

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

(Numbers in square brackets [] refer to the prosopography.)

Aims of the study

The cemeteries of the Old Kingdom are witness to the earliest society where unified administration, policy-making and a complex 'theology' extended well beyond the reaches of a city-state. This society was not a static system. Reductions in the size of pyramids and tombs and in the quality of their construction and decoration, between early Dynasty 4 and late Dynasty 6, suggest economic change, perhaps the result of persistent fluctuations in the level of the inundation. These basic changes may have led to social, political and even theological adjustments. The relative powers of the king and the central administration seems to have fluctuated, with family feuds and competing claims possibly giving rise to a change of ruling dynasty, from Dynasty 4 to Dynasty 5. In Dynasty 5, men with no traceable royal blood were appointed to the highest positions. The titles 's³ nswt' and 's³ nswt n ḥt.f' were bestowed on high or favoured members of the official class, who do not appear to have been members of the royal family. At the same time, members of the royal family may have been deliberately excluded from political and administrative power.

Our knowledge of the historical dynamic of the Old Kingdom period is, however, fragmentary, and much of the history is quite obscure. In part, this may be due to the lack of well excavated settlement sites. Yet the data provided by Old Kingdom cemeteries, some of which like Giza and Saqqara, offer an almost continuous record for the Old Kingdom, seem to throw little light on historical developments. The reason lies partly in the kind of data that the tombs provide. Inscriptions within the tombs largely comprise repetitive religio/magical formulae, lists of titles¹, formularised statements such as the 'appeal to the living', brief captions labeling a scene or giving the plain speech of working people. These inscriptions rarely anchor the structure in precise time. Depictions of scenes usually present standard features such as the 'offering scene' and aspects of 'daily life' rather than well dated events. Once a theme was added to the repertoire, apart from variation and development of detail, it presented an apparently unchanging picture of 'everyday life'² Furthermore, it is difficult to place the data in chronological order. Few

1 The power and duties of holders of many of these titles are barely understood. Even the manner of holding titles is obscure. Strudwick raises the question of whether strings of titles inscribed in tombs represent 'the accumulation of a lifetime' {Baer (1960) 35} or whether they merely were a list of the titles held by the tomb owner at the time the tomb was decorated. He is, however, unable to answer the question with any certainty. Strudwick (1985) 174.

2 Kent Weeks notes that these 'unchanging' pictures may reflect changes in the Egyptian worldview, which we do not easily detect, and that there has been little rigorous assessment of significant attributes of various classes of scenes. Weeks (1979).

The possibility that, over a period of more than 400 years, the significance of such attributes may change also needs to be considered. It may be misleading to judge the meaning of Dynasty 6 funerary art in terms appropriate to Dynasty 4.

tombs provide secure evidence on which they may be dated. The typology of tomb architecture shows a number of major changes, although it does not offer a secure, precise dating system. The many variations and individual modifications in tomb design, as well as long periods of overlapping of styles, make it difficult to date tombs according to architectural features and patterns.

Yet tucked away in these cemeteries is a wealth of historical data on the men who carried out the governance of Egypt for over 400 years. They were true bureaucrats striving to maintain order. They measured success by royal recognition and, seemingly, a hierarchy of ponderous titles. Their funerary inscriptions rarely descend to the vainglory of remembered battle and bloodlust; rather they suggest that the height of endeavour for their class was administrative service, and its reward the approval of the king they served. Judging from the way they had themselves and their families depicted, the culmination of a successful life was a benign and prosperous old age with the satisfaction of seeing dutiful sons succeed them.

Occasionally the monuments reflect something of the officials' individual lives, of their values and moral code, affections, hopes and fears, even the policies they administered and perhaps initiated to meet changing conditions. This information, however, is subtly conveyed on the tacit expectation that the visitor to the tomb understands

the assumptions of the worldview on which their society rested. The introduction of new titles only hints at administrative and religious developments. Obscure comments like those of Wnj³, who claimed to have enjoyed accelerated promotion and presided in camera over a case against a queen, and the deliberate defacement of the name and face of important officials such as occurred in the tomb of the vizier, R'-wr []⁴, raise the possibility of power struggles at the pinnacle of the country's administration.

Students of the Old Kingdom appear reluctant to extract broad 'non-funerary' inferences from the mass of funerary data, perhaps because the exposition of wide ranging hypotheses will expose them to scholarly criticism⁵. In particular, significant developments may have occurred towards the end of Dynasty 5. The emaciated figures on the Causeway of Unas may be 'sand-dwellers' but their depiction on this royal construction suggests that they represented a significant situation for the Old Kingdom state. After Neuserre, the location for the king's burial place changed from Abusir to Saqqara, where it remained for the rest of the Old Kingdom, and kings stopped building sun temples. In the second half of Dynasty 5, before the reign of Unas, the name of Osiris was introduced into the offering

3 Sethe (1932-3) Urk I, 98-110.

4 Fikey (1980), pls. 1, 2, 5, 9; Kanawati, 1981, (1)

5 Works such as Strudwick's enquiry into high officials [Strudwick (1985)] and Kanawati's examination of tombs as an economic product [Kanawati (1977)] both need updating as they depend on the chronological

formulae in private tombs. In the reign of Unas, last king of Dynasty 5, the recording of religious texts inside the pyramids was adopted. In the following reign of Teti, there appears to have been an important change in the ranking and status of priestly titles of royal pyramids⁶. Very few customary themes were ever dropped from the pictorial repertoire of private tombs, but the *ssš w3d* scene may, in fact, disappear from tombs of males at this time⁷. Such a cluster of changes suggests political and religious development, which cannot be adequately hypothesised without placing the data, from which they are inferred, in a more precise chronological framework. The tombs of Old Kingdom officials constitute a large proportion of the available source material from which a history of this period might be derived. Without an acceptable chronological ordering of the basic data, however, the full potential of this rich source of historical evidence will not be accessible⁸.

sequencing of tombs, but they make use of available funerary data to offer inferences about the historical dynamic of the Old Kingdom.

⁶ Baer (1960) 245-258.

⁷ Harpur (1984) Table 6.18 pp. 335-339, providing a list of tombs with the major figure (male) active in marsh scenes shows few Dynasty 6 tombs with this scene. Although Harpur assigns a conventionally accepted Dynasty 6 date to some of the tombs, it is unlikely that a *ssš w3d* scene occurs in a tomb that dates beyond the reign of Unas. All of the Dynasty 6 instances (*J3sn* [], *Snb* (PM 101), *K3.j-m-ḥnh* (PM 132), *Ftk-t3* (PM 351), *Nj-ḥnh-ppjj* of Zawyet el-Amwat) are probably to be dated to Dynasty 5.

⁸ Roth provides a good example of how the architectural evidence provides insights into the historical dynamic and how such interpretations can only be strengthened by establishing a chronological order for that evidence. Roth (1995) 33-55 *passim*.

Chronological confusion

Yvonne Harpur comments that there is surprisingly little disagreement on the dating of Old Kingdom tombs, many of which can be dated with 'reasonable accuracy'⁹. The present level of dating may be adequate for certain types of studies, but assigning many monuments to "the second half of Dynasty 4" or merely to "Dynasty 6" does not provide the chronological precision needed to act as a framework for investigating historical change. Moreover, when scholars begin using the evidence offered by private tombs to research into the period, a basic lack of agreement in dating monuments tends to emerge¹⁰. Very few Old Kingdom tombs, stelae and coffins offer uncontroversial evidence of their date. Consequently, when factors such as location, provenance and personal relationships recorded in or inferred from inscriptions fail to provide a secure date, the dating of these monuments largely depends on techniques of relative dating. The various typological systems in use are derived from architectural, iconographic and epigraphic style changes and on key occurrences such as the introduction of the name of Osiris into funerary invocation. The dating method usually entails selecting factors drawn from a number of systems, some of which are themselves based on a chronology of monuments that has no

⁹ Harpur (1984), 2.

¹⁰ Harpur provides a comprehensive summary of dating criteria in current use. (Harpur (1980) 35-36) Its eclectic nature helps to explain the level of scholarly disagreement over the dating of many monuments.

proven validity. Furthermore the dates provided by these typological systems are often, of necessity, based on minor changes of style, which are only credible as dating criteria if they are part of a clearly systematic typology, as old and new styles frequently overlap for a considerable length of time. In addition, the archaeological context of Egyptian tombs, as well as the archaeological methods used, rarely provides a clear stratification either for remains of the tomb itself or for any artefacts it may contain, which in any case have usually suffered disturbance before being excavated.

All this makes the refinement of dating of Old Kingdom monuments hazardous. Studies such as Nigel Strudwick's ordering of false doors according to stylistic features¹¹. Yvonne Harpur's researches into decorative developments¹² and Fischer's identification of iconographic and epigraphic changes each provide a separate chronology¹³. Conclusions drawn from such studies may contradict each other, while the bases on which these systems assign dates are sometimes unclear, creating further problems.

Attempts to get beyond the chronological confusion include Klaus Baer's study of variable title sequences¹⁴, based where possible, on securely dated monuments. However, the complexity of his method and the quantity of data he used has made it time-consuming

¹¹ Strudwick (1985) 35-52.

¹² Harpur (1980) *passim*.

¹³ Fischer (1959) 244-48.

¹⁴ Baer (1960)

to rework the evidence and check Baer's steps. In places Baer asks the reader to accept his conclusions without providing all the supporting data, because to do so would be too cumbersome. Strudwick has aptly pointed out that Baer's time divisions are uncomfortably precise¹⁵. In particular, Baer's system for dating Dynasty 6 monuments has concerned scholars¹⁶, for his conclusions are often at variance with dates arrived at by other methods, particularly with regard to provincial tombs. A recent, as yet unpublished, study of Dynasty 6 provincial title sequences¹⁷ casts doubt on the validity of Baer's methodology. Dynasty 6 is an especially difficult area in which to apply a system such as Baer's, and he clearly needed a greater number of securely dated monuments than the dynasty provides.

A more recent study, which sets out to avoid the logical circularity that sometimes besets methods of relative dating, is presented by Cherpion¹⁸, who relies on the presence of cartouches to establish dating criteria, but uses a sophisticated logic to avoid bare reliance on the existence of a cartouche. Instead, the presence of cartouches provides earliest and latest dates for her criteria. However, her system also has its methodological difficulties, while a few of her criteria rest on too small a quantity of data to provide secure

¹⁵ Strudwick (1985) 4.

¹⁶ Baer (1960) 274-95. Franke (1993) 291.

¹⁷ A study under the direction of Naguib Kanawati of Macquarie University.

¹⁸ Cherpion (1989) 23.

conclusions¹⁹. The most serious problem with Cherpion's system is that reliance on cartouches tends to set too early a time limit for some criteria. Offices in royal funerary establishments outlasted the king in question sometimes by hundreds of years. This provided office holders in the king's funerary establishment with the opportunity to inscribe the king's cartouche in their tomb perhaps two or three hundred years or more after the death of that king. If this is the only cartouche in the tomb, it will tend to skew a typological dating system based on cartouches.

Other methods of dating depend on the recognition of changes in tomb architecture, the false door and in the depiction of standard features such as furniture and personal adornment, some of which show progressive change. Although these changes of features appear to have a dating capability, their perceived 'life span' rests either on the conventionally accepted dates of monuments on which the depictions are found or on a system that is not fully researched or explained. When these criteria are used to date a monument, a combination of 'proofs' is frequently drawn from a number of uncalibrated dating systems, while contradictory data is merely acknowledged or even ignored. Without a clear and unequivocal method of establishing the 'life span' of architectural, iconographic and palaeographic changes, their value as dating criteria is questionable.

¹⁹ Critères 51, 62, 63 and 64 have less than five occurrences. Cherpion (1989) 196, 204-5.

Methodology to be used

Definition of dating criteria

This study proposes to establish earliest and latest dates for certain features in style and content of the depictions of the tomb owner and related scenes. Features that can be shown to have a 'life span' are then classed as 'dating criteria', which can be applied to date other monuments. To avoid the problem of circular reasoning which often affects typological studies, the duration of these features is established by means that are, as far as possible, independent of any other system of relative dating.

Conditions for establishing dating criteria

The use of typological 'criteria' for dating purposes requires certain conditions to be met:

1. Each criterion and its defining dates needs to be established by a system that searches all possible relevant sources.
2. The system, together with the evidence on which it is based, must be clearly laid out.
3. The base data on which the system rests must not be drawn from any other 'relative' criteria of the same kind, or the findings will be the result of a circular dependency.

4. The proposed system only offers 114 criteria but a 'bank' of some hundreds of established criteria is needed, if it is to be applied to a variety of tombs²⁰. Dating criteria derived from typological changes often have a long life span; in the context of the Old Kingdom they may cover a number of reigns. Consequently, when only a few such criteria are applied to a monument they may not give a precise date (See "Testing the Criteria" and "Conclusions"). Furthermore, using this method to assign a date to a monument will only gain substantial acceptance if the dating is confirmed by as many criteria as possible.
5. Such a system should not be applied mechanically. Some criteria will carry more weight and conviction than others. Chronological gaps in the supporting evidence for each criterion need to be taken into account.
6. Inferences drawn from chapel decoration may not apply to coffins, stelae or burial chambers. See below, pages 15-16.

Evidence from dated monuments should make possible the delineation of historical processes such as the growth of social conscience and responsibility as witnessed, for example, in the development of 'ideal biographies', the emergence of new features such as the introduction of Osiris into the funerary formulae, and administrative and technological change. It may never be possible to date some Old Kingdom monuments more precisely

²⁰ Such a 'bank' is possible if epigraphic and palaeographic criteria could be included, but such an extension is beyond the scope of this study.

than within one or two generations. Yet even these limits will enable a systematic order to be applied to monuments. A sufficiently precise chronological ordering of monuments and the evidence they offer should then be available to support further investigation into the historical dynamic of the Old Kingdom.

It is the aim of the present study to contribute to the development of a system of dating Old Kingdom monuments by:

- establishing dating criteria which can be applied to a majority of private tombs
- applying these criteria to certain monuments with broad or contentious dating.

