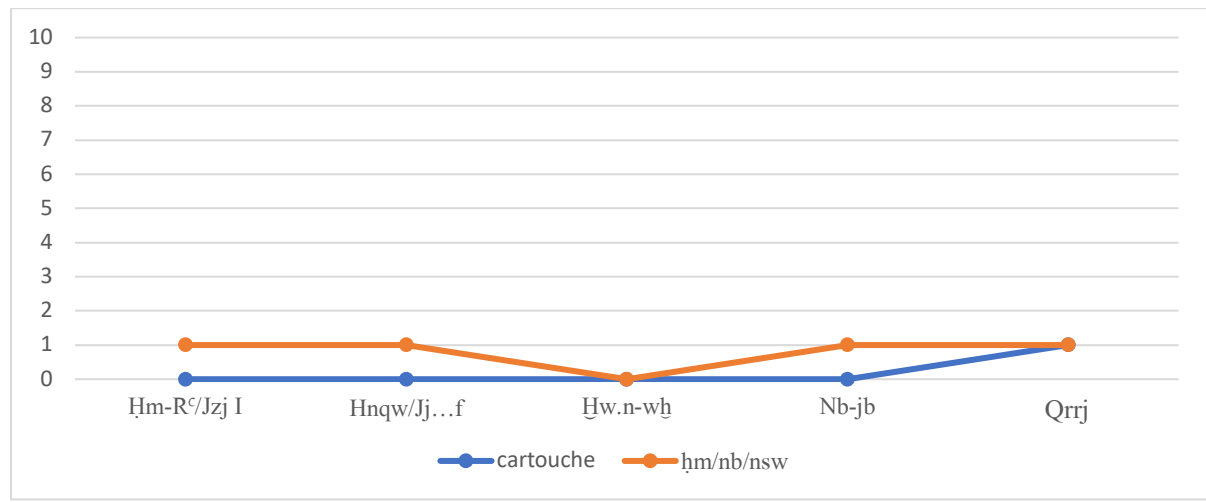
<sup>433</sup> Davies 1902b, XXVIII; Kanawati 2005, 26-33 & pls. 4-11; 37-40.

<sup>434</sup> Kanawati 1992, 180-2.

relationship with the king at the capital, which may account for why no relationship is present in his inscriptions. Unless further evidence is uncovered, the reason or reasons why *Hnqw/Httj* largely omitted the king from his tomb inscriptions can only be speculated about.

Taking this evidence into consideration, there does not appear to be a trend in the way provincial officials perceived Teti. Although *Jsj* of Edfu and *Hnqw/Httj* of Deir el-Gebrawi were probably both able to create a relationship with the king at Memphis, the evidence of this relationship is only present in *Jsj*'s inscriptions. This may suggest that while *Jsj* viewed Teti in a positive light, *Hnqw/Httj*'s attitude towards the same king was rather negative, or at least somewhat indifferent. *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* of Akhmim does not appear to have had the same opportunities to create a relationship with Teti, as none of his titles suggest that he spent time in the capital, which may explain why the king was omitted from his tomb inscriptions. Overall, the evidence is insufficient to suggest a trend in the provincial elite's perception of Teti, as each individual appears to have had a different attitude towards the king.

#### 4.2.2 Reign of Pepy I



Graph 5: Tomb inscriptions of Provincial officials of Pepy I

Of the five provincial officials dated to the reign of Pepy I, 80% contained a reference to the king in their tomb inscriptions, yet only 20% referred to Pepy I by using his cartouche. It may be significant that, of the 80% who directly referenced Pepy I, no more than one reference to the king is present in each tomb. The evidence does not seem clear about how these officials collectively perceived the king and should be further investigated.

Although the brothers *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* of Deir el-Gebrawi were both *b3jtj s3b t3tj* and *hrj-tp c3 n sp3t*,<sup>435</sup> neither official showed a great amount of appreciation for Pepy I in their tomb inscriptions. Only one direct reference to the king was present in each tomb, and neither official included the cartouche of the king they served. *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I*'s tomb inscriptions do not demonstrate that he had a relationship with the king, however it appears that he began his career at the capital before he was appointed to the provinces.<sup>436</sup> Thus, *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I* must have worked closely with the king, or at least close enough to have gained a reputation as a trustworthy official, which calls into question why the king was largely overlooked in his tomb. This curious situation is also the case for *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I*'s brother, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, who also seemingly began his career at the capital.<sup>437</sup> In his rather lengthy biography, *Hnqw/Jj...f* proudly records how he effectively repopulated and replenished neglected territory,<sup>438</sup> which suggests that he fully adhered to the policies implemented by the central administration. Kanawati & Swinton interpret this to be an indication that *Hnqw/Jj...f* was loyal and committed to the king,<sup>439</sup> however they fail to address the almost total absence of the king in his tomb inscriptions. If *Hnqw/Jj...f* was as loyal to the king as these authors claim, one might expect to see greater emphasis on or pride about his position before the king, rather than virtual silence and a large degree of disinterest.<sup>440</sup>

The absence of the king in tomb inscriptions may also be observed in the tombs of *Hw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna and *Nb-jb* at Deir el-Gebrawi, which suggests that the apparent disinterest in Pepy I was not specific to the tombs of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*. *Hw.n-wh* was probably the earliest official to be posted to El-Qusiya<sup>441</sup> and many of his titles infer a long and distinguished career at the capital.<sup>442</sup> That *Hw.n-wh* was entrusted with the administration of a nome after serving at Memphis suggests that he had created a reputation as a devoted official

<sup>435</sup> For the titles of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I*, see Davies 1902b, 19-20 and Kanawati 2005, 37-8; for the titles of *Hnqw/Jj...f* see Davies 1902b, 27 and Kanawati 2005, 60.

<sup>436</sup> This may be inferred from his titles *jmj-r c<sup>w</sup> nsw*, 'overseer of the royal documents'; *jmj-r njwt mr*, 'overseer of the pyramid town'; *hrp šndt nbt*, 'director of every kilt' and *smsw snwt*, 'elder of the *snwt*-house'. Kanawati 2005, 37. For these titles see Jones 2000, 76-7 [335]; 148-9 [577]; 751 [2737] and 904 [2218], respectively. See also page 33 for a discussion of the date of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I*.

<sup>437</sup> *Hnqw/Jj...f* held identical titles to those of his brother *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jsj I*, some of which are listed in footnote 56 above.

<sup>438</sup> Strudwick 2005, 366-8.

<sup>439</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 108.

<sup>440</sup> Compare, for example, the inscriptions of *Jsj* of Edfu, whose pride and appreciation for the king formed a large part of his tomb inscriptions. See Edel 1954, 11-17 for the inscriptions of *Jsj*.

<sup>441</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989, 11-26; Gillam 2010, 132; Kanawati 2010, 207-20; Lashien 2017, 15-9.

<sup>442</sup> For example, *hm-ntr Hk3*, 'priest of Heka'; *hm-ntr Dšrt*, 'priest of the Red Crown'; *jwn Dšrt*, 'pillar of the Red Crown', *hk3 s3*, 'magician of the ruler' and *smsw n db3t*, 'elder of the robing room'. Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 111.



early under Pepy I, or possibly during the reign of Teti.<sup>443</sup> Thus, the king's absence in his tomb inscriptions is curious, and may infer that *Hw.n-wh* was uncertain about or did not accept Pepy I as king. This uncertainty may also be observed in the tomb of *Nb-jb*, who also probably began his career at Memphis<sup>444</sup> and who also largely overlooked the king in his inscriptions. If the early Pepy I and mid Pepy I dates respectively assigned to *Hw.n-wh*<sup>445</sup> and *Nb-jb*<sup>446</sup> are correct, as well as the assumption that they began their careers at Memphis, it may be proposed that Teti's assassination and the rule of Userkare had a large impact on the way that these officials perceived the king.

The only provincial official to recognise that he served under Pepy I was *Qrrj* of Akhmim,<sup>447</sup> as his biography relates that he was “*hrj-tp nsw n pr-ḥ*” in the time of Meryre”.<sup>448</sup> This is the only evidence of the king in his tomb inscriptions, and although there does not seem to be an obvious appreciation for the king, it is significant that *Qrrj* chose to specify which king he served. The evidence from both the provinces and the capital, discussed above and in section 4.1.2, suggests that Pepy I was not well accepted by his officials in the early-middle years of his reign. If the late Pepy I date assigned to *Qrrj* is correct,<sup>449</sup> the presence of Pepy I's cartouche may indicate that he was eventually accepted as king. This inference is only tentative yet seems to be supported by the smooth accession of Merenre and Pepy II, which could only have occurred if Pepy I was endorsed as king.<sup>450</sup> In order to understand the full extent of the provincial perception of Pepy I during his later years, further research which incorporates additional provincial officials may be necessary.

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<sup>443</sup> It is reasonable to assume that *Hw.n-wh* began his career at the capital under Teti, as he holds many important administrative and religious titles that were unlikely to have been acquired in the few years that he served Pepy I at Memphis.

<sup>444</sup> This may be inferred from *Nb-jb*'s title *jmj-r hntj(.w)-š pr-ḥ*, ‘overseer of the palace guards’. See Jones 2000, 189 [710] and Kanawati 2003, 13-24 for this title.

<sup>445</sup> See 40 for a discussion on the date of *Hw.n-wh*.

<sup>446</sup> See page 31-2 for a discussion on the date of *Nb-jb*.

