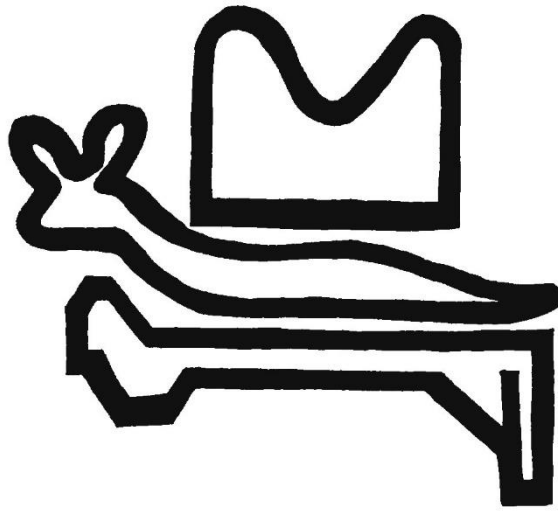


A RE-ASSESSMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATORS AND THEIR FAMILIES AT DEIR EL-GEBAWI

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For
Mama and Grandma
who wanted to see me finish,
and Uncle Edmond
who was always interested.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Summary | ii |
| Declaration..... | iii |
| Acknowledgements..... | iv |
| Abbreviations..... | v |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 6 |
| The Site of Deir el-Gebrawi | 8 |
| The Problem with Deir el-Gebrawi | 9 |
| The Debate about Deir el-Gebrawi..... | 9 |
| Method..... | 13 |
| Approach | 13 |
| Genealogy | 15 |
| Careers and Titles | 16 |
| Art | 17 |
| Architecture..... | 18 |
| Chapter 2: Genealogy of the Tomb Owners at Deir el-Gebrawi | 19 |
| North Mountain | 19 |
| South Mountain | 23 |
| Connection between the North and South Mountains..... | 26 |
| Chapter 3: Careers and Titles of the Tomb Owners | 30 |
| <i>Hnqw/Httj</i> | 30 |
| <i>Hm-R^c/Jzj I</i> and <i>Hnqw/Jj...f</i> | 32 |
| <i>Jmpjj</i> and <i>Hm-R^c/Jzj II</i> | 36 |
| <i>Jbj</i> | 37 |
| <i>D^cw/Šm3j</i> and <i>D^cw</i> | 41 |
| Women of Deir el-Gebrawi | 44 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 4: Art of the Tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi | 46 |
| Style and Canon..... | 46 |
| Offering Table Scenes | 51 |
| Marsh Scenes..... | 60 |
| Chapter 5: Architecture of the Tombs | 66 |
| Floor Plan and Features | 66 |
| Dimensions | 73 |
| Chapter 6: Conclusions | 78 |
| Bibliography | 80 |
| Appendix | 95 |
| Family Tree: North Mountain | 96 |
| Family Tree: South Mountain | 97 |
| Family Tree: Deir el-Gebrawi | 98 |
| Family Tree: Extended | 99 |
| Art Criteria: Table 1: Offering Table Scenes | 100 |
| Art Criteria: Table 2: Marsh Scenes | 108 |
| Tomb Dimensions | 120 |
| Plates..... | 122 |
| Offering Table Scenes..... | 126 |
| Marsh Scenes | 137 |
| Tomb Plans..... | 142 |

SUMMARY

The chronology of the cemetery of Deir el-Gebrawi, located within the 12th Upper Egyptian province, has been debated for over a century. Determining a date for the individuals buried there has wide implications for our understanding of tomb art and architecture, as well as the provincial administration of Upper Egypt. Previous studies have focused on various artistic and architectural criteria to establish a chronology of the tomb owners and the site itself.

This study adopts a different approach. Instead, it seeks to determine the relationships of the tomb owners and, at its core, is a genealogy of these people. This has assisted in understanding the individuals, their careers and titles, as well as the art and architecture of their tombs.

Through a close study of the tomb owners and their relationships, it has been possible to draw numerous conclusions about their lives, the art and architecture of this province, re-assess its chronology, and place Deir el-Gebrawi within the wider context of Sixth Dynasty Egypt.

DECLARATION

I,....., certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Date:

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First and foremost thank you to my supervisor, Professor Naguib Kanawati, for your support, advice, guidance and patience throughout this journey. Your insights and knowledge have been invaluable and I have learnt so much more about this discipline over the past year than I thought possible. Most of all Professor, thank you for your faith in my ability to complete this, and many other tasks, throughout the year.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| <i>AJA</i> | – | American Journal of Archaeology. |
| <i>BACE</i> | – | Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology. |
| <i>BMFA</i> | – | Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. |
| <i>CdÉ</i> | – | Chronique d'Égypte. |
| <i>FIP</i> | – | First Intermediate Period. |
| <i>GM</i> | – | Göttinger Miszellen. |
| <i>HEPSOK</i> | – | A History of Egyptian Painting and Sculpture in the Old Kingdom. |
| <i>JARCE</i> | – | Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt. |
| <i>JEA</i> | – | Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. |
| <i>LÄ</i> | – | Lexicon der Ägyptologie. |
| <i>MDAIK</i> | – | Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo. |
| <i>SAK</i> | – | Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. |
| <i>UEE</i> | – | UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology. |
| <i>ZÄS</i> | – | Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the Fifth Dynasty, Egypt experienced political tension with the rise in power of provincial governors, and of the Heliopolitan priesthood with their god Ra.¹ By comparison, it is generally agreed that the FIP had moved beyond tension and was a time of political instability. It lacked centralised government, saw a growing rivalry between the Herakleopolitans in the north and Thebans in the south and witnessed the growth of an independent power base among the more autonomous governors in the provinces.²

The provincial situation between these two periods is a time of transition and is little understood. Academic work done in the last hundred years in places like Meir, Akhmim, Naga ed-Dêr, Sheik Saïd, Dendera as well as the capital Memphis, has largely been based on the identification of an individual's titles and their tombs, that have been reasonably well dated. This has been further supported by studies of tomb art and architecture, features of which have helped the understanding of the chronological development of tombs during this transitional period. Where the impetus for this transition begins, is currently contested.³

In 1992 on the basis of his work at Akhmim,⁴ Kanawati reviewed the site of Deir el-Gebrawi to re-examine whether the tombs in the North Mountain were earlier than those in the South Mountain. He concluded that they were. When he re-published Deir el-Gebrawi in 2004, he re-

¹ Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 76-80; Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period" in: Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 115-116; Seidlmayer, "The First Intermediate Period" in: Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 110-113.

² Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period" in: Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 115-116; O'Connor, "Political Systems" in: *World Archaeology* 6:1 (1974), 16; Seidlmayer, "The First Intermediate Period" in: Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 108, 110, 134-136.

³ Seidlmayer ("The Relative Chronology" in: Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 159 n. 1) points out that if the FIP was defined by the cultural and political structure of Egypt, it would include "at least the end of the Old Kingdom after the demise of Pepy II".

⁴ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 61-71.

emphasised his position by stating that the North Mountain should be dated to early Dynasty Six, prior to the reign of Merenre.⁵

In his review of Kanawati's work, Moreno Garcia⁶ highlighted the significance of Kanawati's assertion. If the North Mountain is of an earlier date, it meant that the administrative framework produced two governors in the 12th Upper Egyptian province,⁷ who also held the title of vizier, from the beginning of Dynasty Six. Furthermore, from the time of Merenre, the governor of the 12th Upper Egyptian province simultaneously controlled the 8th or Thinite Upper Egyptian province as well, but without the title of vizier. It also means that from the end of the Sixth Dynasty on, the governorship of the 8th Upper Egyptian province exhibited some anomalies where selected titled provincial tomb owners were either buried in the Memphite necropolis or the capital's necropolis was generally opened to officials from other provinces.⁸

Other scholars, such as Moreno Garcia, Fischer, Martin-Pardey and Strudwick to name a few, disagree with Kanawati's dating and consequently, with the interpretation of the administrative framework for Dynasty Six.

The key, therefore, to understanding how to interpret the overall situation lies in the dating of Deir el-Gebrawi. This study attempts a re-assessment of Deir el-Gebrawi focusing on the individuals and their careers, as well as the art and architecture of their tombs to understand better this province and determine any influences with its neighbours and the capital.

⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 12-20. Pepy I is the first monarch named in the biography of *Jbj* (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:6-13). However, *Jbj*'s biography states that he was appointed to the position of *ḥrj-tp* 𓅓 in the 12th Upper Egyptian province under Merenre (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:9-10). Thus, the tombs in the North would predate the reign of this king.

⁶ Moreno Garcia, "Review of Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *CdÉ* 83:165 (2008), 169-173.

⁷ Davies' reading of the province emblem as *Du-ef* is uncertain (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 9; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 1-2, 19, 27, 31, 33). Helck has noted a different hieroglyphic spelling on the White Chapel of Senwosret (Helck, *Gaue*, 100-102). As such, this province will be referred to as the 12th Upper Egyptian province, Upper Egypt 12 or *U.E. 12* when used in titles.

⁸ Moreno Garcia, "Review of Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *CdÉ* 83:165 (2008), 172.

THE SITE OF DEIR EL-GEBAWI

The cemetery site of Deir el-Gebrawi⁹ is located in the 12th province of Upper Egypt. It is formed of two mountains, one to the north and the other to the south.¹⁰ Discovered in 1850 and visited sporadically by scholars, little was research done until Percy E. Newberry conducted and then published a brief survey of the site in 1892-3.¹¹ It provided a brief commentary on the architecture and decoration of some of the tombs and surmised that they were “considerably earlier” than those at Beni Hasan.¹²

Norman de Garis Davies published a two volume work on this site in 1902,¹³ identifying 156 tombs, 15 of which are decorated¹⁴. Between 2004 and 2012 Naguib Kanawati released a three volume work re-publishing this site.¹⁵ By this time, wall scenes had been damaged due to exposure and looting so Davies’ earlier work has been invaluable as a prime reference for subsequent scholarship.

Little is known of the 12th Upper Egyptian province, apart from what is recorded in the biographies of *Hnqw/Jj...f*, *Jbj* and *Dꜥw* and other textual evidence,¹⁶ due to the poor state of tomb preservation. However, it is known that by Dynasty Six this province was one of a group of Upper Egyptian provinces forming the “Middle Nomes of Upper Egypt”.¹⁷ Its significance also stems from the numerous titles and positions held by the tomb owners buried at Deir el-Gebrawi, particularly *Jbj*, *Dꜥw/Šm3j* and *Dꜥw* who held the positions *ḥrj-tp ʕ3 T3-wr* and *ḥrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12*, along with *Hm-Rꜥ/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* who were *ḥrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12* and viziers.

⁹ It takes its name from the neighbouring modern village near the South Mountain.

¹⁰ Beinlich, “Deir el-Gebrawi” in: Helck and Otto (eds.), *LÄ* 1, 1027; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 11.

¹¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 1-2; Newberry, “The Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1892-93” in: *Archaeological Report* (1892-93), 14-15.

¹² Newberry, “The Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1892-93” in: *Archaeological Report* (1892-93), 14-15.

¹³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 2 vols.

¹⁴ For the distribution of tombs across both Mountains and these approximate numbers see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 3, 4-7; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 14-19. Also note that Moreno Garcia (“Deir el-Gebrawi” in: *UEE*, 2) states there are “about 120” tombs but only 16 were decorated.

¹⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi*, 3 vols.

¹⁶ Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 87-116, fig. 8.

¹⁷ Fischer, *Dendera*, 65ff.

Furthermore, the relationships and genealogies of tomb owners in each of, and between, the North and South Mountains has been uncertain, except for the relationships of the brothers *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* in the North and the family link across three generations of *Jbj*, *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* in the South.

THE PROBLEM WITH DEIR EL-GEBAWI

The problem of Deir el-Gebrawi is that there is little to date it and little is known of its residents. However, dating this site has various implications for understanding and interpreting the provincial administration and its structure either before or after Dynasty Six depending on which expert is followed. It also has repercussions for artistic and architectural dating of other provincial tombs.

A re-examination of the 15 decorated tombs looking at not only titles, but certain features of art and architecture, as well as possible genealogical links, will hopefully allow an assessment of dating when compared to similar features from other tombs in Middle Egypt and Memphis that have been reasonably dated.

THE DEBATE ABOUT DEIR EL-GEBAWI

The chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi has been controversial since the site's publication by Davies in 1902. Since then little has been done to look specifically at this chronology. Instead, Deir el-Gebrawi has been studied or incorporated into studies examining other administrative, artistic, architectural and/or linguistic (palaeographical and phraseological) themes.¹⁸ However, as the chronology is still debated, it raises the question of how reliable is our understanding of the Sixth Dynasty and the time shortly thereafter.

¹⁸ For example: Baer, *Rank and Title*; Baud, "Critères Iconographiques" in: Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*; Brovarski, "Overseers of Upper Egypt" in: ZÄS 140 (2013); Brovarski, "False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty" in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*; Fischer, *Dendera*; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*; Harpur, *Decoration*; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*; Moreno Garcia, "Territorial Administration" in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*; Smith, *HEPSOK*; Stock, *Erste Zwischenzeit*; Swinton, *The Dating of the Tombs of Officials*; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*; Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*. For exceptions see: Moreno Garcia, "Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *UEE*, 1-3; Moreno Garcia, "Review of Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *CdÉ* 83:165 (2008), 170-173; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 12-20; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, *passim*.

Davies' discussion of chronology was detailed, providing arguments for an earlier and later date of the North Mountain, but he left the problem "unsettled".¹⁹ His analysis was sound and logical combining his knowledge of the art, architecture and common names and titles from Deir el-Gebrawi with that of Sheikh Saïd²⁰ and Dendera²¹. He proposed two dates for the North Mountain, either Dynasty Five to Six²² or after the reign of Pepy II into the FIP²³. However, due to the incomplete archaeological record at the time, he was not able to resolve the issue. Later scholars have criticised his work as lacking a methodology and accuracy²⁴ or for having an unequal focus on what he recorded²⁵. However, it must be remembered that he was working at a time when Egyptology was moving towards greater "scientific accuracy".²⁶ From today's perspective, this is somewhat sub-standard, yet work such as Davies' still represents the foundation of various modern studies. Kanawati also points out the importance of Davies' work as it records many tombs that have subsequently been severely damaged through weathering or vandalism.²⁷

The next substantial contribution to the discussion of the chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi came out of the work of Kees in the 1920s.²⁸ From his study of provincial tomb art, he was the first to suggest that the South Mountain was used for burials before the North.²⁹ His argument was based on the artistic similarities and frequency of particular wall scenes, especially the representation of boats and scenes of carrying sedan chairs, from the tombs of *Jbj* and *Dꜥw*,

¹⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 38-41.

²⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 39.

²¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 41.

²² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 39.

²³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 41.

²⁴ Romano and Robins, "A Painted Fragment" in: *JARCE* 31 (1994), 21-23.

²⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 11. Kanawati notes that Davies paid particular attention to the two tombs of *Hm-Rꜥ/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* in the North Mountain. It would appear that given the short period of time he had (seven weeks) to record all of Deir el-Gebrawi, he seems to have focussed primarily on the better preserved tombs.

²⁶ Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, 2. This shift towards a more scientific approach is exemplified by the work of scholars such as Lepsius, Petrie, Quibell and Reisner, who were at the forefront of their time.

²⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 11.

²⁸ Kees, *Provinzialkunst*.

²⁹ Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, 8-11.

with the Fifth Dynasty tombs of Hierakonpolis and Sheik Saïd.³⁰ His analysis was based on the style of the artwork in the North Tombs, which he believed was characteristic of the end of Dynasty Six or Eight.³¹ The difficulty with this conclusion is that it was based on a very narrow view of the evidence as it only looked at limited aspects of tomb artwork. Kees conceded this with a statement in his Foreword that he did not want to be distracted from his main theme.³²

Despite the limitations of his work, numerous scholars have accepted Kees' hypothesis that the South Mountain pre-dated the North.³³ This includes others undertaking specialised studies – Fischer on Dendera,³⁴ Kloth on phraseology of Old Kingdom biographies,³⁵ Stevenson Smith on Old Kingdom art³⁶ and Brunner on the architecture of Egyptian rock-cut tombs³⁷ – who have accepted Kees' position on this dating without question.

The most comprehensive and recent commentaries on the chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi have been made by Kanawati and Moreno Garcia. Kanawati revised his position on the date of Deir el-Gebrawi after his publication of Akhmim having initially agreed with Kees.³⁸ He is in fact, the first scholar to declare that the North Mountain preceded the South, where Davies was only able to vacillate between the two dating positions.³⁹ Kanawati's conclusion about this came

³⁰ Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, 8-9.

³¹ Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, 9-11.

³² Kees even states that “Bei einer Studie wie dieser, hielt ich es zudem für angebracht sie von dem Ballast der Nebenerörterungen, die leicht durch Hereinziehen von allzuviel Material verursacht werden, freizuhalten”. Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, Vorwort.

³³ For example see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 56, 102-104; Brovanski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt” in: ZÄS 140 (2013), 102-103; Brovanski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 91, 111; Fischer, *Dendera*, 20, 20 n.87; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 93-94; Harpur, *Decoration*, 280; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 50-51; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 90, 101 n. 19; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 208-212; Stevenson Smith, *HEPSOK*, 222; Stock, *Erste Zwischenzeit*, 11-12; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 180 n. 1, 202, 303, 344 cf. 253-254, 279.

³⁴ Fischer, *Dendera*, 20, 20 n. 87, 75, 75 n. 315, 78-89, 130.

³⁵ Kloth, *(Auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 44.

³⁶ Stevenson Smith, *HEPSOK*, 221-222.

³⁷ Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber*, 44-45.

³⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 12-20; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 61-71. For Kanawati's initial dating see: Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 50-51; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 90, 101 n. 19.

³⁹ Davies' own position on the dating of the Mountains was ambiguous. Scholars have read into this what they feel was Davies' preference as to which Mountain preceded the other. Fischer felt the South was earlier, believing

from a comparative examination of the artistic, architectural and inscriptional evidence from Akhmim along with other tombs from neighbouring sites and the Memphite necropolis.⁴⁰

Moreno Garcia's position, having reviewed Kanawati's work on two occasions, opts for a later date of the North Mountain but does not specify when.⁴¹ His argument is based on phraseology and the unique quality of the titles held by the tomb owners. He states that the strength of Kanawati's argument is based on identifying artistic elements as being synchronous, but criticises this by stating that "iconographic motifs...[do] not mean that they should be strictly contemporaneous".⁴² However, Moreno Garcia undermines his own position because he failed to address the architecture of these tombs, which Kanawati did.

Moreno Garcia finds further support for his view in the work of Kloth as an additional criticism of Kanawati.⁴³ In Kloth's work she finds "the phraseology as well as some themes dealt with in the inscriptions display patterns more commonly found in other provincial inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom; this is particularly evident in the tomb of Henqu".⁴⁴ This is a misreading of Kloth who clearly states in her analysis that "*Hnq.w* should therefore be dated in the First Intermediate Period".⁴⁵

Nevertheless, Moreno Garcia raises many valid points in relation to the phraseology and unique quality of the titles held by the tomb owners which are highly relevant and significant for the discussion surrounding the chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi.

that "Davies himself inclined to take this view" (Fischer, *Dendera*, 20 n. 87). Kanawati felt that Davies preferred "placing the northern cemetery prior to the southern" (Kanawati, *Akhmim* 1, 61). Davies himself felt that it was "prudent...to leave the claim to priority unsettled" (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 41). He favoured neither one over the other. Kanawati is the first to make a decisive claim on the North taking priority.

⁴⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 12-20; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 62-71.

⁴¹ Moreno Garcia, "Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *UEE*, 2-3; Moreno Garcia, "Review of Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *CdÉ* 83:165 (2008), 170-173.

⁴² Moreno Garcia, "Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *UEE*, 2-3; Moreno Garcia, "Review of Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *CdÉ* 83:165 (2008), 170-171.

⁴³ Moreno Garcia, "Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *UEE*, 3.

⁴⁴ Moreno Garcia, "Deir el-Gebrawi" in: *UEE*, 3.

⁴⁵ Kloth, *(Auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 44.

The current situation about the chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi hinges on the strength or otherwise of the two academic protagonists, Kanawati and Moreno Garcia. The issue remains and their viewpoints can be summarised as:

1. the North Mountain pre-dates the South Mountain so the cemetery is dated to early Dynasty Six; or
2. the North Mountain follows the South Mountain so the cemetery is dated to the end of Dynasty Six or into the FIP.

METHOD

APPROACH

Of the 156 tombs in the North and South Mountains at Deir el-Gebrawi, 15 are well-preserved and decorated. Each of these 15 tombs are made up of many varying elements that need to be examined to see if indicators can be found in these elements to assist in dating.

However, this study does not focus solely on the chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi, as the work of other scholars has produced few convincing results, leaving many questions unanswered, because of seemingly contradictory evidence from the site itself. Instead, it aims to determine and understand any possible relationships between the tomb owners across the site. It also focuses on any patterns and/or trends that emerge between the tomb owners and their tombs to understand better the people who lived there, the administrative practices within Upper Egypt 12 and any possible influences from surrounding Upper Egyptian provinces and the capital. By examining not necessarily the tombs themselves, but the lives of the people as reflected in their tombs, this study will allow for a possible re-assessment of the chronology of Deir el-Gebrawi and determine a basic history of this province. To fulfil these aims, this study will examine the genealogy, careers and titles of the tomb owners, as well as the art and architecture within each tomb and collectively across the site.

Arriving at a date for this cemetery and determining any possible interpersonal, artistic, architectural and titular relationships, will allow future research to re-examine the wider provincial administrative arrangements of this period.

In taking this approach to this study it is necessary to define the chronological limits of the Old Kingdom and FIP.

According to Manetho, the FIP lasted between Dynasties Seven to Eleven.⁴⁶ The Egyptian tradition, however, based on the Turin Canon and the Abydos and Saqqara King Lists, acknowledged Dynasty Eight as part of the Old Kingdom and saw the FIP as Dynasties Nine and Ten.⁴⁷ Despite the short reigns of the Dynasty Seven rulers, a king still formally held centralised power up to Dynasty Eight, although there was increasing independence in the provinces. It was not until Dynasties Nine and Ten that these kings were challenged, firstly by the Herakleopolitans and then by the Thebans of Dynasty Eleven.⁴⁸

During the FIP, the power balance had shifted and was no longer held by a sole ruler but shared between a king and provincial administrators.⁴⁹ The rivalry between the Herakleopolitans and Thebans aided the governors' increase in power. While they both sought legitimate authority as the ruling household over the country, these provincial administrators had gained political and economic power over their province that was comparable to the authority of the king.⁵⁰ The provinces had effectively become autonomous and independent. In short, during the FIP Egypt was not unified under one king.

The succession of Mentuhotep II, who then managed to unify Egypt in Dynasty Eleven, marks the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

Given that a king ruled over a centralised government to the end of Dynasty Eight, this study aligns itself with the Egyptian tradition. The Old Kingdom is therefore defined here as Dynasties Three to Eight and the FIP as Dynasties Nine, Ten and the first part of Dynasty 11 until Mentuhotep II.

⁴⁶ Manetho, *History of Egypt*, fragments 23, 24 – 31, 32.

⁴⁷ von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 143; Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period" in: Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 112-113.

⁴⁸ Dodson and Hilton, *Complete Royal Families*, 70; Grajetzki, "Central Administration from the end of the Old Kingdom" in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 217; Seidlmayer, "The First Intermediate Period" in: Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 108.

⁴⁹ Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period" in: Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 115.

⁵⁰ Such changes are reflected in the material and funerary culture (Seidlmayer, 112-117). Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 140-146, 153-154; Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period" in: Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 113-115; Seidlmayer, "The First Intermediate Period" in: Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 111-112.

This study has also been deliberately limited to fit to the requirements of a Masters program and to meet a restricted timeframe for the project.

- Considerations regarding administration, politics, artistic and architectural influences within the wider context of Old Kingdom Egypt, have been included but are not extensive to adhere to space requirements. However, they may be used as foundations for future research;
- The evidence under consideration has been limited by the archaeological record;
- This project does not attempt to establish a new set of dating criteria and adopts the dates proposed by various independent studies, such as Cherpion⁵¹ and Woods⁵².

GENEALOGY

The establishment of a genealogy began by identifying the tomb owner, their wife or wives and children from the documentary evidence within the tombs. Unfortunately, some tombs are poorly preserved or do not mention any dependents, so determining some familial links was unachievable. Where possible a family tree was constructed for each tomb owner and this was then examined for possible familial connections between individuals in other tombs. In many instances, two or more people shared the same name, so to determine which family links would be most likely, deductive reasoning based on the names of other individuals within the tomb was used.

When possible family connections were established between the individual tomb owners, and a genealogical table for the North and South Mountains was constructed. This then allowed for a further analysis of relationships between these Mountains and as well as key individuals.

The construction of a genealogy is based upon the names and relationships of the individuals. Once this was established, it gave a context to examine the careers and titles of the tomb owners as well as the art and architecture of their tombs. It also helped to determine a relative chronology across the generations.

⁵¹ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*.

⁵² Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*.

CAREERS AND TITLES

The titles and positions that appear throughout the tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi were collected for each individual, serving as a reference list. These were then divided into four broad categories of “rank”,⁵³ “function”,⁵⁴ “institution”⁵⁵ and/or “priestly”⁵⁶ to assist in the examination of the functions and meanings of the positions held by the individual.

Where possible the titles were sub-divided as either “administrative”, “legal” and/or “scribal”. However, distinguishing between the function of a title and which category they belong to, is not always clear. When this occurred, the title was characterised as “unclear” or placed in more than one category.

Assigning the titles and positions to those on the genealogical table quickly identified those who were high-ranking and/or powerful within the administration, as their titles are indicators of an individual’s power and/or influence in this province or across Egypt. These include *ḥrj-tp ʕ3*, *jmj-r šmʕw*, *jmj-r prwj-ḥd*, *jmj-r šnwtj* and *t3jtj z3b tʕtj*. In the context of the genealogy of these individuals, an examination to identify any apparent trends or in the case of the *ḥrj-tp ʕ3*, any patterns of succession was possible. The analysis and categorisation of titles was based on scholars including Baud,⁵⁷ Kanawati,⁵⁸ Strudwick,⁵⁹ Moreno Garcia,⁶⁰ Fischer⁶¹ and others.

Another aim of this investigation was to establish an individual’s possible career path. It is important to note, however, that an individual’s progression through various administrative

⁵³ For a definition see: Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 166-173; Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 156-157.

⁵⁴ For a definition see: Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 166-173; Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 157.

⁵⁵ For a definition see: Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 166-173; Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 157.

⁵⁶ For a definition see: Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 166-173; Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 157.

⁵⁷ Baud, *Famille royale*, 2 vols.

⁵⁸ Kanawati, *Governmental Reform*; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1.

⁵⁹ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*.

⁶⁰ Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*; Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien*; Moreno Garcia, “Territorial Administration” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*.

⁶¹ Fischer, *Dendera*.

and/or priestly positions, as well as their ranking titles may not have occurred in a linear fashion. It was common for an individual to acquire various titles and positions at the same time.⁶² As such, the considerations of possible career paths for the people at Deir el-Gebrawi depends on the categorisation of their titles as either ranking, functional, institutional and/or priestly. By determining probable career paths it is possible to improve our understanding of an individual and with it, the basic administrative practices of this province.

ART

For the purposes of this study the art of Deir el-Gebrawi was restricted to an examination of the art style, as well as the offering table and marsh scenes.⁶³

Offering table and marsh scenes are regularly depicted throughout the 15 decorated tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi and have comparable features for dating. These scenes were subjected to a comprehensive graphic analysis for similarities and differences of key details. The details identified in these scenes correspond to the criteria established in the independent studies of Cherpion,⁶⁴ Baud,⁶⁵ Woods⁶⁶ and, to a lesser extent, Swinton⁶⁷.

The results of the analysis of the art style, offering table and marsh scenes from an individual's tomb were compared to their position on the genealogy to identify trends or patterns between the Mountains or across generations.

⁶² For example, see the biographies of *Jbj* (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:7-12); *Wnj* of Abydos (Breasted, *Records* 1, §294, §305-§315, §320-325); *Q3r* of Edfu (Strudwick, *Texts of the Pyramid Age*, 342-344 [247]).

⁶³ No statuary is preserved in the tombs.

⁶⁴ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*.

⁶⁵ Baud, "Critères Iconographiques" in: Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*.

⁶⁶ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*.

⁶⁷ Swinton, *Dating of Old Kingdom Tombs*.

ARCHITECTURE

Of the 156 tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi, approximately 141 are undecorated⁶⁸. The study of architecture focuses on the floor plans and dimensions of the 15 decorated tombs, since the tomb owner could be identified. The floor plans have been compared to seek out possible trends that may link to chronology or determine any design relationships. Further comparisons were made with tombs from Meir, Akhmim and Sheik Saïd, as they are located in Middle Egypt, can be reasonably well dated, and share similarities already noted by Davies,⁶⁹ Kanawati⁷⁰ and Brunner⁷¹.

It is reasonable to think about, and important to search for, innovations between the Upper Egyptian provincial tombs, since they are located close together and their administrators may have influenced each other.⁷² It is also possible that the same architects were used throughout or that artists and architects may have been trained at the same workshops both locally and in the capital.

The examination of tomb dimensions was applied to the area of the chapel, the passageway leading to the serdab and/or offering recess, and the serdab and/or offering recess itself. Volume was not examined as the height of two tombs⁷³ could not be determined. The tomb dimensions assisted in identifying architectural patterns and trends between the South and North Mountains and in drawing new conclusions about the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj II*⁷⁴.

The results of examining the floor plans and tomb dimensions for each owner were compared to that tomb owner's position on the genealogical chart to see what patterns were revealed when compared across the two Mountains, and both within and across the generations.

⁶⁸ Davies classified each of the tomb façades as Types A, B or C for both the North and South Mountains of the site. This publication is also the only record of the undecorated tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 4-7; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 14-19.

⁶⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 39.

⁷⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 12-14; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 62, 64.

⁷¹ Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber*, 40-41, 45.

⁷² See also: Seidlmayer, "The First Intermediate Period" in: Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 116-117.

⁷³ *Htp-nb(j)* and *Nfr-hwt*. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 75-76, 93-94. See also: Appendix: Tomb Dimensions

⁷⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 80.

CHAPTER 2

GENEALOGY OF THE TOMB OWNERS

AT DEIR EL-GEBAWI

The relationships between the individuals at Deir el-Gebrawi, especially for the North Mountain, have been debated for decades. Numerous scholars have attempted to establish genealogical links between individuals based on architectural, artistic or titular evidence.⁷⁵ A suggested genealogy of the North Mountain has emerged:

1. *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*
2. *Hnqw/Httj*
3. *Hm-R^c/Jzj II*

However, the inscriptional evidence from the tombs themselves suggests a different genealogy and this has received little attention.⁷⁶

NORTH MOUNTAIN⁷⁷

Throughout the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* various family members are depicted and named in different scenes.⁷⁸ *Hnqw/Httj*'s wife *Bndt* appears only on the west wall, sitting behind her husband before the offering table.⁷⁹ Three of *Hnqw/Httj*'s sons, *Hm-R^c*, *Šẓw* and *Jmpjj*,⁸⁰ are depicted with the tomb owner in a marsh scene on the north wall of the chapel.⁸¹ A fourth son, *Httj*, appears on the bottom register of the west wall of the chapel⁸² presenting offerings to the

⁷⁵ For example see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 102-103 [323, 324, 333]; Brovarski, "Overseers of Upper Egypt" in: *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 102-103; Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber*, 43-44; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 38-43; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 94; Harpur, *Decoration*, 298; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 50; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 90, 101 n. 19; Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 62-71, esp. 63, 70; Stock, *Erste Zwischenzeit*, 12.

⁷⁶ For an exception, although not highly detailed, see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 19-20.

⁷⁷ Refer to Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain

⁷⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 31-32; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 22-23.

⁷⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

⁸⁰ *Jmpjj* appears again on the upper register of the east wall (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 40) presenting offerings to his father.

⁸¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39.

⁸² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

tomb owner and his wife and also on the upper register of the east wall.⁸³ *Hnqw/Httj* depicts a fifth son named *Hnqw*, who is shown on the bottom register of the west wall standing in front of his brother *Httj*.⁸⁴

In the biography of *Hnqw/Jj...f*, he states that he was appointed as a *hq3* in Upper Egypt 12 together with his brother, who is named *Hm-R^c*.⁸⁵ In the North Mountain, the combination of the names *Hnqw* and *Hm-R^c* does not appear in any tomb other than that of *Hnqw/Httj*.⁸⁶ Thus, it is highly likely that the brothers named in this tomb are *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, the owners of N67 and N72 respectively. The architecture of the tombs of *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* as well as the artwork are also strikingly similar,⁸⁷ further supporting the idea they were brothers. These similarities may also suggest they had a close familial bond or that they were close in age.

As both *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* were depicted once in *Hnqw/Httj*'s it is unlikely they were twins. Indeed, the layout and composition of the tomb owner's offering table scene⁸⁸ as well as the marsh scene,⁸⁹ where *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* are respectively shown, cannot accommodate another figure. As such it is unlikely that these brothers were twins. If they were, one would expect them to appear together in at least one scene in much the same way as *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp* are depicted in their tomb at Saqqara.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, when the sizes of *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* as depicted in their respective scenes are compared, only the latter is shown as larger.⁹¹ Therefore, it seems highly likely that *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* was the eldest son of *Hnqw/Httj*.⁹² This then means that his brother *Hnqw/Jj...f* was likely second, as he came to the position of *hq3* together with his brother, suggesting they were close in age.