Method of establishing dating criteria

The method of establishing dating criteria in this study rests on three premises:

1. In order to maximize data from which dating criteria are drawn, the study is confined to the most frequently occurring features in private tombs and on Dynasty 4 stelae. These are:-

I The representation of male tomb owners:

- as standing and seated figures wearing differing styles of kilt
- wearing a collar
- as standing or seated figures wearing a leopard or panther skin
- seated before the offering table
- as seated figures otherwise occupied.

II Elements of the offering table and banquet scenes

III The pose and adornment of the major female figure and her size in relation to the tomb owner

IV Elements of the sšš wꜥd and fishing/fowling scenes.

2. The evidence for establishing criteria is drawn from two groups of tombs:-

Group "A" consists of monuments which are securely dated, usually by

inscription. By itself, this group is neither large enough nor sufficiently well spaced in time to provide acceptable dating criteria. Some dated monuments are simply not rewarding in this respect. Consequently a second group of monuments was established:

Group "B" consists of monuments whose date is established

by inference. To avoid circular argument, the tombs in this list are restricted to those where the evidence can be inferred from data provided by:-

- **location** (the position of tombs vis à vis royal monuments and tombs of other, well dated officials)
- **personal relationships**
- **archaeological evidence** such as workmen's graffiti, royal sealings, order of construction.

Ideally a tomb should offer evidence from all three categories and an absence of contra-evidence, but such a situation is rare. Consequently, evidence in two categories, together with an absence of contra-evidence, have been made the yardstick for Group B.

Occasionally, particularly strong evidence from just one category is accepted. Ultimately, however, in the choice of Group B monuments there is a degree of subjectivity with which the writer is unhappy, but cannot avoid.

Group B extends the number and chronological range of monuments used²². As some monuments in this group will have wrongly inferred dates, the principle followed is that the defining dates for a criterion *must* conform with all relevant Group A monuments and with *most* of Group B. Where a small number of Group B tombs provide conflicting evidence, each anomaly is investigated to judge whether it may be discounted as wrongly dated or requires the chronological extension of the criterion in question or destroys the criterion's validity. These judgements are included in the study.

Group "C": As a further check on findings, a list of tombs with one or more cartouches has been used.

The date for a final appearance of a criterion, established from Groups A and B, is checked against those monuments bearing a cartouche of kings later than the criterion's final date.

If the criterion is found on one of these monuments, it clearly extends the final date of the criterion²³.

²²Refer to Name List and Prosopography

²³ Refer to Name List.

²⁴ Strudwick (1985) 9-52.

²⁵ Kanawati's remarks indicate

Categories: Monuments are categorized according to their original location and cemetery.

The purpose in establishing location is to check whether iconographic features show a variation from one location to another. For example, do features emerge later and last longer in the provinces than at the capital? A further question is whether new features first appear in the chapels of the highest officials. Strudwick finds different dates for the introduction of features of the false door between Giza and Saqqara and between officials of different status²⁴. However, in this study, attempting to class chapels according to the status group of their owner as well as location fragments the group of chapels into categories that are too small to provide useful subgroups of individual criteria.

Burial chambers, stelae and coffins

Stelae and coffins present further dating difficulties. It has yet to be established that these two categories of monuments present either the same stylistic changes or the same range of dates for these changes, either in relation to each other or to depictions on chapel walls. There even appears to be a different time span for changes between the panel-stelae of the false door within the chapel and other wall depictions. Burial chambers and coffins may well present different categories and time-spans for criteria. Affected by their close association with the corpse, burial chambers and coffins show variations in iconography,

lexicographical features such as the neutralization of dangerous creatures and the omission of certain determinatives that may differ from those features depicted in the chapel. These features, which also occur in the burial chambers of well-dated tombs of the early Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara, can therefore be expected on Dynasty 6 coffins from tombs with uninscribed burial chambers. Coffins and perhaps burial chambers, therefore, require separate treatment²⁵

Most dating criteria have an existence which spans a number of reigns. To assign a precise date to a chapel with a number of scenes requires a 'bank' of many established criteria. With a comparatively small area, coffins and stelae present only a few features that can be used for dating. Rarely does the application of a few criteria with a long 'life span' date an artefact or a monument precisely. Furthermore, portable objects such as stelae and coffins may have been the product of different ateliers from those specializing in decorating chapels.

A second category and a second generation of criteria

The method here proposed only offers 114 criteria. This has not proved adequate to give a precise date to some monuments²⁶. Epigraphic and palaeographic features would yield dating criteria as easily as iconographic features, perhaps with less controversy. The

²⁶ In particular, see Dating Charts for Tw3w (Chart CC) and Tmrrjj (Chart DD) of (Naga ed-Der), and Jtj (Chart B).

collection of such data (beyond the scope of this study) might add a further 60 to 100 criteria and thus widen the system's capability.

A 'second generation' of criteria can also be developed. By adding monuments dated by the proposed method to the original list of tombs in Groups A and B a greater range of data from which to derive new criteria becomes available²⁷.

Time scale to be used

The time scale used is that of dynasties and reigns rather than years, because monuments in Groups A and B can be assigned to a reign, but rarely to a year within the reign.

Ephemeral rulers, such as Nebka/Wehemka of Dynasty 4 and Userkare of Dynasty 6 are not included. The outcome of this study is not materially affected either by the existence of kings who may have come to the throne for a year or so or by the precise number of years for more substantial reigns. However, whether a king reigned for 10 or 30 years is significant, as some of the tombs in Group B are dated by inferences concerning generations of family members.

The chronology for the Old Kingdom in terms of length of reigns and dynasties is beset with difficulties. The two basic sources, the Turin Canon and Manetho, do not

²⁷ See Dating Charts for Tjj (Chart R) and K3.j-ḥnt A2 and K3.j-ḥnt A3 (Charts Y and Z).

always agree and contain some important lacunae. For this study the most significant problems occur in late Dynasty 5 and in Dynasty 6. The length of reigns for Unas, Teti and Pepy I, given by the Turin Canon and Manetho, have recently been questioned by von Beckerath, who suggests a reign length of 20 years for Unas, as opposed to the 30 and 33 years given by the Turin Canon and Manetho²⁸. Kanawati proposes a further reduction to 15 years for Unas. By accepting that the *h3t-sp* took place every year rather than every two years, he proposes the further reduction of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I to 11 and 25 years respectively²⁹. While the reduction of the reign of Unas to 20 years, as proposed by von Beckerath, and the reductions of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I are acceptable, the further reduction of Unas' reign to 15 years and the drastic reduction of the reign of Pepy II to 33+ years may be too great. A reign of 60 years for Pepy II, taking in his childhood, would allow for him to be succeeded by a son of perhaps 50 years of age and allow for two *h3b-sd* festivals which could have been 30 years apart.

A 25 year generation span has been used to take into account both an 'early' marriage age and a high incidence of infant mortality, which would frequently mean that the eldest son did not survive to succeed his father in office or estate.

²⁸ Von Beckerath (1997) 148-55.

²⁹ The highest known count for Teti is 11. Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (2000) 41 pl. 19. The highest known count for Pepy I is 25. The reductions of lengths of reigns to these *h3t-sp* figures allows the careers of a number of officials to be more realistic. Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (2000) 22-23.

Defining the end of the Old Kingdom and

the First Intermediate Period

Two major features of the First Intermediate Period are the breakdown of administrative unity centred on Memphis and the economic decline. While these two features were roughly parallel in time they may not have been precisely coeval. Moreover, although there was conflict, the entire First Intermediate Period may not have been a time of constant dissension. Certain parts of the country may have experienced intervals of peace.

From the death of Pepy II to the return of unity (about Year 38 of the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II) is sometimes accepted as the First Intermediate Period, although there is no broad agreement as to when the First Intermediate Period began. Manetho³⁰ includes Dynasties 7 to 10 in his First Intermediate Period, and to judge from the evidence of the cramped mastabas of the high officials of the later years of Pepi II³¹ economic hardship may have overtaken the country towards the end of that long reign, possibly exacerbated by an aging king's feebleness. Moreover, Manetho's date does not seem to be the most appropriate division of time. Pepy II's reign was followed by a diminished, although not ineffective, form of kingship. The collapse of central power may

³⁰ Waddell (1971) 57-73.

³¹ Jequier (1929) *passim*.

have been progressive, beginning with the assertion of provincial initiative, but still with notional acknowledgement of the central power. This may be the significance of the proactive policies of Ankhtifi's while claiming to have been posted to Mo'alla by 'Horus'³²

The description, 'end of the Old Kingdom', is therefore reserved for the political changes, that is, the ultimate breakdown of central Memphite authority.

Dating criteria for the end of the Old Kingdom and First

Intermediate Period

It is frequently accepted that the classical style of art, epitomized by the canon of proportion for the human body, degenerated in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. However, aspects of this breakdown cannot be used uncritically as criteria for dating. Departures from the canon occurred for other reasons and at other times.

Provincial work sometimes shows a clumsiness at a much earlier period. In her doctoral dissertation on the Cusite Nome, Gillam states that enlarged eyes are an indicator of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period art³³. Jsj (Edfu)³⁴ and Krrj (El Hawawish)³⁵,

³² Vandier (1950) 162ff. "Horus brought me to the Horus-Throne nome ... to reestablish it, and I did. For Horus wished to reestablish it, because he brought me to reestablish it." Lichtheim (1988) 25.

³³ Gillam (1991) 136, footnote 15.

³⁴ Ziegler (1990) No. 9, pp. 78, 79, 81.

both securely dated to the beginning of Dynasty 6, show this feature. Isolation from the capital and a dearth of craftsmen skilled in the Memphite style may account for these early occurrences of artistic degeneration.

There may have been a time-lag of some generations between the decline in prosperity and the actual breakdown of administrative unity. To judge by their tombs, declining prosperity appears to have affected even the highest class in the capital towards the end of Pepy II's reign³⁶. Whether there was political upheaval or not, this development would have brought about cultural change which would be reflected in lower standards of craftsmanship.

The national picture of cultural change may have been quite complex. It is conceivable that the capital, drawing on the produce of many provinces, would reflect a reduction in the total wealth and productivity of the country at an earlier date than would some individual, well managed or better endowed provinces. With a drop in production some provincial administrators may have decided to retain a greater proportion of agricultural produce in their province depriving the capital of its usual income. The national economic picture, then, would be very uneven; a drop in affluence in the capital

³⁵ Kanawati 6 (1985) fig. 22a.

³⁶ A decline in prosperity in the capital may have been experienced as early as the reign of Pepy I. Officials' tombs of this reign show a striking deterioration in comparison with the tombs of the reign of Teti. Conversation with Naguib Kanawati, 15 November 2000.

and some provinces, with other provinces maintaining earlier Old Kingdom levels of affluence for a longer time. Such a time-lag may have produced a lack of uniformity in standards of craftsmanship across the provinces of Egypt. These remarks, merely supposition, are intended to stress that the evidence from the decline in standards of craftsmanship may be expected to reflect a complex pattern of change affecting capital and individual provinces at different times.

This bears on the usefulness of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period monuments to provide valid dating criteria. Ideally, monuments of this period should be studied province by province. The above considerations and the absence of an adequate number of securely dated monuments from either the capital or the provinces from the end of the Old Kingdom and from the First Intermediate Period, however, make it impossible to use the present system beyond the reign of Pepy II.

It is not possible to judge whether or for how long the iconographic features that form the dating criteria presented here continue beyond the reign of Pepy II. *Consequently charts showing criteria lasting to the end of Pepy II's reign do not indicate that this was the final occurrence of these criteria but that beyond this date there are no securely dated monuments to show how long each feature survived.*

CHAPTER 2 PROSOPOGRAPHY

THE DATA (Numbers in square brackets [] refer to the prosopography.)

Establishing dating criteria required a typological study of decorative elements of those Old Kingdom tombs to which a date can be assigned. The starting point for this study was to set up a 'bank' of dated tombs from which these dating criteria could be drawn. Very few Old Kingdom tombs can be precisely and securely dated to a particular reign. Such precision usually depends on a pertinent inscription. Many tombs are inscribed, but few provide evidence of the reign in which the tomb owner lived. When it is possible to use other features such as materials and methods of construction, personal relationships, location and associated finds as indicators to date a tomb, the result is only an estimate. Consequently, such tombs have been given a date that is broad enough in time to encompass a span of reasonable dating possibilities²¹. This has not proved an insuperable obstacle to the dating system proposed in

²¹ See the Synopsis of Dating Criteria.

this study, as the method of dating depends on the coincidence of the maximum number of criteria that can be applied to the decoration of an individual tomb. (See 'Conclusions' and 'Charts A - EE'.)

The tombs from which the dating criteria have been drawn are located in Giza, Saqqara, the Memphite sites of Medum and Abusir and five provincial sites, Quseir el-Amarna, Deir el-Gebrawi, Meir, el-Hawawish and Edfu.

GIZA

The data from Giza consists of stelae and the decorated walls of tomb chapels of mastabas and rock-cut tombs. There is little doubt that the construction of the original cemeteries of Giza (G4000, G1200 and G2100 in the West Field, and G7000 in the East Field) began in the reign of Khufu. Their location and relationship to Khufu's pyramid and the personal relationships of their owners strongly suggest this. However, it is less easy to ascertain the chronological development of these and later cemeteries.

Reisner's study of the Giza necropolis categorised mastaba cores, casings, shafts, burial chambers, chapels, and rock-cut chapels, according to typological principles based on features of their construction²². From these categories he drew dating implications which are occasionally problematic. Some of his assigned dates appear impressionistic and Reisner did not always provide the evidence on which they were based. Moreover, apart from the earliest mastabas in the nucleus cemeteries, , Reisner's typological categories span broad and sometimes loosely defined periods of time. Where he was able to be more exact, in the case of the original mastabas of the nucleus cemeteries, other obstacles to dating the tombs and their decoration occur:

- Very few of the earliest tombs were decorated or have their decoration preserved²³.
- While the core, casing and chapel of the mastaba may provide a reasonably precise date, there may have been a gap in time to the actual decoration of the tomb, as

Reisner noted²⁴.

²² Reisner (1942) 29-31.

²³ Reisner (1942) 305-306.

²⁴ Reisner (1942) 306.