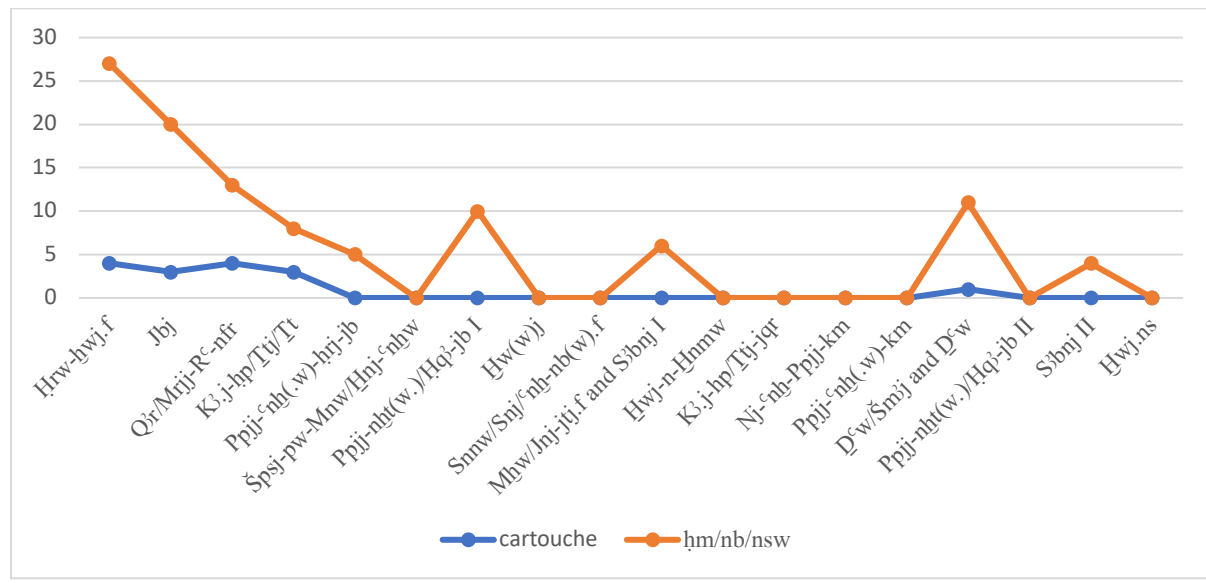
<sup>447</sup> See Kanawati 1986, 47-51, pls. 3a-b, 8a-c & 9 for the tomb of *Qrrj*.

<sup>448</sup> Strudwick 2005, 361 [263].

<sup>449</sup> See 36 for a discussion on the date of *Qrrj*.

<sup>450</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 221.

### 4.2.3 Reign of Merenre-Pepy II



Graph 6: Tomb inscriptions of Provincial officials of Merenre & Pepy II

After the reign of Pepy I, many high officials were sent to the provinces and buried in their respective nomes. Perhaps to secure the loyalty of these officials because of their distance from the capital, much of the wealth appears to have been concentrated into the provincial tombs – accordingly, these tombs and their inscriptions are much richer than those at the capital and are generally better preserved because they were constructed high into the sides of mountains. As a result, there are a substantial number of tombs that can be securely dated to the reigns of Merenre and Pepy II. This allows for a much closer study of this period and necessitates that the discussion be divided into three sections: Merenre-early Pepy II; mid Pepy II, and late-end Pepy II.

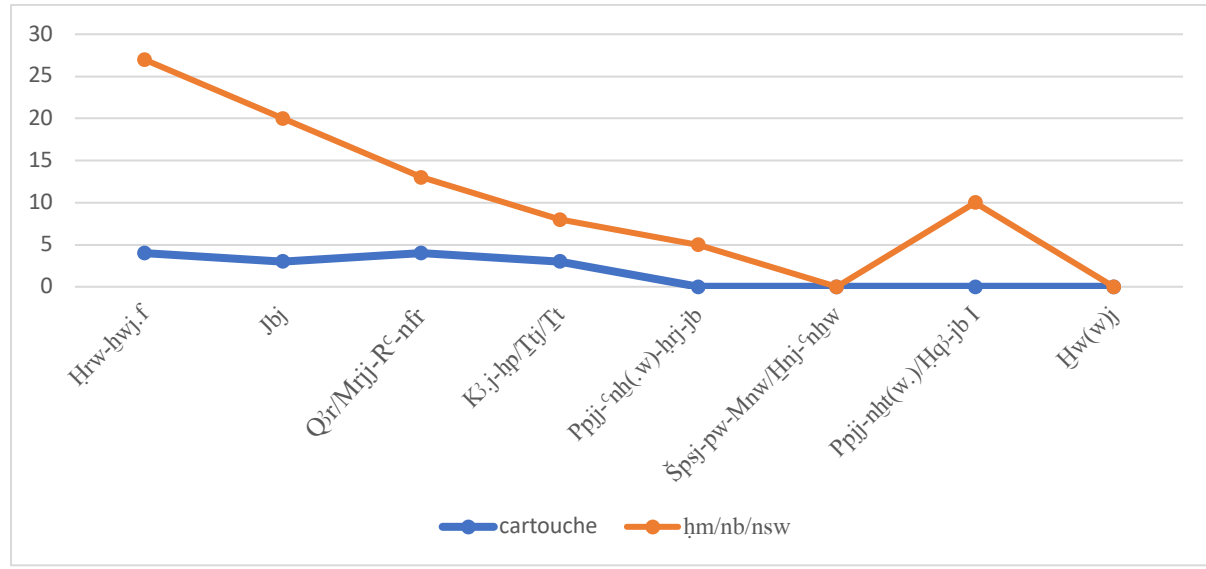
The reign of Merenre was brief, but it was far from insignificant. During the approximately five years that Merenre ruled, he reversed his father Pepy I's attempt at a more centralised regime<sup>451</sup> and sent officials to govern and reside in the provinces. As a result, a reasonable number of officials have recorded their achievements under him and often mention Merenre by name in their biographies. While it remains true that changes to Merenre's officials' perception of him is largely inaccessible,<sup>452</sup> it is difficult to separate his reign from the early

<sup>451</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 114-8 have suggested that the limited officials who were appointed by Pepy I to the provinces were trusted members of the royal family. This may be true for some officials, like Dꜣw of Abydos, however there is presently insufficient evidence for such a holistic claim.

<sup>452</sup> See section 1.4.4 for why it is implausible to understand how Merenre was perceived by his officials.

years of Pepy II due to the similarities in the policies of the two rulers.<sup>453</sup> As a result, the evidence from Merenre's reign will be considered within the period 'Merenre-early Pepy II'.

### *Merenre-early Pepy II*



Graph 7: Tomb inscriptions of provincial officials dated to the Merenre-early Pepy II period

Of the eight officials whose tombs have been dated to the reign of Merenre or the early years of Pepy II, only two (25%) did not reference the king in their tomb. Of the six officials who did directly reference the king in their inscriptions (75%), four included the cartouche of Merenre. The cartouches of Teti, Pepy I and Pepy II were also found, but in all instances, were only found in tombs where the cartouche of Merenre was also present. All four of these officials clearly expressed a close relationship with the reigning monarch; the reasons of which should be investigated further.

The tomb of *Hrw-hwj.f* at Qubbet el-Hawa presents the most instances where the tomb owner directly mentions the king. *Hrw-hwj.f*'s biography, recorded on his tomb façade, describes how Merenre sent him to conquer foreign lands three times, and how the king was repeatedly satisfied with his actions.<sup>454</sup> Furthermore, *Hrw-hwj.f* declares that this had not been done by any other official, and that he was favoured very highly for it. The inclusion of such statements

<sup>453</sup> It should be noted that it was probably Pepy II's mother, Ankhenespepy II, who continued the policies of Merenre, as she acted as regent for the young king probably until he was old enough to rule on his own. This is evidenced by an alabaster statuette of Pepy II and Ankhenespepy II, in which the young king is represented in full royal regalia while sitting on his mother's lap. See James 1974, 28, pl. 4 [no. 68] for this statuette.

<sup>454</sup> Strudwick 2005, 330-1; Edel 2008, 330-1, figs. 4 & 5.

may indicate that *Hrw-hwj.f* was extremely proud of the relationship he had created with the sovereign and the duties he had carried out in Merenre's name, which does not seem to suggest a negative attitude towards this king. Also inscribed on *Hrw-hwj.f*'s tomb's façade is a letter addressed to him from Pepy II, where the king expresses his excitement and gratitude towards *Hrw-hwj.f* for bringing him back a pygmy from one of his expeditions.<sup>455</sup> Although the text mainly reveals the appreciation Pepy II had for this official, *Hrw-hwj.f*'s choice to have it inscribed on the façade of his tomb may also be suggestive of how he perceived Pepy II. The presence of this text in a conspicuous place on *Hrw-hwj.f*'s tomb façade may infer that he was also incredibly proud of his relationship with Pepy II and that he acted in accordance with the king's wishes. Therefore, the evidence does not seem to suggest that *Hrw-hwj.f* felt negatively towards this king, which may not be surprising considering that he was given a reasonably significant amount of responsibility by both Merenre and Pepy II.

However, this level of appreciation does not seem to be exclusively found in the tomb of *Hrw-hwj.f*. Another official who seemed rather proud of the positions entrusted to him by the kings he served was *Jbj*, who was sent to govern Deir el-Gebrawi by Merenre.<sup>456</sup> As *Jbj*'s biography is quite short, it seems reasonable that he only included the most significant events in his life. If this is the case, it may be suggested that he was also quite proud of his accomplishments under Merenre and Pepy II, which presumably saw him able to attain the epithet *im³hw hr nsw*.<sup>457</sup> This also seems to be the case in the tomb of *Q³r/Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* at Edfu, as he also proudly declared that he was appointed nomarch by Merenre and greatly satisfied this king with all his accomplishments,<sup>458</sup> which seem to have been focused on the economic growth of Upper Egypt.<sup>459</sup> Finally, the tomb inscriptions of *K³.j-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* at Akhmim reflect this same sentiment, where Merenre is described as having done "great favours" for the tomb owner.<sup>460</sup>

<sup>455</sup> Strudwick 2005, 331-3; Edel 2008, 627 & fig. 8.

<sup>456</sup> Davies 1902a, pl. XXIII, 'tomb of *Aba*, inscription on the east wall'; Sethe 1933, 142-5.