⁸³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

⁸⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

⁸⁵ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 78:13-15; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 25.

⁸⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 22, 39-40, 62, 79, 83.

⁸⁷ See also: Chapter 4: Art and Chapter 5: Architecture – Floor Plan and Features. For the plans of these tombs see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 16, 22; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 41, 51.

⁸⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

⁸⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39.

⁹⁰ Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, *passim*.

⁹¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37, 39.

⁹² See also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 22, 31.

Hnqw/Httj also depicts two men who are named as *Jzj* and *Httj* on the north wall of the chapel.⁹³ They are standing behind *Hnqw/Httj*'s son *Jmpjj* and *Jzj* is identified as *Jmpjj*'s son. Their relationship to *Httj* is uncertain. Nevertheless, in the North Mountain no other son of *Hnqw/Httj* is identified as having children named *Jzj* and *Httj* in this combination.⁹⁴ Even with the possibility that *Hnqw/Jj...f* had five other children⁹⁵ the combination of *Jzj* and *Httj* does not appear. Despite the highly fragmentary nature of the inscriptions in Tomb N95, the names of the tomb owner's sons named, *Jzj* and *Httj*, are preserved on the south wall.⁹⁶ This is the only instance in the North Mountain where this combination of names appears. Further, a grandson of the tomb owner of N95, *Httj*, is identified as *ʕ3-Httj*.⁹⁷ His depiction is preserved on the south wall and thus he is the grandson of the tomb owner of N95. As such, it seems highly likely that the tomb owner of N95 is in fact, *Jmpjj*.

Kanawati has suggested that the tomb owner of N95 was a *hrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12* and may have held this position between two known governors, namely *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Hm-Rʕ/Jzj II*.⁹⁸ As it seems that *Hnqw/Jj...f* was the second son of *Hnqw/Httj* and that N95 is the tomb of *Jmpjj*, it is likely that the latter would have held the governorship after his brother, *Hnqw/Jj...f*.⁹⁹ This then means that *Jmpjj* was the third son of *Hnqw/Httj*.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 40.

⁹⁴ In the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f* his children are identified as *Tmj* and *Jzj* (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 62). On the other hand, *Hm-Rʕ/Jzj I* is the father of *Jzj*, *Nj-sw-qd*, *Qhwj* (?) and a fourth son whose name is now lost (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 79-80).

⁹⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 62-63.

⁹⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 21; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 61.

⁹⁷ A second grandson, *Htt(j)*, may also be depicted but this is uncertain.

⁹⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 87.

⁹⁹ The position of governor was passed from *Hm-Rʕ/Jzj I* to his younger brother, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, rather than the former's eldest son, *Jzj*. It is possible that a son of *Hm-Rʕ/Jzj I* was too young to assume this position so it was passed onto *Hnqw/Jj...f* and eventually *Jmpjj*.

¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, all of the inscriptions in the tomb of *Jmpjj*, N95, have disappeared. As such, the career, titles and full extent of the relationships of *Jmpjj* are unknown and he will remain an enigma.

This also raises the question of the identity of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II. In the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I,¹⁰¹ *Hnqw/Jj...f*¹⁰² and *Jmpjj*¹⁰³ they each identify a son named *Jzj*. Following the pattern of what appears to be a local succession, it seems highly probable that the governorship passed to a son of *Jmpjj* rather than reverted to a nephew. Considering that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II held the title of *hrj-tp* ʕ3 U. E. 12¹⁰⁴ and assuming there is a local succession pattern, it is likely that *Jzj*, the son of *Jmpjj*, is *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II.

Determining whether *Šf3w* or *Httj* was older is impossible. A similar problem is encountered with the tomb owner's likely daughters, *Bndt* and *Hmj*. However, considering that *Hmj* is depicted before *Bndt*, it is more likely that she was the elder sister.¹⁰⁵ Determining the ages of *Hmj* and *Bndt* in relation to their brothers is also impossible.

However, since they were siblings they would have been alive at the same time and it is highly likely they were relatively close in age with presumably no more than five or six years between them.

Therefore, in summary, the birth order of the sons of *Hnqw/Httj* is as follows:

1. *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I
2. *Hnqw/Jj...f*
3. *Jmpjj*
4. *Šf3w* or *Httj*
5. *Šf3w* or *Httj*

Based on the birth order and known relationships of these children, it seems that *Hnqw/Httj* was the patriarch of this family.¹⁰⁶ In regards to a relative chronology, this would mean that his tomb was the first to be constructed in the North Mountain.

¹⁰¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 39.

¹⁰² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 62.

¹⁰³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 87.

¹⁰⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 33; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 79.

¹⁰⁵ Kanawati, "Was *Jbj* a Polygamist?" in: *SAK* 5 (1977), 124-128.

¹⁰⁶ The similarity in the names of those in the North Mountain were probably reminiscent of their ancestry and that *Hnqw/Httj* may have been alive during or soon after the reign of Unas, where one of his wives was *Hm-R^c*. However, without a biographical inscription or further information, this remains purely speculative.

The proposed genealogy of the North Mountain is, therefore:

1. *Hnqw/Httj*
2. *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, *Jmpjj*, *Šβw*, *Httj*, *Bndt* and *Hmj*
3. *Hm-R^c/Jzj II*, the son of *Jmpjj*

*Nb-jb*¹⁰⁷ does not appear to be directly related to the family of *Hnqw/Httj*, as his name and those of his known relatives do not bear any similarity to those in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, *Jmpjj* or *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*. Instead, *Nb-jb* may have been an official living in Upper Egypt 12 who was buried in the North Mountain out of loyalty or closeness to this family.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN¹⁰⁸

In the absence of any definitive evidence, the ancestry of *Jbj*, the first person to be buried in the South Mountain, is difficult to ascertain. Even so, Kanawati has already presented a convincing argument that *Jbj* is related to *Hwj* and *Nbt* from Abydos.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, his suggestion that *Jbj* is the brother, and subsequently a son of *Hwj* and *Nbt*, rather than the son of the vizier *D^cw*¹¹⁰ remains debatable.¹¹¹ He is correct that *D^cw* of Abydos would not have been old enough to father *Jbj* as they were appointed to the role of vizier and governor of the 12th Upper Egyptian province¹¹² during the reigns of Merenre and Pepy I respectively.¹¹³ However, this is based on the relative age of *Nbt* when she was appointed to the position of vizier and when *D^cw* of Abydos was born.

¹⁰⁷ *Nb-jb* is the owner of Tomb N38. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 33-34; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 83-86.

¹⁰⁸ Refer to Appendix: Family Tree – South Mountain

¹⁰⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 19-21.

¹¹⁰ To prevent confusion with *D^cw* from Deir el-Gebrawi who is the grandson of *Jbj*, this *D^cw*, namely the known son of *Hwj* and *Nbt*, will subsequently be referred to as *D^cw* of Abydos.

¹¹¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 21-22.

¹¹² Strudwick's (*Texts of the Pyramid Age*, §266) translation of this title in line 3 as "great chief of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt" is incorrect. Instead, it should refer to the 12th Upper Egyptian province. See: Breasted, *Records* 1, §377; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 54:3, pl. 54; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:9-10.

¹¹³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 22.

Kanawati's suggestion that *Nbt* would have been unable to have at least five children¹¹⁴ after her appointment as vizier and subsequent move to Abydos is unlikely.¹¹⁵ This position certainly would have a great number of responsibilities and required frequent movement between Abydos and the capital. However, the capability of *Nbt* to complete these tasks while having children is certainly not out of the realm of possibility, especially if, as von Beckerath has suggested, it may have taken some 22 years¹¹⁶ before having her first child. Even *Hm-R/Hmj*, the wife of *Jbj*, was able to have ten children while also holding various important titles,¹¹⁷ which would also have required travel to and from the capital. Moreover, the frequency of the *h3t/rnpt zp* particularly in the reign of Pepy II, as *D^cw* of Abydos was vizier by the 11th count during his reign,¹¹⁸ is also disputed.¹¹⁹ While it is difficult to determine their ages, that *Jbj* was the son of *D^cw* of Abydos and, subsequently, cousin to Merenre and Pepy II remains possible.¹²⁰

In the tomb of *Jbj*, seven sons (*D^cw/Šm3j*, *Hwj*, *Jbj*, *D^cw*, *Jbj*, *D^cw* and *Jdj*) and four daughters (*Thjyt*, *Mrt-jb*, *Hnwt/Hnwtj* and *Srdjyt*) are depicted and named on the north¹²¹ and west¹²² walls respectively. Both *D^cw/Šm3j* and the third son, *Jbj*, are labelled as the *z3.f smsw* and the remaining five sons are simply *z3.f*. Considering that it seems highly likely that *Jbj* had two wives and consequently two eldest sons, *D^cw/Šm3j* and *Jbj*, it is curious that only one wife of

¹¹⁴ *D^cw* and *Jww* of Abydos, *ḥnh-n.s-Ppjj* and *ḥnh-n.s-Ppjj*, both of whom became the wives of Pepi I, and *Jbj* from Deir el-Gebrawi.

¹¹⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 21-22.

¹¹⁶ von Beckerath (*Chronologie*, 29) has suggested that on average one generation in Egypt was approximately 22.5 years.

¹¹⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 13-17.

¹¹⁸ Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, fig. 8

¹¹⁹ Kanawati believes that the count occurred annually but was based on a provisional number system. However, Baud has argued that Kanawati “ignores the existence of the South Saqqara Stone, with at least two examples of post-census years”. The surviving sources regarding the frequency of the count appear to be contradictory and even inconsistent between reigns. Baud, “The Relative Chronology” in: Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 153-156.

¹²⁰ Refer to Appendix: Family Tree – Extended

¹²¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 15, 16.

¹²² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 17.

Jbj, the father, is depicted in the tomb.¹²³ Nevertheless, that *D^cw/Šm3j* was the eldest son of *Jbj* the father remains clear.¹²⁴

Jbj depicts his four daughters, one of whom is named *Thjyt*, on the west wall of the offering recess.¹²⁵ It is likely that this *Thjyt* is the owner of Tomb S16. The close proximity of this tomb to that of *D^cw* is interesting,¹²⁶ although this may simply be due to the amount of space available for tomb construction. No other known individual in the South Mountain has this name.¹²⁷

Jbj's eldest son, *D^cw/Šm3j*, also had a son named *D^cw*. This means that *D^cw* is *Jbj*'s grandson. Thus, *Jbj*, *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* were three successive generations of the same family.

The identification of *nh-n.s-Ppjj* and *Nj-sj-ht* as the wives of *D^cw* on the west wall of the chapel¹²⁸ and north wall of the shrine¹²⁹ is difficult to dispute. As argued by Kanawati, the inscription above the male figures in the respective scenes include the titles *jrj-p^ct* and *jmj-jb n nb.fm3^c*, both of which were held by *D^cw* and not *D^cw/Šm3j*.¹³⁰

On the left panel of the south wall in the chapel stands a large male and small female figure.¹³¹ Both Kanawati and McCorquodale have suggested that this may be *D^cw*, the son, depicted with a sister, *Hnwt*.¹³² However, the inscription above the man's head identifies him as a *šd hm(w)-*

¹²³ Even if one wife predeceased her husband, the question remains as to where she is buried and why even her name was not mentioned in her husband's tomb. Kanawati, "Was *Jbj* a Polygamist?" in: *SAK* 5 (1977), 123-129; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 15.

¹²⁴ See also: Kanawati, "Was *Jbj* a Polygamist?" in: *SAK* 5 (1977), 124-128.

¹²⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17.

¹²⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 83.

¹²⁷ See also: Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 383:2.

¹²⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 6.

¹²⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 12.

¹³⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 16, 38, 51; Kanawati, "The Identification of *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*" in: *JEA* 63 (1977), 60-61.

¹³¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 57.

¹³² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 18, 31; McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 184.

ntr Mn-ḥn-Nfr-k3-Rḥ, a title held only by *Dḥw/Šm3j*¹³³ but not by *Dḥw*, the son.¹³⁴ Thus, this figure can be identified as *Dḥw/Šm3j*, the father. Whether *Hnwt* is the sister or wife of *Dḥw/Šm3j* is uncertain. It should be noted this name does not appear elsewhere in the South Mountain,¹³⁵ it is also not a common name during the Old Kingdom¹³⁶. However, given the likelihood of brother-sister marriages at this time,¹³⁷ it may be his sister.

The relationships and connections of *Htp-nb(.j)*, *Wh3*, *Mrwt*,¹³⁸ *Nfr-tp-w3*¹³⁹ and *Nfr-hwt*,¹⁴⁰ to the family of *Jbj* are uncertain as these tombs are poorly preserved. While familial relationships cannot be ruled out, this would be unlikely as the children of *Jbj* do not carry any of these names. Like *Nb-jb* in the North, it may be that they were lesser officials buried in the South Mountain and close to the family of *Jbj*.

CONNECTION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH MOUNTAINS¹⁴¹

While there is a clear relationship between the North and South Mountains at Deir el-Gebrawi, its nature is unclear. The names of those in the North exhibit no similarity to those in the South and even the titles held by the individuals are very different, showing no obvious correlation. The only common factor between these mountains is *Jbj*'s wife *Hm-Rḥ/Hmj* as the name *Hm-Rḥ* is frequently found in the North.

Jbj's appointment to the governorship of the 12th Upper Egyptian province is most certainly not coincidental or random. The suggestion that this may be due to marriage is plausible.¹⁴²

¹³³ This title is also held by *Jbj*. However, this figure clearly cannot be *Jbj* as this is not his tomb. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 9 [39]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 13 [49].

¹³⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 1-3; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 11-14.

¹³⁵ See: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 74, 79, 83, 86, 90, 93.

¹³⁶ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 242 [17, 18].

¹³⁷ McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 271-274.

¹³⁸ The name *Mrwt* is found on the false door in the south wall and may not belong to the tomb owner of S33. However, no other name is found in the tomb. For convenience, the name of *Mrwt* will be used to identify this tomb. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 25; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 86.

¹³⁹ The reading of this name is uncertain.

¹⁴⁰ The reading of this name is uncertain.

¹⁴¹ Refer to: Appendix: Family Tree – Deir el-Gebrawi

¹⁴² Breasted, *Records* 1, §375; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 29-31; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 22.

However, Davies¹⁴³ and Breasted's¹⁴⁴ suggestion that *Jbj* married a daughter of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I is not possible. Kanawati's re-publication of the site shows that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I did not have a daughter but, in fact, had four sons.¹⁴⁵ Instead, the only women named *Hm-R^c* in the North Mountain are the wife of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I¹⁴⁶ and the daughter of *Hnqw/Httj*,¹⁴⁷ known by the common *rn.s nfr*, *Hmj*.¹⁴⁸ The question of the identity of these women is certainly important and one wonders who they were or even if they were the same person.

It does not appear that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and his wife *Hm-R^c* divorced, as one would not expect to see her image or name in the tomb of her ex-husband. However, this does not discount the possibility that *Hm-R^c* survived her husband and re-married *Jbj*. This is plausible as *Hm-R^c* and *Hm-R^c/Hmj* share the titles *rht nswt* and *hmt-ntr Hwt-hr*.¹⁴⁹ The latter title in particular is only held by these two women at Deir el-Gebrawi.¹⁵⁰ *Hm-R^c/Hmj* also attained the titles *hkrt nswt w^ctt*, *hkrt nswt* and *špst nswt*. If these two women were in fact the same person, and she was married to *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and later to *Jbj*, this would suggest that her position and influence at the royal court increased. This is not beyond realm of possibility, as she may have received these three titles to complement the importance and power of her new husband, *Jbj*, or as a direct result of this marriage. *Jbj*'s influence at the royal court appears to have been quite significant as he held numerous administrative and honorific titles, including *jmj-r Šm^cw*, *jmj-r prwj-ḥd*, *jmj-r šnwtj* and *smr w^ctj m3^c*.¹⁵¹ This stands in stark contrast to *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I who, despite holding the position of vizier, does not appear to have been as powerful or influential as *Jbj*.¹⁵²

¹⁴³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 29-31.

¹⁴⁴ Breasted, *Records* 1, §375.

¹⁴⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 39-40.

¹⁴⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 32; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 23.

¹⁴⁷ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 38-39.

¹⁴⁸ For convenience and to save confusion, the following names will be used to distinguish between these women throughout this study: the wife of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I will be referred to as *Hm-R^c*, the daughter of *Hnqw/Httj* will be known as *Hmj* and the wife of *Jbj* will be named *Hm-R^c/Hmj*.

¹⁴⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 9; vol. 2, 20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 38 [2]; vol. 2, 13 [2].

¹⁵⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 22, 38-39, 61-62, 63, 79; vol. 2, 13-14, 16-17, 74, 83, 90; vol. 3, 15-17.

¹⁵¹ See: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8-9; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 11-13.

¹⁵² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8-9, vol. 2, 19-20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 37-38, vol. 2 11-13.

Further, if the assumption that *Hm-R^c* and *Hm-R^c/Hmj*, is in fact *Hmj* from the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*, as tentatively suggested by Kanawati, then *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I had married his sister.¹⁵³ However, McCorquodale found “there is no definitive evidence of brother-sister marriages outside the royal family” during the Old Kingdom,¹⁵⁴ so Kanawati’s suggestion seems highly unlikely. Even if this brother-sister marriage did take place one wonders why it would have occurred within a provincial family that does not appear to be related in any way to the royal family.

Moreover, if *Hm-R^c* and *Hm-R^c/Hmj* were the same person, first married to *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and later *Jbj*, she would have had a total of fifteen children.¹⁵⁵ While having a large number of children is possible, this seems for *Hm-R^c/Hmj*, a high ranking woman with other duties, highly unlikely.¹⁵⁶ This would equate to giving birth to at least one child every year, starting as a teenager. One must also consider when she first started having children or the time between her previous husband dying, re-marriage and her first pregnancy to a new husband.

An alternative possibility is that *Hm-R^c/Hmj* and *Hm-R^c* are two different people. If this were the case the most likely resulting scenario would be that *Jbj* married *Hmj*, the daughter of *Hnqw/Httj*, and that separately *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I married a woman who coincidentally had the same name. While this may appear coincidental, it is notable that *Hm-R^c* is only ever referred to by this name and not the diminutive, *Hmj*.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, *Hm-R^c/Hmj* is frequently known by both forms of this name¹⁵⁸ while *Hmj*, the daughter of *Hnqw/Httj* is only known by the diminutive¹⁵⁹. If *Hm-R^c/Hmj* and *Hm-R^c* were the same person it is curious that she is only known as *Hm-R^c* in the tomb of her husband and brother *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and not at all as *Hmj*, as it appeared in her father’s tomb.

¹⁵³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 38-39.

¹⁵⁴ McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 274.

¹⁵⁵ See: Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain and South Mountain

¹⁵⁶ This can be contrasted with *Nbt* of Abydos, who may have had at least five children, not fifteen. See: Chapter 2: *Jbj*

¹⁵⁷ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 17, 18, 19; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 38, pls. 46, 47.

¹⁵⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 15, 17; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 44(b), 52, 54, 57.

¹⁵⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 32; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 23, pl. 37.

If *Jbj* were to marry a woman from the North Mountain, the remaining possibility is that he married the *Hmj* who is depicted in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*. Even taking into consideration the other women shown throughout the tombs in the North Mountain and discounting *Hm-R^c*, the wife of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, none carry the name *Hm-R^c* or *Hmj*.¹⁶⁰ Although *Hmj*'s relationship with the tomb owner is unclear as it appears in this wall scene, it is highly likely that *Jbj* would have married a woman directly related to the family of the North Mountain's patriarch, *Hnqw/Httj*, particularly the eldest daughter. This *Hmj* also appears in front of a woman named *Bndt*, further supporting the idea that *Hmj* may have been the eldest daughter.¹⁶¹

It therefore seems likely that *Jbj* married *Hm-R^c/Hmj*, the eldest daughter of *Hnqw/Httj* and that *Hm-R^c*, the wife of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* was another woman. Marrying into this family helps to explain the name and lineage of *Hm-R^c/Hmj*.

Consequently, there appears to have been five generations from two main families who lived and died in the 12th Upper Egyptian province and were buried in the North and South Mountains. Taking von Beckerath's definition that a generation is approximately 22 years, coupled with the age of *D^cw* when he died,¹⁶² implies that these five generations governed this province for about 112 to 150 years. This time period coincides with the approximate absolute dates of the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 32; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 22-23, 38-40, 61-63, 79-80, 83, 87.

¹⁶¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 37.

¹⁶² *D^cw* died while he was approximately 50 to 60 years old and was recently discovered by Kanawati and a physical examination of the remains was undertaken by Schultz and Walker. See: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 64-78, esp. 75-76.

¹⁶³ After: Krauss and Warburton, "Chronological Table for the Dynastic Period" in: Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, Table IV.2, 491.

CHAPTER 3

CAREERS AND TITLES OF THE TOMB OWNERS

Hnqw/Httj

Hnqw/Httj appears to have been the father and patriarch of those buried in the North Mountain.¹⁶⁴ He held thirteen titles.¹⁶⁵ These are high ranking and show the influence that he had within the wider administration. Kanawati suggests that *Hnqw/Httj* originated from the capital,¹⁶⁶ an idea supported by Moreno Garcia's argument that the title *smsw snwt*, which was held by *Hnqw/Httj*, is indicative of an education in the palace¹⁶⁷. Moreno Garcia also contends that the power of provincial officials who held the title *smsw snwt* extended beyond that of a governor or vizier.¹⁶⁸

Among his functional and institutional titles, *Hnqw/Httj* held the positions *jmj-r Šmꜥw*, *hrj-tp* ʕ3 *U. E. 12* and *hrp j3t nb(t)*. He is also identified as a *hrj-tp* ʕ3 without the usual addition of a nome emblem or *n sp3t* on the west wall of the chapel.¹⁶⁹ The placement of the hieroglyphs in this particular group of titles, above the head of the standing tomb owner, cannot accommodate the inclusion of either the nome emblem or *n sp3t*, suggesting its omission was intentional. Fischer states that the use of *hrj-tp* ʕ3 in such instances is a reference to the title holder's own office.¹⁷⁰ No other term was used in Dynasty Six to refer to the governor of a province.¹⁷¹ In this particular instance, perhaps *Hnqw/Httj* was referring to himself holding the office of *hrj-tp* ʕ3 itself rather than specifying that he held this position in Upper Egypt 12. It is also possible that *Hnqw/Httj* may have acquired the position of *hrj-tp* ʕ3 *U. E. 12* prior to his appointment as

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain

¹⁶⁵ For *Hnqw/Httj*'s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 31; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 21-22.

¹⁶⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 17.

¹⁶⁷ Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 115.

¹⁶⁸ Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 115-117.

¹⁶⁹ Jones, *Index*, 650 [2382]; Fischer, *Dendera*, 74; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

¹⁷⁰ Fischer, *Dendera*, 74. Fischer also states that *hrj-tp* ʕ3 could be used in three other contexts: “(b) when he refers to his predecessors; (c) when he refers to the nomarchs of other nomes; (d) when the nomarch(s) of a certain nome is/are referred to by someone else”.

¹⁷¹ Fischer, *Dendera*, 74.

jmj-r Šmꜥw. As *jmj-r Šmꜥw* was among the higher administrative positions in Upper Egypt¹⁷² it may be postulated that a functional title of lesser power, namely the *hrj-tp ꜥ3*,¹⁷³ may have been held first and was perhaps foundational for progression to higher administrative offices. Nevertheless, *Hnqw/Httj* appears to have been the first person buried in the North Mountain and was also the first *hrj-tp ꜥ3 U. E. 12*.¹⁷⁴ When he held the office of *hrp j3t nb(t)* is uncertain.

Hnqw/Httj's career within the priesthood appears to be progressive with four priestly titles, from *hrj-hbt* to *sm-priest*.¹⁷⁵

Baud suggests that the title *hrj-s3t3* can be used to designate a religious or administrative office where an individual was entitled to have “access to secrets”.¹⁷⁶ He groups *hrj-s3t3* into five main categories¹⁷⁷. In regards to *Hnqw/Httj*, who is identified only as a *hrj-s3t3*, little can be said about the designation of this title into either the religious or administrative spheres.

¹⁷² Brovarski (“Overseers of Upper Egypt” in: *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 95-96) has argued that the status of *jmj-r Šmꜥw*, particularly during the reign of Pepy II, had decreased due to the large number of people known to have held this title at the time. However, he also argues that the “functional significance” of the *jmj-r Šmꜥw* remained, as governors, other provincial ministers and overseers of priests were able to collect taxes and manage the labour force within their respective provinces.

¹⁷³ Moreno Garcia (“Territorial Administration” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 140-141) states that there is an ambiguity in the sources in the use of the title *hrj-tp ꜥ3*, so the true extent of the power and influence held by an individual with this title is uncertain. He states “it is difficult to decide if a *hrj-tp ꜥ3* was a true ‘provincial governor’, with clearly defined administrative functions, or rather an unofficial authority, the formally recognised most important potentate in a nome, a *primus inter pares*.” What is clear, however, is that this title was introduced during Dynasty Six to designate and identify an individual who was in charge of a province (Fischer, *Dendera*, 74).

¹⁷⁴ Prior to *Hnqw/Httj*, there is currently no evidence to suggest that a governor resided in or administered Upper Egypt 12. It does suggest that the administrative changes which took place at the end of Dynasty Five and early in Dynasty Six required that this *hwt*, which may have functioned as part of a larger *hwt* in a different province, was in need of a local governor. If this had occurred, the proposed dating of *Hnqw/Httj*'s tomb to the reign of Teti may support the suggestion that Upper Egypt 12 was established as a new *hwt* in need of a local provincial governor.

¹⁷⁵ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

¹⁷⁶ Baud, *Famille royale*, 269.

¹⁷⁷ Baud, *Famille royale*, 269-271.

Paraphrasing Baud, he states that in the absence of any qualifying phrase, the context beyond a broad understanding of the individual's general competencies is limited.¹⁷⁸

Hm-R^c/Jzj I and Hnqw/Jj...f

Helck and Strudwick have suggested that the titles *hrj-tp nswt, mdw rhyt, jwn knmwt, z3b ʕd-mr* and *(nj)-nst-hntt* were legal.¹⁷⁹ As these seem to form the majority of the functional and institutional titles held by *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, his career appears to be predominantly legal.¹⁸⁰ From Baer's assessment, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*'s legal positions are middle ranking,¹⁸¹ yet at some point he rises to vizier. Such a leap is improbable unless he gains additional administrative experience beforehand. It may be possible to infer that his appointment as *hrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12* was made following the rise of his father to *jmj-r Šm^cw*. This fills an administrative gap and gives *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*¹⁸² the necessary experience to progress to vizier later on.¹⁸³ As *t3jtj z3b t^ctj* is the highest administrative title that appears in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, it seems likely that he died while holding this position.

Hm-R^c/Jzj I was also active in the priesthood,¹⁸⁴ having held the priestly titles *hrj-hbt, hrj-sšt3 n htmt-ntr m J3kmt* and *hrj-sšt3 n htmt-ntr m prw n(w) M^cm*, the latter two probably related to the possession of a secret of the local cult in Upper Egypt 12¹⁸⁵.

¹⁷⁸ Baud (*Famille royale*, 269) states “Lorsque *hrj-sšt3* n'est suivi d'aucun complément, on peut hésiter sur sa valeur, raccourci de titres plus développés ou affirmation de compétences générales”.

¹⁷⁹ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 74, 82; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 178ff.

¹⁸⁰ For *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*'s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 19-20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 37-38.

¹⁸¹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

¹⁸² *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*'s son, *Jzj*, (Appendix: Family Tree: North Mountain) may also have been appointed to the position of *hrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12*. However, this is uncertain. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 39.

¹⁸³ *Hnqw/Jj...f* seems to follow the same pattern, achieving *hrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12* and gaining necessary administrative experience, before rising to vizier himself. It appears that *hrj-tp ʕ3* is a stepping stone to more senior positions and in *Deir el-Gebrâwi* appears to have been kept in the family.

¹⁸⁴ *Hnqw/Jj...f* also appears to have been active within the priesthood possessing titles such as, *hrp šndt nbt*,¹⁸⁴ *hrj-hbt hrj-tp* and *sm-priest*.

¹⁸⁵ For the possible designation of *hrj-sšt3 n htmt-ntr m J3kmt* and *hrj-sšt3 n htmt-ntr m prw n(w) M^cm* as related to the cult see: Baud, *Famille royale*, 270-271.

By comparison, the career of *Hnqw/Jj...f* prior to his appointment as *hrj-tp 3 U.E. 12* was very different.¹⁸⁶ His titulary suggests that he held various important functional and institutional positions within the administration, such as vizier, *hrj-tp 3 U.E. 12* and *jmj-r zš(w) 3(w) nswt*,¹⁸⁷ as well as high ranking honorific titles, such as *h3tj-3* and *jrj-p3t*.¹⁸⁸ *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s positions are of a relatively high degree of importance and power,¹⁸⁹ with little evidence of any clear progression from lesser titles. This suggests his senior appointment was sudden. After his brother was appointed to the position of vizier, it is likely that *Hnqw/Jj...f* became the *hrj-tp 3 U. E. 12*. Following *Hm-R3/Jzj I*'s death it may be inferred that *Hnqw/Jj...f* was then appointed as vizier.

In his biography *Hnqw/Jj...f* states that *3h3.n(j) hm r hq3 m U.E. 12 hn3 sn(j)...Hm-R3* "Indeed, I arose as ruler in Upper Egypt 12 together with my brother...Hemre".¹⁹⁰ This clearly indicates that both brothers came to a position of power within this province at the same time. What is curious, however, is *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s reference to his position as *hq3*. The *hq3* oversaw the administration of a geographical area such as a province, or institution such as a temple.¹⁹¹ Although *Hnqw/Jj...f* does not specify what he was the *hq3* of (for instance the *hwt*, *nwt* or a temple), his biography is specific that he was a *hq3 m U.E. 12* in this province.¹⁹² The title *hq3 hwt* was assigned to the individual who administered a province, that was a *hwt* of the king.¹⁹³

The only time the word *hq3* appears in the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f* is in his biography and it does not appear at all in his brother's tomb. Neither brother seems to have held the title *hq3 hwt*, at least when written in this form. Indeed, the only individuals identified as a *hq3 hwt* at Deir el-Gebrawi are found in the South Mountain.¹⁹⁴ Although this may be a coincidental accident of preservation in the tombs of *Hm-R3/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, it remains a notable difference.

¹⁸⁶ For *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 27-28; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 60-61.

¹⁸⁷ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 199.

¹⁸⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

¹⁸⁹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

¹⁹⁰ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 78:21-22; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 25.

¹⁹¹ Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 229; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 23.

¹⁹² Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 232.

¹⁹³ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 91; Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 230.

¹⁹⁴ Eight individuals hold this title, including *Jbj*, *D3w* and *Wh3*. Another two are sons of *Jbj*, while the remaining three are sons of *D3w*. Both *Jbj* and *D3w/Šm3j* are identified as *hq3 hwt m33*.

Moreno Garcia has argued that the title *ḥq3* was held by “modest ranking” officials and positions within the central administration were not usually attained.¹⁹⁵ Given his interpretation, it is curious that both *Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* were able to attain the position of vizier. However, Strudwick has suggested that individuals from the provinces “may have been singled out as a future vizier” early in their careers.¹⁹⁶ It is possible, in this case, that both brothers with the position *ḥq3* are receiving “localised training” within the administration of the *ḥwt*, in preparation for their formal appointment as viziers.

Nevertheless, after *Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj* I’s appointment to the governorship, it is possible that *Hnqw/Jj...f* would have continued in his position as the *ḥq3*, as neither of the four children of *Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj* I seem to have acquired this title.¹⁹⁷ *Hnqw/Jj...f*’s continuation in the office of *ḥq3* may have been practical, to maintain the smooth functioning of the *ḥwt*.¹⁹⁸

Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj I emphasises his legal titles.¹⁹⁹ It suggests he was proud of his achievements in this sector and that he was well established and known within the wider administration. However, *Hnqw/Jj...f* in his tomb seems to emphasise his efforts to improve the welfare of Upper Egypt 12 and this forms the basis of his biography in much the same way as that of *Q3r* of Edfu.²⁰⁰ It should be noted, however, *Hnqw/Jj...f* has fewer lists of titles throughout his tomb and may be

¹⁹⁵ Moreno Garcia, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 231.

¹⁹⁶ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 320.

¹⁹⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 39-40.

¹⁹⁸ Moreno Garcia, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 231-232.

¹⁹⁹ The title *t3jtj z3b ʔtj* appears once in his tomb on the east side of the north wall among a titulary of important and seemingly powerful administrative and honorific titles (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201). The five remaining functional and institutional titularies throughout his tomb emphasise his legal titles, particularly *hry-tp nswt*, *jwn knmwt* and *mdw Rhyt*. It is noteworthy that this particular group of titles consistently appears in this order with only one variation on the west side of the north wall. See: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 19; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 43, 44, 46, 47.