It has therefore been necessary to be selective in using Reisner's findings to date chapels. The following categories developed by Reisner have been used in the dating of some chapels:

Exterior mud brick chapels

Reisner's Type 1a Chapels built against the southern end of the mastaba face where the chief niche is found. Stelae on the west wall of the inner L-shaped offering room: G1203 [99], G1205, G1207, G1227, G1235, G4560. (Khufu to Khafre)²⁵.

Reisner's Type 1b Mud brick chapels built around the stela. An adjoining small stone room may have been decorated: G4260. (probably Khufu)²⁶.

Reisner's Type 1c Multi-roomed brick chapels of various kinds, all later than Types 1a and 1b, with the slab stela as a later addition: G1201 [16], G1225. (Khafre to Menkaure)²⁷.

²⁵ Reisner (1942) 187-191.

²⁶ Reisner (1942) 192.

²⁷ Reisner (1942) 193.

Stone chapels:

Reisner's Type 2b L-shaped external stone offering rooms built around a niche at the southern end of mastaba. The west wall is lined with 'white' stone: G2110 '[49]. (Probably not later than Menkaure)²⁸

Reisner's Type 3 L-shaped interior stone chapels with one niche either built in original or additional core work: G1201 (Type 1c above), G1223, G1225 (Type 1c above), G4150 [5], G7060 [52], G7070 [79], G7140 [69], G7410+7420 [37], G7550 [104], G7660 [95], G7760 [30], GIS No.3 [71]. (Probably not later than Menkaure)²⁹

Reisner's Type 4a Interior stone chapels with a 2-niche offering room built in mastabas enclosing old cores of the four nucleus cemeteries of the West Field: G4000, G1200, G2100 and Cemetery en Echelon): G2041, G2155, G4520 [68], G4940 [86], G4970 [57], G5080 [87], G5150 [84], G5170 [88]. (These chapels belong to a group of eleven assigned by Reisner to a date from the end of the reign of Menkaure to Neferirkare)³⁰.

Later examples of the L-shaped mastaba chapel are harder to date by typology as the style continued to be constructed throughout Dynasty 5.

²⁸ Reisner (1942) 201, 211.

²⁹ Reisner (1942) 203-211.

³⁰ Reisner (1942) 214.

Giza rock-cut chapels

Reisner dated these chapels partly by location, partly by personal relationships and partly by tomb typology³¹. The earliest rock-cut tombs were those of the queens and sons of Khafre excavated in the scarp used as a quarry for the pyramids of Khufu and Khafre, but Reisner dated them no earlier than Menkaure as they would not have been constructed while stone was being quarried for Khafre's pyramid.

Reisner was able to separate these rock-cut tombs into two groups. The earlier tombs have two rooms, one north-south and the other east-west, while the later group has a chapel with an east-west axis and a cruciform appearance. While the two groups are distinct, each chapel has variations.

The following categories developed by Reisner have been used in the dating of some rock-cut chapels:

Reisner's Type RC(i) two rooms (N-S hall and E-W offering chamber): LG 87 [46], LG 89 [82], LG 90 [105], G7530+7540 [38], MQ No.1 [72], Hassan, Giza 6: Hmt-r^c, Hassan, Giza 4: Nj-wsr-r^c [44]³².

³¹ Reisner (1942) 219.

³² Reisner (1942) 220-232.

Reisner's Type RC(ii) cruciform shaped chapel with doorways and passages connecting rooms lying in the E/W medial axis of the tomb: Hassan, Giza 1: R^c-wr [61], LG 86³³.

According to Reisner and Junker, tombs with new chapel styles appeared at Giza in Dynasty 5, while the older chapel types continued to be constructed³⁴. The new styles included 'corridor' chapels, east-west offering rooms, chapels with pillared rooms and multi-roomed chapels³⁵. Junker assigned the appearance of mastabas with multiple shafts to Dynasty 5³⁶ and tombs with decorated burial chambers to late Dynasty 5³⁷. These styles overlap with one another over long periods of time and often appear in tombs built in the spaces between the older, free standing mastabas. As a result, neither location nor a typology of mastaba and chapel types provide chronological patterns of changing styles to use to date tombs of the second half of Dynasty 5 and Dynasty 6³⁸. Consequently, after the early reigns of Dynasty 5 Giza tombs have had to be dated, where possible, by inscription, finds, proximity and personal relationships.

³³ Reisner (1942) 233-236.

³⁴ Reisner (1942) 258, 304.

³⁵ Reisner (1942) 302.

³⁶ Junker 12 (1955) 43-46.

³⁷ Junker 4 (1940) 43-46.

³⁸ Perhaps this perception awaits the detailed excavation and study which Roth has given to the Cemetery of Palace Attendants. Roth was able to establish a pattern of change within this cemetery. Roth (1995) 1-2, 13-19.

SAQQARA

The Saqqara necropolis spans the entire Old Kingdom from the Archaic period to the end of the Old Kingdom. The majority of its tombs are mastabas because the Saqqara site has only a few rocky scarps on which to build. To judge by the existing record, Saqqara was virtually ignored as a necropolis from the reign of Khufu until early Dynasty 5, when it was again the chosen burial ground for royal officials, as well as for the kings of the beginning and later years of the dynasty. While Giza reclaimed some of its popularity as a burial site later in Dynasty 5, Saqqara remained the site of choice for most powerful officials living in the capital through the second half of Dynasty 5 and Dynasty 6.

The tombs of Saqqara have been judged easier than those of Giza to date by location because officials built their tombs around the pyramid of the king they served³⁹. However, this is only true in any substantial way of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, and then only of the tombs to the north of the pyramid. The location of burials in Saqqara is confused by a number of factors:

- For over 75 years, from Sahure to Neuserre, Dynasty 5 kings built their pyramids to the north at Abusir. Very few Old Kingdom tombs have been located around these

³⁹ Baer (1960) 48; Harpur (1984) 9.

pyramids⁴⁰. Whether many more are to be found must await further exploration, but if most officials of these kings were buried at Saqqara, location does not seem to be a dating factor. For example the large area, labelled 'North of the Step Pyramid' by the Topographical Bibliography⁴¹, contains tombs from Neferirkare to, probably, Dynasty 6, as well as a large Archaic cemetery.

- The presence of the Step Pyramid and its enclosure appears to have attracted the pyramids of both Userkaf and Unas, and probably of Teti. As a result, the cemetery area available around each comparatively small pyramid was limited. Tombs, at least of the time of Unas and Teti, are to be found on the fringes of the area labelled 'Around Teti Pyramid'⁴².
- Kanawati has noted that there is a distinct change in the style of the tombs that run in a north-south line to the immediate west of Teti's pyramid and the tombs of his viziers. Kanawati believes that these tombs are part of a late Dynasty 5 cemetery and he expects that smaller Dynasty 6 tombs will be found interspersed among the Dynasty 5 tombs, because the area for the Teti cemetery was so limited⁴³.

⁴⁰ Porter-Moss (1974) 340-349.

⁴¹ Porter-Moss (1981) Plans 42, 45, 46

⁴² Porter-Moss (1981) Plan 42

⁴³ Kanawati et al (1984) 7-8.

- The pyramids of Djedkare, Pepy I and Mernere are situated further south, closer to the village of Saqqara. The Topographical Bibliography only lists six Old Kingdom tombs for the entire region around these pyramids⁵⁹. While some of the officials of the three kings were buried in Giza or in the main Saqqara necropolis further north, it is possible that more tombs are to be found around these southerly pyramids. The combined reigns of the three kings add up to some 75 years.

Location is not a particularly helpful factor in the dating of Saqqara tombs, except for two areas:

- One area, already referred to, is that to the north of the Teti pyramid containing the officials of Teti and his successors. This factor has been used in the dating of: Jrj:ttj-snb [9], Jšfj:wtw [11], ṣnh-m-ṣ-hr:jssj [14], Wr-nww [17], Wd³-h³-ttj:ššj:Nfr-sšm-pth [19], Mrjj-ttj:mrj [32], Mrw:ttj-snb:mrjr^ṣ-sn:ppjj-snb [34], Mrrj [35], Mrrw-k³:j:mrj [36], Mhj:mh-n.s [40], Nfr-sšm-r^ṣ:ššj [55], Ndt-m-pt [59], R^ṣ-wr [60], Hsj [65], Hntj-k³:j:jhhj [75], S^ṣnh-w(j)-pth [78], K³(.j)-ṣpr(w) [93] and K³-gmj:mnj [102]. The most securely dated of these chapels are, of course, those dated by inscription.

⁵⁹ Porter-Moss (1981) 671-674.

- The second area is along the Unas Causeway, whose construction probably began quite early in the reign of that king. The pyramid of Unas stands close to the south-west corner of the enclosure of the Step Pyramid. When the causeway linking the mortuary and valley temples of Unas was built, construction work and rubble covered the tombs south of the Step Pyramid and thus provides a secure *non post quem* date for those tombs. This factor has been used in the dating of: Nj-‘nh-hnmw and Hnmw-ḥtp [42], Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j [50], Jrj-n-k3-ptḥ [8] and Nfr-sšm-ptḥ, [54] and Šḥntjw [83].

Location and proximity have also been supporting factors in the dating of the following:

- Around the pyramid of Userkaf: D45 [24]
- Around the pyramid of Unas: Nbt [48], Hnwt [74] and Sšsšt/jdwt [89].

Tomb typology at Saqqara

The structure and materials of the tombs of Saqqara have not been the subject of a systematic investigation, such as that of Reisner at Giza. Harpur has modified Reisner's chapel typology to nine groups which she has applied to decorated Saqqara chapels⁴⁵.

Under 'L-shaped offering rooms' she has included the Saqqara tombs listed in her

⁴⁵ Harpur (1984) 59-60.

publication as plans 30 to 37 and 78 to 81⁴⁶. These chapels are spread over most of the Saqqara cemeteries and, according to Harpur's dating, range from the beginning of Dynasty 5 to the reign of Pepy I. This spread of time is true of Harpur's other chapel classifications, which consequently provide little aid to exact dating⁴⁷.

TOMBS OF THE PROVINCES OF UPPER EGYPT

A range of dates has been assigned to many provincial tombs. Apart from those tombs which can be reliably dated by inscription, the tombs of the provinces of Upper Egypt seem to have given rise to more disagreement over dating than the tombs in the capital cemeteries. Possible reasons for this:

- Many provincial tombs are cut into the cliffs bordering the Nile. Consequently, their orientation, plan and construction vary according to the direction of the cliff face and the quality of rock. This means that they do not easily fit into a typology based either on Memphite tombs or on tombs of other provincial cemeteries. Comparisons usually have to rely on selected features of the tomb rather than on the tomb chapel as a complete entity. This increases the possibilities of comparing provincial tombs

⁴⁶ Harpur (1984) 3903-93, 410-411.

⁴⁷ Harpur (1984) Tables 5.1-5.13, pp. 315-322.

with other Memphite or provincial tombs according to a variety of individual features and has tended to produce a range of dates for tombs and cemeteries.

- Artistic links between the tombs of certain provincial cemeteries and those of the capital suggest that local craftsmen were acquainted with the themes and styles of decoration in the capital. This has led to suggestions that the provincial tombs with these features were close in time to the Memphite tombs whose decoration they reflected⁴⁸. Harpur lists the possible artistic links between Memphis and the provinces of Deshasha, Zawyet el-Amwat, el-Sheikh Sa'id, Deir el-Gebrawi, el-Hawawish and Meir. She also notes the possibilities of artistic links among provinces⁴⁹. Dependence on different features for dating has led to a variety of dates being assigned to the same monument. A dependence on artistic features which echo Memphite decoration has led to an earlier dating of some tombs, while a dependence on unusual or degenerated art-forms has led other scholars to propose a later date for the same tombs, often at the end of the Old Kingdom or even in the First Intermediate Period⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ Kanawati-Mcfarlane(1993) 18-19.

⁴⁹ Harpur (1984) 10-11.

⁵⁰ Kanawati dates the decorated tombs of Naga ed-Der to early to mid Dynasty 6 [Kanawati (1992) pp. 55-61] while Peck dates the same tombs to Dynasties 8-9. [Peck (1958) pp. 40ff, 79-80].

- Reliance on palaeographic evidence as opposed to artistic and archaeological

evidence may lead to differences in dating. Brovarski and Kanawati apply strikingly different dates to the tombs of the el-Hawawish nomarchic family that includes Špsj-pw-Mnw and K3.j-hp/ttj. Brovarski, depending largely on palaeography, dates the family to the end of the Old Kingdom and into the Heracleopolitan Period⁵¹.

Kanawati, on the other hand uses archaeological and artistic evidence as well as palaeography to date the family from mid Dynasty 6 (Pepy I) onwards⁵².

As a result of the different systems used, conflicting dates have been assigned to many provincial tombs. Jntj of Deshasha has been dated to mid Dynasty 5 by Petrie, to mid Dynasty 6 by Smith and more recently to the reign of Djedkare by Kanawati⁵³. Jttj/šdw from the same cemetery has been dated to the reign of Teti by Petrie, to late Dynasty 6 by others and back to Teti by Kanawati⁵⁴. Both K3(.j)-hntj (A2 and A3) of el-Hammamiya have been dated from the reign of Khufu (Petrie) to early Dynasty 5 (Kees), mid Dynasty 5 (Brunner) and more recently to early Dynasty 5 (Kanawati). Kanawati reversed the order of the two officials, arguing that A3 was the father of A2⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Brovarski (1985) Vol. 1, 131-137.

⁵² Kanawati (1992) 96-107.

⁵³ Cited with references in Kanawati-Mcfarlane(1993) 17.

⁵⁴ Cited with references in Kanawati-Mcfarlane(1993) 42.

⁵⁵ Cited with references in El-Khouli-Kanawati, (1990) 11-12, 16.

K3.j-m-nfrt (A3) of el-Hagarsa has been dated from the reign of Khufu (Petrie) to the first half of Dynasty 5 (Brunner) and to mid Dynasty 5 or slightly later (Kanawati)⁷¹. Mrjj of the same cemetery was dated to Dynasty 6 by Petrie, to the First Intermediate Period by Smith, to Pepy II or Dynasty 8 by Harpur and to Pepy II by Fischer, Edel and Kanawati⁷².