<sup>457</sup> It should be noted that this epithet may also have been a result of *Jbj*'s service and loyalty towards the crown at Memphis, as many of his titles and epithets indicate that he spent quite some time at the capital, where he performed tasks that allowed him to interact with the king. For example, *jmj-jb n nsw m st.f nbt*, 'confidant of the king in his every place'; *wr m j³t.f smsw m s<sup>c</sup>h.f*, 'great in his office and eminent in his dignity'; *jmj-r prwj-ḥd*, 'overseer of the two treasuries' and *hrp nstj*, 'director of the two thrones'. Davies 1902a, 8-24 & pls. III-XVIII; Kanawati 2007a, *passim*.

<sup>458</sup> El-Khadragy 2002, 209-11 & figs. 2 & 3.

<sup>459</sup> Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 128.

<sup>460</sup> McFarlane 1987, 63-70.

It is to be regretted that the remainder of this text is lost, as it may have provided further evidence for *K3.j-hp/Ttj/Tt*'s gratitude towards Merenre and perhaps Pepy II.<sup>461</sup>

For these four men, their provincial appointment appears to have come with an unprecedented amount of power. *Hrw-hwj.f* was *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* and *htmtj-ntr*; *Jbj* was *hrj-tp ʕ n sp3t Dw.f*, *hrj-tp ʕ n sp3t T3-wr*, *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w* and *hq3 hwt*; *Q3r/Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* was *h3tj-ʕ*, *hrj-tp ʕ n sp3t*, *jmj-r hm-ntr*, and *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*; and *K3.j-hp/Ttj/Tt* was *hrj-tp ʕ Hnt-Mnw* and *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w*. In all cases, these men seemed to have acquired previously unattested amounts of provincial power and wealth, and were probably the most influential administrators in their nome.<sup>462</sup> Being assigned such significant duties placed them well ahead of their provincial contemporaries, which may provide a significant reason as to why they were so appreciative of Merenre.

Although no king is directly mentioned using his cartouche in the tombs of *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb* at Meir (El-Qusiya) and *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq3-jb I* at Qubbet el-Hawa, the reasonable number of references to the king in their tombs indicate that they were also rather proud of their relationship to the king. *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb*'s pride in receiving the right to form this name,<sup>463</sup> his *rn nfr*,<sup>464</sup> with the cartouche of presumably Pepy II, may be observable through the repetition of this name in his tomb. The name *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb* accounts for 78% of the tomb owner's names recorded in his tomb,<sup>465</sup> far exceeding the occurrence of his *rn ʕ*. As the *rn ʕ* of the tomb owner is usually the most frequently used in the tomb, the repetition of the *rn nfr* in place of the *rn ʕ* suggests that *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb* had great pride in the acquisition of this name, and by extension, his relationship with the king. Although this same emphasis on the name formed with the king's cartouche is not seen in the tomb of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq3-jb I* at Qubbet el-Hawa,<sup>466</sup> the evidence still highlights his pride in having had personal contact with the monarch. *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq3-jb I* repeated multiple times that he had pleased the king through

<sup>461</sup> It is generally accepted that the lost section of the text probably recounted the tomb owner's career under Pepy II. Kanawati 1982, 10-4; McFarlane 1987, 63-70; Kanawati 1992, 98-9; Swinton 2014, 42 [108].

<sup>462</sup> Kanawati & Swinton suggest that *Q3r/Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* was actually the most powerful official in the entire southern region, after the vizier and mother-in-law of Pepy I, *Nbt*, or her successor. Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 128.

<sup>463</sup> Martin-Pardey suggests that this was acquired at the capital as a special honour. Martin-Pardey, 1976, 135.

<sup>464</sup> An inscription above the figure of the tomb owner in room one states that *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb* was his *rn nfr*, and that *Nfr-k3* was his *rn ʕ*. Blackman 1924, pl. 4; Kanawati 2012, pl. 76b; Lashien 2017, 38.

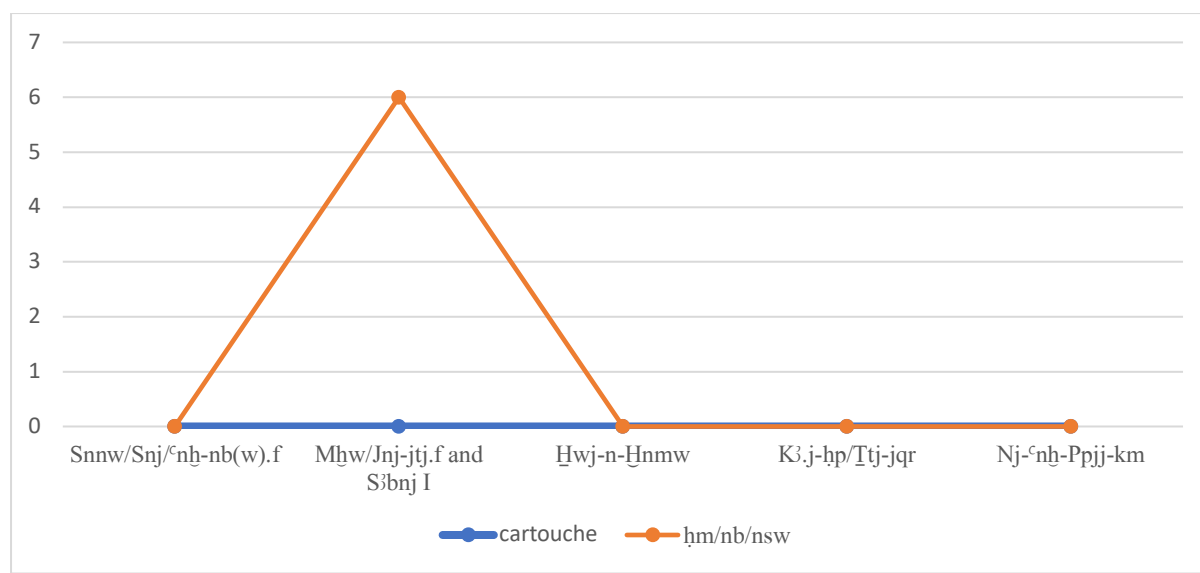
<sup>465</sup> Other names assigned to *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb* in his tomb are *Nfr-k3* and *Hnjj(-hrj-jb)*. The name *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nh-hrj-jb* is found on the sarcophagus but not in the tomb. See Kanawati 2012, pls. 72a, 76b, 78, 86 and 90 for the alternate names of *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-hrj-jb*.

<sup>466</sup> The names *Ppjj-nht(w.)* and *Hq3-jb* are each found seven times in the tomb, which indicates a balance between the two names of the owner. See Edel 2008, 682-98 for these inscriptions.

his militaristic actions, suggesting that this was one of his proudest achievements.<sup>467</sup> Although the king is not named, the inscriptions of *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb I* do not seem to suggest that he disassociated himself from the king he served, who was probably Pepy II.

During the Merenre-early Pepy II period, most officials seemed extremely proud of their relationship with the reigning monarch. The officials who used the king's cartouche to directly reference the king (*Hrw-hwj.f*, *Jbj*, *Q<sup>3</sup>r/Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* and *K<sup>3</sup>.j-hp/Ttj/Tt*) seemed to have been allocated an unprecedented amount of provincial power for this time, which may explain why they were so fond of the kings that they served. Even though *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(w.)-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb I* did not use the king's cartouche when mentioning him in their tomb inscriptions, there is still significant evidence to suggest that they perceived the king in a positive light. Only two officials, *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-<sup>c</sup>nhw* of Akhmim and *Hw(w)j* of Qubbet el-Hawa, did not directly reference the king in their tomb inscriptions.<sup>468</sup> The reasons for this remain largely speculative, but it can be said with certainty that the two are in the minority. Overall, the evidence does not seem to imply that the king was negatively perceived during the Merenre-early Pepy II period, indicating that the king may have regained much of his significance after the uncertainty of Pepy I's rule.

### Mid Pepy II



Graph 8: Tomb inscriptions of provincial officials dated to the mid Pepy II period

<sup>467</sup> Sethe 1933, 131-5; Strudwick 2005, 333-5; Edel 2008, 682-98.

<sup>468</sup> See Kanawati 1981a for the tomb of *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-<sup>c</sup>nhw* and Edel 2008, 465-72 for the tomb of *Hw(w)j*.

After the Merenre-early Pepy II period, the extreme appreciation and pride demonstrated in the tomb inscriptions of the king's officials almost completely disappeared. Of the five tombs which have been dated to the mid Pepy II period, only 20% included a reference to the king in their tomb and the king's cartouche is absent on all accounts. This is a stark difference from the Merenre-early Pepy II period, where 75% of officials included a reference to the monarch, suggesting that the elite's attitude towards the king had become increasingly more negative.

The only officials to directly reference the king in their inscriptions was the father and son *Mḥw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *Sḥbnj I*, whose joint tomb is located at Qubbet el-Hawa.<sup>469</sup> As *Sḥbnj I* appears to have expanded and completed *Mḥw/Jnj-jtj.f*'s tomb after he died suddenly,<sup>470</sup> only the former's perception of the king is able to be established. Fortunately, *Sḥbnj I*'s rather lengthy biography is rather telling about his attitude towards the king. This text recounts how he travelled to the land of *Wḥwḥt* to recover the body of his father after he was killed in battle,<sup>471</sup> and although much of this text centres around *Sḥbnj I*'s retrieval of *Mḥw/Jnj-jtj.f*'s body, great emphasis is placed on how the king praised and favoured *Sḥbnj I* for doing so.<sup>472</sup> The inclusion of these events in *Sḥbnj I*'s biography suggests that he was extremely proud to have been recognised by the sovereign, which in turn does not infer that he viewed the king in a negative light.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the remaining officials dated to the mid-Pepy II period. There are no direct references to the king in the tombs of *Snnw/Snj-ḥnh-nb(w).f* and *Hwj-n-Hnmw* of Qubbet el-Hawa, *Kḥ.j-ḥp/Ttj-jqr* of Akhmim or *Nj-ḥnh-Ppjj-km* of El-Qusiya. It is interesting that, in the tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Ppjj-km*, only 33% of the tomb owner's names were formed with the royal cartouche.<sup>473</sup> This is a significantly lower percentage than that seen in

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<sup>469</sup> See Edel 2008, 8-230 for the joint tomb of *Mḥw/Jnj-jtj.f* and *Sḥbnj I*.