²⁰⁰ Kloth ((*Auto*)-)biographical Inschriften, 44) has argued that this biography exhibits phraseology and characteristics common to the FIP and therefore, should be dated to this period. Kanawati (*Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 18-19), however, has rightly pointed out that *Hnqw/Jj...f*’s biography is not unusual for the Old Kingdom, particularly during Dynasty Six, as the biography of *Q3r* of Edfu has the same features. The reasons for needing to improve this province are uncertain and *Hnqw/Jj...f* does not provide an answer. Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 76:14-78:12.

an accident of preservation or suggests he did what he could to promote his achievements as an administrator of the province.

Both brothers were appointed as viziers and were the only people at Deir el-Gebrawi to hold this title. The titularies of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*²⁰¹ when compared to their provincial Old Kingdom counterparts are very similar.²⁰² It is striking, however, that neither brother held the titles *jmj-r prwj-ḥd* nor *jmj-r šnwtj*²⁰³ which were frequently associated with the vizier²⁰⁴.

Strudwick explains that the *jmj-r zš(w) ʕ(w) nswt* was the most common title held by the vizier and suggests that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I's designation as *jmj-r ʕ(w) nswt* was an abbreviation of the former title.²⁰⁵ This suggestion is plausible because the size and configuration of the hieroglyphs²⁰⁶ suggest that the artist was running out of room to include the full spelling.²⁰⁷ However, as this title appears only once in his tomb, one wonders why the artist would not have at least squeezed in the writing palette glyph (Gardiner Y3). Since there is no evidence for *jmj-r zš(w) ʕ(w) nswt* in the tomb, we are left wondering if these are in fact two separate titles, not an abbreviation of the one.

Nevertheless, prior to their appointments as vizier, it appears that both brothers were familiar with the administrative practices of the period, having held the positions of *ḥq3* and *ḥrj-tp ʕ3 U*.
E. 12. *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I's apparent career within the legal sphere prior to his appointment as vizier is not unusual and is known among other provincial individuals.²⁰⁸ Following the deaths of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, the vizierate passed to an individual in another province.

²⁰¹ His appointment to *jmj-r njwt mr* was most likely at the same time as or after becoming *ḥjtj z3b ʕtj*, since Strudwick (*Administration of Egypt*, 317) has argued the former position was frequently held by the vizier.

²⁰² See: Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 318-319, Table 31.

²⁰³ These titles were held by *Jbj*, *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* from the South Mountain yet none of them was vizier.

²⁰⁴ Papazian, "Departments, Treasuries, Granaries and Work Centers" in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 60, 74; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 306-307.

²⁰⁵ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 318 n. 3.

²⁰⁶ This title appears only on the bottom register of the north wall in the chapel. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 19.

²⁰⁷ For three possible spellings of this title see Jones, *Index*, 209 [780].

²⁰⁸ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 320.

Jmpjj and *Hm-R^c/Jzj II*

Although nothing is known of *Jpmjj* apart from the name of his children, it is difficult to determine when and even if he was appointed as the *hrj-tp* ʿ3 *U. E. 12*. However, Kanawati has suggested that *Jmpjj* was the *hrj-tp* ʿ3 based on the size of his tomb, N95, while its conformity to the Type 2 chapel²⁰⁹ would further support this hypothesis.

If this was the case, as someone was needed to govern the 12th Upper Egyptian province, the position of *hrj-tp* ʿ3 *U. E. 12* was perhaps passed on to *Jmpjj*. The king presumably granted this and it may have been that the monarch needed or desired the governorship to be maintained within the family of the local elite. Assuming that the position of *hrj-tp* ʿ3 was held by *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Httj* and *Jmpjj*, their succession to the governorship of Upper Egypt 12 would presumably have taken place sometime within the 22 year period identified as a generation gap²¹⁰.

Only five titles are attributed to *Hm-R^c/Jzj II* in his tomb.²¹¹ He held only two senior titles, namely *hrj-tp* ʿ3 *U. E. 12* and *htmtj-bjtj*, with the latter utilised by individuals who “deputised for the king”²¹². *Hm-R^c/Jzj II* held the common ranking title *smr w^ctj* but unlike his uncles, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, or grandfather, *Hnqw/Httj*,²¹³ was not a *h3tj-^c* or *jrj-p^ct*.

It seems that *Hm-R^c/Jzj II* was a middle ranking administrator holding the province together but did little else. Even so, as the *hrj-tp* ʿ3 it seems strange that *Hm-R^c/Jzj II* would only have five titles recorded in his tomb.²¹⁴ He also seems to have had significantly less power and influence than his uncles, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f*²¹⁵ and even his cousin, *D^cw/Šm3j*²¹⁶. These

²⁰⁹ See: Chapter 5: Architecture – Floor Plan and Features.

²¹⁰ von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 29.

²¹¹ For *Hm-R^c/Jzj II*’s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 33; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 79. Note that Davies and Kanawati translate *htmtj-bjtj* as “Royal Chancellor” and “Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt” respectively.

²¹² Kuraszkiewicz, “The title *htmtj ntr* – god’s sealer – in the Old Kingdom” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 202.

²¹³ His father was likely *Jmpjj*, the son of *Hnqw/Httj*. However, as the inscriptions in *Jmpjj*’s tomb, N95, have disappeared, he remains an enigma. See: Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain

²¹⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 79.

²¹⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 37-38, 60.

²¹⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 11-13.

five titles do not appear to be a true representation of the power or influence maintained within Upper Egypt 12 at this time and even of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II himself. If they were, one would not have expected the cousin of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II, *D^cw/Šm3j* to acquire twenty-nine titles by the time of his death.²¹⁷ Instead, it seems that these were the most important or significant titles held by *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II so, were included in his tomb. As he acquired no further promotional titles, it implies that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II died unexpectedly, presumably soon after his appointment as the *hry-tp 3 U. E. 12*.

Jbj

As a probable relative of the royal family, it is unsurprising that *Jbj* was a powerful individual of 50 titles and positions,²¹⁸ most of which were high ranking.²¹⁹ The vast majority of his titles were honorific, functional and institutional, particularly within the administration. He even held *jmj-r Šm^cw*, *jmj-r Šm^cw m3^c*,²²⁰ *jmj-r šnwtj* and *jmj-r prwj-ḥd*, the latter two being among the highest provincial titles of the Sixth Dynasty.²²¹ The title *smsw snwt* alone is a strong indication of his influence with the king and at the royal court.²²² The titular indication is that *Jbj* was a very powerful provincial administrator.

In his biography, *Jbj* states that he was alive during the reigns of three successive kings - Pepy I, Merenre and Pepy II.²²³ He states that he was a youth during the reign of Pepy I.²²⁴ His education therefore would have taken place during the latter half of the reign of Pepy I. An education in the capital appears to have been common with the children of officials²²⁵ and not surprising for *Jbj* given his connection to the royal family²²⁶. *Jbj* also explains that he was

²¹⁷ See: Appendix Family Tree – North Mountain

²¹⁸ For *Jbj*'s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8-9; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 11-13.

²¹⁹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

²²⁰ For a discussion on the significance of *m3^c* after a title, see below under “*D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*”.

²²¹ Papazian, “Departments, Treasuries, Granaries and Work Centers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 60, 74; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 266-267, 276, 289.

²²² Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 115-117.

²²³ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:8-11.

²²⁴ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:8.

²²⁵ See, for example, the biography of Q3r of Edfu. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 24; Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 103-104, 115-117; Moreno Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 39.

²²⁶ See: Appendix: Family Tree – Extended

appointed to the positions of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *smr wꜥtj* and *ḥrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12* during the reign of Merenre and *jmj-r Šmꜥw* under Pepy II.²²⁷

Apart from these appointments, it is difficult to determine when *Jbj* attained his numerous other titles. He did, however, acquire six priestly titles suggesting he may have risen through the ranks in this domain, moving from *ḥrj-ḥbt* to *sm*-priest and *ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp*.²²⁸ He was also associated with the administration of the funerary cult of Pepy II holding the positions *jmj-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ*, *shd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* and *ḥq3 ḥwt Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ*.²²⁹

Jbj was appointed as *ḥrj-tp ʕ3* of both the 8th and 12th Upper Egyptian provinces.²³⁰ Holding this position for the Thinite province, “regarded as crown territory”,²³¹ was most likely due to his family connections there.²³² However, it should be noted that the few governors from this province who can be dated earlier than *Jbj*, do not appear to have had any direct connection with this family.²³³ According to Brovarski and Fischer, the gap in known governors of Thinis between the end of Dynasty Five and *Jbj*, seems to have been a result of the Thinite province adopting the early Sixth Dynasty administrative changes at a slower pace than surrounding areas so, they were buried elsewhere.²³⁴ It would seem that as further administrative changes took place during the latter half of the Sixth Dynasty, *Jbj* was assigned to govern Thinis in an

²²⁷ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 142:9-13.

²²⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

²²⁹ Vymazalová, “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 186-187.

²³⁰ The Upper Egyptian provinces of 9, 10 and 11 separate Upper Egypt 12 and the Thinite province, by some 200 km. Helck, *Gaue*, fig. 2.

²³¹ Brovarski, *Inscribed Material from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 123; Fischer, *Dendera*, 69.

²³² See: Appendix: Family Tree – Extended and Chapter 2: Genealogy – *Jbj*

²³³ This is probably due to the family of *Hwi* and *Nbt* originating from the capital, not Thinis like their predecessors. Brovarski, *Inscribed Material from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 117-125. See also: Appendix: Family Tree – South Mountain and Family Tree – Extended

²³⁴ Brovarski, *Inscribed Material from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 123; Fischer, *Dendera*, 69; Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 170-172; Moreno Garcia, “Territorial Administration” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 121-125.

attempt to strengthen the monarch's connection to the Upper Egyptian provinces.²³⁵ This also coincides with the crown's territorial expansion into southern Egypt and Nubia²³⁶ suggesting *Jbj*'s appointment was possibly to consolidate control over existing territory.

It has been suggested that one reason for *Jbj*'s appointment to Upper Egypt 12 by Merenre was to protect the power of the monarchy by “virtually banishing”²³⁷ the governor of Thinis to the less influential Upper Egypt 12.²³⁸ However, this does not appear to have been the case as *Jbj* was the *hrj-tp ʿ3 U. E. 12* prior to his appointment in the Thinite province.²³⁹ This appears to be the situation as there are fewer references to him as the *hrj-tp ʿ3 U. E. 12*²⁴⁰ than *hrj-tp ʿ3 T3-wr*²⁴¹ in the titularies throughout his tomb, as well as references to his son, *Dʿw/Šm3j*, only as the *hrj-tp ʿ3 U. E. 12*²⁴². Further, as this was a royal appointment, it would have automatically negated any succession pattern that had been established in the North between members of the family of *Hnqw/Httj*.

As the Thinite province was considered crown territory and quite possibly prestigious,²⁴³ it would appear that *Jbj* was in fact granted a promotion rather than a demotion. Further, if the monarchy was feeling threatened, one wonders why Pepy II would then promote *Jbj* to the position of *jmj-r Šmʿw* and allow the dual governorship of Upper Egypt 8 and 12 to continue with *Dʿw/Šm3j* and *Dʿw* in succession. Perhaps this appointment was due to his close

²³⁵ Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 172-173; Kemp, “Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period” in: Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 107-110; Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 80-93.

²³⁶ Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 83-88; Bárta, “Kings, Viziers and Courtiers” in: Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 166.

²³⁷ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 31.

²³⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 31; Brovarski, *Inscribed Material from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 124.

²³⁹ See also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 3, 22-23; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 48; Kanawati and McFarlane, Akhmim 1, 112.

²⁴⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 7, 17, 18.

²⁴¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5, 7, 11, 17, 18.

²⁴² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 46.

²⁴³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 3, 22.

relationship with the king or for other unknown political reasons. When he was appointed to the position of *hrj-tp 3 T3-wr* is uncertain.²⁴⁴

This then raises the question of when and why *Jbj* married *Hm-R^c/Hmj*. Unfortunately, his biography does not provide any answer. There are, however, two possibilities. The first is that *Jbj* was already married to *Hm-R^c/Hmj* prior to his appointment. If this were the case, it would suggest that this appointment was a result of *Jbj*'s marriage to *Hm-R^c/Hmj*. Rather than passing to the children of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II, because they were too young, *Jbj* was the next to succeed to the position *hrj-tp 3 U. E. 12* because of his marriage.

The second possibility is that *Jbj* married *Hm-R^c/Hmj* after his appointment to this province. *Jbj* seems to have also had a close personal and professional relationship with the king, which is reflected in his titles,²⁴⁵ so it may have been that his appointment as the *hrj-tp 3* was a result of this relationship. As a resident of the Thinite province,²⁴⁶ however, his marriage to *Hm-R^c/Hmj*, a local of the 12th Upper Egyptian province and daughter of *Hnqw/Httj*, may have been to legitimise his appointment in the eyes of the local residents.

Jbj's relationship with the king was close. He holds at least fourteen ranking titles, including *wr m j3t.f smsw m s^ch.f*,²⁴⁷ *jmj-jb n nswt m st.f nbt* and *nj mrwt*. One particularly interesting title is *hrp h3ts km*.²⁴⁸ Although its meaning is uncertain²⁴⁹ it reflects *Jbj*'s power and influence while he was alive, since this title was held by only a select group of Dynasty Six officials, including *Mrrw-k3.j/Mrj*, *Ttw* and *Hntj-k3.j*.²⁵⁰ However, this title may not reflect an

²⁴⁴ The Thinite province is given prominence in *Jbj*'s tomb although this may be due to its political and administrative importance or his need to emphasise his familial connections (See: Appendix: Family Tree – Extended).

²⁴⁵ See: Chapter 3: Careers and Titles – *Jbj*. Also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 11-13.

²⁴⁶ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – South Mountain. Also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 19-20.

²⁴⁷ Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 126-129.

²⁴⁸ Jones, *Index*, 725-726 [2642].

²⁴⁹ This title is translated either as “Controller of the Black Jar” or “Director of the town of Iakemet”. The latter is found more commonly in older works. For example, cf. Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 133 [33] with Kanawati et al, *Mereruka* 3:1, 16 [65] or Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8 [14] with Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 12 [36].

²⁵⁰ *Dw3-n-R^c* (Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 162 [161]); *Nj-k3-nswt* I (Junker, *Gîza* II, 159 [14]); *K3.j-m-nfrt* (Hassan, *Gîza* II, 105 [8]); *Sšm-nfr* IV (Junker, *Gîza* XI, 126 [5]); *Hwjj* (Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1,

individual's administrative power as it was also held by *Nj-n.j-Ppjj*²⁵¹ and *Hwjj*,²⁵² both of whom seem to have had significantly less administrative titles than their Dynasty Six counterparts. Perhaps this title was honorific and bestowed by the king to a select group of exceptional individuals who gave outstanding service. It is particularly interesting that out of at least thirteen individuals who held this title in the Old Kingdom, eight are from Dynasty Six. Of these eight individuals, only two are from the provinces.

Dꜣw/Šmꜣj and Dꜣw

As *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* shared a tomb with his son *Dꜣw*, it seems that the former may have died before his tomb was complete.²⁵³ This is one possible explanation of why *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* accumulated fewer titles or positions than his father and even his son, *Dꜣw*. Indeed, *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* holds twenty-nine titles,²⁵⁴ thirteen of which were functional and institutional, to *Jbj*'s fifty or *Dꜣw*'s forty. Even so, *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj*'s career seems to have been firmly grounded within administration.

On the other hand, the career of his son, *Dꜣw*,²⁵⁵ in many ways mirrors that of his grandfather. Of the forty titles held by *Dꜣw*, fourteen were also held by *Jbj*. Like his father and grandfather, *Dꜣw* was an administrator having held thirteen functional and institutional titles, which seem to be associated with the administration of the Thinite and 12th Upper Egyptian provinces as well as Upper Egypt itself.²⁵⁶

The common element between *Jbj*, *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw* appears to be their administrative strength among the provinces. Each of their administrative careers are strikingly similar, with *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw* sharing ten of *Jbj*'s fourteen administrative titles. It should be noted that ten

22, pl. 14); *Hnmw-ḥtp* (Jéquier, *Pepi II* 3, fig. 63); *Ttw* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 153 [42]); *Jbj* (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 8 [14]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 12 [36]); *Kꜣj-ḥp/Ttj/Tt* (Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish* 3, 8 [26]); *Hntj-kꜣj* (James, *Mastaba of Khentika*, 9 [24]); *Mrrw-kꜣj/Mrj* (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1, 133 [33]; Kanawati et al, *Mereruka* 3:1, 16 [65]); *Nj-n.j-Ppjj* (Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 112); *Ppy-ꜣnh Ḥr-jb/Nfr-kꜣ* (Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 12 [30]). See also: Jones, *Index*, 725-726 [2642].

²⁵¹ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 112.

²⁵² Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 22, pl. 14.

²⁵³ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 139.

²⁵⁴ For *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj*'s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 1-2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 3, 12-13.

²⁵⁵ For *Dꜣw*'s list of titles see: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 2-3; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 3, 13-14.

²⁵⁶ For example: *ḥrj-tp ʕ3 U. E. 12, ḥrj-tp ʕ3 T3-wr, ḥqꜣ ḥwt, jmj-r prwj-ḥd, jmj-r šnwtj and jmj-r Šmꜣw*.

of the positions held by $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ were also held by \underline{D}^w . It would appear that the ten titles shared by these three generations, such as $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$, $jmj-r prwj-\underline{h}d$, $jmj-r \check{s}nwtj$ ²⁵⁷ and $jmj-r \check{S}m^w$, were passed directly from father to son. It may be that this succession demonstrates the trust the king had for the family of *Jbj*, especially as they were related,²⁵⁸ with appointments directly from the king. It might also represent that this succession was an attempt to keep the power and influence, first attained by *Jbj* within the family, strong within the wider administration of Upper Egypt and not just in the 8th and 12th provinces. If this were the case, this succession may serve as a tentative late Dynasty Six example of an increasingly independent and powerful province, where the main administrators had similar high ranking positions and titles to that of the vizier²⁵⁹ without holding the title $t3jtj z3b \text{ }^3$.

In his father's tomb, $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ is already designated as the $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ U. E. 12.²⁶⁰ However, following the promotion of his father to a higher administrative position, namely $jmj-r \check{S}m^w$, someone was needed to fill the position of $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ T3-wr. Given that $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ was the eldest son, coupled with this family's close relationship to the monarch, the position of $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ U. E. 12 was passed to him. A similar pattern of succession was then likely followed by $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$'s son, \underline{D}^w .²⁶¹

$\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^w also carry the additional titles of $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ U. E. 12 $m3^c$ and $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ T3-wr $m3^c$. These were not held by *Jbj*, an administrative difference, between them. The reason for the addition and meaning of $m3^c$ in these titles is uncertain. Some scholars such as James and Fischer, have argued that its inclusion was not significant or "capricious"²⁶² but Kanawati has argued that it was important although its current meaning "escapes us"²⁶³. However, it does appear that a pattern is evident. In $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^w 's tomb, neither $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ U. E. 12 $m3^c$ nor $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ T3-wr $m3^c$ appears together in the same list of titles. Instead, wherever $hrj-tp \text{ }^3$ U. E.

²⁵⁷ It is also worth noting that the titles $jmj-r prwj-\underline{h}d$ and $jmj-r \check{s}nwtj$ were commonly held by the vizier. Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 306-307.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix: Genealogy: Family Tree – Extended

²⁵⁹ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 306-307.

²⁶⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 5, 9.

²⁶¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 3, 23.

²⁶² James, *Khentika*, 12-13; Fischer, *Dendera*, 96-97

²⁶³ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 117-118; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 3, 14-15.

12 *m3ʕ* appears *hrj-tp ʕ3 T3-wr* is written and vice versa.²⁶⁴ This is also seen with the titles *jmj-r Šmʕw* and *jmj-r Šmʕw m3ʕ* as well as *hq3 hwt* and *hq3 hwt m3ʕ*.²⁶⁵ A similar trend seems apparent in other tombs from the capital and provinces including, *Hntj-k3.j*,²⁶⁶ *Ppjj-ʕnh(.w)-km* at Meir²⁶⁷. It would seem that wherever *m3ʕ* was included there was an important degree of distinction between these titles.²⁶⁸ This is most apparent with the titles *jmj-jb n nb.f* and *jmj-jb n nb.f m3ʕ*, where the former was only held by *Dʕw/Šm3j* and the latter by *Dʕw*. If *m3ʕ* had little significance, one would not expect to see a distinction between *jmj-jb n nb.f* and *jmj-jb n nb.f m3ʕ*.

The remaining administrative titles held by *Dʕw/Šm3j* and *Dʕw* do not reveal a clear path in the scribal or legal professions prior to their various appointments as powerful administrative provincial officials.²⁶⁹ However, these titles do indicate that they were familiar with the management of the workforce, particularly within the provinces, or the administration more generally. While neither father nor son holds a title beginning with *jmj-r k3t*,²⁷⁰ which is more obviously associated with the workforce, the titles *hq3 hwt*, *htmtj-bjtj*²⁷¹ and *hwtj-ʕ3t*²⁷² are related to the organisation of labour or estates held by the crown.

The title *hwtj-ʕ3t* also seems to be related to administration. According to Fischer this title only appears in Deir el-Gebrawi and resembles *hq3 hwt-ʕ3t*.²⁷³ The distinction between *hwtj-ʕ3t* and *hwt-ʕ3t* may identify an individual who was educated in the capital with the children of the monarch.²⁷⁴ When later appointed to an important administrative position, this title shows

²⁶⁴ It must be noted that this also only occurs whenever both titles are listed in the same group. That is, whenever the deceased is identified as the *hrj-tp ʕ3* of the 12th Upper Egyptian province and the Thinite province.

²⁶⁵ The added distinction of *hq3 hwt m3ʕ* was not held by *Dʕw*.

²⁶⁶ James, *Khentika*, 12-13.

²⁶⁷ See: Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pls. 16, 20, 21, 24, 25(3), 28, 34.

²⁶⁸ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, 117-119; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 14-15.

²⁶⁹ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 263, 289; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 201.

²⁷⁰ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 217.

²⁷¹ Kuraszkiewicz, "The title *htmtj ntr* – god's sealer – in the Old Kingdom" in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*: 202.

²⁷² It should be noted that this title was also held by *Jbj*.

²⁷³ Fischer, *Dendera*, 72 n. 294.

²⁷⁴ According to Moreno Garcia, the meaning of the *hwt-ʕ3t* changed. It was originally used to designate the management of administrative centres, and the workforce within them, all of which fell under the control of the

closeness to the royal household and the need of the king to put in place administrators who were trained. This would seem to support the notion of the influence and power held by the succeeding generations of *Jbj*'s family.

They also share various priestly titles including *hrj-ḥbt*, *sm*-priest and *hrj-ḥbt hrj-tp*. There is also a notable distinction, however, in serving the cult of the king. *Dꜥw* was the *jmj-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr* for the pyramid of Pepy II, while *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* holds this and *shd ḥm(w)-ntr* for the same pyramid complex. According to Kanawati, this apparent movement away from the funerary cult of Pepy II, shown in the decreasing number of titles associated with the cult of this king, is attested elsewhere.²⁷⁵ The reasons for this are unclear.

Considering that the administrative positions of *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw* were almost identical, suggesting similar royal patronage, it is interesting that the father holds notably fewer “ranking titles” than the son. Indeed, *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* only held five titles while *Dꜥw* had eight, five of which were also held by his grandfather. It appears that neither enjoyed the same close relationship with the king as *Jbj* but this continuing administrative position reflects an echo of that original closeness. What is most significant about *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj*'s titles is that two were acquired posthumously. *Dꜥw*'s biography states that *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj*'s rank of *ḥꜥtj-ꜥ*, and presumably also *ḥꜥtj-ꜥ mꜣꜥ*, was only granted after it was requested by the son and served as an *ḥtp dj nswt*.²⁷⁶

WOMEN OF DEIR EL-GEBAWI

Of the thirteen women at Deir el-Gebrawi whose titles are known to us, only five titles were shared between them.²⁷⁷ The most common titles held were *ḥkrt nswt wꜥtt*, *špst nswt* and *ḥkrt nswt*. The “ranking title” *rḥt nswt* was also held by *Ḥm-Rꜥ/Ḥmj*, the wife of *Jbj*, and *Ḥm-Rꜥ*, the wife of *Ḥm-Rꜥ/Jzj I*.²⁷⁸ It seems likely that *Ḥm-Rꜥ/Ḥmj*, who held five titles, was the highest ranking woman at Deir el-Gebrawi. Fischer has noted that these titles are well attested in the provinces and, with the exception of *rḥt nswt* used throughout the Old Kingdom,²⁷⁹ appear

crown. By the time of Dynasty Six, however, this function was no longer in use as other “installations” were established that fulfilled similar functions. Moreno Garcia, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 36-39.

²⁷⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 15.

²⁷⁶ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 147: 15-16.

²⁷⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 22, 38-39, 61-62, 63, 79; vol. 2, 13-14, 16-17, 74, 83, 90; vol. 3, 15-17.

²⁷⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 38 [1], vol. 2, 13-14 [1].

²⁷⁹ Fischer, *Women of the Old Kingdom*, 31.

most frequently in Dynasty Six.²⁸⁰ Interestingly, only *Hm-R^c* and *Hm-R^c/Hmj* appear to have been priestesses, both holding the title *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr*.²⁸¹ This title is well known from Akhmim²⁸² and Dendera²⁸³.

²⁸⁰ Fischer, *Women of the Old Kingdom*, 30-31.

²⁸¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 38 [2], vol. 2, 13-14 [2].

²⁸² Kanawati and McFarlane, *Akhmim* 1, *passim*.

²⁸³ Fischer, *Dendera*, 23-29.

CHAPTER 4

ART OF THE TOMBS AT DEIR EL-GEBAWI

STYLE AND CANON

The canon of proportion was a series of rules and guidelines used to assist Egyptian artists when decorating tombs.¹ Style, on the other hand, is a distinct series of artistic elements used and/or developed by a school or artist and may be restricted to a specific time and/or region. This means that while an artist may have adhered to the canon of proportion, they may also apply their own unique elements or features to create a piece of artwork that varies between tombs and regions.²

Throughout the Old Kingdom until Dynasty Eleven, the canon of proportion was based on a series of up to eight guidelines marking important points on the body.³ An example of these guidelines can be found in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*⁴ and *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw*,⁵ among others.⁶ Robins has determined a series of rules that may have been in use during the Old Kingdom and, by the time of the FIP, these proportions had become elongated and exaggerated.⁷

A change in the canon of proportion of the figures between the South and North Mountains at Deir el-Gebrawi has been noted by various scholars.⁸ According to them, the composition, types and features of the scenes in the South Mountain were more common of the Old Kingdom than in the North.⁹ Smith in particular commented that the art of the North Mountain was a “degeneration” in style.¹⁰ While these differences may be apparent, the use of emotive language such as “degeneration” automatically implies that any divergence from an established norm led to a decrease in artistic quality and, by extension, the skills of the artist. A lack of artistic skill

¹ Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 1, 64.

² For example see: Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*, 8ff.

³ Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 64.

⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37, 39.

⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, frontispiece, pl. 6.

⁶ Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 64-66, figs. 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5.

⁷ Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 64-66.

⁸ Smith, *HEPSOK*, 221-222; Fischer, *Dendera*, 20 n. 87; Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, 8-10.

⁹ Smith, *HEPSOK*, 222; Kees, *Provinzialkunst*, 8-10.

¹⁰ Smith, *HEPSOK*, 222.

is usually cited for the FIP. While skill was important, perhaps it is prudent to state that there was not an absence of skill but a loss of traditional techniques, which led artists to attempt to replicate what was seen without formal training by traditional teachers. Further, they were able to experiment with a greater sense of artistic freedom as they were not as strictly bound by these traditions.

The tomb of *Jbj* can be reliably dated and as he was the first person to be buried in the South, the artwork in his tomb serves as a good starting point for examining art style and the use of the canon of proportion. The figures of *Jbj*, his family and dependents as well as the level of fine detail throughout the tomb¹¹ show that the art was consistently executed by well-trained artists. The proportions of the figures seem to adhere more to the Memphite canon. This is noticeable when the proportions of *Jbj*, shown seated before an offering table,¹² are compared to those of *Mrrw-k3.j/Mrj*,¹³ *Ppjj-ḥnh(.w)-ḥrj-jb*¹⁴ and *Ppjj-ḥnh(.w)-km*¹⁵ from Meir as well as *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj*¹⁶ from Akhmim. Woods suggests that the artists of *Jbj*'s tomb may have been trained in the capital,¹⁷ so, the similarity of his figure with Memphite proportions should be expected. *Jbj* is also shown with muscle definition on the upper arms. Further his build matches figures found in the Fourth, Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties.¹⁸

The facial features of the tomb owner frequently depict large and/or almond shaped eyes, a small forehead and a shallow crown of the head. Each of these features are clearly apparent when *Jbj* is shown on the south,¹⁹ west²⁰ and north walls²¹ of the chapel as well as on the west²²

¹¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3-20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 44-58.

¹² This particular scene is found on the east wall. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 54.

¹³ Kanawati et al, *Mereruka* 3:1, *passim*; vol. 3:2, *passim*.

¹⁴ Blackman, *Meir* 4, *passim*.

¹⁵ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, *passim*; Kanawati, *Meir* 2, *passim*.

¹⁶ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 2, *passim*.

¹⁷ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 234.

¹⁸ For examples see: Ziegler, *Catalogues des stèles*, *passim*.

¹⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 45.

²⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 50.

²¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 15; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 53.

²² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 25; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 56.

and east walls²³ of the offering recess. These facial features seem to be consistent throughout the provincial tombs of the Sixth Dynasty at Akhmim,²⁴ Quseir el-Amarna,²⁵ Edfu²⁶ and Meir²⁷.

Fingers are portrayed as generally long while the size of the palm is seemingly small, giving the hand a disproportionate appearance. This is most apparent in *Jbj*'s spear-fishing scene.²⁸ The same long fingers are observed on the figure of *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* who is participating with his father in the spear-fishing scene. A similar elongation of the fingers around the shaft of the spear is also evident in other provincial tombs such as *Hw.n-wh/Tj*²⁹ from Quseir el-Amarna. This elongation is also evident where the figure has a closed fist, which itself appears to be particularly small.³⁰

The general adherence to the Memphite canon, and these notable stylistic differences of facial features, the elongation of the fingers and the portrayal of small palms and/or fists also appears in the tomb of *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw*. However, various differences are evident between this tomb and that of *Jbj*. This is most apparent in the canon with the figures of *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* spear-fishing³¹ and with *Dꜥw*, the son, seated on the south wall³². In both instances, the figure is slightly out of proportion as the torso is very short whereas the legs are long. The change in proportion may indicate a regional stylistic change or that the artist was trained at a different school to the artist of *Jbj*.

What is most interesting about the style of artwork at Deir el-Gebrawi is that there is a distinct difference between the North and South Mountains. While the decoration of the tombs in the

²³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 19; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 58.

²⁴ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 1, figs. 8, 16; vol. 2, figs. 7-12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26; vol. 3, fig. 27; vol. 6, figs. 2, 3, 9, 17(b), 22(a); vol. 7, figs. 6, 28.

²⁵ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 34, 35, 36(b), 38, 40, 43.

²⁶ Alliot, *Tell Edfou 1933*, pl. 14; Ziegler, *Catalogues des stèles*, 78-81 [9].

²⁷ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pls. 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 29.

²⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 3.

²⁹ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

³⁰ For example: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 45, 50, 56; vol. 3, pls. 57, 64.

³¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5.

³² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 4; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 58.

South seems to resemble Memphite examples more closely, the proportion and treatment of the figures in the North vary and share many similarities with other provincial tombs.

Although poorly preserved, the figures in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* appear to resemble the Memphite canon.³³ However, when compared to the figures in the South and with those from the capital from Dynasties Four to Six,³⁴ the limbs are thinner and generally lack musculature. The same treatment of the limbs is also apparent in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*,³⁵ *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*³⁶ and *Nb-jb*³⁷. However, in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* the arm of the tomb owner in the fowling scene³⁸ is thicker than those from the remaining scenes in this tomb³⁹ or the tomb of his father, *Hnqw/Httj*⁴⁰.

What is most apparent with the proportion of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* in the fowling scene is the narrow size of his waist, shown by the fingers of his wife whose arm is wrapped around his middle. The narrow size of his waist in comparison to the thicker arms appears to indicate that the proportion of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* does not necessarily adhere to the Memphite canon. Indeed, the figure of his son, *Jzj*, who stands behind *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and his wife, is portrayed with arms that reach down to the middle of the upper leg, drawn as half the height of the overall figure. The same elongation of the whole figure is also seen on the east and north walls of the chapel in the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f*⁴¹ and the offering table scene in the tomb of *Nb-jb*⁴².

While there is certainly an elongation of the figures in the North Mountain, as suggested by Smith,⁴³ this does not immediately place these tombs in the FIP or a later period. Indeed, the same treatment of the figure, with elongated and thin limbs coupled with an apparent change

³³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37, 39, 40.

³⁴ For example see: Ziegler, *Catalogues des stèles*, 104-107 [16], 108-113 [17], 190-192 [30], 258-261 [47].

³⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37-40.

³⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 17-20; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 46-50.

³⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 60.

³⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 50.

³⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 46, 47, 49.

⁴⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39.

⁴¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 54, 56.

⁴² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 60.