The variety of dates assigned to these and other provincial tombs suggests that typological features such as chapel types, construction, materials, decoration and location are open to widely differing interpretations. Therefore, the inclusion of provincial tombs into Groups A and B has largely depended on inscriptional evidence.

Inscriptional evidence has been a factor in the dating of: JsJ of Edfu [10] , Ppjj-ḥḥ:hnjj-km [20] and Ppjj-ḥḥ-ḥrj-jb [21] of Meir, Krrj of el-Hawawish [92] and Dḥw and Dḥw:šm3j of Deir el-Gebrawi [106].

⁷¹ Cited with references in Kanawati (1993) 12.

⁷² Cited with references in Kanawati (1993) 57.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

'Personal relationships' includes family relations and individuals appearing in the tombs of others as ka-servants, attendants or 'brothers of the endowment'. Where tombs of children or grandchildren are dated from evidence of parents or grandparents, or vice-versa, a period of 25 years is allowed for each generation⁷³. With other relationships it is more difficult to judge whether the two persons were contemporaries or not. Where possible, other factors such as a comparison of tombs have been considered. When such evidence has not been available, it has been assumed that the tomb of the junior figure is one generation later.

The biggest single problem in establishing relationships is the coincidence of names, many of which seem to have been popular at certain times during the Old Kingdom. A further confusing factor is the custom of officials to name their sons after their own fathers, so that names reappear after a generation, or to give the same name to

⁷³ A 25 year gap between generations has been preferred as it takes into account a parenthood beginning earlier in life than it does today, and the likelihood that in many cases in view the tomb in question belongs to an eldest *surviving* son, who may not be the first born son, in view of the high rate of infant and childhood mortality.

more than one son⁵⁹. Establishing parent-child relationships needs the support of the names of both parents. Other factors besides names are frequently needed to support relationships. These include tombs in close proximity and, whenever possible, the correspondence of titles⁶⁰.

The following list is divided into 'secure or probable relationships' and 'possible relationships'. It is given here to provide an overall picture of how much reliance is placed on relationships in establishing dating criteria. The detailed evidence establishing a relationship is discussed under the individual names in the Prosopography.

⁵⁹ According to Harpur, some women's names were quite common at Giza. Harpur (1984) 13-14.

⁶⁰ With the correspondence of titles there is the further problem that children are frequently not given their full titles in the tombs of their parents.

PROBABLE RELATIONSHIPS

J3btt [2]+K3-pw-nswt [103]

Jbj [6]+D'w:šm3j+D'w [106]

Jdw [13]+K3r [91]

Ppjj-ḥnh/hnj-jb [21]+Ppjj-ḥnh/hnj-km[20]

Ppjj-ḥnh-hnj-jb [21]+Hw.n-wh [PM]

Ppjj-ḥnh:hnh-km[20] +Hw.n-wh [PM IV 239]

Pth-htp I [25]+3htj-htp [1]+Pth-htp II [26]

[51]

Pth-špss [28]+NEUSERRE

Mr-jb.j [33]+Nn-sqr-k3.j [56]

Mrrw-k3.j [36]+Mrjj-ttj [32]+Ngt-m-pt [59]

Mrs-ḥnh II [37] +KHUFU

[98]

Mrs-ḥnh III [38]+Nj-wsr-r' [44]

Nfr-m3't [53]+SNEFRU

Nb.j-m-3htj [47]+ Hmt-nw [73]

Ntr-wsr [58]+R'-špss [64]

R'-wr: [61]+Mr-sw-ḥnh [39]

R'-špss [64]+Pr-nb [22]

Hwn-r' [72]+KHAFRE

Hwfw-ḥ3.f I [69]+Hwfw-ḥ3.f II [70]+KHUFU

Hmt-nw [73]+Mrs-ḥnh III [38]

S3bw-jbbj [77]+Pth-špss II [26]

Sndm-jb/jntj [80]+Sndm-jb/mhj [81]

S33t-htp:Htj [84]+Wḥm-k3.j [18]

Sšm-nfr II [87]+Jj-mrjj [4]

Sšm-nfr II [87]+Sšm-nfr III [88]

Špss-k3.f-ḥnh [90]+Jj-mrjj [4]+Jtjj [12]+Nfr-b3w- pth

K3.j-w' b [94]+KHAFRE

K3.j-w' b [94]+Mnw-ḡd.f []+K3.j-m-šhm [95]+Dw3-n-ḥr

[104]+KHUFU

K3.j-nj-nswt I [96]+K3.j-nj-nswt II [97]+K3.j-nj-nswt III

K3.j-nj-nswt I [96]+Wḥm-k3.j [18]

K3.j-nj-nswt III [98]+Nḥbw [31]

K3.j-nfr [100]+K3.j-swd3 [101]

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTATION

Dynasty 3*			Dynasty 4		
King	Notation	Length of reign	King	Notation	Length of reign
Nb-k3	III.1	19 years	Snfrw	IV.1	35 years?
Dsr	III.2	19 years	Hwfw	IV.2	23 years
Shm-ht	III.3	8 years	Dd.f-r ^c	IV.3	9 years
Nb-k3-r ^c	III.4	4 years	H ^c .f-r ^c	IV.4	26 years
Hwnj (?)	III.5	24 years	Mn-k3w-r ^c	IV.5	28 years
			Špss-k3.f	IV.6	5 years
Dynasty 5			Dynasty 6		
Wsr-k3.f	V.1	8 years	Ttj	VI.1	10 years?
S3hw-r ^c	V.2	13 years	(Wsr-k3-r ^c	-	2 years)
Nfr-jr-k3-r ^c	V.3	20 years	Ppjj I	VI.2	50 years
Špss-k3-r ^c	V.4	7 years	Mr-n-r ^c	VI.3	6 years
Nfr-f-r ^c	V.5	11 years	Ppjj II (Yr 1-30)	VI.4E	20 years
Nj-wsr-r ^c	V.6	31 years	(Yr 30-60)	VI.4M	20 years
Mn-k3w-ħr	V.7	9 years	(Yr 60-94)	VI.4L	20 years
Dd-k3-r ^c /Jzzj	V.8	38 years			
Wnjs	V.9	20 years			

E: early part of reign M: middle years of reign L: later years of reign

* Dynasty 3 is included here because of the dating of Hsjj-r^c [66].

Group	A: securely dated tombs	Identification
	B: tombs dated by inference	LG: Lepsius Giza number
Location	LS: Lepsius Saqqara number	
CF: Central Field, Giza		MM: Mariette mastaba
number		
EF: East Field, Giza		PM: Porter and Moss,
ESP: East of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara		<i>Topographical</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>		
GIS: Cemetery GIS, Giza		page number
NSP: North of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara		R/u: re-used tomb
TPC: Teti Pyramid, Saqqara		
UPC: Around Pyramid-complex of Unas, Saqqara		
WF: West Field, Giza		
WSP: West of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara		

The Prosopography is arranged according the Egyptian alphabet. In transliteration both Gardiner S 29 and O 34 are written as 's'.

[1] 3ḥtj-ḥtp

Group: B

Location: Saqqara: WSP

Latest cartouche: V.8

Identification: MM D 64 PM 598-600

Assigned date: V.8L - V.9E

Highest ranking titles: ḥrj-tp nswt⁶¹; smr wꜥtj

Highest effective titles: t3tj s3b t3tj; jmj-r sš ꜥ nswt; jmj-r prwj-ḥd; jmj-r šnwtj

Pyramid titles: jmj-r njwt (shd ḥm-ntr) mn-swt-nj-wsr-rꜥ; jmj-r njwt (shd ḥm-ntr) ntr-swt-mn-k3w-ḥr; jmj-r njwt (shd ḥm-ntr) nfr-dd-k3-rꜥ

Reference: Davies (1902) Vol. 2; Hassan (1975), 83-4, pls. 61, 62 [E], 63 [A,B].

The owners of the two adjacent tombs, D62 and D64, are Pth-ḥtp I [25], 3ḥtj-ḥtp and Pth-ḥtp (II)/tfj [26], who are probably members of the one family. All three have Djedkare as their latest cartouche⁶². There is a chapel of Pth-ḥtp II⁶³ in the tomb of 3ḥtj-ḥtp. From the evidence of their titles and the situation of his chapel and that of Pth-ḥtp II, 3ḥtj-ḥtp was most probably the father of Pth-ḥtp II⁶⁴.

Whether Pth-ḥtp I was the father of 3ḥtj-ḥtp and grandfather of Pth-ḥtp II is less certain. The two tombs (D62 and D64) may have been built less than a generation apart,

⁶¹ Strudwick suggested that as Dynasty 6 progressed, the title 'ḥrj-tp nswt' changed from a ranking title associated with a particular function to a more general ranking function. Strudwick (1985) 182-83.

⁶² Pth-ḥtp I: Hassan ((1975) pl. 36. 3ḥtj-ḥtp: Davies (1901) Vol. II pls 6, 14..

⁶³ Pth-ḥtp II has a chapel in D64.

as the cartouches suggest. The evidence for the dating of D62 (Pth-ḥtp I) and D64 (ḥtj-ḥtp):

- While Pth-ḥtp I held no royal priestly titles, ḥtj-ḥtp held six pyramid titles which are given high ranking in his title strings⁶⁵, as the case for Pth-ḥtp (II)/ṯfj⁶⁶. Baer has pointed out that titles marking priesthoods and officials of pyramids and royal institutions were raised to the highest rank, beginning in the reigns of Djedkare and Unas⁶⁷. This suggests that Pth-ḥtp I preceded ḥtj-ḥtp.
- A granary official named K3.j-ḥp appears in the tombs of Pth-ḥtp I and may be the same man as a K3.j-ḥp in Pth-ḥtp II's chapel⁶⁸. On the other hand, the K3.j-ḥp in Pth-ḥtp II's chapel could be a son who succeeded to the office of his father, the K3.j-ḥp in Pth-ḥtp I's chapel. Then the owners of tombs D 62 and D64 could be a generation or more apart.
- As viziers, the three men are unlikely to have held this office simultaneously⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ See prosopography for Pth-ḥtp II [26].

⁶⁵ He was jmj-r njwt and shꜥ hm-nṯr of 'mn-swt-nj-wsr-r', 'nfr-ḏd-k3-r' and 'nṯr-swt-mn-k3w-ḥr'

⁶⁶ Paget-Pirie (1898) pls. 33, 35, 41.

⁶⁷ Baer (1960) 266-67. To judge from the title strings of Mrrw-k3.j [36] and 'nh-m-ḥr [14], pyramid titles ranked above ṯtj-s3b ṯtj.

⁶⁸ Pth-ḥtp I: Murray (1905) pl. 14 (3). Pth-ḥtp II: Paget-Pirie (1898) pls. 31, 34.

⁶⁹ While it is quite possible that two of these men held the viziership at the same time, three simultaneous viziers is much less likely. Furthermore, Pth-ḥtp II's title of ṯtj-s3b ṯtj only occurs on his sarcophagus. Hassan (1975) 67, pls. 52, 53.

The evidence for a father-son relationship between Pth-ḥtp I and 3ḥtj-ḥtp:

- In D62 there is an 'oldest' son named 3ḥtj-ḥtp who shares two titles with 3ḥtj-ḥtp of D64⁷⁰. Evidence of just two titles is a weak case for a father-son relationship between Pth-ḥtp I of D62 and 3ḥtj-ḥtp of D64, as Strudwick points out⁷¹.
- D62 and D64 are situated close to each other and both have a complex chapel with an east-west offering chamber.

Paget and Pirie considered the possibility that Pth-ḥtp I of D62 was the son of Pth-ḥtp II of D64. They speculated that Djedkare was the first king mentioned in Pth-ḥtp II's inscription out of respect for a reigning king and suggest that D64 was therefore constructed in this reign⁷². This, however, is unlikely in view of the difference between the titles between Pth-ḥtp I, on the one hand and 3ḥtj-ḥtp and Pth-ḥtp II, on the other. The case for a father-son relationship between Pth-ḥtp I and 3ḥtj-ḥtp is by no means secure.

The date for the construction of the tomb of 3ḥtj-ḥtp is assigned to a period from late Djedkare to early in the reign of Unas on the following grounds:

⁷⁰ A son named 3ḥtj-ḥtp is recorded in D62 with the titles of ḥrj-tp nswt and mdw rhjt, which were held by 3ḥtj-ḥtp of D64. [Murray (1905) pls. 9, 12]

⁷¹ Strudwick (1985) 87.

⁷² Paget-Pirie (1898) 33-34.

- It is unlikely that Pth-ḥtp I, 3ḥtj-ḥtp and Pth-ḥtp II all served as viziers at the same time. They can be no earlier than Djedkare. Although Pth-ḥtp II may have survived into the reign of Teti, they are probably not as late as Teti or they would have built their tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. They therefore should be dated from Djedkare to Unas. Pth-ḥtp I is probably to be dated earliest because he does not have any high ranking pyramid titles, which head the title strings of the other two. 3ḥtj-ḥtp is to be dated from late Djedkare to the reign of Unas.

[2] J3btt **Group: B**

Location: Giza: WF **Latest cartouche:** IV.1

Identification: G 4650 PM 134-5 **Assigned date:** IV.4-6

Highest ranking title: s3t nswt n ḥt.f

Reference: Junker 1 (1922) 216-27, pls. 35, 36, figs. 50, 51.

Harpur notes that J3btt may be either the daughter of a king or just a noblewoman honoured with an independent burial and the title of s3t nswt n ḥt.f⁷³. Her tomb was partly reconstructed after her death by her ka-servant, K3-pw-nswt:K3j [103], which suggests that he was younger than J3btt. Allowing a generation gap between the two

⁷³ Harpur (1980) 250.

would place J3btt in late Dynasty IV, still perhaps rather late after the construction of the original core mastaba. Reisner concluded that the core of G 4650 was completed by year 15 of Khufu⁷⁴.