<sup>470</sup> The research conducted by Edel suggests that this was completed in three clear phases. See Edel 2008, 8-20 for a discussion.

<sup>471</sup> Sethe 1933, 135-40; Strudwick 2005, 335-9; Edel 2008, 48-58.

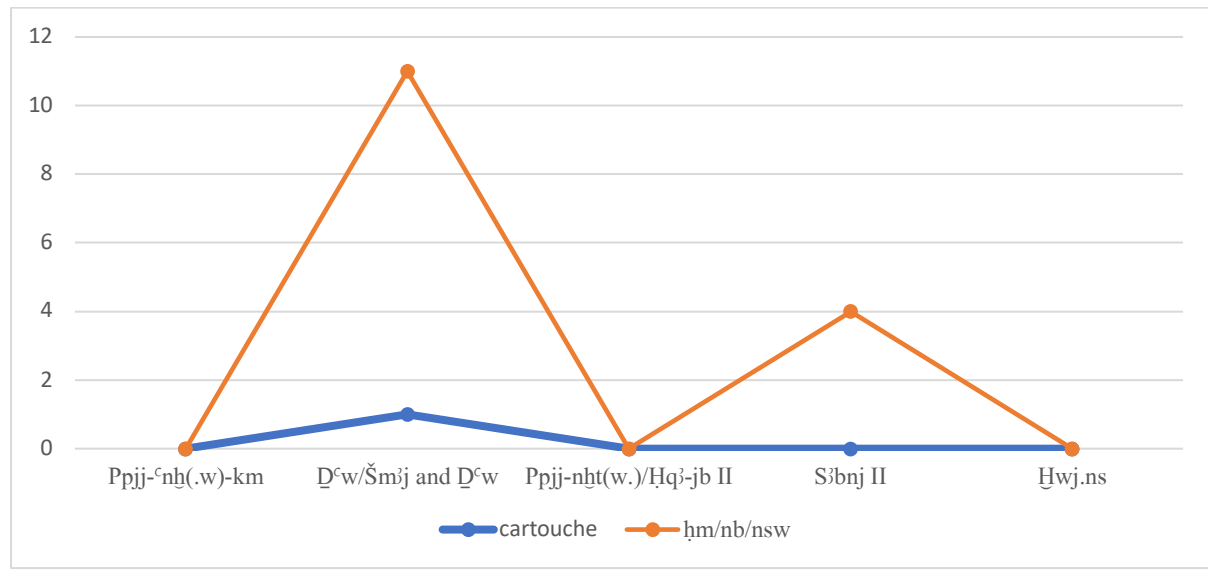
<sup>472</sup> This is most evident in lines 14-17, which read, "This servant was then favoured in the majesty of the court council. Then this servant praised Re for the king regarding the greatness of the favour shown to this servant by the followers of the king. There was given to me a box of wood, containing myrrh and (?) sweet oil; (also) was given linen of best quality and ... clothing. The gold of favour was given to me in great quantity. Tables of food were given to me (bearing) meat and fowl. Then [the king] held council, and that which I had done was recalled by my lord." Strudwick 2005, 337.

<sup>473</sup> Of the thirty-six occurrences of the tomb owner's names recorded in the tomb, only twelve instances of *Nj-ḥnh-Ppjj-km* were found; the other twenty-four names alternated between *Ḥpjj-km* and *Sbk-ḥtp*. See Kanawati et.al. 2015, *passim*.

the tomb of his father *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb*,<sup>474</sup> who referred to himself by this name 75% of the time.<sup>475</sup>

The absence of tomb inscriptions which mention the king in the tombs of *Snnw/Snj-<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f*, *Hwj-n-Hnmw*, *K3.j-hp/Tj-jqr* and *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km*, along with the clear preference to use names formed without Pepy II's cartouche in the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km*, may suggest a purposeful disassociation from the king during the mid-Pepy II period. In turn, this may indicate that most of these officials were dissatisfied with the king, perhaps as a result of the arid environmental conditions of the time<sup>476</sup> or possibly due to the decrease in resources allocated to them by the central government.<sup>477</sup> This may suggest that the image of the kingship had suffered significant damage between the early and middle years of Pepy II's reign, and that officials had become devastatingly aware of the troubles facing the state at this time. Although the inscriptions of *S3bnj I* seem to suggest that he perceived the king in a positive manner, this official is very much the 'exception to the rule', as the inscriptions of the other four officials examined showed no interest in the king whatsoever.

#### Late-end Pepy II



Graph 9: Tomb inscriptions of provincial officials dated to the late-end Pepy II period

<sup>474</sup> See Lashien 2017, 51-2 for the likely father/son relationship of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* and *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km*.

<sup>475</sup> See pages 64-5 above for a discussion on the names of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb* in his tomb.

<sup>476</sup> See Hassan 1997, 1-18; Stanley et.al. 2003, 395-401; Moeller 2005, 154-67 and Welc & Marks 2014, 124-133 for scientific evidence that the Sixth Dynasty was a period of significantly drier conditions.

<sup>477</sup> It should be noted that the tombs of provincial officials were less impoverished than those of their Memphite contemporaries. Kanawati 1977, 35-6 & 59-61; Kanawati & Swinton 2018, 197-200.



In the late-end Pepy II period, there is a slight increase in the number of officials who directly referenced the king in their tomb inscriptions. Of the five officials dated to this period,<sup>478</sup> 40% incorporated the king into their tomb's texts, while 20% included the cartouche of Pepy II. This seems to suggest that the negative attitude towards Pepy II seen in his middle years actually improved towards the end of his reign, although the evidence should be considered.

Only two officials under examination directly referenced the king in their tomb inscriptions: *D<sup>c</sup>w* of Deir el-Gebrawi and *S3bnj II* of Qubbet el-Hawa. *D<sup>c</sup>w*, who shared the tomb with his father *D<sup>c</sup>w/Šm3j*, was the only official dated to the last third of Pepy II's reign who included the cartouche of the king in his tomb inscriptions. Pepy II's cartouche is found in *D<sup>c</sup>w*'s biography, where he relates how Pepy II posthumously granted *D<sup>c</sup>w/Šm3j* the prestigious rank of *h3tj-c* and provided him with suitable materials so that his father was able to be buried appropriately.<sup>479</sup> As *D<sup>c</sup>w*'s biography is quite short, the documentation of such an interaction with the king suggests that it was a point of emphasis, and in turn, an achievement to be proud of. In a similar manner, the tomb inscriptions of *S3bnj II* at Qubbet el-Hawa describe how he was sent by the king to *W3w3t* in order to construct two obelisks, for which the king greatly favoured him.<sup>480</sup> The inscriptions of *S3bnj II* also seem to display an element of pride in his contact with the monarch,<sup>481</sup> as it is certainly the main focus of his biography. Both *D<sup>c</sup>w* and *S3bnj II* appear to express great satisfaction in their personal contact with Pepy II and his fulfilment of their requests, suggesting that these officials accepted and respected Pepy II as a king.

However, the other three officials dated to this period apparently did not feel the same way. In the tomb of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* at El-Qusiya (Meir), there are no direct references to the king. Additionally, *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* only identified himself with this name 9% of the time,<sup>482</sup> and interestingly, where this name is used to identify the tomb owner, it is always followed by an alternate *rn* <sup>c3</sup>.<sup>483</sup> A similar situation is seen in the tomb of *Ppjj-nht(.w)/Hq3-jb II* at Qubbet el-

<sup>478</sup> It should be noted that *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* was included as part of the late-end Pepy II period discussion despite being allocated a mid-late Pepy II date (see page 38-9) in order to place him into the period after his father, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km*.

<sup>479</sup> Davies 1902b, 13 & pl. XIII; Sethe 1933, 145-7; Strudwick 2005, 365-6; Kanawati 2007a, 54-5.

<sup>480</sup> Strudwick 2005, 339-40; Edel 2008, 816-7 & fig. 10.

<sup>481</sup> See Edel 2008, 803-69 for the tomb of *S3bnj II*.

<sup>482</sup> The name of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* is recorded in his tomb 195 times; however, this name is only attested on seventeen of these instances. The other 178 occurrences were made up of the name *Hnjj* and its variants. Kanawati & Evans 2014, 30.

<sup>483</sup> Kanawati & Evans 2014, *passim*.

Hawa,<sup>484</sup> where the tomb owner's *rn nfr*, *Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb*, is recorded ten times, but the name *Ppjj-nht(.w)* is only attested three times.<sup>485</sup> Also like the tomb inscriptions of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*, direct reference to the king is absent in the tomb of *Ppjj-nht(.w)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II*. The preference towards names that did not include the cartouche of the king suggests that these two officials did not want to be associated with the king, and consequently may have perceived him in a less than desirable manner. This also may hold true for *Hwj.ns* of Qubbet el-Hawa,<sup>486</sup> as there are no extant references to the king and no instances of the king's cartouche in his tomb either.

Overall, the data does not seem to suggest a trend in the provincial perception of the king during the late-end Pepy II period. Instead, it appears that the king's provincial officials were divided into two parties: those who supported the king, and those who did not. The tomb inscriptions of *D<sup>c</sup>w* and *S<sup>3</sup>bnj II* expressed a great deal of pride in their personal contact with the monarch, suggesting that they were rather fond of the king. On the other hand, it seems as though *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km*, *Ppjj-nht(.w)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* and *Hwj.ns* were not as accepting. The tendency for *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km* and *Ppjj-nht(.w)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* to use names that were formed without the king's cartouche may suggest that these officials sought to detach themselves from Pepy II, and had become largely disinterested in the monarchy by this time. Although the percentage of provincial officials who directly referenced the king in their tombs during the late-end Pepy II period was slightly higher than during Pepy II's middle years, the evidence does not seem to suggest that there was a noticeable improvement in the provincial elite's perception of the king.