⁴³ Smith, *HEPSOK*, 222.

in proportion also appears in the Sixth Dynasty tombs at Akhmim,⁴⁴ Quseir el-Amarna⁴⁵ and Edfu⁴⁶. Robins states that the guidelines for the canon of proportion during the Old Kingdom were approximate.⁴⁷ Given the geographical distance of Deir el-Gebrawi from the capital, differences in the canon and the development of a provincial style, may be inevitable over time, especially if the tomb owners are using locally trained artists. This may suggest that a provincial style had developed, which distinguishes the art of the provinces from the art of the capital. Whether this occurred consciously or not, is difficult to determine.

Like his grandfather, *Jbj*, *Dꜥw* may have also used artists who were trained in the capital to decorate his tomb. This may explain why the figures in the tomb of *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw* adhere more closely to the Memphite canon and have a similar style as those found in *Jbj*'s tomb. Although certain figures are slightly disproportionate, it would seem that the artists have attempted to distance themselves from a provincial style. As *Jbj* was the cousin of Merenre and Pepy II, and *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw* were second and third cousins respectively,⁴⁸ perhaps the family of *Jbj* were attempting to maintain and represent this royal connection through the conventional artistic style used there in tombs. By distancing themselves from the provincial style, they not only distinguished themselves from those in the North Mountain but aligned themselves more closely with the capital and royal family.

This may also explain the general adherence of the figures in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* to the Memphite canon. Kanawati has suggested that he may have originated from the capital⁴⁹ and, as he was likely the first person to be buried in the North, he may have also used artists trained in the capital to decorate his tomb. Over time the training of the artists who decorated the tombs of his sons, *Hm-Rꜥ/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, as well as *Nb-jb*, differed and a local style developed, which was likely influenced more by neighbouring provinces than the capital. Therefore, it would seem that rather than the style and canon of the tombs in the North Mountain resembling that of the FIP, a local provincial style had developed. A similar situation seems to have

⁴⁴ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 27; Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 6, figs. 2, 3, 17(b), 18(b), 27(a), 29(a), 31.

⁴⁵ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 34, 35.

⁴⁶ Alliot, *Tell Edfou 1933*, pl. 14; Ziegler, *Catalogues des stèles*, 78-81 [9].

⁴⁷ Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 64.

⁴⁸ See: Appendix: Family Tree – Extended

⁴⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 17.

occurred in the South, albeit to a lesser degree, between the tombs of *Jbj* and *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw*. By the time of *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw* it seems Upper Egypt 12 had become their main residence rather than Upper Egypt 8, unlike their predecessor *Jbj* who appears to have emphasised his connection with Upper Egypt 8 and the capital.⁵⁰

Both Russmann⁵¹ and Brovarski⁵² in their examinations of relief art and small sculpture respectively, have suggested that these features appear between the reigns of Pepy I and Pepy II,⁵³ terming this the so-called “Second Style” of Old Kingdom art. Applying this identification to the art at Deir el-Gebrawi would also seem to be appropriate, as so many of the criteria identified by Russmann and Brovarski appear to match.⁵⁴ However, for a more definitive assessment, a much larger study (beyond the confines of this paper) and further research would be required. Nevertheless, rather than scholars postulating different styles between the North and South, perhaps it is more prudent to state that the artwork at Deir el-Gebrawi is in a seemingly transitional period between the art styles and traditions of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties and the FIP.

OFFERING TABLE SCENES⁵⁵

There are fourteen preserved offering table scenes at Deir el-Gebrawi – five in the North Mountain and nine in the South Mountain. Each of the scenes are in different stages of preservation, ranging from those with minimal damage, as seen in the tombs of *Jbj*⁵⁶ and *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw*,⁵⁷ to those that are almost destroyed or exist as mere outlines, as with *Htp-*

⁵⁰ See: Chapter 3: Careers and Titles – *Jbj*, *Dꜥw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜥw*

⁵¹ Russmann, “A Second Style in Egyptian Art” in: *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 269-279.

⁵² Brovarski, “A Second Style in Egyptian Relief” in: Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond*, 49-86.

⁵³ Russmann, “A Second Style in Egyptian Art” in: *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 277-278; Brovarski, “A Second Style in Egyptian Relief” in: Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond*, 84.

⁵⁴ Russmann, “A Second Style in Egyptian Art” in: *MDAIK* 51 (1995), passim; Brovarski, “A Second Style in Egyptian Relief” in: Thompson and Der Manuelian (eds.), *Egypt and Beyond*, 83-84.

⁵⁵ Refer to Appendix: Plates (5-24) – Offering Table Scenes

⁵⁶ These scenes have been damaged since Davies’ recording. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 7, 19; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 54, 58.

⁵⁷ Like the scenes from the tomb of *Jbj*, these have been damaged since Davies’ recording. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 8, 9, 11, 13; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pls. 61, 64, 66, 68.

*nb(.j)*⁵⁸. Nevertheless, using various criteria,⁵⁹ it is possible to place these scenes in a relative chronological order.

Following Cherpion, six criteria can be identified⁶⁰ in the offering table scene from the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*.⁶¹ These criteria place the date of this scene from the end of Dynasty Five to the beginning of the reign of Teti. Interestingly the suggested dates for the remaining offering table scenes in the North Mountain are later than that of *Hnqw/Httj* and are located further into Dynasty Six. This would appear to support the theory that *Hnqw/Httj* was the first person to have been buried in the North Mountain. Unfortunately, his spear-fishing scene is poorly preserved⁶² and only indicates a date from the end of Dynasty Five to the end of Dynasty Six.⁶³

While these criteria are certainly helpful, it is important to note that the corresponding date order suggested by these criteria does not easily correspond to the genealogy of the tomb owners, especially for the North Mountain.⁶⁴ This is most apparent for the offering table scenes from the tombs of the brothers, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*⁶⁵ and *Hnqw/Jj...f*⁶⁶. A comparison of Cherpion's criteria⁶⁷ to their scenes leads to a date range from the reigns of Teti to Pepy I and Pepy I to early Pepy II respectively, a period of some 50 years. However, as they were brothers they would have been relatively close in age.⁶⁸ As such, a difference of at least fifty years between the constructions of their tombs is difficult to believe and it is unlikely the younger brother, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, would have survived and waited so long before beginning the construction on his tomb. This construction would have begun shortly after becoming the *hrj-tp* ³ *U. E. 12* and his brother's death. As the only common dating factor according to Cherpion's criteria was Pepy

⁵⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 60.

⁵⁹ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*; Baud, "Critères Iconographiques" in: Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*; Swinton, *The Dating of the Tombs of Officials*.

⁶⁰ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

⁶¹ This is found on the west wall of the chapel. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 37.

⁶² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 39.

⁶³ Refer to Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

⁶⁴ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 2: Marsh Scenes

⁶⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46.

⁶⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 53.

⁶⁷ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

⁶⁸ See: Chapter 1: Genealogy of the Tomb Owners – North Mountain and Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain

I, this may suggest that these tombs were constructed at some point during the reign of this king.

What is striking are the similarities between the compositions of their offering table scenes. Both *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*⁶⁹ and *Hnqw/Jj...f*⁷⁰ are seated in the same positions with their right hand extended towards the offering table. The thumb and index fingers of their left hands hold a perfume jar which is raised to their respective noses. The height of the bread on the table reaches to their shoulder line and the offering list, which is in the centre of the scene above the table, is in the same position as each other. Indeed, even the placement of the hieroglyphs on the wall is the same. While there are differences, such as their clothing⁷¹ and the rounded top

⁶⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46.

⁷⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 53.

⁷¹ This is particularly noticeable with the kilt worn by the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* for example, he is depicted wearing either a short, tight-fitting kilt (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46) or a flared kilt (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 47, 49). A similar trend appears in the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f* (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 53, 54, 55). Jewellery and beading features prominently as an accessory in the clothing of these brothers, particularly in the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f*. Both *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* wear a flared kilt in their respective *zšš w3d* and spear-fishing scenes. By comparison, *Hnqw/Httj* wears noticeably less jewellery and is depicted three times wearing a flared kilt (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37, 39) and short, tight-fitting kilt twice (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37, 40). Unlike *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, *Hnqw/Httj* wears a *šndjtt* kilt while spear-fishing. However, while seated at the offering table *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* only wear the short, tight-fitting kilt. The flared kilt with jewellery as an accessory is also worn by *Nb-jb* while seated at the offering table (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 34; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 60). In the South Mountain, on the other hand, Swinton (*The Dating of the Tombs of Officials*, 185) points out that *Jbj* is seen wearing a flared kilt in all but two representations (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 6, 17; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 48, 56) and when seated at the offering table. A similar trend is again seen in the tomb of *D^cw/šm3j* and *D^cw*, where they are depicted wearing a flared kilt except when seated at the offering table or in the palanquin scene (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 8; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 63). In the respective scenes from the tomb of *Nfr-tp-w3* (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 65) and *Nfr-hwt* (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 66), a figure is seen wearing a long flared kilt and a short tight-fitting kilt while seated. The scenes from the tombs of *Htp-nb(.j)* (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 60) and *Wh3* (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 61) are badly damaged and no conclusions can be made, although it appears that the two figures in the latter tomb scene are wearing a flared and tight-fitting kilt respectively. It is worth noting that the women are always depicted wearing a plain ankle-length dress with shoulder straps, although the amount of jewellery worn differs. The wife of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* is an exception as she also wears a bead net over the ankle-length dress in the offering table scene (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46).

corner of the offering table,⁷² the various similarities of these scenes seem to imply they have a close relationship as brothers and are not too distant from each other in time.

For Brovarski, one particularly notable feature is the presence of a mirrored box under the chair in the offering table scene in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*.⁷³ He states that this, along with a “supplementary frame”⁷⁴ on the false door, is an indication for a date of the brothers’ tombs to the reign of Pepy II or later.⁷⁵ It would seem, however, that Brovarski has made an error as the false door that he attributes to *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*,⁷⁶ actually appears in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*.⁷⁷ Indeed, *Hnqw/Httj* also has two false doors, one on the west wall and another on the east, the latter being badly damaged.⁷⁸ Further, this “supplementary frame” does not feature on the false door carved on the west wall in *Hnqw/Httj*’s tomb.⁷⁹ It would seem however, that Brovarski was referring to one of the two false doors on the west wall in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*.⁸⁰ Another “supplementary frame” can also be found in the tomb of *Ndt-m-pt/Ttj* from Saqqara, which has been dated to late in the reign of Teti or possibly early Pepy I.⁸¹

⁷² The top corner of the table top in the scene from *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* is flat (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46), while it is slightly rounded and raised in the scene from *Hnqw/Jj...f* (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 53).

⁷³ This part of the wall scene is now damaged. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 46.

⁷⁴ Brovarski (“False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 109) defines a “supplementary frame” as consisting of a lintel and two jambs outside the cavetto cornice and the false door proper.

⁷⁵ Brovarski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 111; Brovarski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt” in: *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 102.

⁷⁶ Brovarski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 111 n. 387.

⁷⁷ It should be noted that at the time the chapter “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology* was published, Davies’ publication was the only source available. As such, Brovarski cites “*Deir el Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 28”. However, this plate contains the plans for the layout of the wall scenes in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*, that Davies refers to as Kheteta.

⁷⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 28; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 24-25, pls. 6(b), 36, 38.

⁷⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 27, 28; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 6(b), 36, 38.

⁸⁰ Three false doors are found in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*. The third, which is on the north wall, is roughly cut and possibly unfinished. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 16. See also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 13, 16, 41, 44, 45.

⁸¹ Kanawati and Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, 13, pls. 12(b), 45(b).

Nevertheless, the appearance of the mirrored box by itself does not indicate that the tombs of the brothers are automatically dated to the reign of Pepy II. Using one form of evidence to date a tomb is apparent in his argument that the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* can be dated to later than those of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*.⁸² Brovarski bases this argument on the “archaeology” of *Hnqw/Httj*’s tomb.⁸³ However, it is improbable that the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* is later than those of the brothers, as it is almost certain that *Hnqw/Httj* was in fact their father.⁸⁴ *Hnqw/Httj* himself states that of his five sons, two were named *Hm-R^c* and *Hnqw* respectively,⁸⁵ and no other combination of these two names appears in the North.⁸⁶

Brovarski also discusses the “nested ewers, basins and *hezet*- and/or *qebeh*-vessels”⁸⁷ which he argues first appear during the reign of Teti and continue through to the reign of Pepy II.⁸⁸ He believes there was “some confusion regarding the service tables and racks” by the artist, particularly in the tomb of *Jbj*.⁸⁹ He further states that the draughtsmen working on the tombs of *Ppjj-^cnh(.w)-hrj-jb* and *Ppjj-^cnh(.w)-km* from Meir “were not subject to the same confusion”.⁹⁰ To presume that the difference in the placement of the ewer was the result of an artist’s “confusion”, dismisses or lessens the skills of the artist and his knowledge of current artistic trends or fashions,⁹¹ particularly as it appears that those working on *Jbj*’s tomb were trained in the capital.⁹² One must allow that a certain degree of individuality on behalf of the tomb owner, presumably in consultation with the artist, may have also been a factor in the decoration of a tomb.⁹³

⁸² Brovarski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt” in: *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 102-103.

⁸³ Brovarski, “Overseers of Upper Egypt” in: *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 103.

⁸⁴ See also: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

⁸⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 31; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 22, pls. 37, 39.

⁸⁶ See also: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

⁸⁷ Brovarski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 76.

⁸⁸ Brovarski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 71-84.

⁸⁹ Brovarski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 76.

⁹⁰ Brovarski, “False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty” in: Bárta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 76.

⁹¹ Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*, 11.

⁹² Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 234.

⁹³ See also: Kanawati and Woods, *Artists in the Old Kingdom*, 7-26.

The offering table scene dedicated to *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s wife, *Nbt*, on the south wall of the chapel,⁹⁴ should probably be dated to a similar time as that of her husband. This is supported by the date suggested by using Cherpion's criteria,⁹⁵ which is within the reign of Teti. However, it is possible that she predeceased her husband and his other wife, *Hntjt-k3/Jjj*, as *Nbt* appears alone in this scene. If this were the case, it may have been that this wall was also the first to be fully painted. Nevertheless, the appearance of the date *3bd 3 prt sw 13* is certainly rare,⁹⁶ but does little to suggest a date within the reign of a specific king. It is also noteworthy that this scene is the only instance in the North Mountain to depict one person before an offering table and that unlike her male counterparts *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Nb-jb*, with the exception of *Hnqw/Httj*, she is not shown smelling a perfume jar.

Nb-jb's offering table scene⁹⁷ is the final representation preserved in the North Mountain and the overall composition of this scene is very different to those of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*. He is depicted seated in front of his wife to the right of the offering table, whereas the other representations from the North Mountain and elsewhere depict the tomb owner on the left side of the table. *Nb-jb*'s sons, *Z3-n-rht.f* and *Hrw-nb.f-wj*, are also shown in this scene presenting a perfume jar and an oryx to their parents. Interestingly, *Nb-jb* is shown smelling a perfume jar and the placement of his fingers matches that of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, while the location of his wife's hands, on his shoulder and back, is the same as *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*'s wife, *Hm-R^c*. Cherpion using her criteria⁹⁸ places the date for this scene between the reigns of Teti and Pepy I, although only four of her criteria can be identified by the writer. While four criteria may not be a sufficient quantity to date this scene reliably, the various differences between this scene and those remaining in the North Mountain suggest that *Nb-jb* may not have been related to the family of *Hnqw/Httj*. If they were related, one would expect to see many more similarities between the composition of these scenes, as is evident between *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*.

⁹⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 26; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 57.

⁹⁵ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

⁹⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 73.

⁹⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 60.

⁹⁸ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

Of the nine offering table scenes in the South Mountain, two scenes⁹⁹ are found in the tomb of *Jbj*, four in the tomb of *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw* and one belongs to *Thjtt*, the likely sister of *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj*¹⁰⁰. The remaining two scenes are found in the tombs of *Whꜣ* and *Htp-nb(.j)* respectively. Cherpion's criteria¹⁰¹ date the composition of these scenes from the reigns of Pepy I to Pepy II, as is to be expected as these tomb owners are known to have been related.

Unfortunately, the scene from the tomb of *Htp-nb(.j)*¹⁰² is very badly damaged and as only two criteria can be identified, a date is inconclusive.¹⁰³

Although badly damaged, the scene from the tomb of *Whꜣ*¹⁰⁴ depicts the tomb owner seated before the offering table with his right hand reaching for the table. Interestingly, the fingers of his outstretched hand are depicted in front of the bread. This feature is also found in offering table scenes from the tombs of *Jbj* and *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw* as well as various tombs in locations such as Akhmim,¹⁰⁵ Meir,¹⁰⁶ Quseir el-Amarna¹⁰⁷ and the capital¹⁰⁸. Curiously, an unidentified male figure appears on the left of the scene and stands before the tomb owner. Kanawati has suggested this figure may be a mirrored representation of *Whꜣ*, as similar examples are found at Akhmim.¹⁰⁹ Following Cherpion and Baud,¹¹⁰ this scene seems to indicate a date between Pepy I and Pepy II.

⁹⁹ There appears to have been a third offering table scene (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 17; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 56). On the west wall of the shrine, *Jbj* is shown seated with his hand extended as if he were sitting before an offering table. The remains of an upturned table edge are just visible. A short vertical line can also be seen and was most likely part of the bread offerings. Two *hs*-jars inside a jar rack also remain. However, a false door was carved in the centre of this wall so the offering table itself was destroyed.

¹⁰⁰ See also: Chapter 2: Genealogy – South Mountain

¹⁰¹ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

¹⁰² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 60.

¹⁰³ These criteria suggests a date between the reign of Neferirkare and the FIP.

¹⁰⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 61.

¹⁰⁵ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 24 [*Špsj-pw-Mnw*]; vol. 6, fig. 2 [*Hꜣjj-Mnw*], 17(b) [*Wꜣh...*], 29(a) [*Qꜣr*]; vol. 7, figs. 28 [*Ghsꜣ*], 36(a) [*Wtt-hꜣzz[t]*], 36(b) [*Mrjj*].

¹⁰⁶ Blackman, *Meir* 4, pls. 14, 15 [*Ppjj-ꜣnh(.w)-hrj-jb*]; Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pl. 33 [*Ppjj-ꜣnh(.w)-km*].

¹⁰⁷ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 40.

¹⁰⁸ Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 2, figs. 23, 25, 31 [*Qꜣr*]; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, figs. 4, 20.

¹⁰⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 79, 81.

¹¹⁰ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 1: Offering Table Scenes

One of the more intriguing features of these offering table scenes is that the wife of the tomb owner is not depicted seated with her husband in any of the preserved scenes from the South. However, in the North the tomb owner's wife is depicted in each scene beside her husband with her hand on his shoulder, back or arm, and it seems apparent that both husband and wife were the same height.¹¹¹ McCorquodale has noted that the wife touching her husband was common throughout the Old Kingdom.¹¹² Nevertheless, it is interesting that the only instance in the South Mountain where the tomb owner is seated with his wife on the same chair appears on the north wall in the tomb of *Jbj*, where they are shown watching workers in the field.¹¹³

The wife of *Hnqw/Httj* is shown with her legs in front of the chair while the scenes from the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Nb-jb* depict the wives with her legs behind the chair.¹¹⁴ McCorquodale has suggested that the depiction of the wives' legs in front of the chair was common in the provinces.¹¹⁵ At Deir el-Gebrawi, however, this does not appear to have been the case and may be indicative of a stylistic trend specifically within this province.¹¹⁶ The different positioning of the legs may also be an indicator of dating within the offering table scenes. The position of the legs of *Hnqw/Httj*'s wife, *Bndt*, are different to those of the wives of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Nb-jb*. *Hnqw/Httj* and *Bndt* were most probably the first people to be buried in the North Mountain.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, a similar trend in the depiction of the wives' legs in front of or behind the chair may be apparent at Akhmim. These three Sixth Dynasty tombs where a husband and wife are seated together before an offering table¹¹⁸ have been variously dated by Kanawati from the reigns of Pepy I and Pepy II¹¹⁹. However, as the

¹¹¹ This can only be confirmed for the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* because the artist's guidelines are still visible as are the tops of the heads (Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 37, 53). However, as the height of the shoulders for both the tomb owner and wife in the scenes from the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Nb-jb* are the same, it seems likely that their heads were also of the same height.

¹¹² McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 34.

¹¹³ This scene is now badly damaged. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 12.

¹¹⁴ See: Appendix: Plates – Offering Table Scenes

¹¹⁵ McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 27.

¹¹⁶ McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 26-27, 50.

¹¹⁷ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

¹¹⁸ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 6, figs. 2 [*Hzzj-Mnw/Zzj*], 17 [*W3h-...*], 22(a) [*Qrrj*].

¹¹⁹ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 6, 8-10 [*Hzzj-Mnw/Zzj*], 39 [*W3h-...*], 47-48 [*Qrrj*].

legs of *Hm-R^c/Hmj*, the wife of *Jbj* from the South Mountain, are in front of the chair¹²⁰ and as there is not enough comparative evidence from other cemeteries or the North Mountain itself, this remains a preliminary observation.

Another important feature of these scenes in the North Mountain is that the wife of *Hnqw/Httj* and *Nb-jb* are depicted to the right of the tomb owner.¹²¹ However, in the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, the wives of these individuals are depicted to their left.¹²² Robins and McCorquodale have pointed out that the positioning of the wife to the right of the tomb owner was indicative of a less dominant position.¹²³ This suggests that the wives of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* may have had a close relationship with their husbands, as it appears their husbands, particularly in these offering table scenes, saw them as equals. According to Swinton, the positioning of the wife “behind” the tomb owner is a dating criterion,¹²⁴ which first appeared in the reign of Sahure and continued through to the reign of Pepy I and possibly early in the reign of Merenre.

We should be aware that the apparent absence of the tomb owners’ wives in these scenes from the South Mountain may be the result of poor preservation or a change in an artistic and/or stylistic trend, which indeed occurred in the latter part of the Old Kingdom.

The shape of the bread as it appears on the top of the offering tables in the North and South Mountains conforms to Kahlbacher’s revised classification.¹²⁵ Following this analysis, the loaves on the table in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* seem to belong to Kahlbacher’s “Transitional Stage 2”.¹²⁶ She dates this from the end of Dynasty Five or the beginning of Dynasty Six to the Middle Kingdom. On the other hand, the bread in the remaining scenes from the North Mountain and each of those in the South, appear to match her “Reed Stage”.¹²⁷ This style is

¹²⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 12.

¹²¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 37, 60.

¹²² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 46, 53.

¹²³ McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 19, 26-27; Robins, “Gender Hierarchy” in: *JARCE* 31 (1994), 33-40.

¹²⁴ Swinton, *The Dating of the Tombs of Officials*, 241 [Criterion 54].

¹²⁵ Kahlbacher, “Bread and Reed in the Funerary Repast Imagery” in: *BACE* 24 (2013), 7-17.

¹²⁶ Kahlbacher, “Bread and Reed in the Funerary Repast Imagery” in: *BACE* 24 (2013), 13-14, fig. 7.

¹²⁷ Kahlbacher, “Bread and Reed in the Funerary Repast Imagery” in: *BACE* 24 (2013), 13-14, fig. 7.

dated from the beginning of Dynasty Six through to the Middle Kingdom. Again, as with Cherpion's criteria, the different dates for the earliest attestations of the "Transitional Stage 2" and "Reed Stage" appear to match the proposed genealogy, with *Hnqw/Httj* as the first person buried in the North Mountain.¹²⁸

MARSH SCENES¹²⁹

There are eight examples of Marsh Scenes throughout Deir el-Gebrawi and this represents the second most frequently attested scene type at this cemetery. Classified into the five scene types identified by Woods,¹³⁰ four examples depict the tomb owner spear-fishing, three are of fowling and only one shows the tomb owner in a papyrus pulling scene. Perhaps through accident of preservation, each of the marsh scenes in the South Mountain are from the tombs of *Jbj* and *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw*.

The scenes in the South¹³¹ are well preserved with the exception of the fowling scene from the tomb of *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw*.¹³² The state of the scenes in the North however is very different, with the four scenes being in a poor state of preservation.¹³³

The overall composition and the various details in the marsh scenes from the South Mountain are almost identical. The scenes in the tomb of *Jbj*¹³⁴ depict both himself and *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* as active participants. The same depiction of father and son as active participants in the marsh scenes appears in the tomb of *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj* and *Dꜣw*.¹³⁵ However, in both instances the father, *Dꜣw/Šmꜣj*, is shown as the main figure. What is most striking about this scene from the tomb

¹²⁸ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

¹²⁹ Refer to Appendix: Plates (25-32) – Marsh Scenes

¹³⁰ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 11-15.

¹³¹ However, these scenes been damaged since Davies' publication. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 3, 5; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3-4, 5.

¹³² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 3.

¹³³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 17, 23; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 39, 50, 54.

¹³⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 3, 5.

¹³⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3, 5.

of *Jbj*, however, is its resemblance to the spear-fishing scene from various Memphite tombs particularly, *Nḥbw* from Giza¹³⁶ and *Htp-ḥr-ḥt* from Saqqara¹³⁷.

Following Woods' criteria,¹³⁸ the nine elements have been identified by the author for the spear-fishing scene in the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj*¹³⁹ only provides a date between the reigns of Djedkare in Dynasty Five and the end of Pepy II's reign in Dynasty Six. This broad dating range can be attributed to the fact that this scene is poorly preserved and heavily damaged. However, the angle at which *Hnqw/Httj* holds the spear, and the fact that three of his sons are depicted with him, seems to bear a close resemblance to the scene from *Hw.n-wh/Ttj* at Quseir el-Amarna.¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, twenty-seven criteria can be identified in the spear-fishing scene from the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f*.¹⁴¹ This suggests a date between the reigns of Unas in Dynasty Five and Pepy I in Dynasty Six.¹⁴² When this is compared to the criteria for the papyrus pulling¹⁴³ and fowling scenes¹⁴⁴ in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* a date from late in the reign of Teti and early in the reign of Pepy I is suggested. Considering they were most probably brothers and the construction of their tombs likely occurred at similar times, a construction date between the reigns of Teti and early Pepy I is possible.

Unfortunately the fowling scene from the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* is fragmentary and poorly preserved.¹⁴⁵ Even so, certain details are still visible. *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* stands on a papyrus skiff with his right hand raised above his head holding a throw-stick. He is accompanied by his wife and four men, two of whom are identified as his sons. Based on their size in relation to the tomb

¹³⁶ Smith, "The Judge Goes Fishing" in: *BMFA* 56: 304 (1958), fig. 2.

¹³⁷ Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 34.

¹³⁸ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, *passim*, esp. Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features.

¹³⁹ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 2: Marsh Scenes

¹⁴⁰ El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38. See also: Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 324 [37].

¹⁴¹ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 2: Marsh Scenes

¹⁴² Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*. See also: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 2: Marsh Scenes

¹⁴³ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 2: Marsh Scenes

¹⁴⁴ See: Appendix: Art Criteria – Table 2: Marsh Scenes

¹⁴⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 50.

owner, the remaining two men may also be his sons, but this is uncertain as no inscription survives. Interestingly *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I's wife, *Hm-R^c*, stands directly behind her husband on the papyrus skiff. She has her left hand around his waist and her right hand touches his back. It is noticeable that part of the figure of *Hm-R^c* is hidden behind by the lower leg of her husband.

The papyrus pulling scene in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I¹⁴⁶ and the spear-fishing scene in the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f*¹⁴⁷ are particularly interesting. Numerous similarities exist between their offering table scenes,¹⁴⁸ suggesting they were close. One would expect this trend to continue in other scene types throughout their tombs if this were true. This does not discount the choice or individuality of the brothers, as it would be highly unlikely for their tombs to be exact mirror images and so differences should be expected. It is also noteworthy that various similarities exist between *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s spear-fishing scene and that of *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, considering their already established filial relationship, interesting similarities do appear.

The spear-fishing scene on the north wall of the chapel from the tomb of *Hnqw/Jj...f*¹⁵⁰ depicts the tomb owner on a papyrus skiff, accompanied by his son, *Jzj*. It has been suggested that the woman who appears behind on the smaller papyrus skiff was one of the tomb owner's wives, either *Hntjt-k3/Jj*¹⁵¹ or *Nbt*,¹⁵² or a male holding a fishing line and club¹⁵³. It is more likely, however, that this is a woman as there is a slight curvature on the chest indicating a breast. This woman also has red-brown skin,¹⁵⁴ which resembles that of *Nbt* in her offering table scene.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17.

¹⁴⁷ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 54.

¹⁴⁸ See above "Offering Table Scenes", also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 46, 53.

¹⁴⁹ Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 5.

¹⁵⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 23; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 54.

¹⁵¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 29.

¹⁵² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 68-69; Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 340 [85].

¹⁵³ This suggestion is tentative. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 69.

¹⁵⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 26(b).

¹⁵⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 31.

Hntjt-k3/Jjj, on the other hand, is portrayed with pale yellow skin in the offering table scene with *Hnqw/Jj...f*.¹⁵⁶ It would therefore appear that the woman on the papyrus skiff is *Nbt*.¹⁵⁷

Only twenty-two *zšš w3d* or papyrus pulling scenes appear throughout the Old Kingdom with the vast majority located at Giza.¹⁵⁸ This scene has been interpreted as either an action causing fowl to fly out of the papyrus thicket¹⁵⁹ or a religious ritual dedicated to Hathor¹⁶⁰. The *zšš w3d* scene type appears in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* on the west side of the north wall.¹⁶¹ This scene is accompanied by the caption *zšš (n) Hwt-ḥr nbt t3wj (jn) jm3h(w) ḥr Wsjr Jzj* “pulling the papyrus for Hathor, mistress of the two lands by the honoured one before Osiris, Isi”. In this case, it is clear that this action or activity is associated with Hathor and may indeed have a ritual meaning. Regardless, the positioning of his body and the placement of the papyrus stem is unusual as the stem is depicted behind his shoulders. It appears that he is pulling the papyrus with both hands as his back faces the viewer.

Nevertheless, the *zšš w3d* scene in this tomb depicts *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* standing with both feet flat on a boat and holding a papyrus reed at a slight angle with both arms outstretched. An unidentified woman, who is kneeling in front of him and touching his leg, actively takes part in this scene¹⁶² as her hand is outstretched towards the papyrus thicket.

As *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s wife, *Nbt*, seems to have been depicted in her husband's spear-fishing scene, and given the numerous similarities between the scenes of the brothers, it seems likely that the wife of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*, *Hm-R^c*, would be depicted in the *zšš w3d* scene as well. Lashien has argued this scene is one aspect of a much larger narrative throughout tomb, which continues on the

¹⁵⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 25(a).

¹⁵⁷ See also: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 68-69; McCorquodale, *Representations of Family*, 235-236.

¹⁵⁸ After Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 308 [1].

¹⁵⁹ Altenmüller, “*zšš w3d* in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches” in: *SAK* 30 (2002), 1-42; Balcz, “Zu den Szenen der Jagdfahrten im Papyrosdickicht” in: *ZÄS* 79 (1939), 32-38; Dunham, “A “Palimpsest” on an Egyptian Mastaba Wall” in: *AJA* 39:3 (1935), 304.

¹⁶⁰ Lashien, “The So-Called Pilgrimage in the Old Kingdom” in: *BACE* 20 (2009), 102-103; Harpur, “*zšš w3d* Scenes of the Old Kingdom” in: *GM* 38 (1980), 57-59.

¹⁶¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17.

¹⁶² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 17; Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 340 [85].

east side of the north wall and moves to the east wall.¹⁶³ Indeed, *Hm-R* the wife appears with her husband and is named on the north wall immediately to the east of the doorway.¹⁶⁴ Again she appears with her husband under a canopy in the upper register on the extreme east end of the north wall.¹⁶⁵ Considering that this *zšš w3d* scene clearly depicts both husband and wife at their destination as well as returning from this ritual journey,¹⁶⁶ it seems likely that *Hm-R* would also be shown with her husband while they were actually pulling papyri.

Another similarity between *Hnqw/Jj...f*'s spear-fishing scene and *Hm-R/Jzj I*'s *zšš w3d* scene, is the angle of the spear held by the former brother and the papyrus reed held by the latter brother, that is 32° and 25° respectively. According to Woods, these angles can be categorised as “sharp”, falling within her defined range of 23° to 32°.¹⁶⁷ While such angles in tomb scenes are certainly not unusual, the similarity of the angles of the spear and the pulled papyrus reed in the two brother's tombs, is striking.

This becomes even more noticeable when the *zšš w3d* scene of *Hm-R/Jzj I* is compared with the remaining twenty-one Old Kingdom examples.¹⁶⁸ Discounting those which feature the woman pulling the papyrus,¹⁶⁹ as Woods states these stems are usually shown at an angle,¹⁷⁰ the example from *Hm-R/Jzj I* depicts the tomb owner in a pose that closely resembles a figure spear-fishing. The remaining examples featuring men in the *zšš w3d* scene, show the tomb

¹⁶³ Lashien, “The So-Called Pilgrimage in the Old Kingdom” in: *BACE* 20 (2009), 99.

¹⁶⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 18; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 47.

¹⁶⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Lashien, “The So-Called Pilgrimage in the Old Kingdom” in: *BACE* 20 (2009), 99.

¹⁶⁷ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 324 [38].

¹⁶⁸ After Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 308 [1].