[3]	J3sn	Group: B
Location:	Giza: WF	Latest cartouche: IV.2
Identification:	G 2196 PM 82	Assigned date: V.8L-9
Highest ranking titles:	rh nswt;	
Highest effective titles:	jmj-r 6 hntj-š pr-ꜥ; hrj sšꜥ; šꜥd wꜥbw; šꜥd hntj-š	
Reference:	Simpson (1980) 16-23, pls. 33-45, figs. 27-38.	

This is a mastaba with an unusual internal rock-cut chapel. While a range of dates (see below) has been assigned to the tomb, it is built against the rear of that of Pn-mrw⁷⁵, who is dated by his relationship with Sšm-nfr III [88] to the reign of Djedkare or early Unas⁷⁶. As Sšm-nfr III is dated from Menkauhor to the early years of Djedkare⁷⁷, Pn-

⁷⁴ Reisner's evidence was drawn from the growth and development of the cemetery and the occurrence of stelae. Reisner (1942) 78-9, 83.

⁷⁵ Simpson (1980) 16.

⁷⁶ Pn-mrw describes Sšm-nfr III as his 'jtjj' in his tomb inscription, which might make the two men contemporaries or Pn-mrw slightly the younger. Reisner and Fisher, *ASAE* 13 (1914) pl. 11[a], 247.

⁷⁷ Junker III (1938) 13-14; Strudwick (1985) 140.

mrw should not be dated to late in the reign of Unas, as Harpur does⁷⁸. Pn-mrw is more likely to date to Djedkare. Harpur tacitly acknowledges this by commenting that a late Dynasty 5 date for J3sn is not ruled out. Harpur ultimately dates J3sn to VI.1M-2M? on the basis of architectural evidence (without providing details), on the dating of the neighbouring mastaba (presumably Pn-mrw) and on the general style of reliefs.

Simpson, who published the tomb of J3sn, does not offer a date. However, he believed, from the evidence of the shafts, that J3sn might have usurped the mastaba and corridor linking it with that of Pn-mrw, yet built his own rock cut chapel in which the decoration in many places "appears clumsy, hasty and inept"⁷⁹. This suggests a degree of urgency, which might account for re-using a tomb. The closeness of the tombs of J3sn and Pn-mrw and Simpson's judgement that the decoration on the south wall of J3sn's chapel might have been a direct copy of the south wall of S3m-nfr II [87]⁸⁰ suggest a personal link between J3sn and Pn-mrw and the S3m-nfr family.

For these reasons a date of late Djedkare to Unas is assigned to the decoration of J3sn's chapel.

⁷⁸ Harpur (1980) 36-7. Baer considers the two officials to be more or less contemporary. Baer (1960) 71.

⁷⁹ Simpson (1980) 16.

⁸⁰ Simpson (1980) 18.

Dates assigned to J3sn: Malek (1974) 82: Dynasty 5 or 6; Harpur (1980) 36-7:

VI.1M-VI.2M?; Baer (1960) 71: VI.4M.

[4] Jj-mrjj

Group: B

Location: Giza: WF

Latest cartouche: V.3 (V.6⁸¹)

Identification: G 6020=LG 16 PM 170-74

Assigned date: V.6

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt;

Highest effective titles: jmj-r pr; jmj-r pr hwt-³t; w^cb nswt; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-r^c; hm-ntr

Nfr-jr-k3-r^c; hm-ntr-Hwfw; hm-ntr S3-hw-r^c; sš pr md3t

Reference: Weeks (1994) 31-57, 71-74, Col.pls. 3a-7b, pls. 11b-31b, figs.2-4, 6, 25-46.

The G 6000 Cemetery has been re- excavated and studied by Kent Weeks. To judge from the introduction to his publication, Weeks is satisfied to accept Reisner's judgement on the dating of the Špss-k3.f-^cnh family group of tombs⁸². Reisner considered Špss-k3.f-^cnh [90], Jj-mrjj's father, to have been born in the reign of Shepseskaf⁸³, as his name suggests, and to have been estate steward for one of

⁸¹ In tomb of Nfr-b3w-pth [51]. Weeks (1994) 27, pl. 8, fig. 20.

⁸² Weeks reprints, without comment on dating, Reisner's 1939 article on Cemetery G6000, published in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Volume 27, 29-35. Weeks (1994) 4-6.

⁸³ Reisner does not give his reasons for dating Špss-k3.f-^cnh, but it may have been a matter of names.

Neferirkare's sons, whom Reisner assumed to be the future king, Neuserre. He therefore concluded that Jj-mrjj's service largely took place in the reign of Neuserre⁸⁴.

Špss-k3.f-ḥnh's highest titles occur in his son's tomb and that of his grandson, Nfr-b3w-pth [51]⁸⁵ and not in his own (G6040). This suggests that Jj-mrjj constructed his tomb at a comparatively early age before his father's career was over. Similarly, some of Jj-mrjj's titles appear in the tomb of his son, Nfr-b3w-Pth rather than in his own, which again suggests that Jj-mrjj's tomb was completed before his own career had ended⁸⁶. From the death of Shepseskaf to the accession of Neuserre is approximately half a century. If Špss-k3.f-ḥnh had been born during or soon after the short reign of Shepseskaf, his son would not have constructed his own tomb before the reign of Neuserre. Consequently, Jj-mrjj's tomb decoration is dated to Neuserre.

[5] Jwnw

Group: B

Location: Giza: WF

Identification: G 4150 PM 124

Assigned date: IV.2L-4

⁸⁴ Weeks (1994) 5.

⁸⁵ Jj-mrjj: Weeks (1994) pl. 11b, figure 7; Nfr-b3w-pth: Weeks (1994) pl. 5.

⁸⁶ Weeks (1994) pl. 4.

Highest ranking titles: s³ nswt

Highest effective titles: jmj-r s³w šm^c; wr md šm^c;

Reference: Junker (1922) Vol. 1, 169-81, pls. 25[b], 26, 27, figs, 29-31.

This is an original stone-built core mastaba with one stela, a single shaft and no niche⁸⁷. According to Reisner, the block of five mastabas of his type (II b), to which G 4150 belongs, was built first in the choice location of Cemetery G 4000⁸⁸. The stela, covered up when the mastaba was enlarged and provided with a chapel, records the tomb owner as z³ nswt⁸⁹.

Jwnw may have been either a son or grandson of Khufu, but from the proximity of G 4150 to the great mastaba of Hm-jwnw (G 4000) and the similarity of names, Jwnw could have been a son of Hm-jwnw, who may have been the director of the construction of Khufu's pyramid and the surrounding nucleus cemeteries⁹⁰. Hm-jwnw, according to Junker, was a son of Nfr M³t [53] of Medum⁹¹, which might account for Jwnw's title of s³ nswt rather than s³ nswt n ht.f. which might be expected of a son of Khufu⁹². In

⁸⁷ Reisner, (1942) 39-40.

⁸⁸ Reisner, (1942) 66.

⁸⁹ Junker I (1922) pls. 26, 27, figure 31.

⁹⁰ This argument is proposed by Bolshakov (1991) 16. Hm-jwnw was jmj-r k³t nbt nt nswt as well as t³tj-s³b t³tj.

⁹¹ Junker I (1922) 151-3.

⁹² Hwfw-h^c.f I, K³.j-w^cb, Hr-dd.f and Mn-h^c.f were all s³ nswt n ht.f.

either case a date for his tomb construction between late in Khufu's reign to that of Khafre is suggested.



[6] Jbj	Group: A
Location: Deir el-Gebrawi	Latest cartouche: VI.4
Identification: Davies No 8 PM IV 243-44	Assigned date: VI.3-4E
Highest ranking titles: jrj-p ^ḫ t; ḥ3tj- ^ḫ	
Highest effective titles: ḥrj-tp ʿ3 n T3-wr; ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp	
Reference: Davies (1902) Vol. 1, 8-24, pls. 3-23	

Jbj was the founder of a line of three nomarchs who administered Upper Egypt Nome 12⁹³. His biography establishes that Jbj was first appointed nomarch of Nome 12 by Mernere. As Jbj's title of ḥrj-tp ʿ3 n T3-wr does not appear in his biography, it was presumably some time later, early in Pepy II's reign, that Upper Egypt 8 was added to his office. His son, D^ḫw/šm3j [106], became ḥrj-tp ʿ3 of Upper Egypt 12 during his

⁹³ Davies 1 (1902) pl. 23; Sethe (1932-33) 1, 142:9-13.

father's lifetime⁹⁴. The appointment to a high administrative post may have been conferred on D'w:šmꜣj as a very young man, but seems unlikely. From the evidence of the care taken to educate the sons of nomarchs, these positions may have been bestowed on men of some maturity. This suggests that Jbj was not very young when first appointed hrj-tp ꜣ, lived a normal lifespan for his time(perhaps 50 to 60 years) and constructed his tomb either in the reign of Mernere or in the earlier years of Pepy II's reign.

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|                                                                           |                      |                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| [7]                                                                       | Jrj-n-rꜥ             | Group: B             |
| Location:                                                                 | Giza: WF             | Latest cartouche:    |
| Identification:                                                           | G 4970 annexe PM 144 | Assigned date: V.4-7 |
| Highest ranking titles:                                                   |                      |                      |
| Highest effective titles: jmj-r ḥm-kꜣ; wꜥb nswt; šꜣꜣ ḥm-ntr               |                      |                      |
| Reference: Junker (1938) Vol. 3, 146, 148, 156-63, pl. 9[a], figs. 23-24. |                      |                      |

Junker believed that Jrj-n-rꜥ was the son of Kꜣ.j-nj-nswt III [98], which would make him a probable greatgrandson of Kꜣ.j-nj-nswt I. Kꜣ.j-nj-nswt I [96] is dated in

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<sup>94</sup> Davies 1 (1902) pls. 3,5.

Porter and Moss to early Dynasty 5<sup>95</sup> and Jrj-n-r<sup>c</sup> to late Dynasty 5. Dating K3.j-nj-nswt I to late Dynasty 4 makes a date in mid Dynasty 5 preferable for Jrj-n-R<sup>c</sup>. (See K3.j-nj-nswt I [96])

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[8] Jrj-n-k3-Pth

Group: B

Location: Saqqara: UPC

Identification: PM 644

Assigned date: V.6E-8L

Highest ranking titles: rḥ nswt

Highest effective titles: kbḥ-nm.t; jmj-r ʿd-(jḥ) jʿw-r^c-nswt

Reference: Moussa-Junge (1975), 29-45, pls. 8-14.

This rock-cut chapel is a single trapezoid shaped room with the entrance in the short north wall. It was cut in a wide ditch to the south of the Unas causeway. The ditch may have originally been a quarry⁹⁶. Moussa and Junge compare the chapel with Reisner's rock tomb type RC (IVa), a corridor chapel which, according to Reisner

⁹⁵ Malek (1974) 80.

⁹⁶ Moussa-Junge (1975) 9.

imitated mastaba chapels of his type (5). Reisner dated both RC (IVa) and mastaba chapel type (5) to Dynasties 5 and 6⁹⁷.

Moussa and Junge noted a small platform in front of the doorway connected with the foundation of the tomb of Nj-^cnh-hnmw and Hnmw-htp [42], but do not discuss its possible significance. The ultimate *terminus ante quem* for this tomb is the construction of the Unas causeway⁹⁸. The unfinished condition of the front part of the east wall could indicate that Jrj.n-k^c-Pth either abandoned the tomb or was buried close in time to the closure caused by the Unas causeway. However, the actual construction of the tomb could be considerably earlier as architectural features can be interpreted to suggest that this tomb was the earliest in the row⁹⁹. Moussa and Junge consider the tomb to be slightly older than that of Shntjw/Nfr-shm-Pth [83/54], which is dated no earlier than Neuserre whose cartouche it contains¹⁰⁰. Jrj.n-k³-Pth's tomb is adjacent to that of Shntjw/Nfr-shm-Pth¹⁰¹.

This suggests there may have been a length of time between construction and usage, including wall decoration, of the tomb. The tomb of Shntjw/Nfr-shm-Pth is no

⁹⁷ Reisner (1942) 256.

⁹⁸ Moussa-Junge (1975) 35.

⁹⁹ Moussa-Junge (1975) Appendix.

¹⁰⁰ See prosopography for Shntjw/Nfr-shm-Pth [83].

¹⁰¹ Robbers had broken through from one tomb into the other. Moussa-Junge (1975) 31.

earlier than Neuserre. Consequently the decoration of Jrj-n-k³-Pth's tomb must be given a date range from early Neuserre to before the reign of Unas.

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|                                                                                                                   |                             |                               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>[9]</b>                                                                                                        | <b>Jrj/ttj/snb</b>          | <b>Group: B</b>               |
| <b>Location:</b>                                                                                                  | Saqqara: TPC                | <b>Latest cartouche:</b> VI.1 |
| <b>Identification:</b>                                                                                            | PM n/r See Reference below. | <b>Assigned date:</b> VI.2    |
| <b>Highest ranking titles:</b> smr pr; špsj-nswt                                                                  |                             |                               |
| <b>Highest effective titles:</b> ḥm-ntr dd swt ttj; jmj-r st ḥntj-š pr- <sup>ᜫ</sup> ; sš ʿ nswt pr- <sup>ᜫ</sup> |                             |                               |
| <b>Reference:</b> El-Khouli-Kanawati (1988) 7-11, pls. 1-4.                                                       |                             |                               |

This tomb lies to the north of the Teti pyramid and is located in the street leading to the mastaba of the 'vizier', Ḥsj [65], to which it is close. Ḥsj's biography makes it most likely that his tomb was constructed in the reign of Teti<sup>102</sup>.

Only the antechamber and chapel, that is the western part of this tomb, was excavated owing to the limit of the excavating concession. In this section three limestone blocks were found, which 'almost certainly' belong to the mastaba<sup>103</sup>. On one of these blocks, the lintel, Ttj-snb's name has been deliberately changed to 'Jrj', but not

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<sup>102</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati, (1988)



on the other blocks which form two parts of an architrave and where an alteration was not possible. According to El-Khouli and Kanawati, this alteration may reflect the unsettled changeover of rule from Teti to Userkare to Pepy I<sup>104</sup>. El-Khouli and Kanawati do not say that there was any change to Jrj's false door, so it was probably decorated in the reign of Pepy I.