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<sup>484</sup> This thesis follows the idea proposed by Vischak, who believes that the owners of tombs 35 and 35d, both named *Ppjj-nht(.w)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb*, are two different people. See Vischak 2014, 225-8 for a discussion.

<sup>485</sup> See Edel 2008, 734-802 for the tomb of *Ppjj-nht(.w)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II* (tomb 35d).

<sup>486</sup> See Edel 2008, 540-71 for the tomb of *Hwj.ns*.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### 5.1 Changes and trends to the elite perception of the king

#### 5.1.1 Reign of Teti

Overall, the evidence suggests that most of Teti's Memphite officials were generally rather accepting of him as king, as 86% of these officials included the king in their tomb inscriptions and 27% referenced Teti using his cartouche. Teti's seemingly most grateful officials, and also the proudest of their relationship to him, appear to have been *K3-gm-n.j*, *Mrrw-k3.j* and *Hsj*. This may have been because they held many titles concerned with service for the king's person, which certainly would have allowed a relationship with Teti to be created, or because they were each allocated significantly more power than their Memphite contemporaries. In the cases of *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j*, their fondness of Teti was also probably a result of being married to one of his many daughters and the large area allocated for their tombs.

In the provinces, no clear trend about Teti's perception was able to be established. While the evidence suggested that *Hnqw/Httj* of Deir el-Gebrawi and *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj* of Akhmim may not have been entirely accepting of this king, the inscriptions from the tomb of *Jsj* of Edfu clearly expressed acceptance and appreciation for Teti. Much like *K3-gm-n.j* and *Mrrw-k3.j*, *Jsj*'s favourable opinion of the king may have been a result of the unprecedented amount of provincial authority that he was allocated and his likely marriage to a daughter of Teti.

#### 5.1.2 Reign of Pepy I

Unlike Teti, the evidence from the reign of Pepy I suggests that he had very few supporters during his early years.<sup>487</sup> Although 64% of his Memphite officials referenced the king in their tomb inscriptions, only 9% included Pepy I's cartouche and the number of times the king was referred to was rather low in comparison to Teti's officials.<sup>488</sup> The decline in the number of references to Pepy I may have been caused by the attack on Teti's life and the subsequent usurpation of the throne by Userkare, which, despite Pepy I's repossession of the crown, appears to have significantly damaged the image of the king.

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<sup>487</sup> As mentioned on page 55, the data for Pepy I's Memphite officials is very much skewed towards his earlier years, and consequently can only provide suggestions about how he was perceived in the earlier part of his reign.

<sup>488</sup> See Appendix 1 [Table 1 & Table 2].

Likewise, there also appeared to be little support for Pepy I in the provinces. Although 80% of these officials directly mentioned the king in their tomb inscriptions, no more than one reference to the king is present in each tomb. The evidence suggests that Pepy I's earlier provincial officials were noticeably disinterested in him, however the inscriptions in the tomb of *Qrrj* of Akhmim recognise that he was an official "in the time of Meryre".<sup>489</sup> If the late Pepy I date assigned to *Qrrj* is correct, the presence of Pepy I's cartouche may suggest that he was eventually accepted as king, although further investigation is needed to substantiate such a claim.

### 5.1.3 Reign of Merenre-Pepy II

At Memphis during the reign of Pepy II,<sup>490</sup> the king is only present in 25% of his officials' tomb inscriptions and there are no extant examples of his cartouche. This is a sharp decline from the 86% and 64% of Memphite officials who referenced the king in their tomb inscriptions during the respective reigns of Teti and Pepy I, suggesting that Pepy II was not well-received at the capital. Given these officials' proximity to the central administration, it is argued that they were able to notice the growingly destitute economic conditions, which may have caused them to perceive Pepy II in a negative light.

Due to the substantial number of officials who resided in the provinces during the Merenre-Pepy II period, this section was divided into the early, middle and late years of the latter. During the Merenre-early Pepy II period, 75% of officials directly referenced the king in their tomb inscriptions and 50% included the cartouche of at least one king. Given that many of these inscriptions expressed their gratitude and appreciation for the king, it may be proposed that Merenre and Pepy II were extremely well-respected by their earliest provincial officials. This may have been a result of working closely with the king at the capital and the acquisition of an extraordinary amount of power upon their provincial appointment; further bolstered by the concentration of wealth into provincial tombs. By the mid Pepy II period, this extreme appreciation for the king had almost completely disappeared. Only 20% of provincial officials dated to this period recognised Pepy II in their tomb inscriptions – a significant decline from the 75% of those dated to the Merenre-early Pepy II period – and the king's cartouche was noticeably absent. Interestingly, during the late-end Pepy II period, the provincial perception

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<sup>489</sup> Strudwick 2005, 361 [263].

<sup>490</sup> No officials are known to have served Merenre at the capital.

of this king seems to have slightly improved, as 40% of officials directly referenced the king and the cartouche of Pepy II was present in 20% of tombs. However, there was still evidence of attempted disassociation from the king, as tomb owners whose names were formed with the cartouche of Pepy largely chose to identify themselves using alternate names. The evidence seems to suggest that the elite perception of Pepy II in the provinces began on a positive note but grew increasingly negative as his reign progressed.

## **5.2 Findings**

During the reign of Teti, the king appeared to be well-accepted by his officials, particularly those of high rank. However, the elite's attitude towards the king became noticeably more negative during the reign of Pepy I. Although Merenre and Pepy II, in his early years, were extremely well-accepted by their provincial officials, it is likely that much of this acceptance and appreciation probably stemmed from the magnitude of power they were allocated, or was possibly even a positive reaction to the accession of a new king following the death of Pepy I. From the middle years of Pepy II onwards, both at the capital and in the provinces, the king received little recognition in the tomb inscriptions of his officials. There is significant evidence to suggest that the elite's perception of the king slowly deteriorated for the duration of the Sixth Dynasty.

## **5.3 Implications for the Old Kingdom**

Given that the elite perception of the king declined from the reign of Pepy I onwards, there may be evidence to suggest that the deterioration in the king's position coincided with the accession of this king; but interestingly, there may be also evidence to indicate that Pepy I was eventually accepted by the administration towards the end of his reign. Given that much of the data is skewed towards Pepy I's early and middle years, further research is required to reconcile these apparent contradictions. Likewise, an investigation of the relationship between the king and his officials during the late Fifth Dynasty may also be needed to understand the perception of Teti in relation to his predecessors.

The findings of this thesis seem to suggest that the elites' perception of the king became increasingly pessimistic as the Sixth Dynasty progressed. Such a negative image of the king probably had serious ramifications for his position, as the collective support of his officials was

crucial to his royal authority.<sup>491</sup> It may be significant that after a dynasty where the perception and position of the king continuously declined, the Egyptian state collapsed. Perhaps this was one of the crisis factors which contributed to the instability of the monarchy, and in turn, the demise of the old regime.

During the Sixth Dynasty, the king faced many challenges: the climate was dry, once plentiful resources were now in short supply, foreign powers were emerging, and it now appears that officials had become dissatisfied with their king. Although there appear to have been many attempts to win back the support of these officials, usually by allocating them large amounts of power, their support for the king was short-lived. Not even the façade of stability that surrounded the monarchy was able to mask the disappointment of the king's officials that their ruler was failing in his divine duties. By the end of Pepy II's reign, the central government started to collapse, and Egypt descended into a period of instability. The order of the cosmos was in shambles, and so too was the elite's perception of the king.

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<sup>491</sup> Moreno Garcia 2013, 1040-1.

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## Appendix 1: Tables

**Table 1: Memphite officials of Teti**

Tomb Owner	Date	Royal Reference	Cartouche	<i>hm</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>nsw</i>	Total
<i>Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Early Teti	Yes	0	0	0	7	7
<i>K3-gm-n.j</i>	Early Teti	Yes	1 x Isesi 1 x Unas 2 x Teti	13	1	10	28
<i>Nj-k3w-Jssj</i>	Mid Teti	Yes	1 x Teti	0	0	0	1
<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth</i>	Mid Teti	Yes	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Hfj</i>	Mid Teti	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr</i>	Mid-late Teti	Yes	1 x Unas	0	0	2	3
<i>Wr-nww</i>	Mid-late Teti	Yes	0	0	0	5	5
<i>Mrrj</i>	Mid-late Teti	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i>	Mid-late Teti	Yes	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Grf</i>	Mid-late Teti	Yes	0	0	1	3	4
<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	Mid-end Teti	Yes	1 x Menkauhor 5 x Unas 8 x Teti	0	0	32	46
<i>Mrw/Tj-snb</i>	Mid Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Sḥnh-w(j)-Pth</i>	Late Teti	Yes	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Tj-snb</i>	Late Teti	Yes	0	0	1	3	3
<i>[M]rjj, r/u Mrjj-Nbtj</i>	Late-end Teti	Yes	2 x Teti	0	0	1	2
<i>Ḥsj, r/u Ššm-nfr</i>	Late-end Teti	Yes	1 x Userkaf 1 x Isesi 4 x Unas 16 x Teti	7	1	2	32
<i>Ḥsij</i>	Late-end Teti	Yes	0	0	2	0	2
<i>Mhj/Mh-n.s</i>	Late Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	1 x Teti	0	0	4	5
<i>Jrj.s</i>	Late Teti-early Pepy I	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Hntj-k3.j</i>	Late Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	0	1	2	4	7
<i>Smdnt</i>	Late Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	1	1
<i>K3(j)-ḥpr(w)</i>	Late Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	3	3