¹⁶⁹ *Mr.s-ḥ* (Dunham and Simpson, *Merysankh III*, fig. 4); *Jwff* (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 35); *Nbt* (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, pl. 8; PM 3, 624-625); *Mrrw-k3.j/Mrj* (Kanawati et al, *Mereruka* 3:2, pl. 85); *ḥn.s-Mrjj-R* II (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, pl. 12b).

¹⁷⁰ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 65.

owner with the papyrus stem held above his head,¹⁷¹ pulling the stem directly from the thicket,¹⁷² or are too fragmentary to determine their posture¹⁷³.

Given the numerous parallels of the offering table scenes of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*, it seems that they also attempted to draw similarities of composition between the *zšš w3d* scene in the tomb of the older brother¹⁷⁴ and spear-fishing scene in the tomb of the younger. It would appear therefore, that the characteristics typical of spear-fishing scenes in the Sixth Dynasty¹⁷⁵ were applied to the *zšš w3d* scene of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I. These similarities indicate that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* enjoyed a close bond and illustrated their relationship in a visual manner. The mirrored locations of the offering table and marsh scenes on the same sections of the north wall in their respective tombs,¹⁷⁶ also supports this suggestion of a close relationship. Although this cannot be compared to that of the tomb of *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*,¹⁷⁷ one does wonder if the idea for this visual representation stemmed from the twins' tomb at Saqqara.

¹⁷¹ See: Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 316 [16].

¹⁷² See: Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Scenes and Individual Features, 316 [17].

¹⁷³ Horemheb fragments (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, pl. 13); *Hnwt* (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, pl. 9); *K3pj* (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, pl. 5a); *Ftk-t3* (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, pl. 5b).

¹⁷⁴ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy of the Tomb Owners and Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain

¹⁷⁵ Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 176-189.

¹⁷⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 16, 22; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 46-49, 67-67, cf. pls. 41, 51.

¹⁷⁷ Evans and Woods, "Entwined Lives" presented at: *Third Australasian Egyptology Conference*, Macquarie University, July 17 (Sydney, 2014).

CHAPTER 5

ARCHITECTURE OF THE TOMBS

FLOOR PLAN AND FEATURES¹

The floor plans of the rock-cut tombs between the North and South Mountains are very different and various trends are apparent. One particularly noticeable trend is the orientation of the chapel. With the exception of *Hnqw/Httj*, whose chapel is oriented on a roughly North-South axis,² the remaining 14 chapels across both Mountains follow an East-West axis.³ Such North-South axes are attested at Akhmim with the tombs of *Ttj/K3.j-ḥp*,⁴ *Ḥm-Mnw*⁵ and *Ḥzjj-Mnw*,⁶ and at Meir in the tombs of *Ppjj-ḥnh(.w)-km*⁷ and *Nj-ḥnh-Ppjj-km*⁸. The varying dates of these tombs, between Unas and Teti to Pepy II, suggest that this feature was in use throughout the Old Kingdom in Upper Egypt. The tomb chapels at Akhmim⁹ and Meir¹⁰ that follow an East-West axis are dated from Pepy I to Pepy II.

At Deir el-Gebrawi as a tomb feature, the shape of the chapel can be divided into two main types: 1) square or roughly square and 2) rectangular or roughly rectangular with a serdab and/or offering recess. Eight chapels fall into the first category,¹¹ while the remaining six fall into the second¹². Square chapels would presumably be faster and cheaper to carve in comparison to their rectangular counterparts, because they are smaller in area and volume. As

¹ Refer to Appendix: Plates (33-45) – Tomb Plans

² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 35.

³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 2, 22 [Tomb 10]; vol. 2, pls. 2, 16, 22, 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 41, 51, 58, 59; vol. 2, pls. 41, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64; vol. 3, pls. 53, 83.

⁴ Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish* 3, fig. 1.

⁵ Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish* 5, fig. 1.

⁶ Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish* 6, fig. 1.

⁷ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pl. 1.

⁸ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, 5, pl. 1; Kanawati, *Meir* 2, pl. 69.

⁹ Kanawati, *Rock Tombs of el-Hawawish* 1, fig. 5; vol. 2, figs. 1, 2, 24; vol. 7, fig. 10.

¹⁰ Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 1; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 73.

¹¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 21 [Tombs 2, 14, 16, 41, 42], 22 [Tomb 33]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 58, 59; vol. 2, pls. 59, 61, 62, 63, 64.

¹² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 2, 22 [Tomb 10]; vol. 2, pls. 2, 16, 22, 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 35, 41, 51, 59; vol. 2, pl. 41; vol. 3, pls. 53, 83.

such, it is not surprising that the six rectangular tomb chapels belong to *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* from the North Mountain and *Jbj* and *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* from the South, all of whom were powerful individuals within Upper Egypt 12. The remaining rectangular tomb chapel, S10,¹³ does not have an identifiable tomb owner, but may have been originally carved for *D^cw/Šm3j*.¹⁴ Tomb S10 has various architectural parallels with the tomb of *Jbj*.¹⁵ Further, S10 and the tomb of *Jbj* are located directly beside each other.¹⁶ Kanawati has plausibly suggested that *D^cw* was unable to expand Tomb S10 to accommodate the burials of himself and his two wives.¹⁷ As such, he chose a different location on the South Mountain to construct a tomb. Presumably this decision was made in consultation with *D^cw/Šm3j* while he was still alive, otherwise the construction of a brand new, larger tomb than S10,¹⁸ would have taken too long following his death.

Nevertheless, the Type 1 chapels, such as *Nb-jb*,¹⁹ *Htp-nb(.j)*,²⁰ *Wh3*²¹ and *Thjtt*,²² are consistently single room chapels. Unlike their Type 2 counterparts, they do not contain any offering recess or serdab²³ and are much smaller in size²⁴. One of the most significant features of the Type 1 chapels in the South is that they also contain a large number of burial apartments, recesses and galleries.²⁵ Between the six tombs from the South, there are twenty-six burial apartments, recesses and galleries.²⁶ Perhaps this large number indicates that various members of one family were buried in the same tomb. This may be a reflection of the local economy at the time they were buried or say something of the social standing of the individual. Regardless

¹³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 22 [Tomb 10]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 83.

¹⁴ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 21.

¹⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 2, 22 [Tomb 10]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 41; vol. 3, pl. 83.

¹⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 1(a).

¹⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 21.

¹⁸ See: Appendix: Tomb Dimensions

¹⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 59(a).

²⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 21 [Tomb 2]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 59.

²¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 21 [Tomb 14]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 61.

²² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 21 [Tomb 16]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 62.

²³ See below.

²⁴ See below: Dimensions

²⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 21 [Tombs 2, 14, 16, 41, 42], 22 [Tomb 33]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 58, 59; vol. 2, pls. 59, 61, 62, 63, 64.

²⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 76 [*Htp-nb(.j)*], 80-81 [*Wh3*], 84 [*Thjtt*], 87 [*Mrwt*], 91 [*Nfr-tp-w3*], 94 [*Nfr-hwt*].

of the reason(s), the same square or roughly square, small chapel types are frequently found at Akhmim.²⁷

The Type 2 chapels also contain consistent features between both the North and South Mountains. With only one exception, namely N95²⁸ in the North, these chapels each contain a second room, possibly a serdab, on the north wall.²⁹ As this chapel type was a feature only in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R/Jzj I*, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, *Jbj* and *Dʿw/Šmʒj* and *Dʿw*, all of whom held the position of *ḥrj-tp ʿ3 U. E. 12*, it may be suggested that this chapel type was incorporated in those tombs for the individuals who held this position within the 12th Upper Egyptian province. Nevertheless, this feature closely resembles the tombs from Sheikh Saïd, where the second rooms are found in the tombs of *Srfk3*,³⁰ *Mrw/Bbj*,³¹ *Wjw/Jjjw*,³² *Ttj-ʿnh/Jmj-ḥtp*,³³ Tomb 3³⁴ and Tomb 6³⁵. One example is also found at Meir in the tomb of *Ppjj-ʿnh-ḥrj-jb*.³⁶ By comparison, the Type 2 chapels in the South Mountain included an offering recess rather than a serdab, and are also located in the centre of the north wall.³⁷ Interestingly, this particular feature is commonly found at Akhmim in the tombs of *Hzzj-Mnw*,³⁸ *Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj*,³⁹ *Sfhw*⁴⁰ and *Ttj*,⁴¹ all of which can be dated between the reigns of Merenre to early-mid Pepy II.⁴² Meir

²⁷ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 6, figs. 13, 17, 20, 22, 29, 32; vol. 7, figs. 2, 7, 9, 26.

²⁸ This tomb likely belongs to *Jmpjj*, a son of *Hnqw/Httj* and brother of *Hm-R/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* (See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain). For convenience, this tomb will continue to be referred to as N95.

²⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 16, 22, 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 35, 41, 51.

³⁰ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 3.

³¹ This tomb contains a third room with the entrance cut into the north wall of the secondary room. See: Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 18.

³² This tomb contains a third room, which is roughly cut. See: Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 22.

³³ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 19.

³⁴ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 32.

³⁵ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 32.

³⁶ Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 1; Kanawati, *Meir* 1, pl. 73.

³⁷ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 2, 22 [Tomb 10]; vol. 2, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 41; vol. 3, pls. 53, 83.

³⁸ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 7, fig. 2.

³⁹ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 1.

⁴⁰ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 6, fig. 10.

⁴¹ Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 1.

⁴² Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* 7, 9-10 [*Hzzj-Mnw*]; vol. 2, 11-14 [*Špsj-pw-Mnw/Hnj*]; vol. 6, 29 [*Sfhw*]; vol. 3, 10-14 [*Ttj*].

and Sheikh Saïd are located geographically to the north of Deir el-Gebrawi, while Akhmim is located to the south.

As the individuals from Deir el-Gebrawi were likely contemporaneous, it is possible that the offering recess and the serdab are not indicators for dating purposes. Instead, the evidence would seem to indicate the architects of the tombs in the South and North were trained and/or influenced by a different architectural school located in Akhmim and Sheikh Saïd respectively. Perhaps this was an attempt on behalf of the families of *Hnqw/Httj* and *Jbj* to distinguish themselves from each other as represented in the architecture of their tombs.

Hnqw/Httj's tomb has a North-South axis, a feature that provides a broad date within Dynasty Six.⁴³ The Type 2 chapels seem to have been reserved for the *hrj-tp* ⲉⲃ of this province and follow an East-West orientation suggesting a date between the reigns of Pepy I to Pepy II.⁴⁴ However, using the proposed genealogy as a foundation and considering that *Hnqw/Httj* was likely the first person to govern this province, if he had begun the construction of his tomb later in Dynasty Six one wonders why he would have changed the orientation of the tomb. Instead it appears there was a trend in the later Type 2 chapels at Deir el-Gebrawi which were oriented East-West not North-South. Therefore, when the orientation of these tombs is compared, it suggests that the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* was constructed during the reign of Teti.

The tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I⁴⁵ and *Hnqw/Jj...f*⁴⁶ from the North Mountain are almost identical. An examination of their plans reveals that they are almost mirror images of each other and are formed of the Type 2 chapel, oriented exactly East-West with the main false door found on the northern half of the west wall. These tombs are located almost directly beside each other on the Mountain.⁴⁷

⁴³ See: Chapter 5: Architecture – Floor Plan and Layout

⁴⁴ The suggestion that *Hnqw/Httj*'s tomb was constructed between the reigns of Pepy I to Pepy II or later, has been followed by scholars including: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 102-103 [323, 324, 333]; Brovarski, "Overseers of Upper Egypt" in: *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 103; Brunner, *Ägyptischen Felsgräber*, 43-44; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 38-40.

⁴⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 16; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 41.

⁴⁶ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 22; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 51.

⁴⁷ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 1; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 3(b).

When the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* tombs are compared to N95,⁴⁸ similarities also appear. Tomb N95 is oriented East-West with a slight deviation to the east due perhaps to difficulties in carving. It is found to the very west of the North Mountain whereas the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* are in the centre.⁴⁹ Given they were likely brothers, one wonders why *Jmpjj* chose to construct his tomb so far away from his brothers or even his father, *Hnqw/Httj*. Nevertheless, N95 also features a false door on the northern part of the west wall but this remains incomplete.⁵⁰ However, unlike the other Type 2 chapels from the North Mountain, N95 does not feature a serdab and is significantly smaller than the tombs of *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f*.⁵¹ Whether this tomb was not completed following the standard Type 2 chapel apparently reserved for a *hrj-tp* ³ of Upper Egypt 12 or was left unfinished is uncertain. However, the latter suggestion remains likely as Kanawati has noted the south-east corner and upper part of the north-west corner are uncut.

Similarities are also apparent between the tombs of *Jbj*,⁵² *D^cw/Šm³j* and *D^cw*⁵³ and S10⁵⁴. The chapel of these tombs are slightly skewed and all contain offering recesses located in the centre of the north wall. The most significant difference between these tombs is the presence of two pillar bases on the upper level of the chapel floor in the tomb of *Jbj*.⁵⁵ Kanawati has noted that part of the ceiling appears to have fallen away⁵⁶ so, it may be that the pillars, along with the architrave and pilaster on the east wall, were used to support the roof during construction due to the poor quality of the rock.⁵⁷ The presence of pillars to support the roof also occurs in the tomb of *Nj-^cnh-Ppjj/Hpj-km*⁵⁸ at Meir and *Jttj/Šdw*⁵⁹ from Deshasha. It is also noteworthy that the mouth of the burial recess changed from being located in the centre of the offering recess

⁴⁸ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 16, 22, 27 [Tomb 95]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pls. 41, 51, 59(b).

⁴⁹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 3.

⁵⁰ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 88.

⁵¹ See below: Dimensions

⁵² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 41.

⁵³ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 83.

⁵⁴ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 22 [Tomb 10]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 83.

⁵⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 41.

⁵⁶ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 23.

⁵⁷ This may also account for the skewed room. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, 4; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 23 n. 146.

⁵⁸ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, 5, pl. 1.

⁵⁹ Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 45, pl. 23.

in the tombs of *Jbj*⁶⁰ and S10⁶¹ to the floor in the tomb chapel of *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*⁶². However, this change may also be the result of *D^cw* including the burial of his father in the tomb.

The close relationship of *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* is well-known as it is attested in the latter's biography.⁶³ Similar examples of a close filial relationship reflected in tomb architecture are found with *Mḥw* and *S3bnj* at Aswan⁶⁴ and *Nj-ṛnh-Ppjj/Hpj-km* and *Ppjj-ṛnh/Hnj-km* at Meir,⁶⁵ where father and son have adjoining tombs. It is particularly interesting that the burial chambers for *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* are located beside each other, with only a 0.50m difference in their comparative depth.⁶⁶ Evans and Woods have pointed out that the tomb of *Nj-ṛnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* from Saqqara⁶⁷ is the only other Old Kingdom example where two burial chambers are located in such close proximity.⁶⁸ Like *Nj-ṛnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, it seems that *D^cw* was attempting to maintain his close relationship with his father in the afterlife not only by burying him in the same tomb, but by being buried as close as possible to him. However, whether the idea for this type of burial chamber occurred in the capital as a direct result of some form of “architectural inspiration” on behalf of the tomb owner or the architect is highly uncertain.

Another important feature is that false doors in the North were carved into the native rock, while those in the South were painted. Of the ten false doors that are spread throughout five tombs in the North Mountain, nine were carved.⁶⁹ Unlike the other false doors in the North Mountain, a niche was carved into the wall and then painted as a false door in the tomb of *Hm-*

⁶⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 41.

⁶¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 22 [Tomb 10]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 83.

⁶² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 2; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 53.

⁶³ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 146:6-147:6.

⁶⁴ de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* 1, 144ff.

⁶⁵ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, *passim*.

⁶⁶ Kanawati (*Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, p. 28) appears to have made a typographical error. He states that the “burial chamber is 50m. lower than that of shaft 1”. Instead, it should read 0.50m lower.

⁶⁷ Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 2; cf. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, pl. 54.

⁶⁸ Evans and Woods, “Entwined Lives” presented at: *Third Australasian Egyptology Conference*, Macquarie University, July 17 (Sydney, 2014).

⁶⁹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 16, 27; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 24-25, pls. 36, 38 [*Hnqw/Httj*], 41-42, pls. 41, 45 [*Hm-R^c/Jzj* I], 64-65, pl. 51 [*Hnqw/Jj...f*], 88-89, pl. 59(a) [*Nb-jb*].

Rꜥ/Jzj II.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, this stands in contrast to the South Mountain that contains eight false doors between three tombs,⁷¹ all of which were painted rather than carved.⁷²

Unfortunately, the false doors in the North Mountain are poorly preserved and much of the decoration is missing. However, enough of the inscription on the false door from the tomb of *Hnqw/Httj* exists to make several comparisons.⁷³ It features two jambs on either side of the central niche and contains two vertical lines of text in each jamb. Beneath the text on either jamb is the standing figure of the deceased. The deceased also sits before an offering table on the central panel and is seen again, although fragmentary, on the architrave and lintel. Strudwick has argued that the width of the jamb narrowed over time while the number of columns of text per jamb increased.⁷⁴ He further states that this may be used as a dating criterion where from the Fourth to mid-Fifth Dynasties, there were “several columns of text per jamb”.⁷⁵ However, the placement of two figures per jamb, each a picture of the tomb owner placed under a line of text, is also seen in the tombs of *Ppjj-ꜥnh-hrj-jb*⁷⁶ at Meir, *Wjw/Jjjw*⁷⁷ and *Ttj-ꜥnh/Jm-htp*⁷⁸ at Sheikh Saïd and *Hntj-k3.j*⁷⁹ at Saqqara.

⁷⁰ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, 21 [Tomb 46]; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 81-81, pl. 58.

⁷¹ It should be noted that the tomb of *Thjtt* is the only one of the fourteen examined tombs to contain a stela. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 62.

⁷² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 17, 18, 23 [Tomb 33]; vol. 2, pls. 11, 12, 13; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pls. 55, 56, 63(b); vol. 3, pls. 66, 67, 68.

⁷³ This is found on the west wall. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pls. 27, 28; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, pl. 38.

⁷⁴ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 15-18, 35-36.

⁷⁵ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 35.

⁷⁶ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pl. 10.

⁷⁷ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 23.

⁷⁸ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 28.

⁷⁹ James, *Mastaba of Khentika*, pl. 19.

DIMENSIONS⁸⁰

The sizes of the tombs⁸¹ across both Mountains vary from 2.3m², for the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II, to 70.95m², for the tomb of *Jbj*. The tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi, with the exception of the most important administrative officials, *Hnqw/Httj*,⁸² *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I⁸³ and *Hnqw/Jj...f*⁸⁴ from the North and *Jbj*,⁸⁵ *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*⁸⁶ in the South, are very small. The nine tomb chapels with an identifiable tomb owner⁸⁷ vary in size from 5.10m², for *Nfr-tp-w3*, to 13.83m², for *Htp-nb(.j)*, with an average area of 7.42m². Thus, the largest five tomb chapels where a tomb owner can be identified, namely *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I, *Hnqw/Jj...f*, *Jbj* and *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*,⁸⁸ have an average size of 52.11m², which is an average of 7 times larger than the other nine tombs with an identified tomb owner.

In the North Mountain, discounting the exceptionally small tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II and *Nb-jb*, who does not appear to have been related to *Hnqw/Httj*,⁸⁹ the area of the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f* are very similar. They range in area from 36.30m² for *Hnqw/Httj* to 43.85m² for *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and 49.80m² for *Hnqw/Jj...f*. Tomb N95 is 9.00m² which is significantly 5 times smaller than the size of the tombs of his brothers, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*,⁹⁰ assuming it belonged to *Jmpjj*. *Nb-jb*'s tomb is also small, measuring 5.80m², while *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II has the smallest tomb in the North Mountain measuring 2.30m².

⁸⁰ For a summary of the tomb dimensions according to area and volume, as well as the method of calculation, see Appendix: Tomb Dimensions. Note also that the volume of the tombs of *Htp-nb(.j)* and *Nfr-ḥwt* cannot be determined.

⁸¹ The dimensions used here are based on area (m²) not volume (m³). The area measurements are based on the size of the chapel, offering recess or serdab (where appropriate) and the niche or passage leading to the offering recess or serdab.

⁸² For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 24-25.

⁸³ For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 41-42.

⁸⁴ For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 64-65.

⁸⁵ For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 22-24.

⁸⁶ For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 26-27.

⁸⁷ For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 84 [*Nb-jb*], 88 [N95]; vol. 2, 75 [*Htp-nb(.j)*], 80 [*Wh3*], 84 [*Thjtt*], 87 [*Mrwt*], 91 [*Nfr-tp-w3*], 93 [*Nfr-ḥwt*]. Tomb S10 has not been included in this average as the owner, although likely to be *D^cw/Šm3j*, cannot be determined beyond speculation.

⁸⁸ This list of names is based on their proposed genealogy and whether their tombs are located in the North or South Mountains. See: Appendix: Family Tree – North Mountain and South Mountain

⁸⁹ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

⁹⁰ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

The tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II is exceptionally small, with the area of the tomb chapel measuring 2.30m². This could be due to the possibility of a speedy burial of the tomb owner. The forecourt is cut 1.75m into the rock and appears to be well-cut,⁹¹ suggesting that a much larger tomb may have been planned. His tomb also has a completed, albeit small, false door that was painted onto the wall of a small recess. What is most striking about *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II's tomb is that the space described by Kanawati as a "doorway" to the tomb's only chamber measures 0.60m wide x 0.50m deep x 1.07m high.⁹² These measurements⁹³ correspond approximately to those of the passageway leading to the serdab in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*. Indeed, there is only an average difference of 0.04m³ between the volume of Kanawati's "doorway" in the tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II and the passageways in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*. These measurements are also similar to those leading to the serdab in the tomb of *Ppjj-^cnh(.w)-hrj-jb* from Meir.⁹⁴

It seems that this tomb was never intended to be only 2.30m² and may in fact have been planned with a Type 2 chapel and serdab, following the same model floor plan for the North Mountain as seen in the tombs of *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Hnqw/Jj...f*. It may be postulated that *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II died unexpectedly and his tomb was hurriedly completed. This is especially apparent with the presence of the painted false door,⁹⁵ which seems to suddenly break with the tradition in the North Mountain of having false doors carved into the native rock. Further, there is no evidence on the west wall of what could be the beginnings of a false door, so if *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II had died unexpectedly, having to paint a false door would speed construction. Therefore, in order to honour his position as the *hrj-tp* ^c3 U. E. 12 in the architecture of his tomb, the main elements of a Type 2 chapel were maintained although in a miniature form. This would then mean that the open forecourt, doorway and serdab would represent the chapel, passageway leading to the serdab and the serdab respectively, all of which are elements of a Type 2 tomb example. Thus, rather than his tomb being formed of a large forecourt, doorway and Type 1 chapel, perhaps *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II's tomb contains the main elements of the Type 2 chapel, namely

⁹¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 80, pl. 58.

⁹² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 80.

⁹³ Only in this example will volume be used as the heights are preserved and provided.

⁹⁴ Kanawati, *Meir* 1, 30.

⁹⁵ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 81, pl. 32.

the passageway and serdab, like his predecessors. This also hints at a need or desire to have the body of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II buried quickly.

Nevertheless, the chapel sizes in the South Mountain vary considerably from 5.10m², for *Nfr-tp-w3*, to 70.95m², for *Jbj*. The second largest tomb belongs to *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*, with an area of 59.70m², followed by *S10*⁹⁶ which measures 18.93m². The large size of the tombs of *Jbj* and *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* are to be expected, as they were the most powerful individuals in the South. The tomb of *Thjtt*, likely a daughter of *Jbj* and sister of *D^cw/Šm3j*, is very small, with an area of 6.00m². Her titles⁹⁷ seem to suggest that she was an important woman yet she only achieved a very small tomb. This may be due to her being a woman who does not appear to have been married although it is curious that three burial shafts were cut.⁹⁸ As *D^cw/Šm3j*'s sister, *Thjtt* may have been buried during the reign of Pepy II.

The areas of the remaining five Southern tombs⁹⁹ are particularly small with an average area of 7.70m². As these individuals do not appear to have been directly related to *Jbj*¹⁰⁰ and were possibly lesser officials from Upper Egypt 12, this is not unexpected.

It is also notable that the height of chapels in tomb N95 and the tombs of *Nb-jb*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II, *Wh3*, *Thjtt*, *Nfr-tp-w3* and *Nfr-hwt* are all less than 2.00m.¹⁰¹ The ceilings in the chapels of tomb N95, *Nb-jb*, *Wh3*, *Nfr-tp-w3* and *Nfr-hwt* are between 1.70m and 1.80m high, which is only just tall enough for a man to stand in, making it difficult to construct and decorate the tomb. In contrast, the tombs of *Thjtt* and *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II are less than 1.50m tall. The tomb of *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II in particular has the lowest ceiling height, measuring only 1.07m.¹⁰² One wonders then how quickly his tomb was carved and the construction method used by the builder, especially as they would not be able to stand at full height.

⁹⁶ For the tomb dimensions see: Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 79. Note Kanawati (*Deir el-Gebrawi* 3, 79) describes the offering recess as a square of sides measuring 1.85m av. and when writing this as “1.85m.(av.) square” this can be misread as an area of 1.85m².

⁹⁷ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 83.

⁹⁸ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 62.

⁹⁹ Namely, *Htp-nb(.j)*, *Wh3*, *Mrwt*, *Nfr-tp-w3* and *Nfr-hwt*.

¹⁰⁰ See: Chapter 2: Genealogy – North Mountain

¹⁰¹ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 80, 84; vol. 2, 80, 84, 91, 93.

¹⁰² Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 1, 80.

The average size of the tomb chapels for *Hnqw/Httj*, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* is 43.31m², while *Jbj* and *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*'s tomb chapels are almost 1.5 times the size, averaging at 65.32m². After *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* held the position of vizier, the sizes of the North tombs decreased considerably and at a rapid pace. However this decrease in tomb size does not appear to have been a direct result of the loss of the vizierate and the family of *Jbj* attaining the dual governorship of Upper Egypt 12 and 8. If this were the case, the tomb of their father, *Hnqw/Httj* would not be approximately the same size as the tombs of his sons. Indeed, *Hm-R^c/Jzj I* and *Hnqw/Jj...f* have the largest tombs in the North after which the tomb sizes there decreased, but on the South Mountain they suddenly increased again. The differences in tomb size between the Mountains seems to be related to a shift in the position of *htj-tp 3 U. E. 12* from the family of *Hnqw/Httj* to the family of *Jbj*.

In the South, it is also noticeable there is a decrease in tomb size from *Jbj* to S10 and a subsequent increase with the tomb of *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*. Considering that S10 may have been originally constructed for *D^cw/Šm3j*, it may be a reflection of him holding slightly less power than his father as seen in his titulary.¹⁰³ This may also suggest that the increase in the chapel size of the tomb of *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw* was due to *D^cw* inheriting much of the same power and positions of his grandfather.¹⁰⁴

Another important factor in the size of *Jbj*'s tomb, is the wealth of Upper Egypt 12 at this time,¹⁰⁵ as demonstrated by his attainment of 203 arouras of land¹⁰⁶. Therefore, it would seem that the change in tomb sizes between the North and South Mountains might echo the economic highs and lows of the time.¹⁰⁷ Further, *Jbj*'s considerable power as an important provincial official and his influence at the royal court assisted him in the construction of a large tomb.

¹⁰³ Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 11-13; vol. 3, 12-14.

¹⁰⁴ See: Chapter 3: Careers and Titles – *Jbj* and *D^cw/Šm3j* and *D^cw*

¹⁰⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 7; Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, pl. 54; Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 144:3-145:3.

¹⁰⁶ Sethe, *Urkunden* 1, 144:3-145:3.

¹⁰⁷ Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 62ff.

The movement of the vizierate seems to be the result of a shift in the office of vizier from Upper Egypt 12 to another province,¹⁰⁸ perhaps to prevent one province from holding this position for an extended length of time.

¹⁰⁸ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 334.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This study has re-assessed the administrators of Deir el-Gebrawi and their families by examining their relationships, their careers and titles along with the art and architecture of their tombs. In doing so, it has found that there is no distinct chronological succession of tomb construction across the two Mountains. Instead, it appears that the tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi were grouped according to the families and direct descendants of *Hnqw/Httj* in the North and *Jbj* in the South. Further, *Hm-R^c/Hmj*, the wife of *Jbj* appears to have been the daughter of *Hnqw/Httj*.

However, a distinction must be made between the time in which an individual was alive and when they began the construction of their tomb. At Upper Egypt 12, while the individuals along one generation were alive at the same time, the construction of their respective tombs likely began after they had attained their highest office. For example, *Hm-R^c/Jzj* I and *Jbj* were brothers-in-law and therefore contemporaries. However, it was not until after they were promoted to the positions of vizier and *jmj-r Šm^cw* respectively, that they began the construction of their tombs. In short, the different construction date of their tombs does not mean they were living at different times.

In Deir el-Gebrawi, the construction of the tombs did progress in a linear fashion. The tombs in the North Mountain were constructed first, beginning with *Hnqw/Httj* and ending with *Hm-R^c/Jzj* II. After the death of the latter and to distinguish himself from the previous family, *Jbj* began the construction of his tomb in the South Mountain.

The careers of the major individuals here are all administrative and all with an education from the capital. However, there is a distinct difference in the administrative power and influence of those in the North when compared to the South. While each of the administrators were influential within Upper Egypt 12 and throughout Upper Egypt, *Jbj*, *D^cw/Šm³j* and *D^cw*, also enjoyed a close relationship with the king, as reflected in their numerous ranking titles. *Jbj* in particular, was also a part of an exclusive group of individuals, including *Mrrw/k³.j/Mrj* and *Hntj-k³.j*, who were designated as *hrp h³ts km*.

The position of *ḥrj-tp* ʿ3 *U. E. 12* was first held by *Hnqw/Httj* before passing to his sons, *Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj* I, *Hnqw/Jj...f* and *Jmpjj* prior to *Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj* II in the North. Following the death of *Ḥm-Rʿ/Jzj* II, the king then appointed *Jbj* to this position. However, *Jbj*, *Dʿw/Šmʿj* and *Dʿw* were also appointed as the *ḥrj-tp* ʿ3 *T3-wr* possibly to assist the king in strengthening his overall connection to the various Upper Egyptian provinces as he expanded further into Upper Egypt and Nubia.

The style of art and its relationship to the canon of proportion, particularly in the North, serves as an example of a transitional art style between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties and the FIP, rather than the result of a date closer to the FIP. Further, the tombs in the North were likely decorated by local artists while those in the South by artists trained in the capital. Consequently, the apparent difference in art styles between these Mountains may be due to the difference in the training of the artists.

A similar situation is apparent with the architecture of the tombs in the North and South, which have a striking resemblance to the tombs from Akhmim and Sheikh Saïd, respectively. The dimensions of the tombs at Deir el-Gebrawi are possibly related to economic highs and lows.

Collectively, the art and architecture of the tombs reflects the relationships within the families of *Hnqw/Httj* and *Jbj* while the marked differences between the North and South tombs also serve to distinguish one family from the other.

In finding patterns and relationships of individuals as revealed in the artistic details and architecture of their tombs, this study has established that the individuals living in the 12th Upper Egyptian province were largely contemporaneous and the cemetery of Deir el-Gebrawi was shared by two ruling provincial families in Dynasty Six. Over the past century scholars have cited various pieces of evidence, occasionally in isolation, and have arrived at very different conclusions. However, by taking a broader view of the evidence and putting its individual elements into a genealogical context, the result is less confusing and more revealing.