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[10] Jsj

Group: A

Location: Edfu

Latest cartouche: VI.2

Identification: PM V 201

Assigned date: VI.2

Highest ranking titles: jrj-p^ct; h³tj-^c; smr w^ctj

Highest effective titles: t³tj-s³b t³tj; hrj-tp ^c3 n sp³t; h³x³ hwt; smsw h³jt ///

Reference: Alliot (1933) 8-21, (1935) 19, 27-28; Edel (1954) 11-17; Kanawati (1992) passim; Ziegler (1990) 87-91.

¹⁰³ El-Khouli-Kanawati (1988) 7-8.

¹⁰⁴ El-Khouli-Kanawati (1988) 3-4.

Jsj is securely dated to the reign of Pepy I by inscription¹⁰⁵. He was an official of Djedkare and Unas, and was appointed t3tj-s3b t3tj; hrj-tp 3 n sp3t by Teti. His tomb, which records a son named Ppjj-snb, was most probably decorated in the reign of Pepy I.

[11] Jšfj/twtw

Group: A

Location: Saqqara: TPC

Identification: See ʿnh-m-ʿ-ḥr [14] PM 515

Assigned date: VI.1L-2

Highest ranking titles: smr wʿtj

Highest effective titles: jmj-r prwj-ḥd; jmj-r skbbwj; jmj-r šnwtj; jmj-r djdjt pt km3t

(t3); hrj-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt; hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nswt

Reference: Badawy (1978); Kanawati-Hassan (1997)

The date of the false door of Jšfj:twtw is based on the dating assigned to the tomb of his father, ʿnh-m-ʿ-ḥr [14]. Jšfj:twtw is depicted as 'eldest son' in his father's tomb¹⁰⁶. The false door of Jšfj:twtw may have been a later addition to ʿnh-m-ʿ-ḥr's tomb but perhaps not much later. Presumably an official with Jšfj:twtw's high titles would have built himself a tomb in the course of his career. Perhaps Jšfj:twtw died at a

¹⁰⁵ Alliot (1933) 22 ff. pl. 14 1-2; Edel (1954) 11-17.

comparatively young age, before constructing his own tomb, and was therefore provided with a false door in his father's tomb. The room in which the false door is housed is largely uninscribed and even the false door is unfinished.

While a date from the end of Teti's reign to the early years of Pepy I is assigned to the false door, the end of Teti's reign is a preferred date as there is no mention of Pepy I in ḥnh-m-ḥr's tomb.

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[12] Jtj

**Group:** B

**Location:** Giza: WF

**Latest cartouche:** V.6

**Identification:** G 6030=LG 17 PM 174

**Assigned date:** V.6

**Highest ranking titles:** ḥh nswt

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r ḥst pr-ḥ

**Reference:** Weeks (1994) 59-60, 79-80, pls. 32a-33a, figs.2-4, 7, 76-81

Jtj's tomb is one of the four large nucleus mastabas that form the complex of the Spss-k3.f-ḥnh family (see Jj-mrjj [4]). Like the other three nucleus mastabas, it has an external chapel. LG 17 lies to the east of the mastaba of his brother-in-law, Jj-mrjj,

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<sup>106</sup> Kanawati-Hassan (1997) pl. 59a.

whose sister, Wsrt-kꜣ, Jtj married<sup>107</sup>. Reisner speculated that Jj-mrjj paid for the construction of Jtj's chapel<sup>108</sup>, although there is no evidence to support this. As the brother-in-law of Jj-mrjj, Jtj is likely to have constructed his tomb in the reign of Neuserre, the last king for whom he was a priest according to his inscription<sup>109</sup>.

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[13]	Jdw	Group: B
Location:	Giza EF	Latest cartouche: VI.2
Identification:	G 7102 PM 185	Assigned date: VI.2
Highest ranking titles: ḥrj-tp nswt;		
Highest effective titles : jmj-r wpt ḥtp-ntr m prwj; jmj-r ḥwt wrt; ḥrj-sšꜣ n wdꜥ mdwt;		
sš ꜥ nswt ḥft ḥr		
Pyramid title: ḥntj-š Mn-nfr-Ppj		
Reference: Simpson (1976) 19-31, pls. 15-33, figs. 10-14, 33-43.		

The link between Jdw and Kꜣr [91] is that they are mentioned in each other's chapels. Neither can be earlier than the reign of Pepy I, who is mentioned in both tombs.

¹⁰⁷ Weeks (1994) p. 51 [2.117] fig. 41, pl. 26 and p. 59 [3.2] fig. 47, pl. 32b.
¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Weeks (1994) 5.
¹⁰⁹ Weeks (1994) 60 [3.9] fig. 52, pl. 32c.

As each has a son with the same name as the other official, it is likely that they are father and son. The problem is to decide their exact relationship. Simpson argues that Jdw is the father. K3r 's name, K3r:mrjj-r-nfr, may be an indication that this official was born in the reign of Pepy I. Further support for this is the presence of a Bndt, who is a sister of K3r in his tomb, while a Bndt appears in Jdw as a daughter¹¹⁰. It is possible that the two Bndts are the same person.

The tomb of Jdw is therefore dated to VI.2.

[14] ʿnh-m-ʿ-hr:ssj

Group: A

Location: Saqqara: TPC

Latest cartouche: VI.1

Identification: PM 512-15

Assigned date: VI.1M-2E

Highest ranking titles: jrj-pʿt; h3tj-ʿ

Highest effective titles: t3tj s3b t3tj; jmj-r prwj hd; jmj-r sš ʿ nswt; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f; hrj-hbt hrj- tp

Pyramid titles: hntj-š dd-swt-ttj; shd hm-ntr dd-swt-ttj

Reference: Badawy (1978) 11-55, figs. 16-64; Kanawati-Hassan (1997)

¹⁰⁹ Weeks (1994) 60 [3.9] fig. 52, pl. 32c.

¹¹⁰ Simpson (1976) pl. 10b, figure 266 and pl. 24, figure 38, respectively.

There has been much discussion about the relative chronology of the tombs to the immediate north of the Teti pyramid. These are the tombs of 'nh-m-^c-hr:ssj; Wd³-h³-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-ptḥ [19]; Mrrw-k³.j:mrj [36]; Nfr -sšm-r^c:ššj [55]; Hntj-k³.j:jḥḥj [75]; K³.j-gmnj:mmj [102]. Firth based his ordering (Nfr -sšm-r^c:ššj; K³.j-gmnj:mmj; Mrrw-k³.j:mrj) on the increase in number of rooms within the mastaba and in the increasing area of decoration

111

Kanawati has noted that the mastabas of Nfr sšm-r^c:ššj and K³.j-gmnj:mmj are similar in shape (exactly square), while those of Wd³-h³-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-ptḥ, 'nh-m-^c-hr:ssj, Mrrw-k³.j:mrj and Hntj-k³.j:jḥḥj are rectangular, but does not think this factor clearly puts them in chronological order¹¹². He does, however, give more weight to the fact that Nfr-sšm-r^c deliberately left some rooms undecorated and did not case his burial chamber with limestone or decorate it. This sets his tomb apart from those of K³.j-gmnj:mmj, 'nh-m-^c-hr:ssj, Mrrw-k³.j:mrj and Hntj-k³.j:jḥḥj¹¹³.

He has also found that 'nh-m-^c-hr:ssj used the external northern wall of Nfrsšm-r^c:ššj and the external south wall of Wd³-h³-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-Pth in constructing his tomb but was unable to judge whether the tombs of 'nh-m-^c-hr:ssj and Wd³-h³-ttj:ššj:nfr-

¹¹¹ Firth-Gunn I (1926) 15.

¹¹² Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1998) 15.

¹¹³ Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1998) 15-16.

sšm-ptḥ were built as a single unit, as the joining of the two walls has been hidden by modern restoration¹¹⁴. This suggests that ḥnh-m-ḥr:ssj built his tomb after Nfr sšm-r':ššj.

Strudwick notes that the high quality relief work of Nfr sšm-r':ššj and K3.j-gmnj:mmj degenerates in the tombs of ḥnh-m-ḥr:ssj (showing a small area of rough work), of Mrrw-k3.j:mrj (which has whole parts in rough work including the entire chapel of his son, Mrjj-ttj), and in most of the work in the tomb of Hntj-k3.j:jhhj¹¹⁵.

Nfr sšm-r':ššj and K3.j-gmnj:mmj appear to occupy the best positions vis à vis Teti's pyramid and would have been freestanding when originally constructed. Wd3-ḥ3-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-Pth's tomb may have been built behind (that is, to the north of) Nfr -sšm-r':ššj because, unlike the owners of the other five major tombs, Wd3-ḥ3-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-ptḥ was not a vizier. Moreover he must have begun work on his mastaba before reaching the apex of his career, as his tomb contains evidence of his promotion.

Wd3-ḥ3-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-ptḥ's titles connect him with the pyramid of Teti while his son held titles associated with the pyramid of Pepy I¹¹⁶. Apart from the chapel of his son, Wd3-ḥ3-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-ptḥ's tomb is likely to have been decorated during the reign of the king he served in high office.

¹¹⁴ Kanawati-Hassan (1997) 18.

¹¹⁵ Strudwick (1985) 101.

¹¹⁶ Strudwick (1985) 111.

Facing the north-west corner of the Teti pyramid, the great tomb of the vizier, Mrrw-k³.j:mrj, occupies a less favourable position; while that of the vizier, Hntj-k³.j:jhhj, is even less favoured¹¹⁷. Even if the cartouche of Pepy in the chapel of 'Ppjj-^cnh', Mrrw-k³.j:mrj's son, is a later addition¹¹⁸, it need not have been significantly later and does not rule out the possibility of Mrrw-k³:mrj having served late in the reign of Teti and into that of Pepy I. In Hntj-k³.j:jhhj's tomb the title 'shd hm-ntr mn nfrw Ppjj' occurs on the lintel, right jamb and right thickness of the doorway of the mastaba and in the northern chapel¹¹⁹.

In view of the above considerations the relative order assigned to these mastabas is:

Nfr -sšm-r ^c :ššj	VI.1E to M	The two tombs are probably close in time, are
K ³ -gmnj:mmj	VI.1E to M	similar in shape, quality of reliefs and
		Nfr -sšm-r ^c :ššj appears to have a favoured
		position in the first E-W row of tombs north of
		the Teti pyramid. Unlike the tomb of

¹¹⁷ Porter-Moss (1981) Plan 52.
¹¹⁸ Duell (1938) pp. 4-5, pls. 104, pp. 154-5. The chapel is itself a later extension to Mrrw-k³.j's tomb.
¹¹⁹ James (1953) pls. 7, 13.

Mrrw-k³.j, which also is in this row, the
entrances of Nfr-sšm-r^c:ššj and K³-
gmnj:mmj have their entrances on their
eastern façade.

Wd³-h³-ttj:ššj:

nfr-sšm-pth:

VI.1M-VI.2

Evidence suggests promotion under Pepy I¹³⁵.

‘nh-m-^c-hr:ssj:

VI.1L

A vizier whose tomb had a less favoured
position. His tomb contains only a small
amount of poorer quality relief work, but it is
similar in shape to that of Mrrw-k³.j:mrj and
Hntj-k³.j:jhhj.

Mrrw-k³.j:mrj:

VI.1L

A vizier whose tomb, in a less favoured
position, shows whole areas of deteriorating
relief work. The mastaba is similar in shape to
that of ‘nh-m-^c-hr:ssj and Hntj-k³.j:jhhj.

¹³⁴ James (1953) pls. 7, 13.

¹³⁵ Strudwick (1985) 111 and Note 2.

Hntj-k3.j:jhhj: VI.2 This tomb contains generally poorer quality of relief work, more frequent mention of titles connected with Pepy I. The mastaba is of similar shape to those of ‘nh-m-‘-hr:ssj and Mrrw-k3.j:mrj. It is located at the north-eastern corner of the Teti pyramid.

Other dates suggested for the dating of ‘nh-m-‘-hr:ssj:

Baer: VI.2; Cherpion: VI.1; Harpur: VI.1L or VI.2E; Kanawati (1977): VI.1M; Kanawati (1997): VI.1L (by inference); Strudwick: VI.1M to VI.1L.



[15] W3š-ptḥ:jsj Group: A

Location: Saqqara: NSP Latest cartouche: V.3

Identification: D 38 PM 456 Assigned date: V.3

Highest ranking titles: ḥ3tj-‘

Highest effective titles: t3tj s3b t3tj; jmj-r sš ‘ nswt; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt; hrj sšt3 n pr dw3t; hrj-ḥbt hrj-tp

mastabas finished with an internal chapel were among the largest and belonged to the most important people¹²³.

[17] Wr-nww

Group: B

Location: Saqqara TPC

Latest cartouche: VI.1

Identification: PM 519

Assigned date: VI.2-4

Highest effective titles: jmj-jb n nswt m jdbwj.f; hrj-sštꜣ n pr dwꜣt; sš mdꜣt ntr;

Pyramid title: hntj-š dd-swt Ttj

Reference: Davies et al (1984) 21-9, pls. 22-32, 36, *Text-fig.* 3.

Wr-nww 's tomb is built against the west wall of the free standing mastaba of Mrrj [35], the oldest of a group of tombs immediately north of Mrrw-kꜣ and Kꜣ-gmnj in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery¹²⁴. While Mrrj's tomb may therefore be contemporary with those of the viziers of Teti and Pepy I, Davies et al, who re-excavated and published the

¹²² Reisner (1942) 193.

¹²³ Reisner (1942) 203.

¹²⁴ Davies (1984) pl. 1.

two tombs¹²⁵, leave open the possibility that the tomb of Wr-nww is considerably later¹²⁶. However, the chapel of Wr-nww is of stone, like the mastaba of Mrrj, while the tomb of Dsj, which abuts the south walls of Mrrj and Wr-nww, is constructed of bricks of an 'earlier' type, according to the plan of this group of tombs¹²⁷. This suggests that the mastaba of Wr-nww may be earlier than that of Dsj. Wr-nww may therefore be dated from late Pepy I to early in the reign of Pepy II.