**Table 2: Memphite officials of Pepy I**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Royal Reference</b>	<b>Cartouche</b>	<b>hm</b>	<b>nb</b>	<b>nsw</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Jnw-Mnw</i>	End Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	1 x Pepy I	0	0	6	7
<i>Rmnj</i>	End Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Hwj</i>	End Teti-early Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	2	2
<i>Mrj-Ttj</i>	End Teti-mid Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	6	6
<i>Mmj</i>	Early Pepy I	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>K3-jn-n(j)</i>	Early Pepy I	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Jr-n-3htj</i>	Early Pepy I	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Mhw</i>	Early-mid Pepy I	Yes	4 x Isesi 9 x Unas 19 x Teti	0	0	10	42
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	Mid Pepy I	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Jwn-Mnw/Tttw</i>	Mid Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	2	2
<i>Burial of Jbj</i>	Late Pepy I	Yes	0	0	0	2	2

**Table 3: Memphite officials of Pepy II**

<b>Tomb Owner</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Royal Reference</b>	<b>Cartouche</b>	<b>hm</b>	<b>nb</b>	<b>nsw</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Jdj</i>	Early-mid Pepy II	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Pnw</i>	Early-mid Pepy II	Yes	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m</i>	Early-mid Pepy II	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Mhj</i>	Early-mid Pepy II	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Snj</i>	Mid-late Pepy II	Yes	0	0	1	0	1
<i>H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw</i>	Late Pepy II	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sbkjj</i>	Late Pepy II	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Burial of Nj-hb-sd-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Late-end Pepy II	No	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 4: Provincial officials of Teti**

Tomb Owner	Date	Nome	Royal Reference	Cartouche	<i>hm</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>nsw</i>	Total
<i>Jsj</i>	Teti-early Pepy I	UE2: Edfu	Yes	1 x Isesi 1 x Unas 1 x Teti	1	3	1	8
<i>Hnqw/Httj</i>	Late Teti	UE12: Deir el-Gebrawi	Yes	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj</i>	Late Teti	UE9: Akhmim	No	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 5: Provincial officials of Pepy I**

Tomb Owner	Date	Nome	Royal Reference	Cartouche	<i>hm</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>nsw</i>	Total
<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jzj I</i>	End Teti-early Pepy I	UE12: Deir el-Gebrawi	Yes	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Hnqw/Jj...f</i>	Early Pepy I	UE12: Deir el-Gebrawi	Yes	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Hw.n-wh</i>	Early Pepy I	UE14: El-Qusiya	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nb-jb</i>	Mid Pepy I	UE12: Deir el-Gebrawi	Yes	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Qrrj</i>	Late Pepy I	UE9: Akhmim	Yes	1 x Pepy I	0	0	0	1

**Table 6: Provincial officials of Merenre-Pepy II**

Tomb Owner	Date	Nome	Royal Reference	Cartouche	<i>hm</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>nsw</i>	Total
<i>Hrw-hwj.f</i>	Merenre-beginning Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	Yes	2 x Merenre 2 x Pepy II	10	7	6	27
<i>Jbj</i>	Merenre-early Pepy II	UE12: Deir el-Gebrawi	Yes	1 x Pepy I 1 x Merenre 1 x Pepy II	5	7	5	20
<i>Q<sup>3</sup>r/Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i>	Merenre-early Pepy II	UE2: Edfu	Yes	1 x Teti 2 x Pepy I 1 x Merenre	2	2	5	13
<i>K<sup>3</sup>.j-hp/Ttj/Tt</i>	Merenre-early Pepy II	UE9: Akhmim	Yes	2 x Pepy I 1 x Merenre	3	1	1	8
<i>Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb</i>	Merenre-early Pepy II	UE14: El-Qusiya	Yes	0	0	0	5	5

<i>Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj-<sup>c</sup>nhw</i>	Early Pepy II	UE9: Akhmim	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb I</i>	Early Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	Yes	0	3	7	0	10
<i>Hw(w)j</i>	Early Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Snnw/Snj/<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f</i>	Close to Mid Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Mhw/Jnj-jtj.f</i> and <i>S<sup>3</sup>bnj I</i>	Mid Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	Yes	0	1	3	2	6
<i>Hwj-n-Hnmw</i>	Mid Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>K<sup>3</sup>.j-<sup>h</sup>p/Ttj-jqr</i>	Mid Pepy II	UE9: Akhmim	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km</i>	Mid Pepy II	UE14: El-Qusiya	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-km</i>	Mid-late Pepy II	UE14: El-Qusiya	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w/Šm<sup>3</sup>j</i> and <i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i>	Late Pepy II	UE12: Deir el-Gebrawi	Yes	1 x Pepy II	3	5	2	11
<i>Ppjj-nht(w.)/Hq<sup>3</sup>-jb II</i>	Late Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	No	0	0	0	0	0
<i>S<sup>3</sup>bnj II</i>	Late-end Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	Yes	0	2	2	0	4
<i>Hwj.ns</i>	End Pepy II	UE1: Qubbet el-Hawa	No	0	0	0	0	0

## Appendix 2: Tomb Inscriptions of Memphite Officials

### Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>, rn nfr Ššj*

*Teti Cemetery*

Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (1998), *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol III*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "...as an honoured one before the king..."</li> <li>2. "...the honoured one before the king..." (repeated four times in the tomb)</li> <li>6. "...the chief of the possessors of veneration before the king..."</li> <li>7. "...as an honoured one before the great god and before the king."</li> </ol>

Date: early-mid Teti.

### Tomb of *K3-gm-n.j, rn nfr Mmj*

*Teti Cemetery*

von Bissing, F.W. (1905-1911). *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai, vols 1 & 2*.

Strudwick, N. (2005). *Texts from the Pyramid Age*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "A contemporary of Isesi."</li> <li>2. "At the time of Unas I served as judge and boundary official, and his majesty favoured me more than anything."</li> <li>3. "...his majesty favoured me because of this more than anything."</li> <li>4. "The majesty of Teti, may he live forever, proceeded to the residence..."</li> <li>5. "...[lost]... for his majesty knew their names..."</li> <li>6. "...as his majesty ordered everything which his majesty desired to be done..."</li> <li>7. "With regard to everything which his majesty ordered to be done correctly... it happened right through my actions, as his majesty desired very much that everything he commanded be done right."</li> <li>8. "The majesty of Teti my lord, may he live forever, appointed me (list of titles)... for I was firm of purpose for his majesty in respect of everything which his majesty had ordered to be done, through my excellence and my nobility in the sight of his majesty."</li> <li>9. "O...[lost]... do true things for the king..."</li> <li>10. "...speak true things to the king, for <i>maat</i> is what the king loves."</li> <li>11. "...do not say to him anything evil in the form of lies against me to the king, for the sovereign knows my character..."</li> <li>12. "...I am firmer of purpose for his majesty than any of his officials who have existed in this land."</li> <li>13. "I am a speaker of truth and a repeater of perfection in all matters which the king loves."</li> <li>14. "It is I who desires that it go well for me in the sight of the king..."</li> <li>15. "...the honoured one before the king..."</li> <li>16. "...the true honoured one before the king..." (repeated twice in the tomb)</li> </ol>

Date: early-mid Teti.

**Tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jssj, rn nfr Jssj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (2000). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol VI.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
Name of funerary estate:
1. "Remover of fear desires that Teti lives."

Date: mid Teti.

**Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth/Wd-h3-Ttj, rn nfr Ššj****Teti Cemetery*Lloyd, A.B., Spencer, A.J. & Khouli, A. (2008), *Saqqara Tombs III: The Mastaba of Neferseshemptah.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..."

Date: mid Teti.

**Tomb of *Hff****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (2001). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol VII.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: mid Teti.

**Tomb of *nh-m-c-Hr, rn nfr Ssj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Hassan, A. (1997). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "[lost]...the king...[lost]"
2. "... (never) did I say anything evil to the king..."
3. Cartouche of Unas (funerary estate).

Date: mid, possibly late Teti.

**Tomb of *Wr-nww****Teti Cemetery*Lloyd, A.B. et.al. (1990). *Saqqara Tombs II: The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and others.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..."
(repeated five times throughout the tomb)

Date: mid-late Teti.

**Tomb of *Mrrj****Teti Cemetery*Davies, W.V. et.al. (1984). *Saqqara Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: mid-late Teti.

**Tomb of *Špsj-pw-Pth****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (2001). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol VII*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..."

Date: mid-late Teti.

**Tomb of *Grf, rn nfr Jtj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (2001). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol VII*.Kanawati, N. & Hassan, A. (1996). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol I*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...beloved of his lord..."
2. "(he who is privy to the secrets of the king in his every place), whom he loves..."
3. "...that he may ascend to the great god as an honoured one before the king..."
4. "I made this tomb while I was alive, on my feet as one who is favoured of the king..."
5. "One beloved of the king..."

Date: mid-late Teti.

**Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j, rn nfr Mrj****Teti Cemetery*Duell, P. (1938). *The Mastaba of Mereruka*.N. Kanawati, et.al. (2010). *Mereruka and his family Part III:1, The tomb of Mereruka*.N. Kanawati, et.al. (2011). *Mereruka and his family Part III:2, The tomb of Mereruka*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..." (repeated 32 times in the tomb) List of funerary estates: 33. "One who loves goodness is Teti." 34. "Hathor desires that Unas lives." 35. "Perfect are the offerings of Unas." 36. "The powers of Unas." 37. "The favours of Ikauhor." 38. "Sokar causes Unas to live." 39. "Firm of appearances is Teti."

- |   |
|---|
| 40. "The provider of Teti."<br>41. "Hew-rekhyt desires that Teti lives."<br>42. "Heka desires that Teti lives."<br>43. "Doing what Teti commands."<br>44. "Sobek desires that Teti lives."<br>45. "Wadjet causes Teti to rejoice."<br>46. "Horus satisfies Unas." |
|---|

Date: mid-end Teti.

### **Tomb of *Mrw/Ttj-snb***

*Teti Cemetery*

Lloyd, A.B. et.al. (1990). *Saqqara Tombs II: The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and others*.