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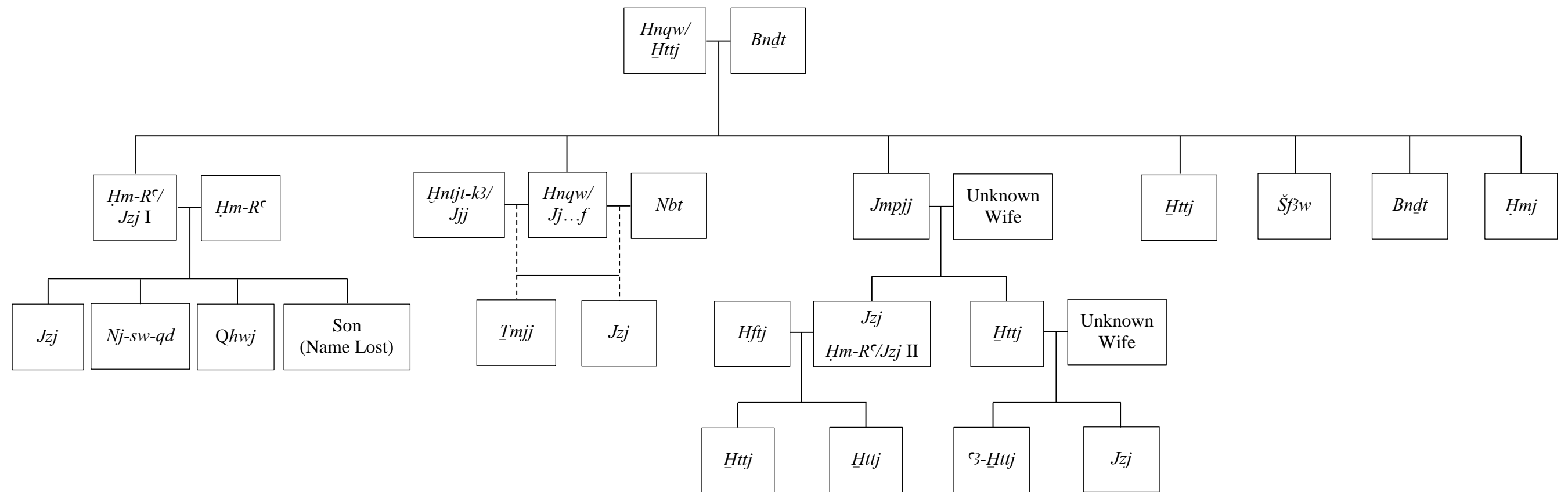
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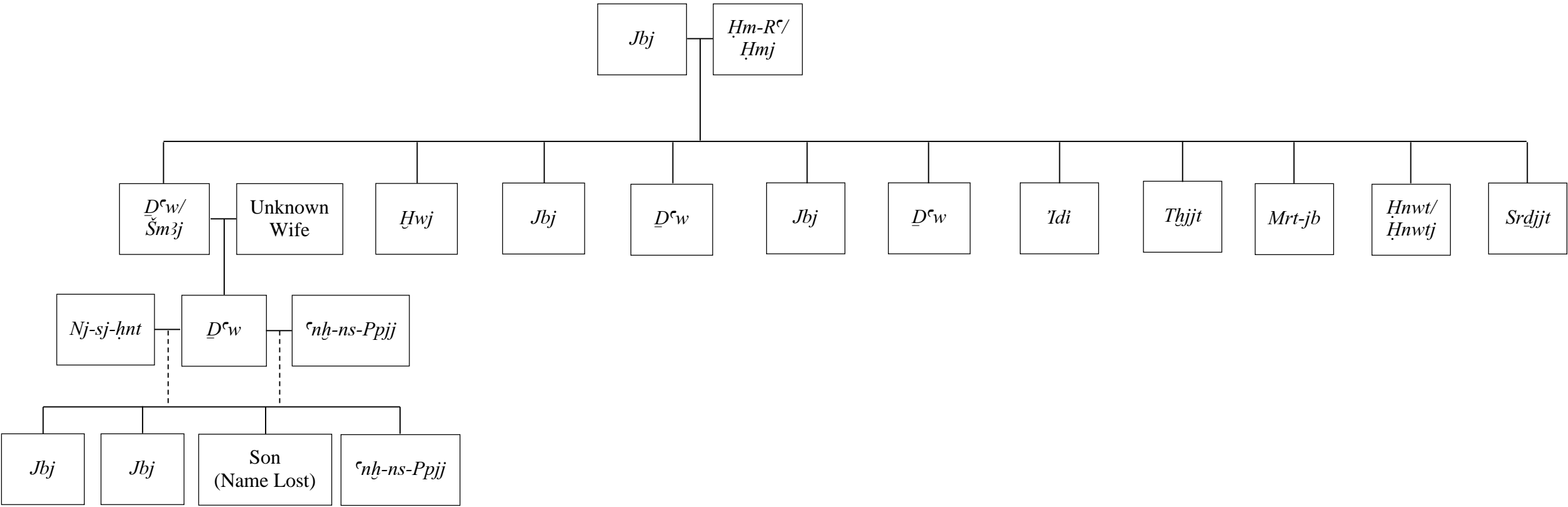
APPENDIX

FAMILY TREE

NORTH MOUNTAIN



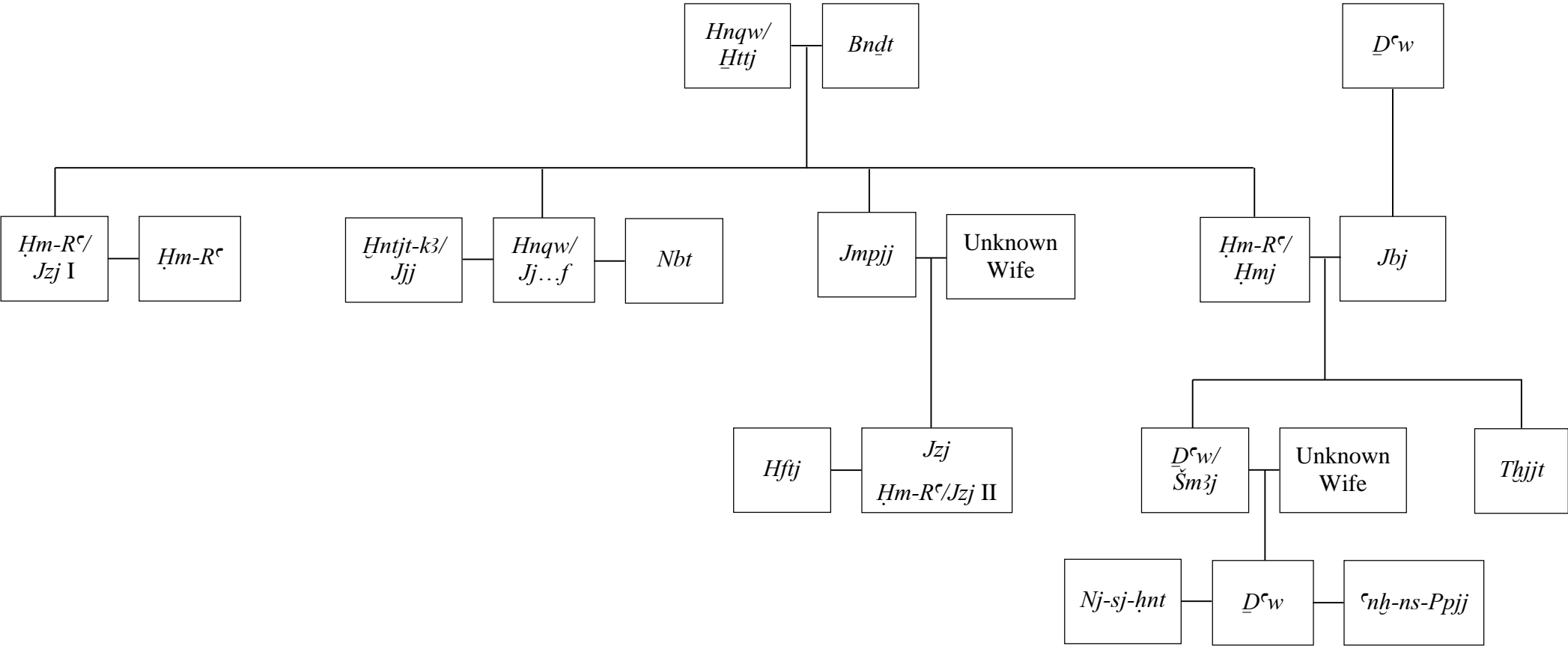
FAMILY TREE
SOUTH MOUNTAIN



FAMILY TREE

DEIR EL-GEBAWI

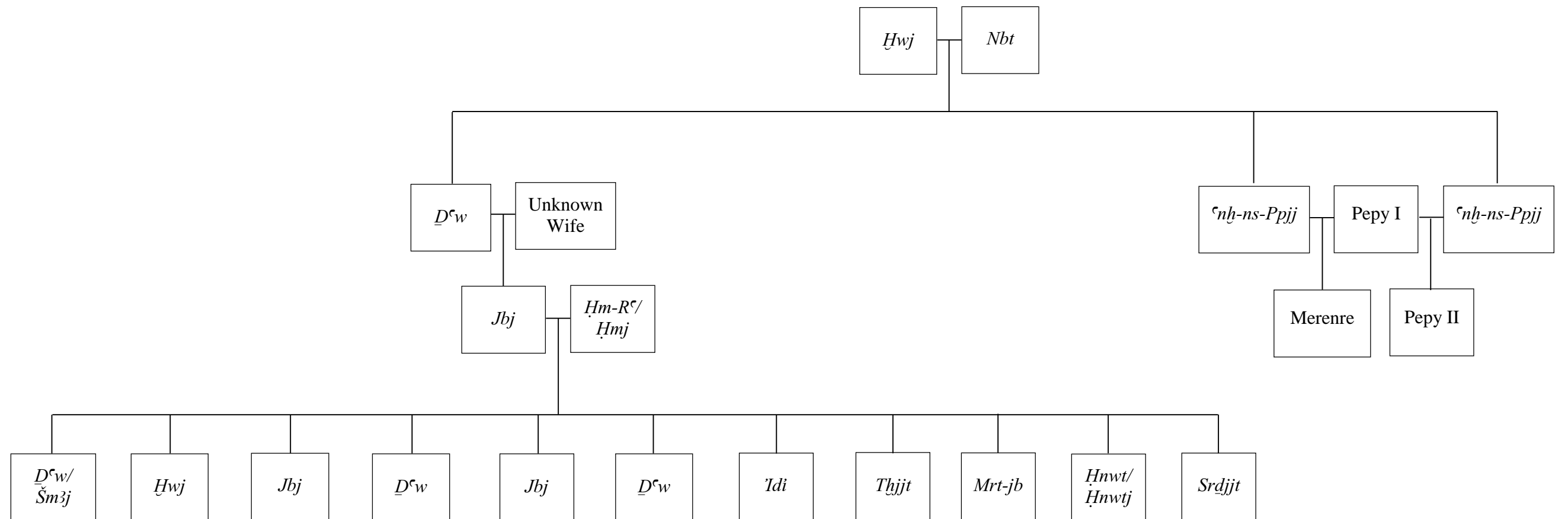
Due to space restrictions, only the key individuals have been included.¹



¹ A complete Family Tree, which includes all family members, is available if requested.

FAMILY TREE

EXTENDED



ART CRITERIA

TABLE 1: OFFERING TABLE SCENES

The criteria and dates for the offering table scenes follow those identified by Cherpion¹ and, where appropriate, utilise the revised dates of Baud². The tables are presented in chronological order based on the suggested dates of both scholars.

| CRITERION | DESCRIPTION |
|-----------|--|
| 6 | The seatback is visible under the cushion. |
| 12 | Distinction between the seat legs as the forelegs and hind legs of a lion. |
| 13 | Pedestals supporting the feet: inverted trapezia. |
| 14 | Pedestals holding the feet and independent bases. |
| 15 | Mat under the seat of the deceased. |
| 20 | Table topped with the reeds. |
| 21 | On the table: rectangle evoking the reeds. |
| 23 | Edges slightly raised on the table top. |
| 25 | Vessels under the table. |
| 26 | “Still life” next to the offering table. |
| 27 | The deceased seated at the table of offerings breathes a vase of perfumed oil. |
| 44 | Diadem adorned with a papyrus umbel and rigid ribbons. |

¹ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 6-70.

² Baud, “Critères Iconographiques” in: Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l’Ancien Empire*, *passim*.

NORTH MOUNTAIN

Hnqw/Httj

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
|-----------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|---|---|---|---------------|-----|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: end of Dynasty Five to Teti.

Hnqw/Jj...f

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
|-----------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|---|---|---|---------------|-----|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: Dynasty Six.

Nbt – Tomb of Hnqw/Jj...f

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
|-----------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|---|---|---|---------------|-----|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: Dynasty Six.

Nb-jb

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
|-----------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|---|---|---|---------------|-----|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: Dynasty Six.

Hm-R^c/Jzj I

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Pepy I to Merenre.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN

Htp-nb(j)

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Inconclusive – between Neferirkare and Pepy II.

Wh3

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Pepy I to Pepy II.

Jbj

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Merenre to early Pepy II.

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| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Merenre to Pepy II.

Dꜣw/Šmꜣj

The criteria presented here corresponds to the features from the scene on the north and east walls of the chapel which depicts the father, Dꜣw/Šmꜣj.

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Merenre to Pepy II.

D^cw

The criteria presented here corresponds to the features from the scene on the north and east walls of the offering recess which depicts the son, D^cw.

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | Dynasty Eight | FIP |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| Criterion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Merenre to Pepy II.

ART CRITERIA

TABLE 2: MARSH SCENES

The criteria and dates correspond to the individual features identified by Woods.³

| FEATURE | DESCRIPTION |
|---------|--|
| 5 | Fishing and fowling scenes flank the entrance doorway. |
| 10 | The major figure is shown in a striding posture on a papyrus boat with front foot flat on the deck and the back foot raised to the ball of the foot. |
| 12 | The major figure in a marsh scene is shown standing on a papyrus boat with both feet flat on the deck. |
| 15 | The major figure in a papyrus pulling scene is positioned facing right. |
| 21 | The inscription describing a fowling scene includes: 'Hunting (with a throw-stick) swamp birds, bird pools and bird' (<i>ḥnm.w sš.w 3pd.w</i>). |
| 22 | The major figure in a fowling scene is positioned facing left. |
| 23 | The major figure in a fowling scene holds the throw-stick horizontally. |
| 26 | The major figure holds several decoy birds. |
| 28 | The decoy birds in a fowling scene all face the same direction (lateral layering). |
| 30 | The major figure holds the decoy birds by the legs. |
| 31 | The wings of the decoy birds are extended and flapping. |
| 33 | The major figure in a spear-fishing scene is positioned facing right. |
| 34 | Composite fishing and fowling scenes show the spear-fishing figure facing right and the fowling figure facing left. |

³ See: Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, Appendix 3: Life Span of Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes and Individual Features.

| | |
|----|---|
| 37 | The major figure holds the spear at a slight angle (1°-6°). |
| 38 | The major figure holds the spear at a sharp angle (23°-32°). |
| 40 | The major figure holds the spear with both arms almost straight. |
| 41 | The major figure holds the spear with both arms sharply bent. |
| 42 | One <i>Tilapia niloticus</i> and one <i>Lates niloticus</i> are caught on the end of the major figure's spear in the 'mound of water' |
| 44 | The <i>Tilapia niloticus</i> and <i>Lates niloticus</i> are shown caught on the spear with their mouths open. |
| 45 | The major figure stands before a 'mound of water'. |
| 46 | No 'mound of water' is shown in a spear-fishing scene. |
| 47 | The 'mound of water' in a spear-fishing scene reaches neck/shoulder height. |
| 54 | The spear has small vertical markings at regular intervals. |
| 55 | The spear pierces the head of the two fish. |
| 56 | The spear pierces the body of the two fish. |
| 57 | The barbs on the end of the spear protrude through the head/body of the fish. |
| 67 | The major figure wears a wrap-around kilt. |
| 69 | The major figure wears a <i>šndjyt</i> kilt. |
| 70 | The major figure wears a long necklace and pendant in a marsh scene. |
| 75 | The major figure wears a shoulder length wig without a headdress. |
| 78 | The major figure wears a short wig with a fillet and streamer. |
| 81 | The tomb owner's wife is absent from the scene. |
| 84 | The major figure's wife stands on the stern of the boat (one hand touches the figure's back leg while the other embraces his waist). |

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| 85 | The major figure's wife is an active figure in the scene. |
| 87 | The major figure's wife and/or daughter and/or sister are shown squatting on the papyrus boat. |
| 88 | The major figure's wife wears a knee length wrap-around dress with shoulder straps. |
| 89 | The major figure's son is an active figure in the scene. |
| 92 | The major figure's son as an active figure wears the SnDjyt kilt. |
| 93 | Family members or officials shown as active figures in the scene. |
| 94 | Oarsmen and/or steersmen shown at a reduced scale on the deck of the papyrus boat. |
| 95 | Punters and paddlers shown on the prow and/or stern of the boat. |
| 96 | Family members/Officials/attendants shown standing facing the major figure. |
| 103 | Officials/attendants hold spare fowling sticks. |
| 109 | The papyrus boats' binding is irregular with the intervals becoming smaller on the prow and stern of the boat. |
| 110 | The papyrus boat's binding is narrow, regularly spaced and in short intervals the full length of the boat. |
| 112 | The papyrus boats' binding is regularly spaced in short intervals only on the prow and stern of the boat. |
| 116 | The prow and stern of the boat gradually curve up. |
| 121 | The papyrus boat is shown with a wooden deck. |
| 122 | The papyrus boat is shown with a wooden deck and padding in between the bound reeds and the deck. |
| 123 | The papyrus boat is shown without a wooden deck. |
| 130 | The papyrus thicket is shown in front of the major figure. |

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| 131 | No papyrus thicket is shown in the scene. |
| 134 | The papyrus thicket is shown with thin stems touching. |
| 135 | The papyrus thicket is shown without individually. |
| 136 | The papyrus thicket is shown with stems separated and widely spaced. |
| 137 | The papyrus thicket is shown with umbels at the top of the stems. |
| 140 | The umbels above the papyrus thicket are spaced regularly. |
| 141 | The umbels at the top of the papyrus thicket have straight tops. |
| 142 | Birds are shown flying in rows above the papyrus thicket. |
| 145 | Birds above the papyrus thicket shown flying in the same direction. |
| 146 | Birds above the papyrus thicket shown flying in the same direction in each row |
| 147 | Birds above the papyrus thicket facing in alternate. |
| 151 | Lotus buds and leaves shown amongst the birds flying above the papyrus thicket. |
| 154 | Predatory behaviour exhibited by the animals in the papyrus thicket. |
| 156 | A mongoose and/or genet with a fledgling bird between its jaws. |
| 157 | Various species of birds shown protecting their nest with a threatening wing display. |
| 158 | Birds in the papyrus thicket shown attacking the predators approaching their nest. |
| 163 | Butterflies with outstretched wings shown in a marsh scene. |
| 165 | A horizontal strip of water below the boat. |
| 168 | The body of water continues in the same register for other marsh pursuits to be depicted. |
| 170 | The fish in the water below the boat face in different directions. |

| | |
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| 171 | The fish in the water below the boat face in the same direction. |
| 172 | The fish in the water below the boat face to the right. |
| 174 | The composition of the water is broken up with vegetation. |
| 188 | Water weed shown under the prow and stern of the boat. |
| 190 | Frog shown sitting on the water line below the boat. |
| 197 | Cattle are shown fording the river in a marsh scene. |
| 206 | Banded frieze surrounding a marsh scene. |
| 209 | The inscriptions relating to the major figure are shown in columns. |
| 213 | The inscriptions relating to the major figure are shown in lines. |
| 214 | The inscriptions relating to the major figure are shown in lines above and in front of his head. |
| 215 | The inscriptions relating to the major figure are shown in columns and lines. |
| 216 | The inscriptions include a column that runs between the major figure and the papyrus thicket. |
| 217 | Inscriptions relating to the minor figures in a marsh scene are shown in columns. |

NORTH MOUNTAIN

Hnqw/Httj

Spear-Fishing Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Inconclusive – early Djedkare to early Pepy II.

Hm-R^c/Jzj I

Pulling the Papyrus Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Fowling Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Teti to early Pepy I.

Hnqw/Jj...f

Spear-Fishing Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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Suggested Date: Unas to mid-Pepy I.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN

Jbj

Spear-Fishing Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
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| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 57 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 78 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 87 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 88 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 89 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 92 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 112 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 119 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 121 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 131 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 140 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 165 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 168 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 188 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 206 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 213 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 214 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: Merenre to early Pepy II.

Jbj

Fowling Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
|---------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|-------------|---|---|----|----|----|---|----|---------------|----|---|-----|---|--|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 78 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 89 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 92 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 96 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 112 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 121 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 130 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 134 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 137 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 141 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 142 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 145 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 151 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 154 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 156 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 157 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 158 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 163 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 165 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 168 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 188 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 199 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 206 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 209 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 216 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: Merenre to early Pepy II.

D^cw/Šm3j and *D^cw*

Spear-Fishing Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
|---------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|-------------|---|---|----|----|----|---|----|---------------|----|---|-----|---|--|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 42 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 55 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 57 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 96 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 109 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 123 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 136 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 137 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 141 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 142 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 146 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 152 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 165 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 170 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 188 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 190 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 197 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 206 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 215 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: mid-Pepy II.

D^cw/Šm3j and *D^cw*

Fowling Scene

| | Dynasty Four | | | | | | Dynasty Five | | | | | | | | | Dynasty Six | | | | | | | | Dynasty Eight | | | FIP | | |
|---------|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|-------------|---|---|----|----|----|---|----|---------------|----|---|-----|---|--|
| Reigns | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8E | 8M | 8L | 9 | 1 | 2E | 2M | 2L | 3 | 4E | 4M | 4L | E | M | L | |
| Feature | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 78 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 89 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 110 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 121 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 130 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 134 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 137 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 140 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 141 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 142 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 145 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 154 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 163 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 165 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 174 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 188 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 206 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 215 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 216 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Suggested Date: mid-Pepy II.

TOMB DIMENSIONS

Wherever two measurements were provided for different wall lengths or heights, an average was taken. All numbers have been rounded up to two decimal places.

For example:

$$\begin{aligned} Wh3: \text{ West wall} &= 2.55\text{m.}; & \text{ East wall} &= 2.70\text{m.} \\ 2.55 + 2.70 &= 5.25\text{m. (av.)} \\ 5.25\text{m.} / 2 &= 2.625\text{m.} \\ \text{To two decimal places} &= \underline{\underline{2.63\text{m.}}} \end{aligned}$$

A calculation example for the area of a tomb is:

$$\begin{aligned} Wh3: & ((2.55\text{m.} + 2.7) / 2) \times 2.2 = 5.775\text{m}^2 \\ \text{To two decimal places} &= \underline{\underline{5.78\text{m}^2}} \end{aligned}$$

A calculation example for the volume of a tomb is:

$$Wh3: ((2.55\text{m.} + 2.7) / 2) \times 2.2 \times 1.7 = \underline{\underline{9.82\text{m}^3}}$$

The area and volumetric measurements are based on the size of the chapel, offering recess or serdab and the niche or passage leading to the offering recess or serdab. Wherever no chapel area is recorded, these tombs do not have these features and are formed of only one room. As such, the area of the chapel equates to the area of the tomb. Each table is ordered by tomb owner and proposed genealogical relationship.

NORTH MOUNTAIN

| Tomb Owner | Tomb Number | Overall Area | | Chapel Area Only |
|--------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| | | m ² | m ³ | m ² |
| <i>Hnqw/Httj</i> | N39 | 36.30 | 79.00 | 34.40 |
| <i>Hm-R^c/Jzj I</i> | N72 | 43.85 | 104.40 | 34.50 |
| <i>Hnqw/Jj...f</i> | N67 | 49.80 | 114.20 | 38.85 |
| <i>Jmpjj</i> | N95 | 9.00 | 15.34 | - |
| <i>Hm-R^c/Jzj II</i> | N46 | 2.30 | 2.45 | - |
| <i>Nb-jb</i> | N38 | 5.80 | 9.6 | - |

SOUTH MOUNTAIN

| Tomb Owner | Tomb Number | Overall Area | | Chapel Area Only |
|---|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| | | m ² | m ³ | m ² |
| <i>Jbj</i> | S8 | 70.90 | 175.20 | 64.88 |
| <i>D^cw/Šm3j and D^cw</i> | S12 | 59.70 | 157.50 | 53.82 |
| <i>Thjtt</i> | S16 | 6.00 | 8.40 | - |
| <i>Wh3</i> | S14 | 5.78 | 9.82 | - |
| <i>Htp-nb(.j)⁴</i> | S2 | 13.83 | N/A | - |
| <i>Mrwt</i> | S33 | 7.60 | 10.60 | - |
| <i>Nfr-tp-w3</i> | S41 | 5.10 | N/A | - |
| <i>Nfr-hwt⁵</i> | S42 | 6.25 | 46.10 | - |
| Unidentified (<i>D^cw/Šm3j?</i>) | S10 | 18.93 | 46.10 | 15.3 |

⁴ The volume of this tomb cannot be determined as the ceiling height is unknown. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 75, pl. 38(a).

⁵ The volume of this tomb cannot be determined as the ceiling height is not provided. Kanawati, *Deir el-Gebrawi* 2, 93.

PLATES

Pl. 1 – Map of Egypt

Pls. 2-4 – Coloured Photographs

The following plates are labelled by tomb owner and, where appropriate, the major figure is identified. They are arranged according to the proposed genealogy.