[18] Whm-k³.j

Group: B

Location: Giza WF

Identification: D 117 PM 114-15

Assigned date: V.2-3

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt

Highest effective titles: jmj-r pr; sš pr md³t; sš nfrw

Reference: Kayser (1964)

Reisner identified a clear grouping of L-shaped chapels with two false doors, all belonging to the period late Dynasty 4 to the end of Neferirkare. Most of these were his

¹²⁵ They were originally cleared by Z.Y. Saad in 1942.

¹²⁶ Davies (1984) 1.

¹²⁷ Davies (1984) pl. 1. Davies does not date his sequence of brick types.

type (4a) chapel. Many were situated in the nucleus cemeteries¹²⁸ but others were chapels attached to mastabas outside the nucleus cemeteries built on independent sites¹²⁹. Wḥm-kꜣ.j's tomb lies on the northern fringe of Cemetery G4000.

This tomb is unusual in that it contains a chapel with the depiction of three generations of the tomb owner's family (parents, tomb owner and children). Wḥm-kꜣ.j's wife, Ḥtp-jb.s has the same name as a daughter or granddaughter of Sšꜣt-ḥtp:htj [84] and both women have the title of *rh.t nswt*¹³⁰. While no other figure appears in both tombs to support this identification, if accepted it suggests that Wḥm-kꜣ.j may have been a generation younger than Sšꜣt-ḥtp:htj. Wḥm-kꜣ.j also appears in the chapel of Kꜣ.j-nj-nswt I [96] as a scribe¹³¹.

All three officials have chapels belonging to the groups identified by Reisner. The period he assigned to their construction spans about two generations. If Wḥm-kꜣ.j were of the younger generation, he would have constructed and decorated his tomb in the latter part of the period, Sahure to Neferirkare.

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<sup>128</sup> Reisner (1942) 214.

<sup>129</sup> Reisner (1942) 216.

<sup>130</sup> Junker II (19) 183, fig. 30; Kayser (1964) 37.

**[19]**      **Wd3-ḥ3-ttj:ššj:nfr-sšm-pth**

**Group: A**

**Location:** Saqqara: TPC

**Latest cartouche:** VI.1

**Identification:** PM 515-16

**Assigned date:** VI.1M -VI.2

**Highest ranking titles:** jrj p<sup>c</sup>t; ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>

**Highest effective titles:** jmj r ḥwt wrt; hrj-ḥbt hrj-tp

**Pyramid titles:** jmj-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr dd-swt-Ttj; jmj-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr mn-nfr-mrjj-r<sup>c</sup> Ppjj

**Reference:** Capart (1907) pls. 74-101; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 200-1 [38(129)].

Situated in the 'Rue de Tombeaux', this tomb lies to the north of 'nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-hr and to the south of K3(.j)-<sup>c</sup>pr(w) who, like Nfr-sšm-pth, was not a vizier. There is inscriptional evidence that Nfr-sšm-pth's was completed under Pepy I<sup>132</sup>. Whether construction of the mastaba began under Teti is conjectural.  
(For discussion of dating see 'nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-hr:ssj [14])

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[20] **Ppjj-^cnh:hnjj-km**

Group: B

Location: Meir

Latest cartouche: VI.2 or 4

Identification: Meir A2 PM IV 247-9

Assigned date: VI.4L

¹³¹ Junker II (19) 150-52, pl. 6 figure 18.

Highest ranking titles: ḥꜣtj-ꜥ

Highest effective titles: tꜣtj sꜣb tꜣtj; jmj-r šmꜥ; ḥrp šndwt nbt; ḥrj-ḥbt

Reference: Blackman () Vol. V, 16-56, pls. 15-43, 50, 54-65; El-Khouli-Kanawati (1989) 11-26.

According to Blackman, Ppjj-ꜥnh:hnjj-km was the third son of Nj-ꜥnh-ppjj-km:ḥpj-km:sbk-ḥtp (Meir A1) and younger brother of Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb (Meir D2) [21] and that the three sons (Ppjj-ꜥnh-wr, Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb and Ppjj-ꜥnh:hnjj-km) in turn succeeded to their father's position. As the third brother, Ppjj-ꜥnh:hnjj-km, had no son, he was succeeded by a nephew named Ḥpj-km¹³³. Blackman argued that there must have been two Ḥpj-km's to account for the two tombs with this name (Meir A1 and A4) and assigned them the relationship of grandfather and grandson.

Kanawati, more recently, has argued for a significantly rearranged family tree, making Ppjj-ꜥnh-ḥrj-jb (Meir D2) the father of Nj-ꜥnh-Ppjj-km (Meir A1) and grandfather of Ppjj-ꜥnh:hnjj-km (Meir A2)¹³⁴. Kanawati's main points:

- That it is not likely that a family would repeatedly change burial grounds (between Meir and Quseir el-Amarna), which Blackman's interpretation entails.

¹³² JEA 66 (1980) 2.

¹³³ Blackman (1914-53) Volume 1, 5-11.

¹³⁴ El-Khouli-Kanawati (1989), 15.

- That Ppjj-^ḥnh/hnj-jm's tomb is not only adjacent to that of Nj-^ḥnh-Ppjj-km:hbj-km, but opens into the former, making a single continuous structure. Moreover, Ppjj-^ḥnh/hnj-jm is named in the tomb of Nj-^ḥnh-Ppjj-km:hbj-km as his eldest son.
- That the succession of brothers contradicted the father-son succession.
- That Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb had an eldest son named Nj-^ḥnh-Ppjj-km:hbj-km with identical epithets to those of the Nj-^ḥnh-pjj-km, whom Blackman decided was the father of Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb.

Thus Kanawati reverses the father-son relationship of Nj-^ḥnh-Ppjj-km:hbj-km and Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb, making Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb the father. Like Blackman, Kanawati provides an essentially 'argued' case, but his arguments are stronger than the proposition that the three Ppjj-^ḥnhs, who succeeded each other, were all the sons of Nj-^ḥnh-pjj-km.

If Kanawati's case is accepted (see Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb), Ppjj-^ḥnh:hjj-km was the grandson of Ppjj-^ḥnh:hrj-jb. Thus Ppjj-^ḥnh:hjj-km's tomb might have been prepared two generations after that of his grandfather, which is dated from the end of Mernere to the early years of Pepy II. Kanawati surmises that as Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb was a vizier, a title missing from the titulry of his son, Nj-^ḥnh-pjj-km, the son, predeceased the father, who lived to a very ripe old age¹³⁵. If Ppjj-^ḥnh-hrj-jb were a centenarian, Ppjj-^ḥnh:hjj-

¹³⁵ Blackman (1914-53) Volume 4, pl. 4A:3.

km would have been a mature man when he succeeded to the office of vizier. This would place Ppjj-^ꜥnh:hnjj-km's tomb at the end of Pepy II's reign.

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[21] Ppjj-<sup>ꜥ</sup>nh-hrj-jb

**Group: B**

**Location:** Meir

**Latest cartouche:** VI.2 or 4

**Identification:** Meir D2 PM IV 254-5

**Assigned date:** VI.3-4E

**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-p<sup>ꜥ</sup>t; h<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>ꜥ</sup>;

**Highest effective titles:** t<sup>3</sup>tj s<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>tj; jmj-r šnwtj; jmj-r sš <sup>ꜥ</sup> nswt; jmj-r Šm<sup>3</sup> n bw m<sup>3</sup><sup>ꜥ</sup>;

jmj-r Šm<sup>3</sup> m sp<sup>3</sup>wt hrjt-jb

**Reference:** Blackman ( ) Vol. 4; El-Khouli-Kanawati (1989) 11-26.

If the reversing of Blackman's ordering of family relationships at Meir is accepted (that Ppjj-<sup>ꜥ</sup>nh-hrj-jb was the father of Nj-<sup>ꜥ</sup>nh-ppjj-km (Meir A1) rather than his son, and the grandfather of Ppjj-<sup>ꜥ</sup>nh:hnjj-km rather than his elder brother)<sup>136</sup>, the interpretation of the epithet 'hrj-jb' as 'the middle' (brother) and 'wr' meaning the 'eldest' (brother) has to be reinterpreted<sup>137</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati (1989), 11-26.

<sup>137</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati (1989), 12.

Southern viziers appear to have acquired the titles *jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>* and *jmj-r ḥm-nṯr* at the same time, no later than the middle years of Pepy II<sup>138</sup>. In the case of *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh-ḥrj-jb*, it is likely that the titles of *jmj-r Šm<sup>3</sup> n bw m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>* and *jmj-r Šm<sup>3</sup> m sp<sup>3</sup>wt ḥrjt-jb* were not conferred on *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh-ḥrj-jb* until his career was well advanced, perhaps as late as mid Pepy II, as they appear infrequently in the tomb. The archaeological evidence suggests that *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh-ḥrj-jb* enlarged his tomb some time after the original construction<sup>139</sup>, perhaps as a result of his promotion. As he was a centenarian, *Ppjj-<sup>c</sup>nh-ḥrj-jb*'s tomb may have been originally constructed 30 to 40 years before he died, perhaps at the end of Mernere's reign but more probably in the first half of Pepy II's reign.

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|                                  |                                                             |                              |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>[22]</b>                      | <b>Pr-nb</b>                                                | <b>Group: A</b>              |
| <b>Location:</b>                 | Saqqara NSP                                                 | <b>Latest cartouche:</b> V.8 |
| <b>Identification:</b>           | QS 913 PM 497-8                                             | <b>Assigned date:</b> V.8-9  |
| <b>Highest ranking titles:</b>   | <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>tj</i>                                  |                              |
| <b>Highest effective titles:</b> | <i>jrj nfr ḥ3t; ḥrj sšt3 pr dw3t ...; ḥrj-tp-Nḥb; ḥrp ḥ</i> |                              |
| <b>Reference:</b>                | Lythgoe-Ransom Williams (1918)                              |                              |

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<sup>138</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati cite early southern viziers, *Jsj* of Edfu, *B3wj* of Akhmim, *Nbt*, *Jww* and *D<sup>c</sup>w* of Abydos, who did not have either title to show that the titles were not conferred on southern viziers until later. El-Khouli-Kanawati (1989), 20.



**Reference:** Leclant (1952) 240-1; Reisner (1942) 217, 311; L.D. Erg. pl. 8, L.D. II

83[a],[b]

This is one of a distinct group of chapels in the Giza West Field identified as ranging from Menkaure to the end of Neferirkare. The group of chapels are all of Reisner's chapel type (4a) with an L-shape and two false doors. Located in the far north-west corner of the West Field, it may be one of the later tombs in this category and is therefore dated from Sahure to Neferirkare.

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|                                                           |               |                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| <b>[24]</b>                                               | <b>Pr-sn</b>  | <b>Group: A</b>              |
| <b>Location:</b>                                          | Saqqara NSP   | <b>Latest cartouche: V.2</b> |
| <b>Identification:</b>                                    | D 45 PM 577-8 | <b>Assigned date: V.2</b>    |
| <b>Highest ranking titles:</b>                            |               |                              |
| <b>Highest effective titles:</b> jmj-r jswj hkr nswt      |               |                              |
| <b>Reference:</b> Petrie-Murray (1952) 20-22, pls. 9, 10. |               |                              |

This chapel has a corridor style with an east-west alcove.

According to inscription, Sahure granted Pr-sn funerary offerings from the chapel of Queen Nfr-htp.s, mother of Userkaf<sup>145</sup>. The chapel is therefore dated to Sahure.

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<sup>145</sup> Roeder (1901-24) vol. 1, 20-22; Mariette (1889) 300.

**[25]** Pth-htp I

**Group: B**

**Location:** Saqqara WSP

**Latest cartouche: V.8**

**Identification:** D 62 PM 596-8

**Assigned date: V.8**

**Highest ranking titles:** jrj p<sup>ɛ</sup>t; h<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>ɛ</sup>; smr w<sup>ɛ</sup>tj;

**Highest effective titles:** t̪ɔj s̪ɔb t̪ɔj; jmj-r prwɔj nwb; jmj-r prwɔj-ɦɔ; jmj-r s̪s̪ ʿ nswt;

jmj-r šnwtj; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt

**Reference:** Murray (1905) 11-18; Hassan (1975) 25-61; Mariette (1889) 351-6.

The latest cartouche in Pth-ḥtp I 's tomb is that of Djedkare. There is (inconclusive) evidence that Pth-ḥtp I was the father of ʕḥtj-ḥtp in the nearby tomb, D64. If so, the reign of Djedkare is the most probable date for this tomb. See ʕḥtj-ḥtp [1]

[26] Pth-htp:tfj (II)

**Group: B**

**Location:** Saqqara WSP

**Latest cartouche: V.8**

**Identification:** D 64 PM 600-4

**Assigned date:** V.9

**Highest ranking titles:** smr w<sup>c</sup>tj; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj n mrwt; hrj-tp nswt

**Highest effective titles:** tʃtj sʒb tʃtj; jmj-r hwt wrt; jmj-r šmʿw

**Pyramid titles:** jmj-r njwt (shd w' b) mn-swt-nj-wsr-r<sup>c</sup>; jmj-r njwt (shd hm-ntr) ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr; jmj-r njwt (shd hm-ntr) nfr-dd-k3-r<sup>c</sup>

**Reference:** Davies (1900) Vol. 1; Paget-Pirie (1898), 25-34, pls. 31-41; Hassan (1975) 63-84.

Pth-htp (II):tfj was the son of 3htj-htp [1] and has a chapel in his father's tomb.

Although he bore many of the high titles of his father, he did not construct his own tomb, which might have been expected of an official of his high rank.. This suggests a particularly close relationship with his father or an unexpected, perhaps early, death for Pth-htp (II):tfj. If he succeeded to the post of vizier after the death of his father, his chapel would have been decorated, or at least have had its decoration completed, in the reign of Unas. See 3htj-htp [1]

[27] Pth-špss

**Group:** A

**Location:** Saqqara NSP

**Latest cartouche:** V.6

**Identification:** C 1, H 14 (incorrectly) PM 464

**Assigned date:** V. 6

**Highest ranking titles:**

**Highest effective titles:** wr hrp hmw m prwj nswt; hrj-sšt3 n k3t nbt; jmj-r pr

**Reference:** Mariette (1889) 110-114; James (1961) 17, pl. 17; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 51-3 [32, A, B].