- |   |
|---|
| Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> ) |
| 1. "...as an honoured one before the king..."                                 |

Date: mid Teti-early Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *S<sup>c</sup>nh-w(j)-Pth, rn nfr Htp-n(j)-Pth***

*Teti Cemetery*

Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (1998). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol III*.

- |  |
|--|
| Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )    |
| 1. "...having reached a very good old age as an honoured one before the king..." |

Date: late Teti.

### **Tomb of *Ttj-snb, rn nfr Jrj***

*Teti Cemetery*

El-Khouli, A. & Kanawati, N. (1988). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol II*.

- |   |
|---|
| Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )   |
| 1. "...that he be buried in the necropolis in the western desert... as an honoured one before the king..."  |
| 2. "As for this tomb which I made in the necropolis, it was the king who granted its place for me, as one who is honoured before the king, who does what his lord favours." |

Date: late Teti.

### **Tomb of *[M]rrj, re-used by Mrjj-Nbtj***

*Teti Cemetery*

Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (2001). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol VII*.

- |   |
|---|
| Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )   |
| 1. "...and that his honour remain before Teti."                                 |
| 2. "...that he may travel in peace... amongst those who did what Teti favours." |
| 3. "...one beloved of the king is he who will say..."                           |

Date: late-end Teti.



Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (1999). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol V.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "...that he be buried as an honoured one before the king in his tomb..."</li> <li>2. "(that he be buried) ...as an honoured one before the great god and among the honoured ones before the king..."</li> <li>3. "I was judge and scribe in the time of Isesi."</li> <li>4. "I was judge and superintendent of scribes in the time of Unas."</li> <li>5. "It was Teti, my lord, who promoted me as judge and administrator and who promoted me as royal chamberlain."</li> <li>6. "His majesty caused it to be done for me..."</li> <li>7. "His majesty knew my name while selecting a scribe..."</li> <li>8. "I became a scribe for his majesty ahead of the scribes..."</li> <li>9. "I became a nobleman for his majesty ahead of the noblemen."</li> <li>10. "His majesty had allowed that I accede to the great boat..."</li> <li>11. "His majesty was discussing matters with me amongst the noblemen..."</li> <li>12. "...because his majesty knew the name of he who was more distinguished than any servant."</li> </ol> <p>List of funerary estates:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. "Khenty-Tjenenet desires that Teti lives."</li> <li>14. "Favourable is what Herishef does for Teti."</li> <li>15. "Ptah favoured Teti."</li> <li>16. "Good is Ptah who favours Teti."</li> <li>17. "Ptah favours what Teti does."</li> <li>18. "Good is what Teti favours."</li> <li>19. "Mut causes Teti to live."</li> <li>20. "Hormerti desires that Teti lives."</li> <li>21. "Ptah favours what Teti does."</li> <li>22. "The favour of Teti."</li> <li>23. "The estate of Teti: the creation of Teti."</li> <li>24. "Ptah causes the life of Teti to endure."</li> <li>25. "Enduring is what Ptah does for Teti."</li> <li>26. "Ptah favours what Teti does."</li> <li>27. "The beloved of Userkaf."</li> <li>28. "Good is what Ptah does for Unas."</li> <li>29. "Good are the offerings of Unas."</li> <li>30. "Hathor satisfies Unas."</li> </ol>

Date: late-end Teti.

**Tomb of *Hsjj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & El-Khouli, A. (1988). *Excavations at Saqqara: north-west of Teti's pyramid, vol II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before his lord..."
2. "...beloved of his lord..."

Date: late-end Teti.

**Tomb of *Mhj/Mh-n.s****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & El-Khouli, A. (1988). *Excavations at Saqqara: north-west of Teti's pyramid, vol II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...that his honour be before Teti..."
2. "...as one who is favoured before the king"
3. "...favoured of the god and honoured before the king..."
4. "...I made this tomb while I was alive on my feet, as one favoured of the king..."
5. "One beloved of the king... is he who will pass by this tomb and who will say..."

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Jrj.s****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. et.al. (1984). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Hntj-k3.j, rn nfr Jhhj****Teti Cemetery*James, T.G.H. (1953). *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikheki.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...like what is done for every noble of the king..."
2. "[I was more favoured] in the sight of the majesty of my lord than anything else..."
3. "...favourite of the king..."
4. "...favourite of his lord..."
5. "...the honoured one before the king..."
(repeated twice in the tomb)

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Smdnt****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. et.al. (1984). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol I.*Lloyd, A.B. et.al. (1990). *Saqqara Tombs II: The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and others.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...a nobleman indeed before the king..."

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *K3(j)-<sup>c</sup>pr(w)****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Hassan, A. (1996). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "Beloved of the king [is one who will pass by this tomb and say]..."
2. "...the honoured one before the king..."
3. "...the honoured one before the king and the great god..."

Date: late Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Jnw-Mnw****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. (2006). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol VIII.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...one beloved of the king is he..."
2. "...an excellent spirit, who the king knew by name..."
3. "...the honoured one before the king..."
(repeated 4 times in the tomb)
7. Cartouche of Pepy I: <i>Nfr-sj-Hr</i> chiselled out; <i>Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup></i> written in red paint over the top.

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Rmnj, rn nfr Mrjw****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. (2009). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol IX.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king in (all his) places..."

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Hwj****Teti Cemetery*Lloyd, A.B. et.al. (1990). *Saqqara Tombs II: The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and others.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...one beloved of the king is he..."
2. "...as you ought to do for any king's nobleman..."

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Mrj-Tj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Abder-Raziq, M. (2004). *Mereruka and his family, part I: the tomb of Merytetj*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..." (repeated four times in the tomb)
5. "...as an honoured one before the king..." (repeated twice in the tomb)

Date: end Teti-mid Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Mmj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. et.al. (1984). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol I*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *K3-jn-n(.j), rn nfr Tj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. et.al. (1984). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol I*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Jr-n-3htj****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. et.al. (1984). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol I*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Mḥw****Unas Cemetery*Altenmüller, H. (1998). *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..." (repeated 8 times in the tomb)
9. "...the honoured one before his lord..." (repeated twice in the tomb)
List of funerary estates:
11. "One who redeems life is Isesi"
12. "The life force of Isesi"

13. "Foundation of Isesi"
14. "Illumination of Isesi"
15. "What life bring to Unas"
16. "The ram lets Unas thrive"
17. "Perfection belongs to Unas"
18. Sokar wishes Unas to live"
19. "Followers of Unas"
20. "Abundance of Unas"
21. "One of the precautions is Unas"
22. "Min wishes that Unas lives"
23. "Heka satisfies Unas"
24. "Bastet satisfies Teti"
25. "The *akh* spirit loves the deeds of Teti"
26. "Thoth wishes that Teti lives"
27. "(The village) that brings the bread of Teti"
28. "The ram lets Teti thrive"
29. "Perfect is what the ram commands Teti"
30. "Perfection belongs to Teti"
31. "The *Bnw* bird wants Teti to live"
32. "The power of Teti"
33. "This shows that Teti is perfect"
34. "The ram of Mendes wishes Teti to live"
35. "Teti is superior"
36. "Wealth belongs to Teti"
37. "Perfect of monuments is Teti"
38. "The delight of Teti"
39. "Thoth wishes that Teti lives"
40. "One who takes precautions is Teti"
41. "Min wishes that Teti lives"
42. "Heka satisfies Teti"
43. "Wine of the king's mother, Seshseshet"
44. "Cooling the king's mother, Seshseshet"

Date: early-mid Pepy I.

### **Tomb of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr***

*Teti Cemetery*

El Fikey, S.A. (1980). *The Tomb of the Vizier R<sup>c</sup>-wer at Saqqara*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
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None.
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Date: mid Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Jwn-Mnw, rn nfr Tttw****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. et.al. (1984). *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid, vol I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...that he be buried as an honoured one before the king..."
2. "...the honoured one before the great god and the king..."

Date: mid Pepy I.

**Burial of *Jbj* in the Tomb of *Ndt-m-pt, rn nfr Tjt****Teti Cemetery*Kanawati, N. & Hassan, A. (1996). *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before the king..." (repeated twice on the false door)

Date: late Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Jdj, rn nfr Tp-m-k3w****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1929). *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Pnw****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1929). *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before Anubis and before his lord..."

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1940). *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, tome III: les approches du temple.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Mhj****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1929). *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early-mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Snj****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1929). *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...confidant of his lord..."

Date: mid-late Pepy II.

**Tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw, rn nfr Bjw****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1940). *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, tome III: les approches du temple*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: late Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Sbkjj****Pepy II Cemetery*Daresy, M.G. (1916). "La Nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien empire", *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 16.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: late Pepy II.

**Burial of *Nj-hb-sd-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* in the tomb of *Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-j3m****Pepy II Cemetery*Jéquier, G. (1940). *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, tome III: les approches du temple*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: late-end Pepy II.

## Appendix 3: Tomb Inscriptions of Provincial Officials

### Tomb of *Jsj*

*Edfu*

Alliot, M. (1933). *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou*

Edel, E. (1954). *Inschriften des Altes Reiches*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "I said what was right for [my nome's] lord..."</li> <li>2. "In the time of Isesi, I acted as..."</li> <li>3. "In the time of Unas, [I acted as]..."</li> <li>4. "The offices of scribe and master of the king, judge and boundary official and royal chamberlain were given to me in the time of Teti."</li> <li>5. "I was attentive with respect to all royal works..."</li> <li>6. "...his majesty favoured me."</li> <li>7. "...the honoured one before his lord..."</li> <li>8. "...beloved of his lord..."</li> </ol>

Date: Teti-early Pepy I.

### Tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*

*Deir el-Gebrawi*

Davies, N.d.G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi part II*.

Kanawati, N. (2005). *Deir el-Gebrawi vol. I*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "...favourite of his lord..."</li> </ol>

Date: late Teti.

### Tomb of *Hsjj-Mnw/Ssj/Dwdjj*

*Akhmim*

Kanawati, N. (1986). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, vol VI*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
None.