Pls. 5-24 – Offering Table Scenes

 North Mountain

 South Mountain

Pls. 25-32 – Marsh Scenes

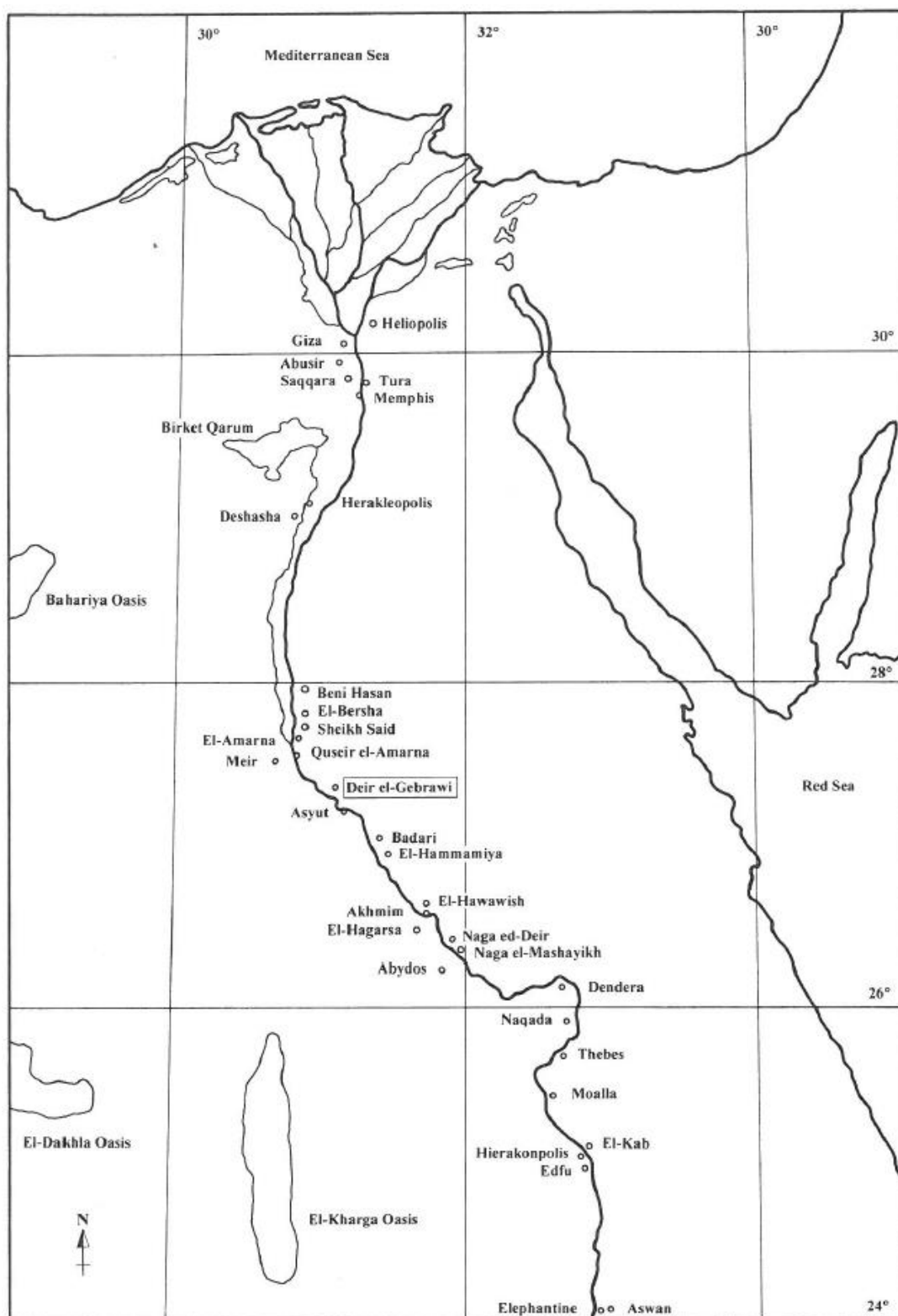
 North Mountain

 South Mountain

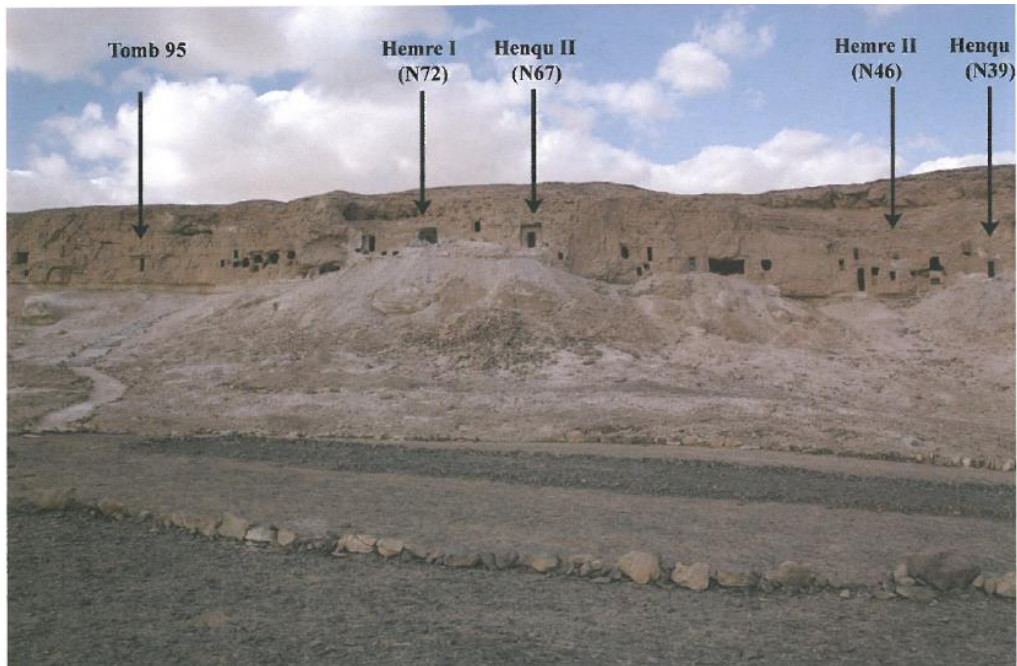
Pls. 33-45 – Tomb Plans

 North Mountain

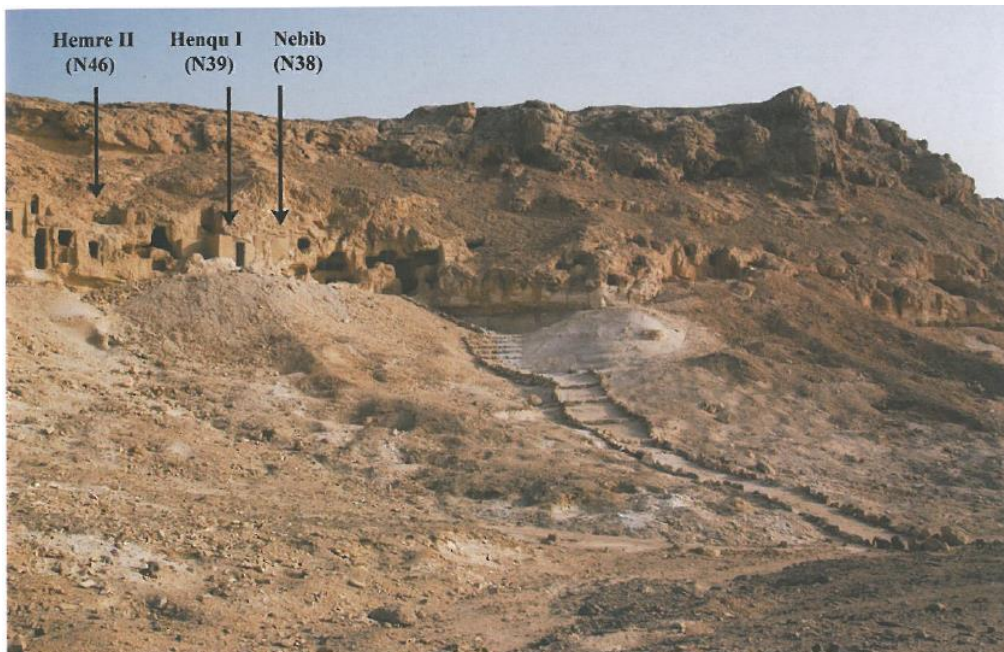
 South Mountain



Pl. 1. Map of Egypt showing the location
of Deir el-Gebrawi



Pl. 2. Photograph showing the location of the tombs in the North Mountain



Pl. 3. Photograph showing the location of the tombs in the North Mountain



Pl. 4. Photograph showing the location of
the tombs in the South Mountain

OFFERING TABLE SCENES

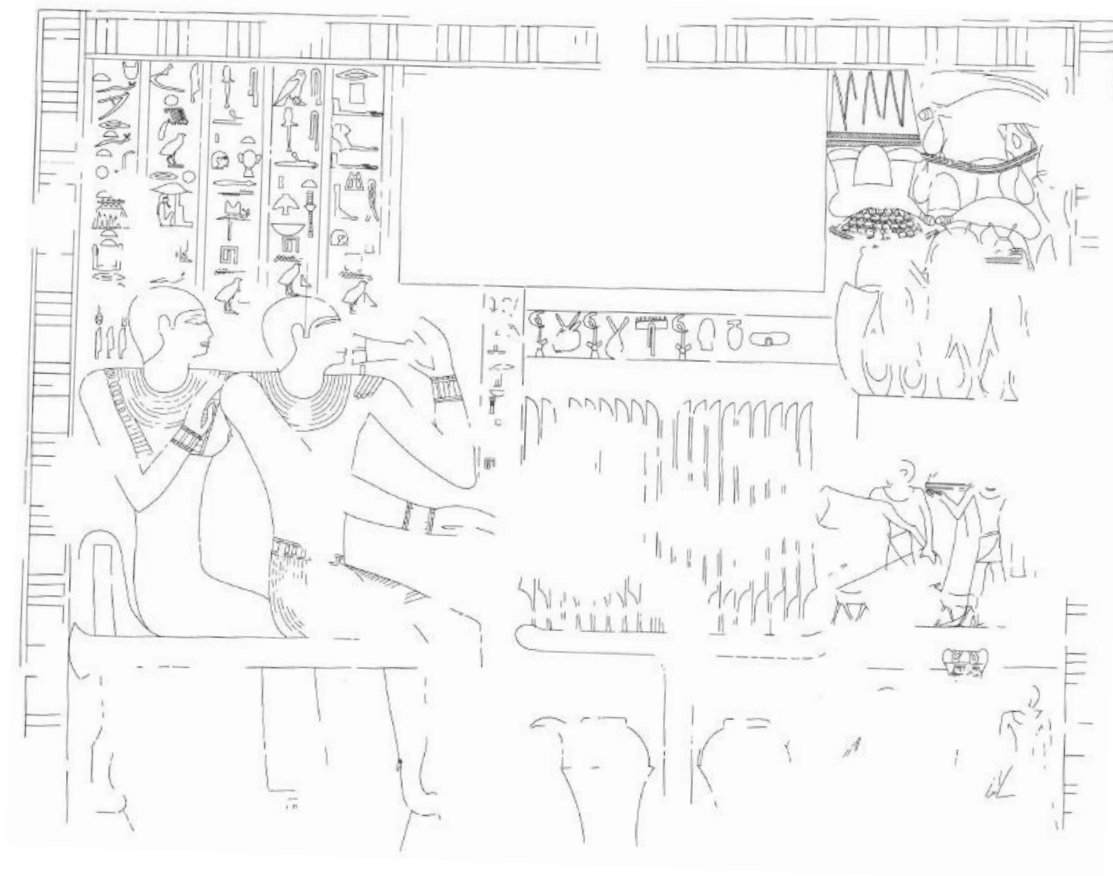
NORTH MOUNTAIN



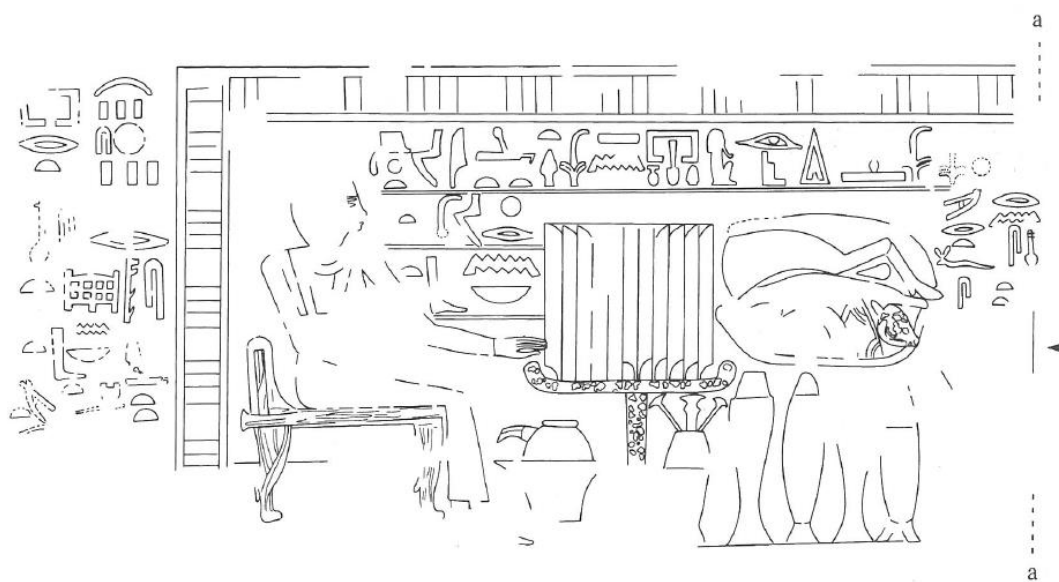
Pl. 5. *Hnqw/Httj*



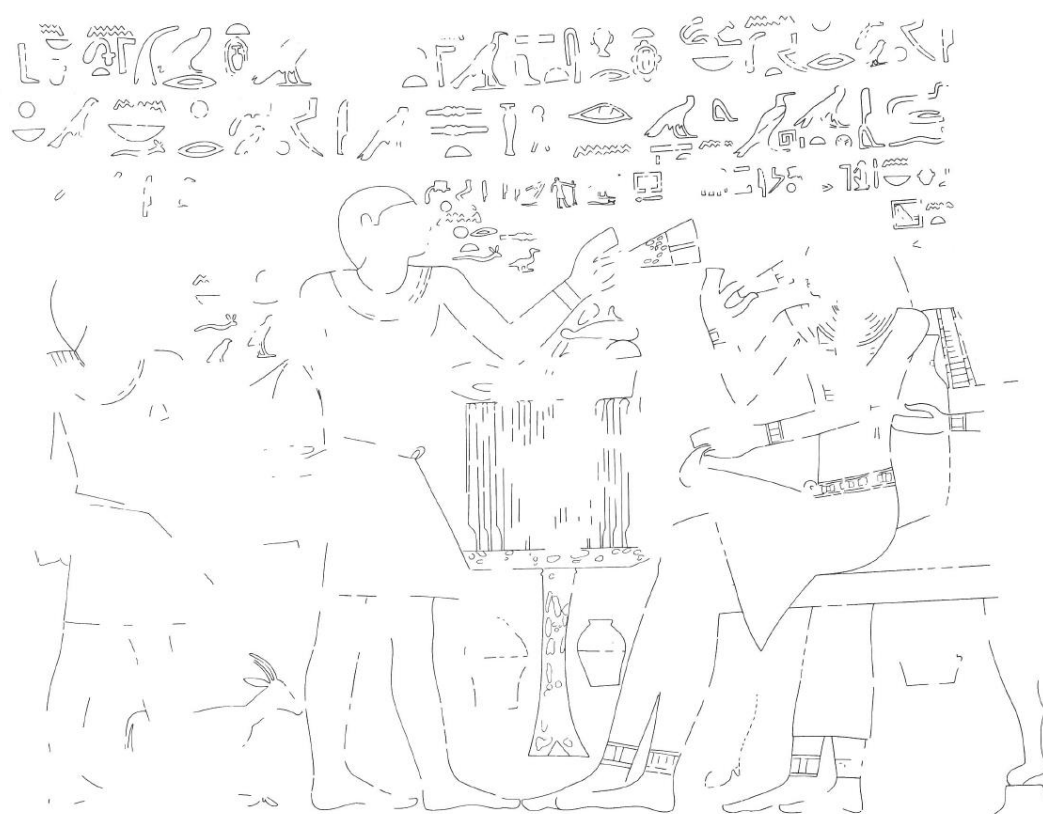
Pl. 6. *Ḥm-R^c/Jzj I*



Pl. 7. *Hnqw/Jj...f*

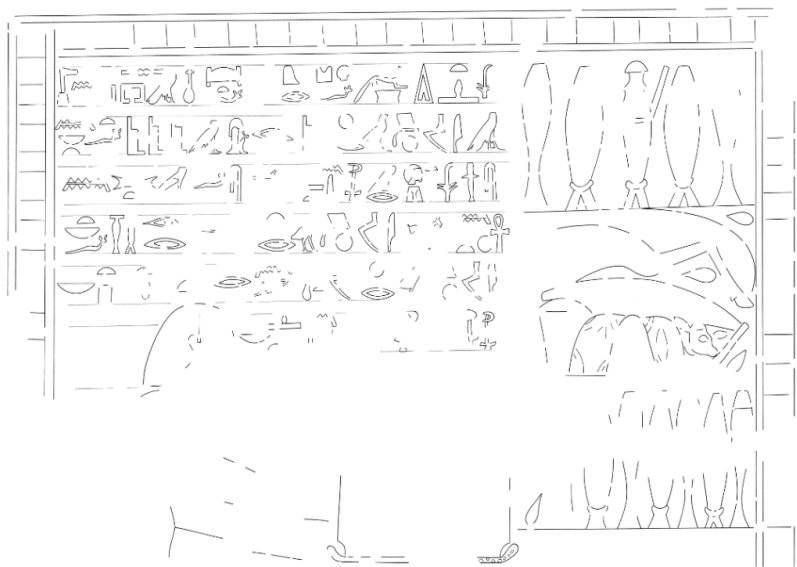


Pl. 8. *Hnqw/Jj...f*

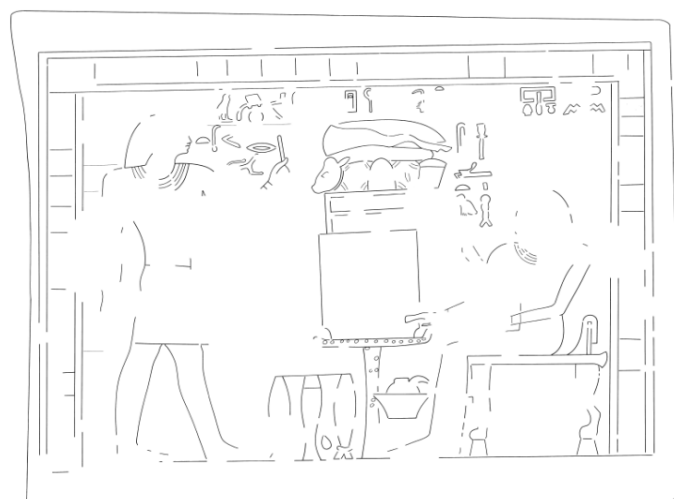


Pl. 9. *Nb-jb*

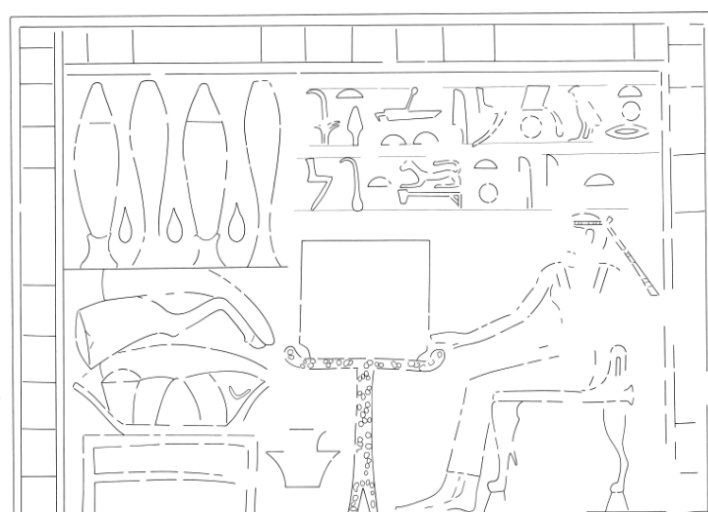
SOUTH MOUNTAIN



Pl. 10. *Htp-nb(j)*



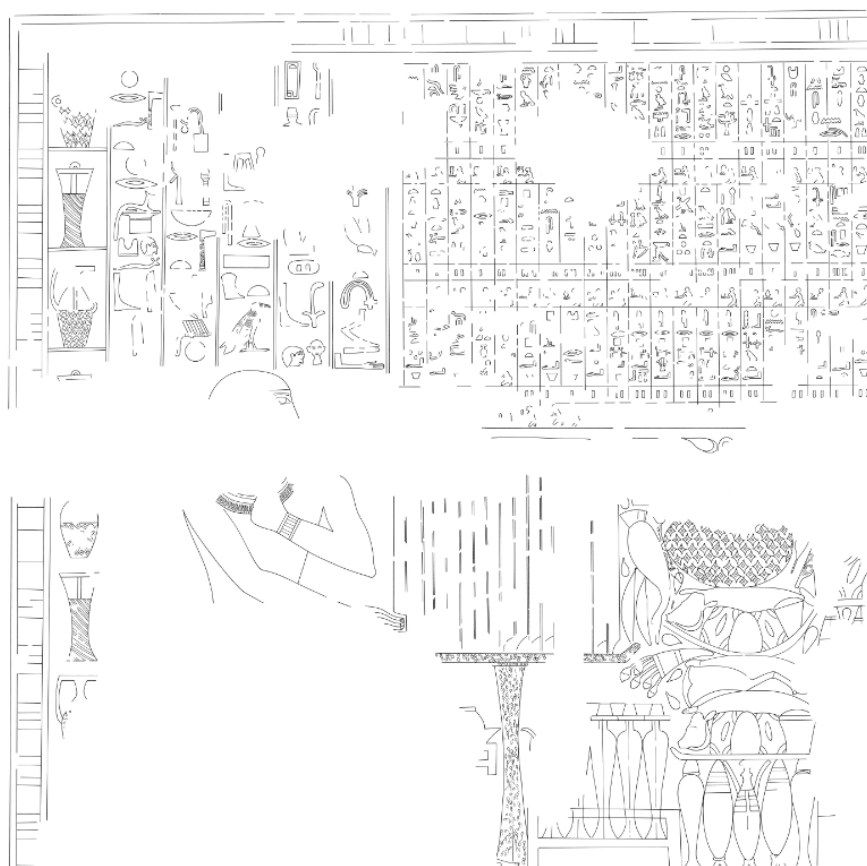
Pl. 11. *Wh3*



Pl. 12. *Thjyt*

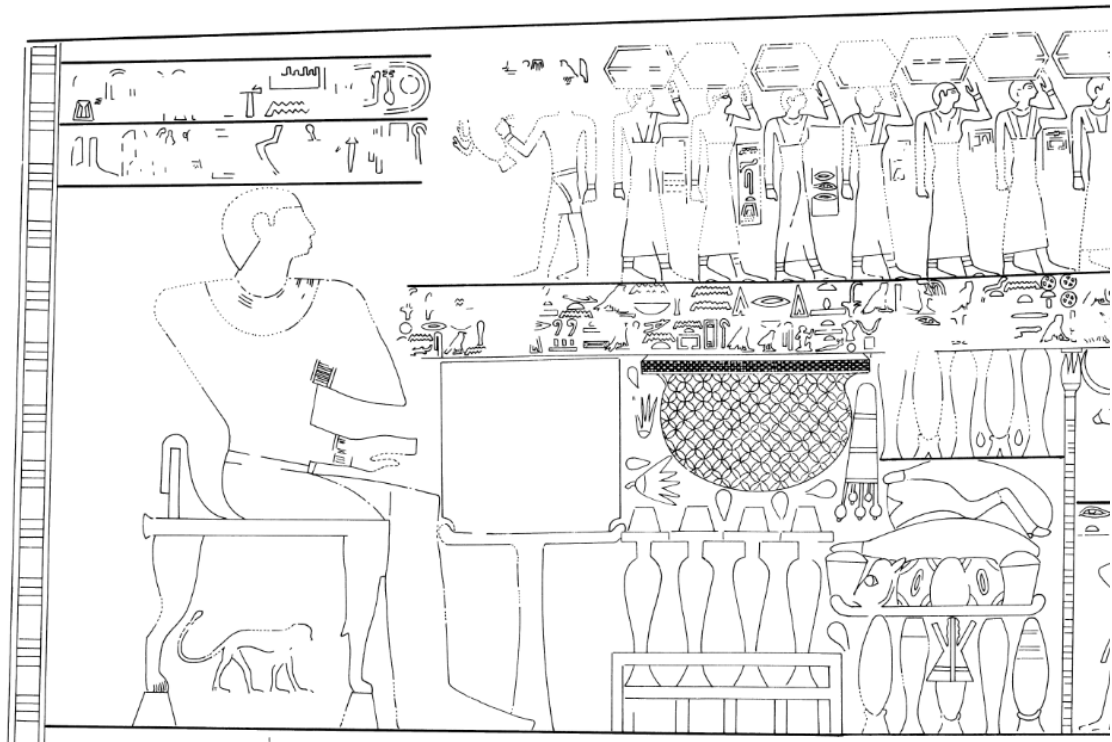


Pl. 13. *Jbj*

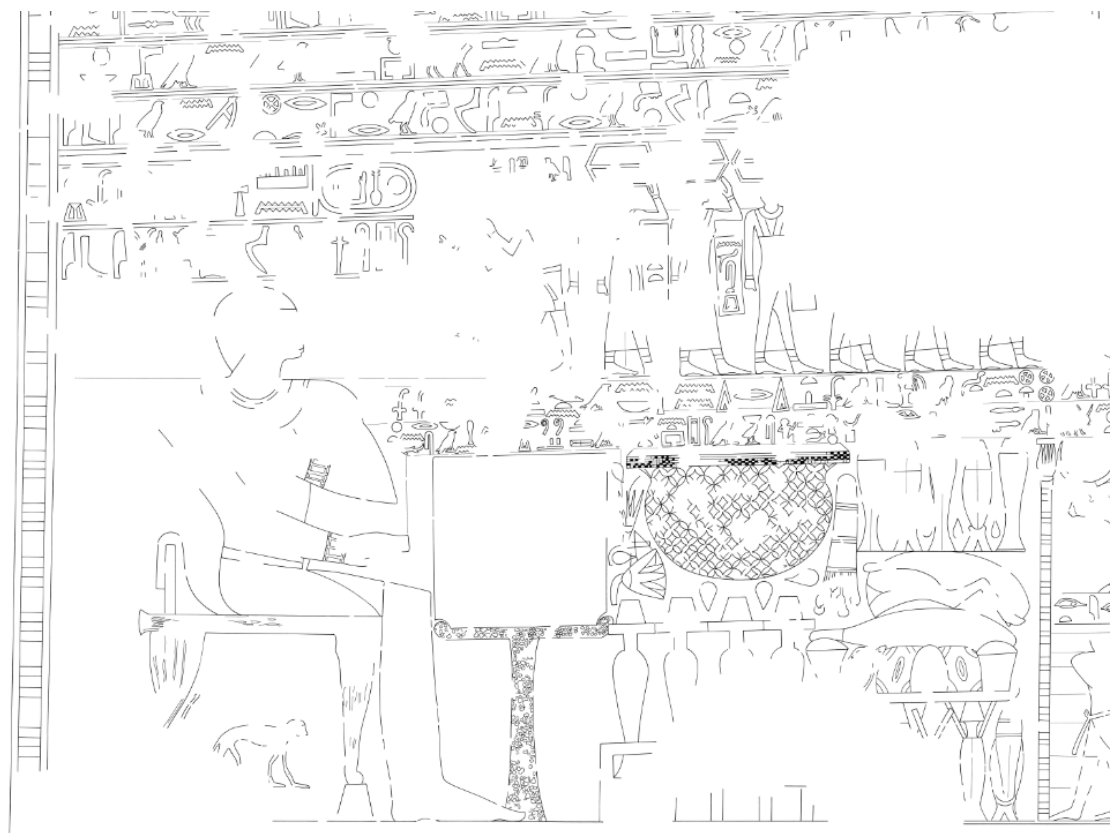


Pl. 14. *Jbj*

Offering Recess – East Wall

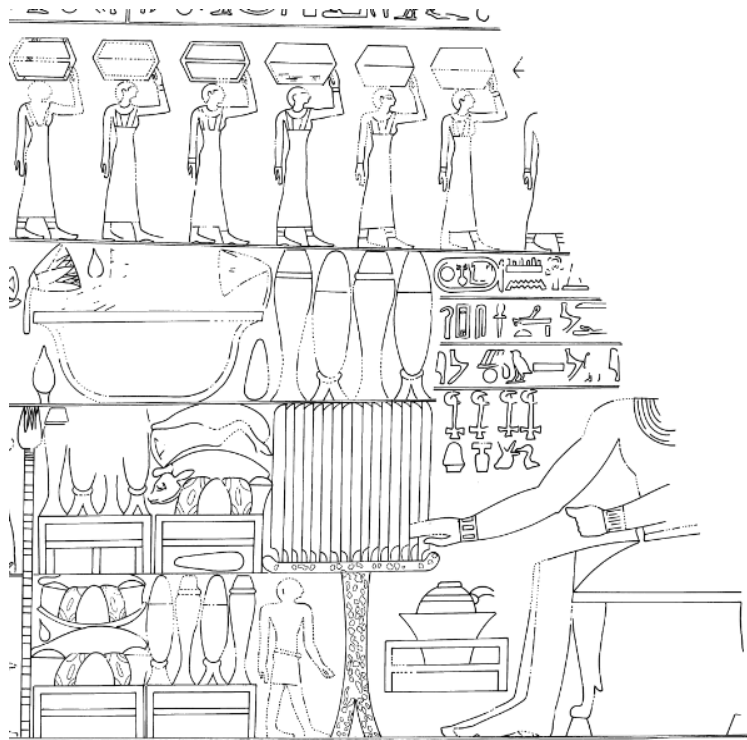


Pl. 15. *Jbj*



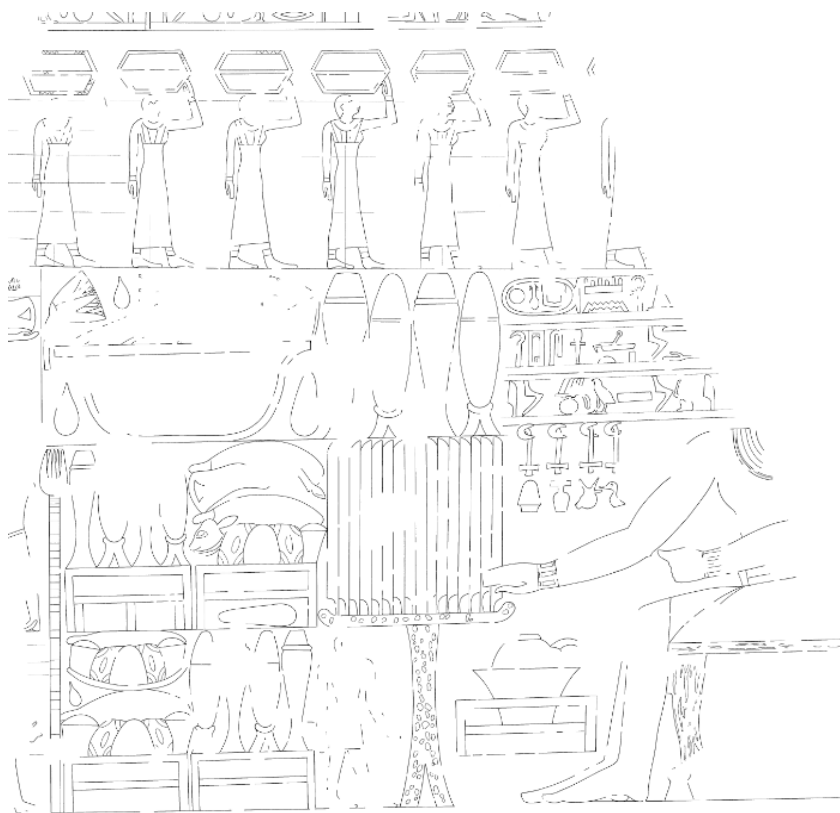
Pl. 16. *Jbj*

Chapel – East Wall



Pl. 17. $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w/\check{S}m3j$ and $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$

The depicted figure is the father.



Pl. 18. $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w/\check{S}m3j$ and $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$

Chapel – East Wall



Pl. 19. $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}/\check{S}m3j$ and $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$

The depicted figure is the father.



Pl. 20. $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}/\check{S}m3j$ and $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$

Chapel – North Wall



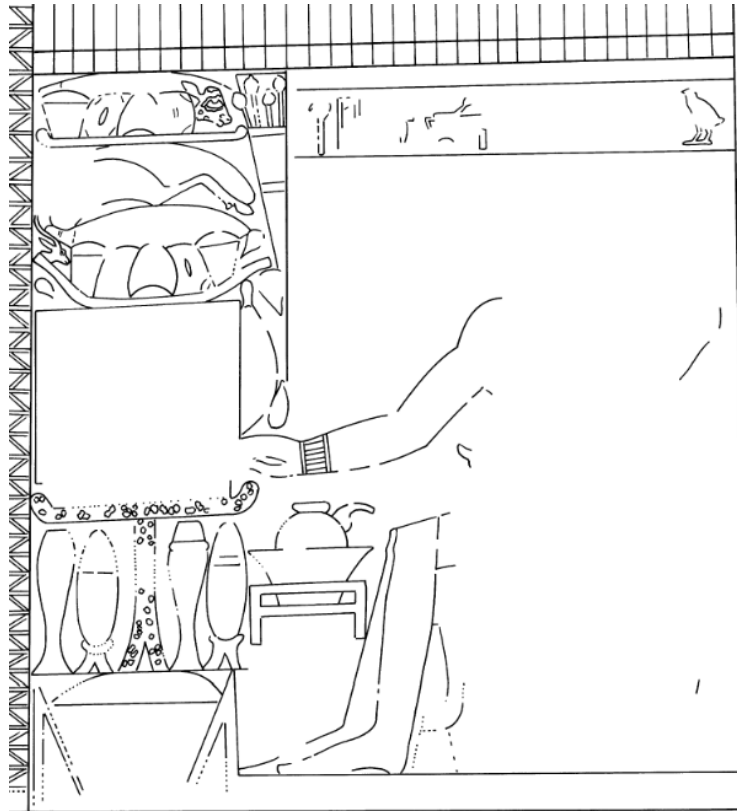
Pl. 21. $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^w

The depicted figure is the son.



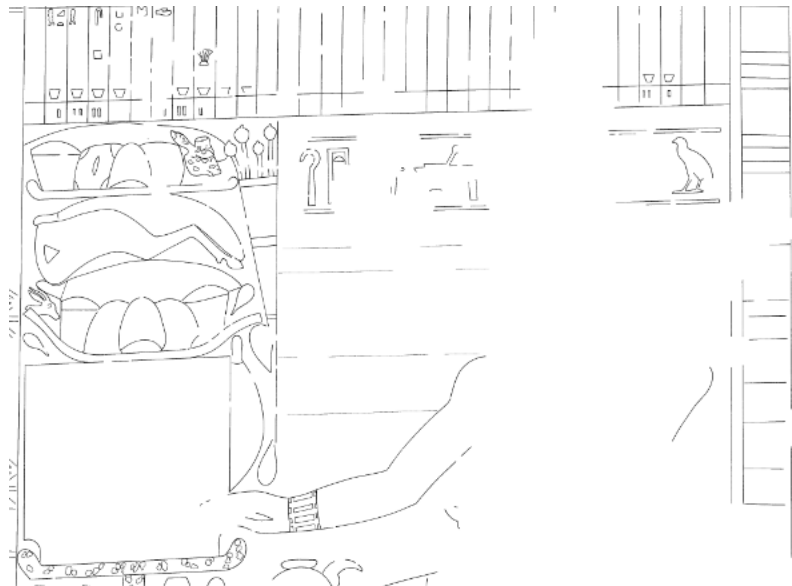
Pl. 22. $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^w

Offering Recess – East Wall



Pl. 23. $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^w

The depicted figure is the son.

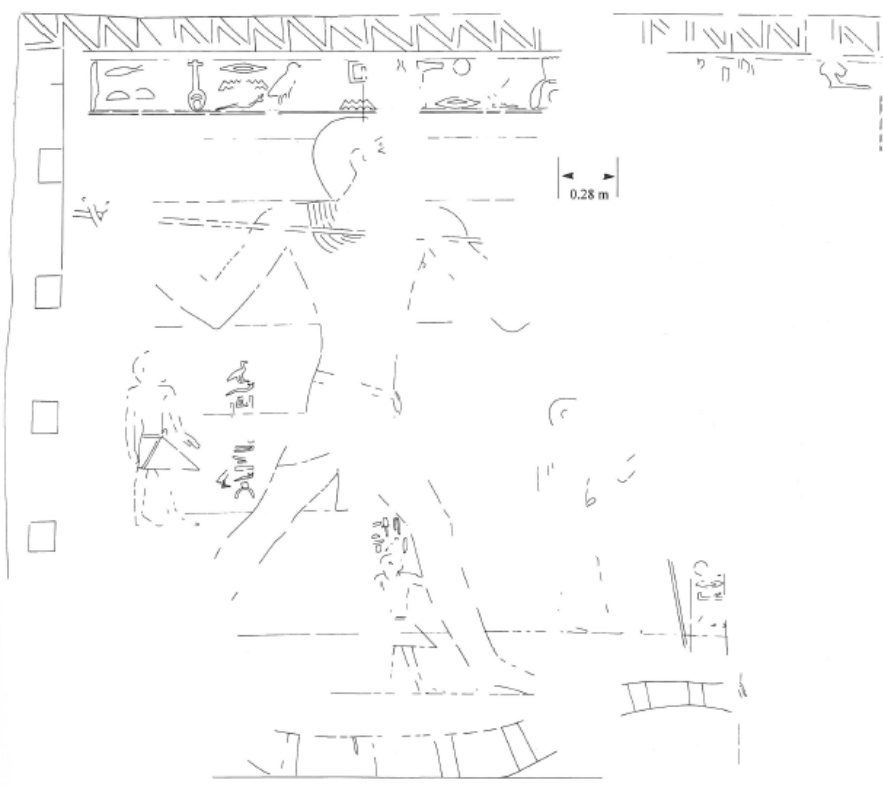


Pl. 24. $\underline{D}^w/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^w

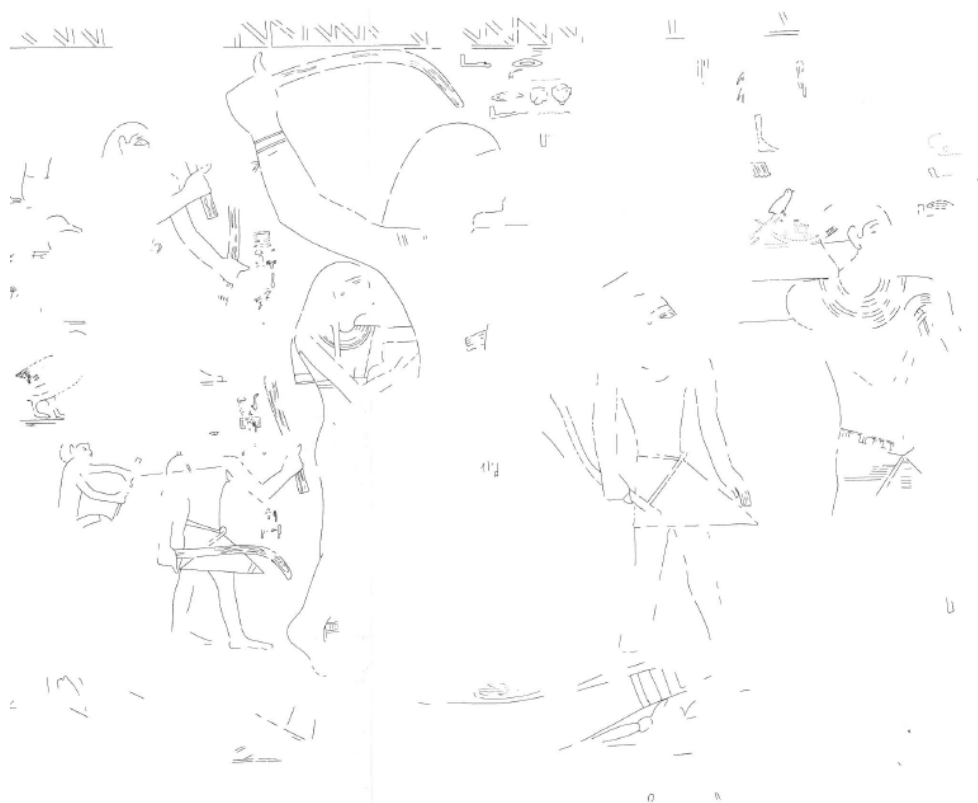
Offering Recess – West Wall

MARSH SCENES

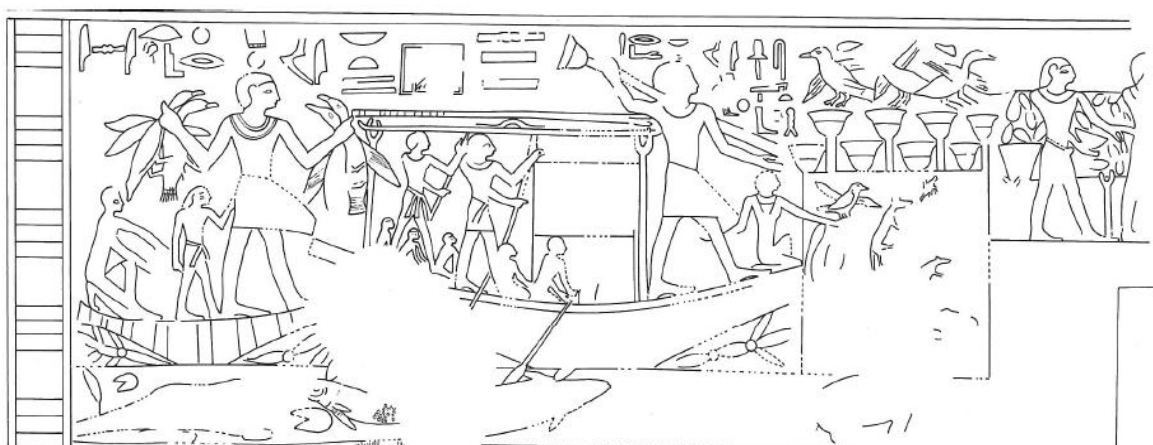
NORTH MOUNTAIN



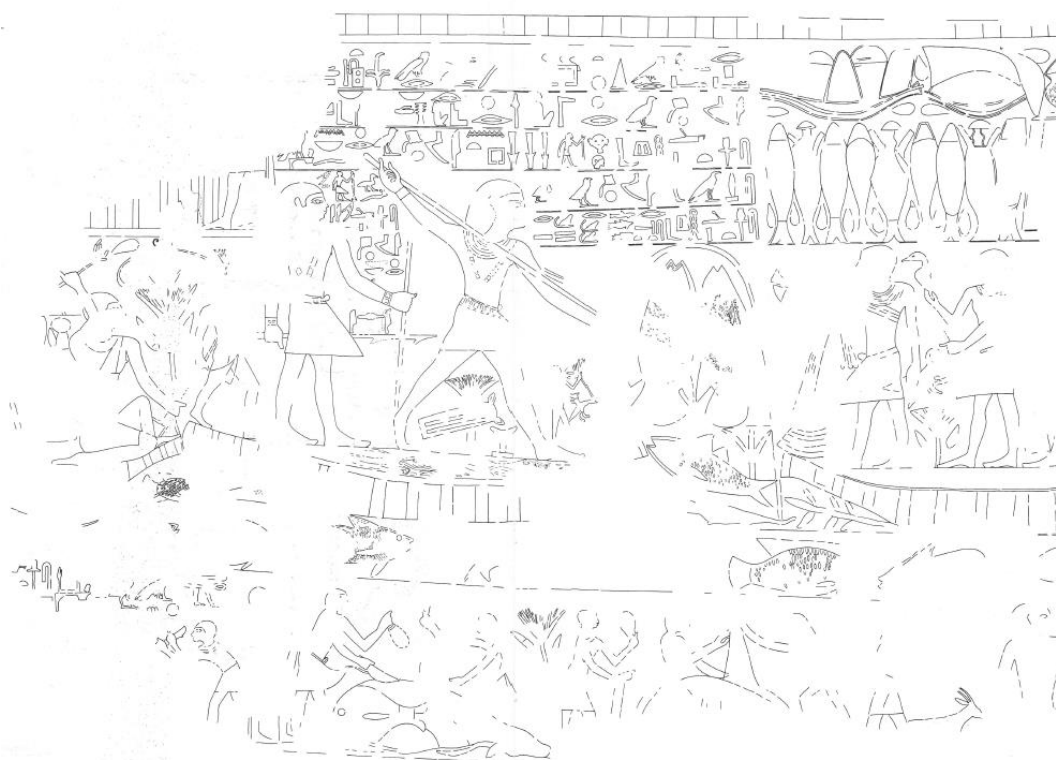
Pl. 25. *Hnqw/Httj*



Pl. 26. *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*

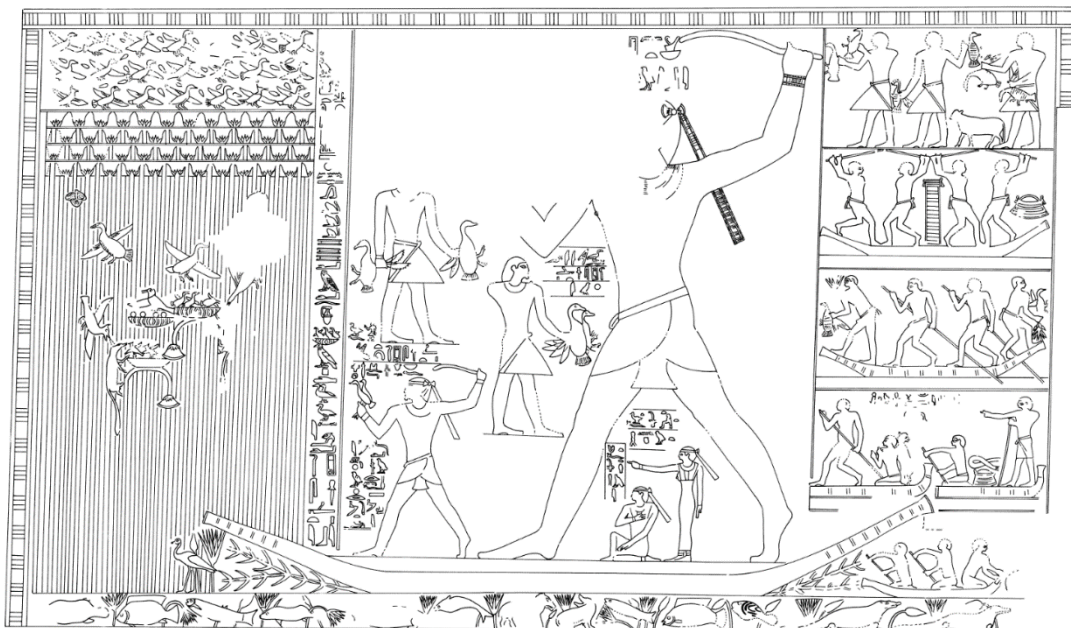


Pl. 27. *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*

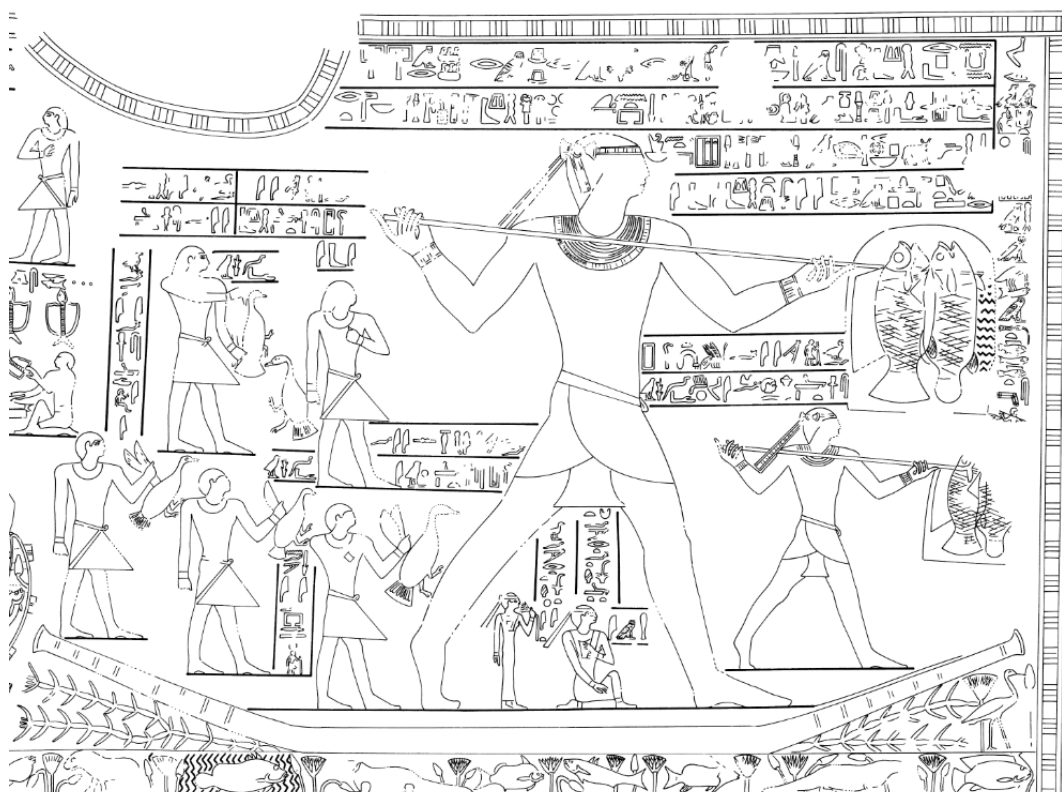


Pl. 28. *Hnqw/Jj...f*

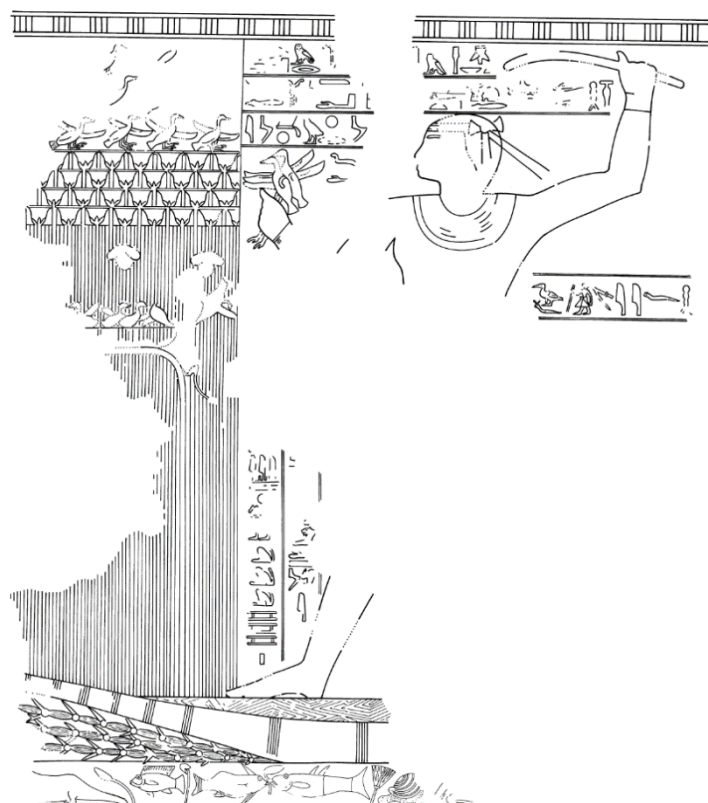
SOUTH MOUNTAIN



Pl. 29. *Jbj*

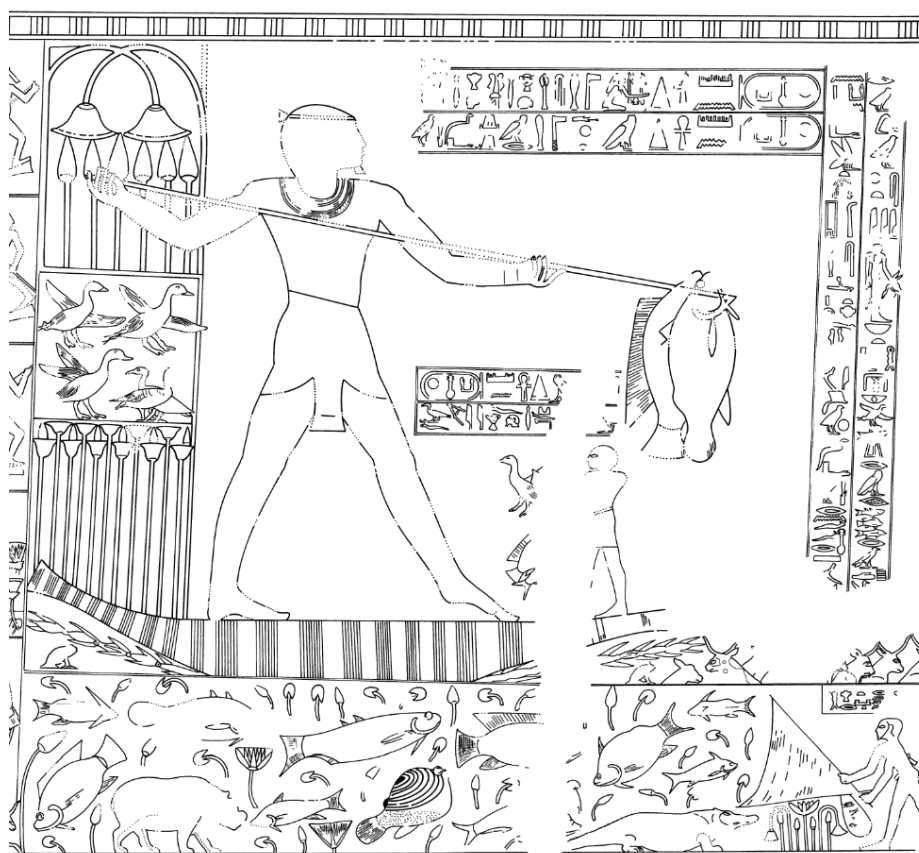


Pl. 30. *Jbj*



Pl. 31. $\underline{D}^rw/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^rw

The father is shown as the major figure.

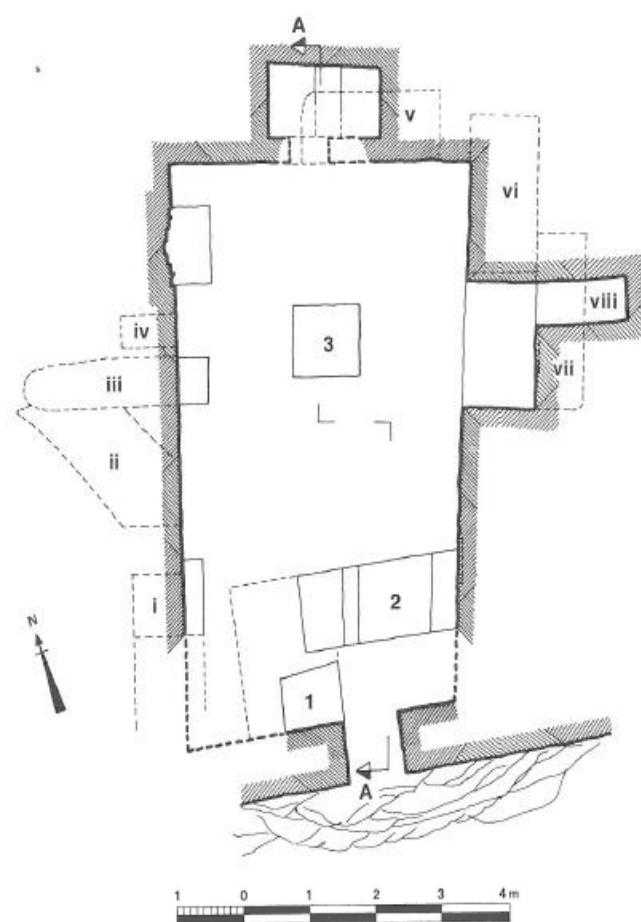


Pl. 32. $\underline{D}^rw/\check{S}m3j$ and \underline{D}^rw

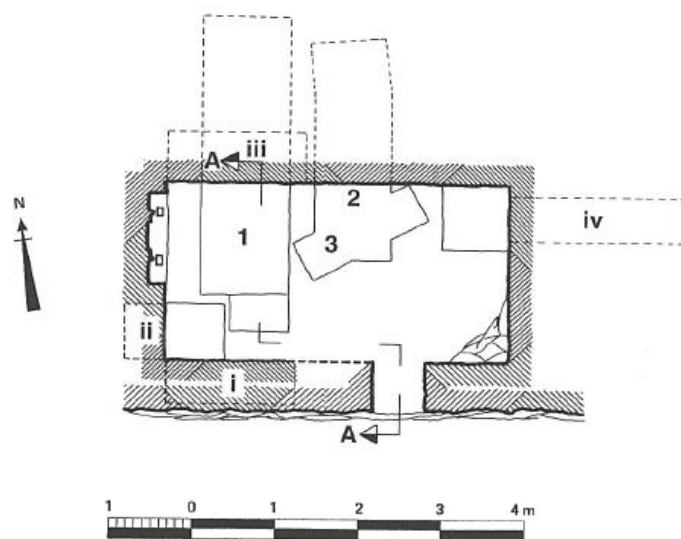
The father is shown as the major figure.

TOMB PLANS

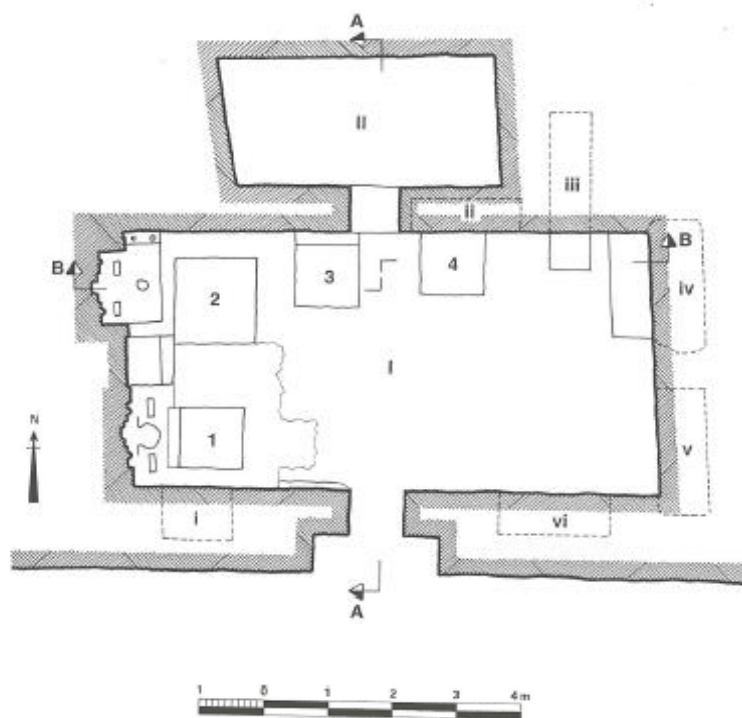
NORTH MOUNTAIN



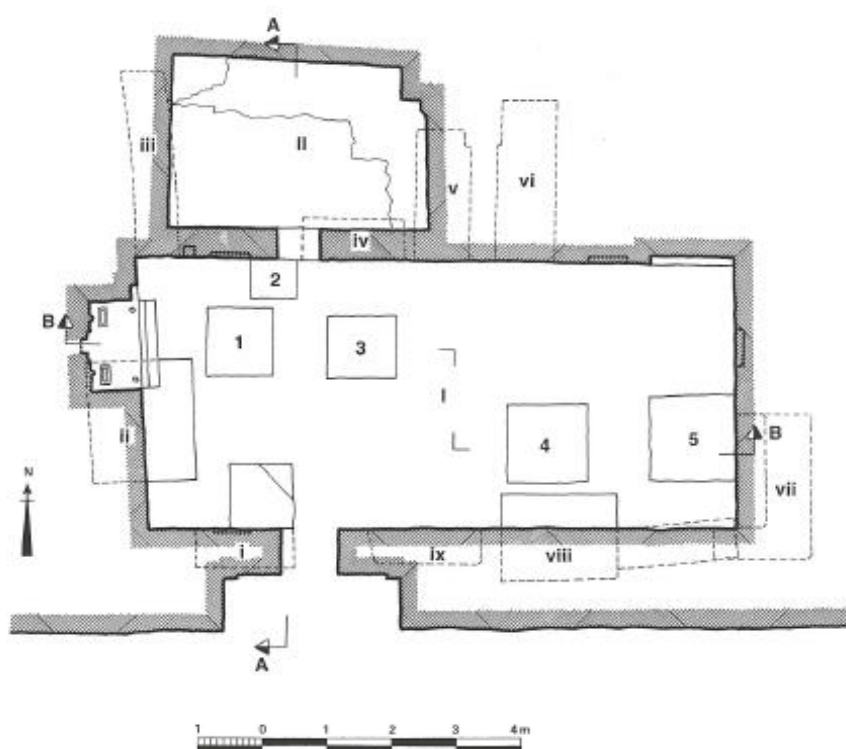
Pl. 33. *Hnqw/Httj*



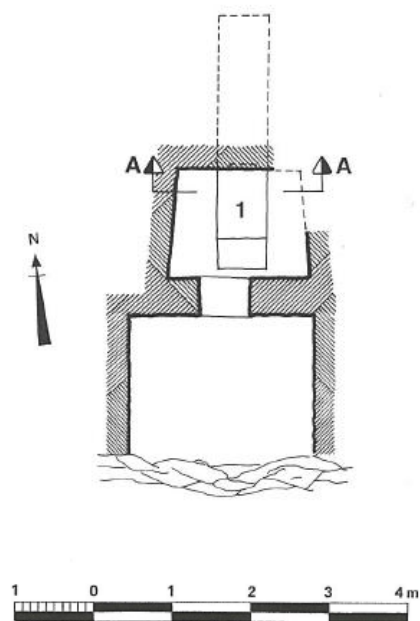
Pl. 34. *Jmpjj* (N95)



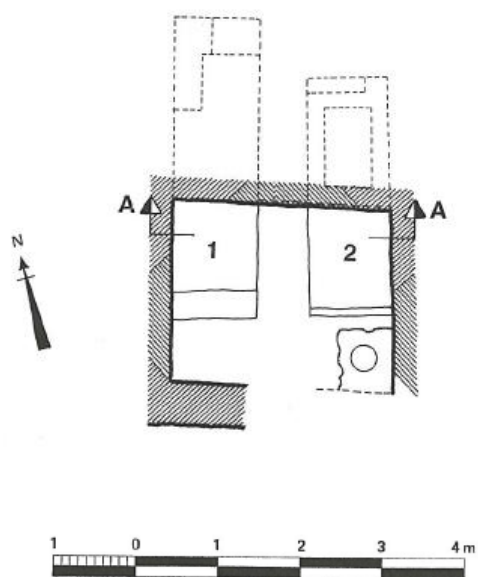
Pl. 35. *Hm-R^c/Jzj I*



Pl. 36. *Hnqw/Jj...f*

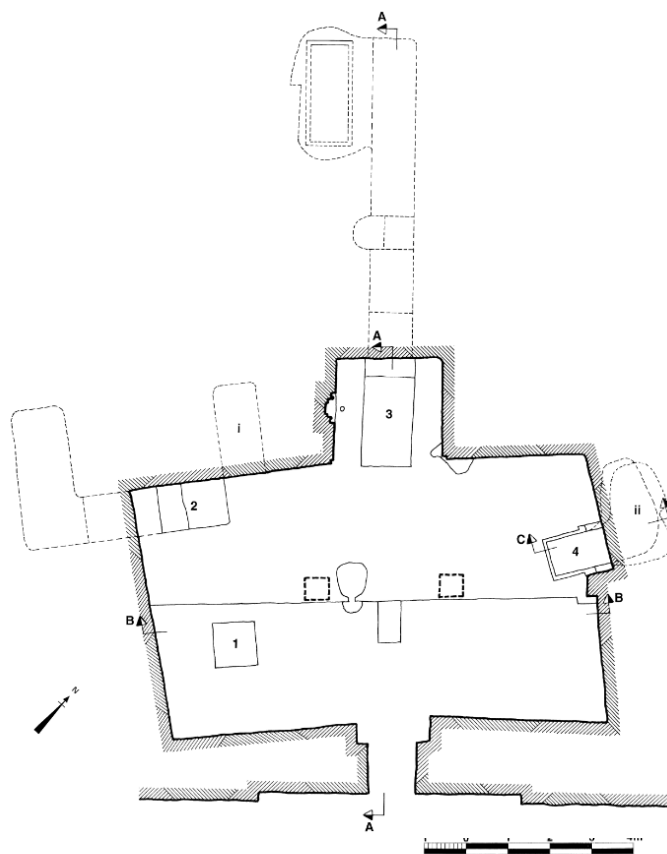


Pl. 37. *Hm-R^c/Jzj II*

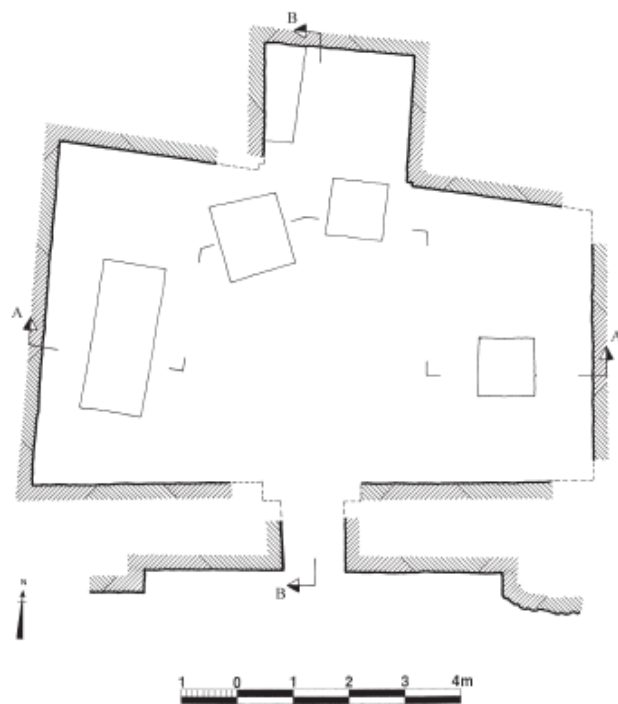


Pl. 38. *Nb-jb*

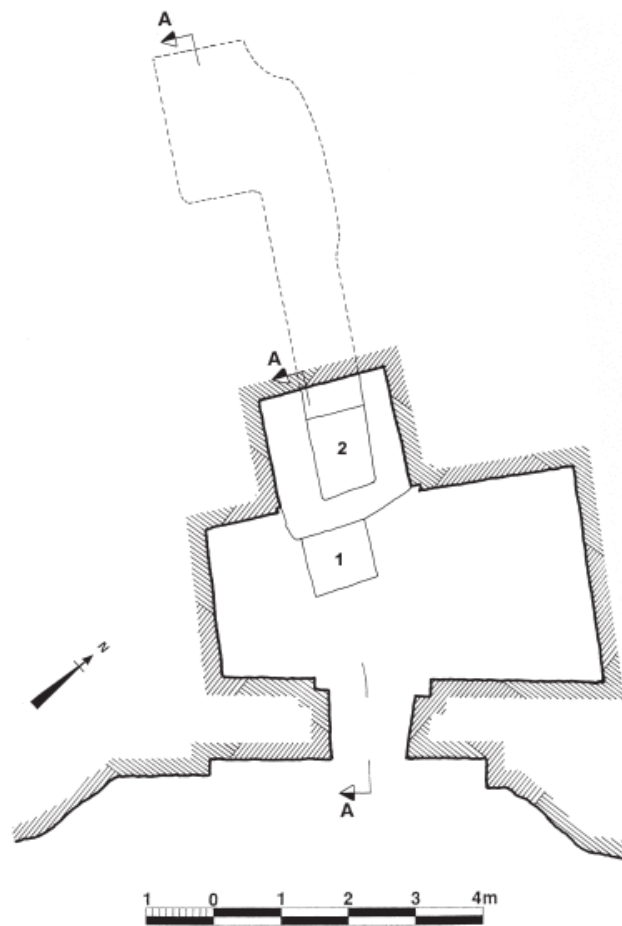
SOUTH MOUNTAIN



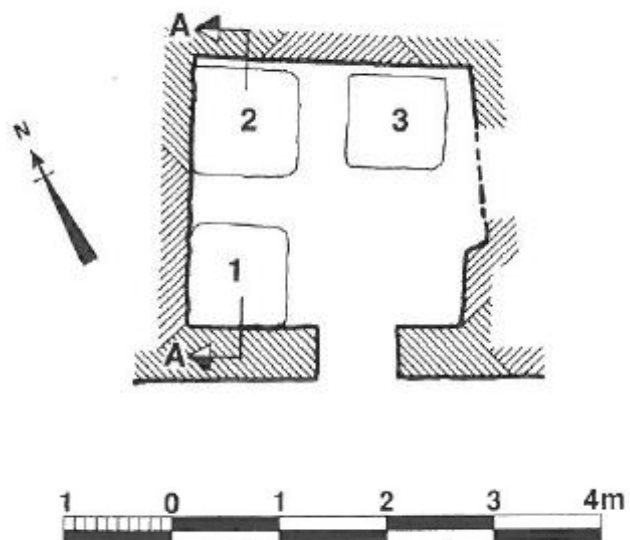
Pl. 39. *Jbj*



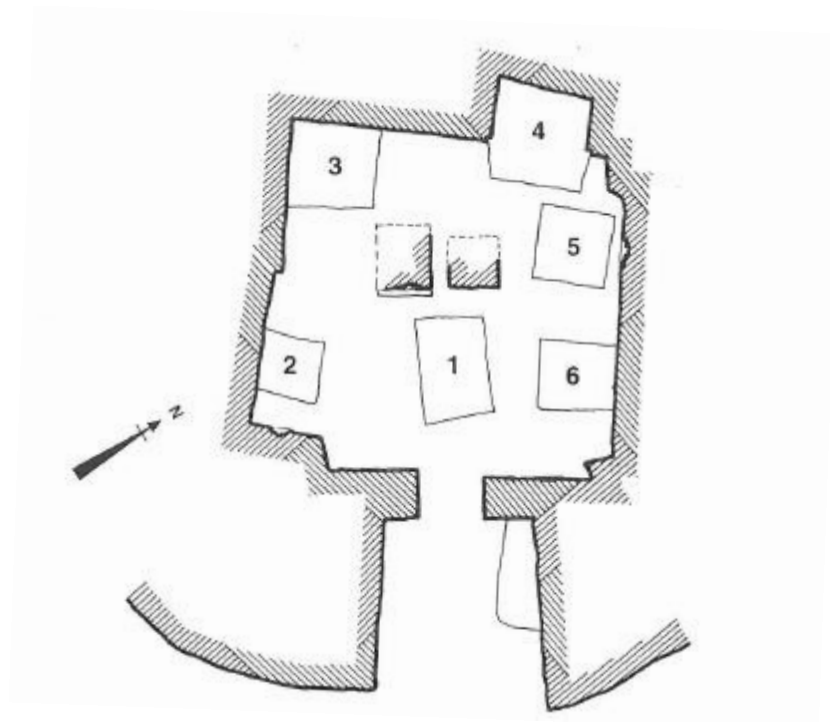
Pl. 40. \underline{D}^{rw}



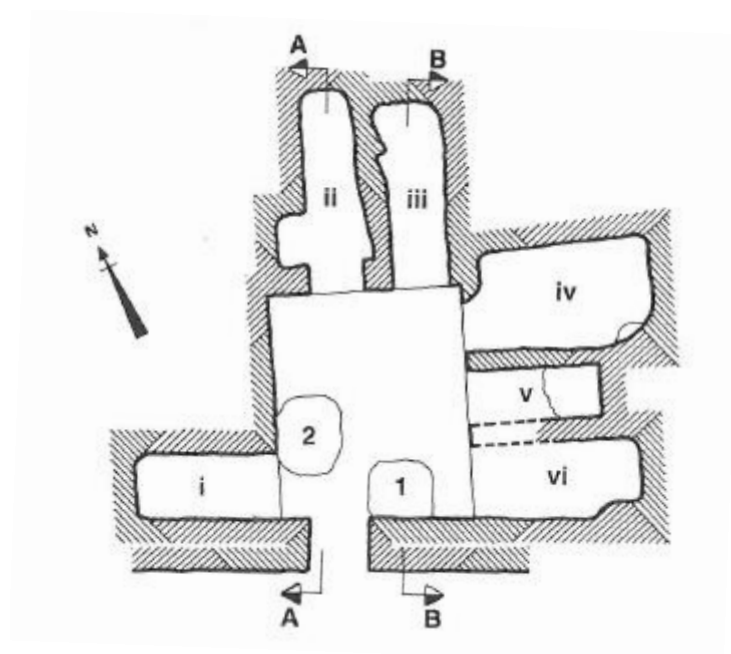
Pl. 41. S10



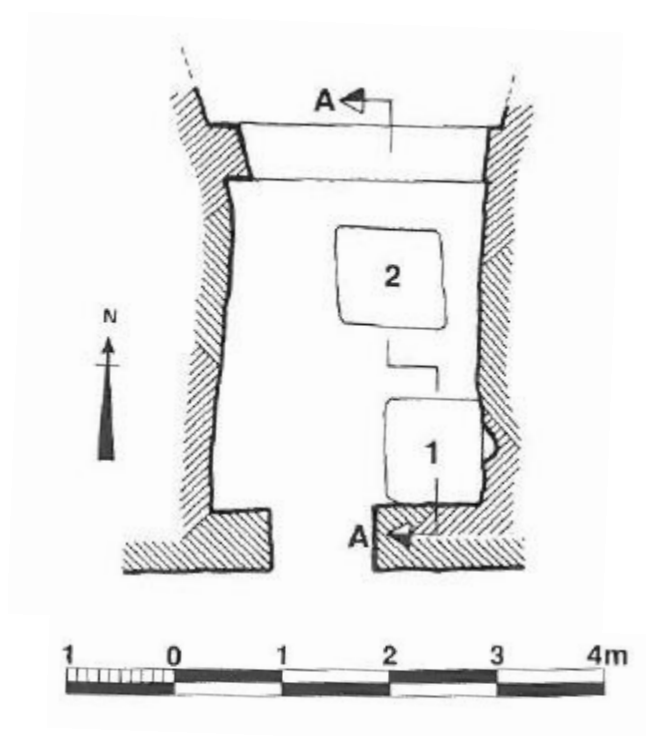
Pl. 42. Thjtt



Pl. 43. *Htp-nb(.j)*



Pl. 44. *Wh3*



Pl. 45. *Mrwt*