Date: late Teti.

### Tomb of *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>/Jzj I*

*Deir el-Gebrawi*

Davies, N.d.G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi part II*.

Kanawati, N. (2005). *Deir el-Gebrawi vol I*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "...the honoured one before his lord..."</li> </ol>

Date: end Teti-early Pepy I.



**Tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f****Deir el-Gebrawi*Davies, N.d.G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi part I.*Sethe, N. (1933). *Urkunden I.*Kanawati, N. (2005). *Deir el-Gebrawi vol. I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the honoured one before his lord..."

Date: early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Hw.n-wh, rn nfr Tj****El-Qusiya (Quseir el-Amarna)*El-Khouli, A. & Kanawati, N. (1989). *Quseir el-Amarna: The tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Nb-jb****Deir el-Gebrawi*Davies, N.d.G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi part II.*Kanawati, N. (2005). *Deir el Gebrawi vol. I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "I did what was praised as an honoured one before his lord..."

Date: mid Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Qrrj****Akhmim*Kanawati, N. (1986). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, vol VI.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "The royal chamberlain of the palace in the time of Meryre, <i>Qrrj</i> , says..."

Date: late Pepy I.

**Tomb of *Hrw-hwj.f****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the king has favoured me..."
2. "...who is in the heart of his lord..."
3. "...he who brings the products of all foreign lands to his lord..."
4. "...who brings tribute to the royal ornament..."
5. "The majesty of Merenre, my lord, sent me... to open up the way to this foreign land..."
6. "His majesty sent me a second time, only this time on my own..."
7. "His majesty sent me a third time to Iam..."

8. “[Then I sent an official with a man of] Iam to the retinue of Horus to let the majesty of Merenre, my lord, know...”

**Letter from Pepy II inscribed on the façade:**

9. “The king’s own seal...”

10. “...a royal decree for the sole companion, lector priest and overseer of foreigners, *Hrw-ḥwj.f*...”

11. “Note has been taken of the content of this letter of yours which you composed for the attention of the king at the palace...”

12. “What you have said in this letter of yours is that you have brought back all sorts of great and wonderful tribute... [for] the *ka* of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare, may he live forever...”

13. “What you have said to my majesty is that his like has never been brought back by another who did Iam before...”

14. “How indeed you know how to do what your lord loves and praises, for you spend a day and night thinking of how to do what your lord loves and praises!”

15. “His majesty shall fulfil your many excellent wishes...”

16. “...so that everyone who hears what the majesty has done for you shall say, ‘Was there ever the like of what was done for the sole companion, *Hrw-ḥwj.f* when he came back from Iam because of the concern he paid to doing what his lord loves, favours and commands?’”

17. “May he live, prosper and be healthy... and gladden and delight the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare, may he live forever!”

18. “My majesty wants to see this pygmy more than the tribute of Sinai or Punt.”

19. “...my majesty shall do great things for you, more than what was done for the seal-bearer of the god Werdjedba in the time of Isesi, all because of the joy in the heart of my majesty at the sight of this pygmy.”

Date: Merenre-beginning Pepy II.

**Tomb of Jbj**

*Deir el-Gebrawi*

Davies, N.d.G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi part I*.

Sethe, N. (1933). *Urkunden I*.

Kanawati, N. (2007). *Deir el-Gebrawi vol. II*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/*nsw/ḥm/nb*)

1. “...one beloved of his lord...”

2. “...the favourite of his lord...”

3. “I am one who loves a thousand, (but am) a hated one of his lord...” (text accompanying an image of the beating of *Rnsi*)

4. “I have made this from the towns of my private estate in a pure manner, and from the royal offerings which the majesty of my lord has given to me...”

5. “...which I acquired by my own means, apart from... the 203 arouras of land which the majesty of my lord has given to me in order to strengthen me.”

6. “I was a boy who tied the fillet under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meryre, may he live forever.”

7. “The majesty of my lord, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merenre, may he live forever, appointed me as royal chamberlain...”
8. “The majesty of my lord, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkare, may he live [forever], appointed me as hereditary prince...”
9. “[I am] one who is honoured before the king...”

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *Q3r, rn nfr Mrjj-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr***

*Edfu*

El-Khadragy, M. (2002). “The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum”. *Studien zur Altägyptischen* 30, 203-228.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/*nsw/hm/nb*)

1. “I was a youth who tied the fillet in the reign of Teti.”
2. “I was brought to Pepy I for education/formation among the children of the overlords...”
3. “I was appointed as sole companion and overseer of the *hntj-S* under Pepy (I).”
4. “Then the majesty of Merenre caused me to travel upstream to Edfu... because I was rooted in the heart of his majesty...”
5. “...I was efficient and vigilant concerning [foreign lands] and was praised for it by my lord.”
6. “Beloved of the king are those who will say...”
7. “...the honoured one before his lord...”
8. “...confidant of the king...”  
(repeated twice in the tomb)
10. “...the honoured one before the king...”  
(repeated twice in the tomb)

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

### **Tomb of *K3.j-hp, rn nfr Ttj-Tt***

*Akhmim*

Kanawati, N. (1982). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, vol III*.

McFarlane, A. (1987). “The First Nomarch of Akhmim”. *Göttinger Miszellen* 100, 63-70.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/*nsw/hm/nb*)

1. “...the honoured one before his lord every day...”
2. “I was a young man who tied the fillet under the majesty of Pepy (I)...”
3. “...sole companion was conferred on me under the majesty of Pepy (I).”
4. “I was admitted to the royal house (under Pepy I) – (it) not having been done as an honour for any (other) man.”
5. “Favours were done for me greatly by the Residence under the majesty of Merenre.”

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Nfr-k3, rn nfr Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)-hrj-jb****Quseir el-Amarna (Meir)*Blackman, A.M. (1924). *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 4.*Kanawati, N. (2012). *The Cemetery of Meir, vol I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "...the king lives for you..." (repeated twice in the tomb) 3. "I am an honoured one before the king..." 4. "I am one honoured before the king..." 5. "I spent my lifetime among the living, in the shadow of my honour before the king..."

Date: Merenre-early Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Špsj-pw-Mnw, rn nfr Hnj-<sup>c</sup>nhw****Akhmim*Kanawati, N. (1981). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, vol II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Ppjj-nht(.w), rn nfr Hq3-jb I****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band II.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
1. "The majesty of my lord sent me to devastate the land of Wawat and Irtjet..." 2. "I did what pleases my lord and killed a great number there." 3. "...my lord was delighted with me as (he was) with every mission on which he sent me..." 4. "The majesty of my lord sent me to subdue those foreign lands, and I did it in such a way that my lord was immensely pleased with me." 5. "I outdid what had been done before by the great ones of Upper Egypt because I paid close attention to carrying out the wishes of my lord." 6. "The majesty of my lord sent me to the land of Aamu..."

Date: early Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Hw(w)j****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: early Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Snnw/Snj-<sup>c</sup>nh-nb(w).f****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band III.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: close to mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Mhw, rn nfr Jnj-jtj.f* and *S3bnj I****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
<p><b><i>Mhw:</i></b></p> <p>1. "...favourite of his lord..."</p> <p><b><i>S3bnj I</i></b></p> <p>1. "This servant was then favoured in the majesty of the court council..."</p> <p>2. "Then this servant praised Re for the king, regarding the greatness of the favour shown to this servant by the followers of the king..."</p> <p>3. "Then (the king) held council, and that which I had done was recalled by my lord."</p> <p>4. "...favourite of his lord..."</p>

Date: mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Hwj-n-Hnmw****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band III.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *K3.j-hp, rn nfr Ttj-jqr****Akhmim*Kanawati, N. (1980). *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, vol I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppjj-km, rn nfr Hpj-km/Sbk-htp(.w)****Quseir el-Amarna (Meir)*Blackman, A.M. (1953). *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 5.*Kanawati, N. et.al. (2015), *The Cemetery of Meir, vol III.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/hm/nb)
None.

Date: mid Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Ppjj-ḥh(.w)-km****Quseir el-Amarna (Meir)*Blackman, A.M. (1953). *The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part 5*.Kanawati, N. & Evans, L. (2014), *The Cemetery of Meir, vol II*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/ḥm/nb)
None.

Date: mid-late Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Dḥw, rn nfr Šmꜣj* and *Dḥw****Deir el-Gebrawi*Davies, N.d.G. (1902). *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi, part II*.Kanawati, N. (2013). *Deir el-Gebrawi vol. III*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/ḥm/nb)
<p><i>Dḥw/Šmꜣj:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “[the honoured one] before his lord”</li> <li>2. “...who does what his lord praises...”</li> <li>3. “...favourite of his lord...”</li> </ol> <p><i>Dḥw:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “I have requested as a boon from the majesty of my lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkare, may he live forever, that a coffin, clothing and oil be issued for this <i>Dḥw/Šmꜣj</i>.”</li> <li>2. “His majesty has caused a <i>ḥntj-š</i> official to bring a wooden coffin...”</li> <li>3. “...servants like me; ones beloved of the king and praised by their local god...”</li> <li>4. “I have requested that the office of count be granted for this <i>Dḥw/Šmꜣj</i>, and his majesty caused a decree to be made for appointing him as a count...”</li> <li>5. “...true favourite of his lord...”</li> </ol>

Date: late Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Ppjj-nḥt(.w), rn nfr Ḥqꜣ-jb II****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band II*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/ḥm/nb)
None.

Date: late Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Sꜣbnj II****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band II*.

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/nsw/ḥm/nb)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “The majesty of my lord sent me to build two great obelisks in Wawat...”</li> <li>2. “I made these two barges (so that) the majesty of my lord, Horus, praised me.”</li> </ol>

Date: late-end Pepy II.

**Tomb of *Hwj.ns****Qubbet el-Hawa*Edel, E. (2008). *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan: I. Abteilung, Band I.*

Inscriptions which directly reference the king (cartouche/ <i>nsw/hm/nb</i> )
None.

Date: end Pepy II.