Pth-špss was also ḥm-ntr of the sun temples of Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare and Neuserre. He was married to Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-m<sup>3</sup>t, eldest daughter of (probably) Userkaf and Nfr-ḥtp.s. According to the biography on his false door, his tomb was probably built and decorated during the reign of Neuserre<sup>146</sup>.

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[28]                      Pth-špss                                              **Group: A**

**Location:**      Abusir                                                                      **Latest cartouche: V.6**

**Identification:** PM 340-2                                                                      **Assigned date: V.6L**

**Highest ranking titles:** ḥ<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup>; s<sup>3</sup> nswt; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj

**Highest effective titles:** t<sup>3</sup>tj s<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>tj; jmj-r k<sup>3</sup>t nbt nt nswt; ḥrj-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr dw<sup>3</sup>t;  
ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp

**Reference:** Verner (1977)

This is an unusually large mastaba with a brick enclosure and a complex interior chapel. Pth-špss was probably the son-in-law of Neuserre. That he married a daughter (Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj) of this king seems likely in view of the size and location of his

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<sup>146</sup> James (1961) I (2), 17, pl. 17.



tomb, which is situated at the north-east corner of the funerary complex of Neuserre and near his pyramid<sup>147</sup>. It is also probable that the tomb was constructed and decorated during the reign of Neuserre.

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[29] Pth-špss II

Group: B

Location: Saqqara NSP

Latest cartouche: VI.1

Identification: E 1-2+H 3 PM 461

Assigned date: VI.1-2

Highest effective titles: wr ḥrp ḥmwt m prwj; ḥrp ḥmwt nbt; ḥrj -sšt3 n ntr.f;

ḥrj-sšt3 n sd3wt ntr

Pyramid titles: ḥm-ntr nfr-jswt-wnjs; jmj-ḥt ḥm-ntr ḏd-jswt-ttj

Reference: Murray (1905) 26-8, pls. 28-34; Mariette (1889) 377-9.

Pth-špss II shares a tomb complex with S3bw:jbbj [77] (probably his father), who was high priest of Ptah under Unas and Teti, according to his biography. The construction of this chapel is therefore assigned to the reign of Teti or the early years of Pepy I.

See S3bw:jbbj [77]

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<sup>147</sup> Verner (1979) 672.

**[30] Mnw-dd.f****Group: B****Location:** Giza**Latest cartouche:** VI.2**Identification:** G 7760=LG 60....PM 203-4**Assigned date:** IV.4-5**Highest ranking titles:** s<sup>3</sup> nswt; s<sup>3</sup> nswt n ht.f**Highest effective titles:** sd<sup>3</sup>wtj-bjtj**Reference:** Reisner (1942) 209; LD 2, 33 [a, b]

This is one of eight nummulitic mastabas [Reisner's type (IVa)] built in immediate succession to the massive core mastabas of the nucleus Eastern Field. According to Reisner, this group of mastabas has interior chapels of "grey limestone" with one niche and are decorated by what Reisner calls the "old technique", that is "not sized relief"<sup>148</sup>. In Reisner's opinion, all were constructed between the middle of the reigns of Khafre and Menkaure for members of the royal family of Khufu, who were mostly grandsons<sup>149</sup>.

Reisner speculated that Mnw-dd.f was the son of K<sup>3</sup>.j-w' b [94] and Htp-hr.s II<sup>150</sup>. Mnw-dd.f was s<sup>3</sup> nswt n ht.f<sup>151</sup>, which would probably mean grandson of a king if

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<sup>148</sup> Reisner does not make clear what he meant by 'not sized'. I assume that he meant unsealed with any type of size or filler.

<sup>149</sup> Reisner (1942) 309.

<sup>150</sup> Reisner (1942) 209.

<sup>151</sup> LD 2, 33b.

he were the son of K3.j-wʿb and Htp-ḥr.s II, although the father-son relationship with K3.j-wʿb is tenuous.

[31] Mrjj-rʿ-mrj-ptḥ-ʿnh:Nḥbw

**Group: A**

**Location:** Giza WF

**Latest cartouche:** VI.2

**Identification:** G 2381-G 2382....PM 89-91

**Assigned date:** VI.2

**Highest ranking titles:** smr wʿtj

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt; ḥrp šndwt nbt; ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp

**Pyramid titles:** jmj-r wpt nswt mn-nfr-mrjj-rʿ-ppjj; jmj-r ḥntj-š mn-nfr-mrjj-rʿ-ppjj

**Reference:** Sethe (1932-33) Urk I, 215-19 [47(138)]; Dunham (1938). See PM 89-91.

Although Nḥbw 's chapel in the Sndm-jb tomb-complex was reduced to a heap of debris, Reisner found and pieced together two biographical inscriptions. According to these<sup>152</sup>, Nḥbw lived and worked during the reign of Pepy I as an expedition leader undertaking constructional work for the king. He made three expeditions to Wadi Hammamat, where he also left inscriptions<sup>153</sup>. Consequently, it is likely that Nḥbw constructed and decorated his tomb in this reign.

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<sup>152</sup> Dunham (1938) 1-8. Sethe (1933) 215-21.

**[32] Mrjj-ttj:mrj****Group: B****Location:** Saqqara TPC**Latest cartouche:** VI.2**Identification:** PM 536-7**Assigned date:** VI.2M**Highest ranking titles:** jrj p<sup>c</sup>t; ḥꜣtj-<sup>c</sup>; sꜣ nswt n ḥt.f, smr w<sup>c</sup>tj**Highest effective titles:** tꜣtj-sꜣb tꜣtj; jmj-r ḥwt wrt 6; jmj-r sꜣ<sup>c</sup> nswt; jmj-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt; ḥrj-sꜣtꜣ n pr dwꜣt; ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp; ḥrp šndwt nbt**Pyramid titles:** ḥm-nṯr mn-nfr-mrjj-r<sup>c</sup>-Ppjj; ḥntj-š mn-nfr-mrjj-r<sup>c</sup>-Ppjj; ḥntj-š ḏd-swt ttj; šḏ ḥm-nṯr mn-nfr-mrjj-r<sup>c</sup>-Ppjj; šḏ ḥm-nṯr ḏd-swt-ttj**Reference:** Duell (1938) 1, 2-3; Wreszinski (1923) 8[A], 90, 101.

Mrjj-ttj:mrj was a son of Mrrw-kꜣ.j [36] with a chapel in his father's tomb<sup>154</sup>.

According to Nims this chapel was decorated later than that of Mrrw-kꜣ.j<sup>155</sup>. As three of Mrjj-ttj:mrj's titles include the cartouche of Pepy I, it is probable that Mrjj-ttj:mrj was an official of that king. It is remarkable that an official of such high rank did not build himself a tomb but it is possible that he died unexpectedly early before officials usually began making preparations for their afterlife. In which case, the decoration of the chapel

<sup>153</sup> Sethe (1933) 93, 94.

<sup>154</sup> He is called 'eldest king's son of his body' in the chapel of his mother, W<sup>c</sup>tt-ḥt-ḥr, because she was Teti's daughter. Nims (1938) passim.

<sup>155</sup> Nims (1938) 638-47.

is not likely to be later than mid Pepy I, perhaps less than a generation after Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j had his rooms decorated.

See Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j [36].

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[33]	Mr-jb.j	Group: B
Location:	Giza WF	Latest cartouche: IV.2
Identification:	G 2100-I-ann= LG 24 PM 71-2	Assigned date: IV.6-V.2
Highest ranking titles: rh nswt; s ³ nswt; s ³ nswt n ht.f; smr; smr w ^c tj		
Highest effective titles: jmj-r k ³ t nbt nt nswt; hrp ^c h; wr md šm ³		
Reference: Junker 2 (1934), 121-35, fig. 11; LD 2, pls. 18-22.		

This is one of a distinct group of chapels in the Giza West Field identified as ranging from Menkaure to the end of Neferirkare. However, unlike the others in the group, G 2100-I-ann was built around the southern end of a mastaba core rather than enclosing an old core¹⁵⁶. It was one of a sub-group with chapels decorated with 'sized'¹⁵⁷ relief, which Reisner considered to be a newer decorative technique¹⁵⁸. The group of

¹⁵⁶ Reisner (1942) 216.

¹⁵⁷ Reisner does not explain what he meant by 'sized relief' but it must refer to the use of a filler or sealant.

¹⁵⁸ Reisner (1942) 311.

chapels are all of Reisner's chapel type (4a) with an L-shape and two false doors.

Reisner assumed from the position of the mastaba and the inscription in the chapel that Mr-jb.j was a grandson of Khufu. This relationship is far from proven, but it is possible from the title, s3 nswt n ht.f.

Reisner preferred a late Dynasty 4 date for Mr-jb.j but Junker considered early Dynasty 5 more likely¹⁵⁹. Either date is credible, but as Mr-jb.j's daughter, Nn-sdr-k3.j [56], has a chapel in the same group, a date from Menkaure to Sahure is preferred to allow for a generation between the two chapels.



[34]	Mrw/ttj-snb/mrjr ^c -snb/ppjj-snb	Group: B
Location:	Saqqara TPC	Latest cartouche: VI.2
Identification:	PM 520	Assigned date: VI.1-2E
Highest ranking titles:	ḥ3tj- ^c ; smr w ^c tj	
Highest effective titles:	jmj-r šnwt nbt; ḥrp šndwt nbt; ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp	
Pyramid titles:	jmj-r wpt dd-swt-ttj; jmj-r ḥntj-š dd-swt-ttj; ḥntj-š dd-swt-ttj; šḥd ḥm-ntr ḥntj-š dd-swt-ttj	

¹⁵⁹ Junker 2 (1934) 121-35.

Reference: Lloyd et al (1990), 3-20, figs. 1-3, pls. 1-13.

The dating of this tomb is based upon the change of the tomb owner's name from Ttj-snb to Ppjj-snb and Mrrjr^c-snb. This suggests that the tomb owner began to build his tomb in the reign of Teti and completed it in the reign of Pepy I. However, the distribution of the three names throughout the tomb suggests that most of the tomb was decorated during the reign of Teti¹⁶⁰. The decoration presumably would have been completed early in the reign of Pepy I.

[35] Mrrj

Group: B

Location: Saqqara TPC

Identification: .PM 518-9

Assigned date: VI.1L-2

Highest ranking titles: ḥ3tj-^c; smr w^ctj

Highest effective titles: jmj-r prwj nwb; jmj-r prwj-ḥd; jmj-r pḥwj pr ^c3;

ḥrj-sšt3 n pr dw3t

Reference: Davies et al (1984) 2-20, 30-5, pls. 2-21, 23, 33-5, 37-40, *Text-figs.* 2-3.

Mrrj's tomb is one of a group of seven tombs that stand at the same level as the mastaba of Mrrw-k3 [36], forming the lowest level of what was once a stratified

¹⁶⁰ Lloyd (1990) 6 Note 2.

site¹⁶¹. Thus the excavators consider that this mastaba, although small, could be

contemporary with the nearby larger mastabas which can be dated to Teti and Pepy I.

Judging from their construction, Mrrj's tomb is the earliest of this group of seven small mastabas. Features favouring a Teti to Pepy I date for Mrrj's tomb:

- Its entrance is on the favoured eastern side.
- Wr-nww's tomb was built against Mrrj's original outer west wall.
- The doorway to the tomb is framed with blocks of coarse brown limestone, as are the doorways of K3-gmnj [102], Nfr-sšm-rꜥ [55], 'nh-m-ꜥ-hr [14], Nfr-sšm-pth [19] and Hntj-k3.j [75]. This may have been used to imitate quartzite, as quartzite was used in the Teti funerary temple. This brown limestone is not used in the Unas cemetery¹⁶².
- Two wd3t-eyes accompany the exterior inscription on the sarcophagus, as they do on the sarcophagi of 'nh-m-ꜥ hr and Hntj-k3.j.
- The wall of the burial chamber immediately behind the sarcophagus is cut into a shelf to support the lid and provide working room. Such a shelf exists in the burial chambers of K3-gmnj, 'nh-m-ꜥ hr and Nfr-sšm-rꜥ.

Location and archaeological evidence suggest a date for this chapel from late Teti to Pepy I.

¹⁶¹ Davies et al (1984) 1.

[36] Mrrw-k³.j:mrj

Group: A

Location: Saqqara: TPC

Latest cartouche: VI.1

Identification: PM 525-34

Assigned date: VI.1M-L

Highest ranking titles: jrj p^ct; h³tj-^c; smr w^ctj

Highest effective titles: t³tj s³b t³tj; jrj-p^ct; jmj-r prwy h^d; jmj-r prwj-nwb; jmj-r hwt

wrt 6; jmj-r sš^c nswt; jmj-r šnwty; jmj-r k³t nbt nt nswt; hrj-sšt³ n pr dw³t

Pyramid titles: hntj-š dd-swt-ttj; sh^d hm-ntr dd-swt-ttj

Reference: Duell (1938)

This is the second largest of the tombs of powerful officials in the group to the north of Teti's pyramid. However, its position is less favourable than that of K³.j-gmnj:mmj [102] suggesting that it was a slightly later construction, for both men were viziers. The cartouche of Pepy occurs in the name of Mrrw-k³.j's son, whose tomb is a later extension to his father's tomb.

(For discussion of dating see 'nh-m-^c-hr:ssj [14].)

¹⁶² Davies et al (1984) 2 and Note 1.

[37] Mrs-ḥnh II**Group: B****Location:** Giza, EF**Identification:** G 7410+G 7420; PM 194**Assigned date:** IV.2-4**Highest ranking titles:** sꜣt nswt n ḥt.f**Reference:** Reisner (1942), pp. 115, 121, 125, 205, 308.

This twin mastaba is situated in the fourth line which is immediately behind the small pyramid, G1-a. Although they were found nearly destroyed, Reisner was convinced that the chapels of the four northern double mastabas followed on from the early chapels of the Western Field. Only fragments of relief were recovered from G 7410, which was reconstructed as an L-shaped one-niched interior chapel of white limestone, while the other half of the mastaba, G 7420, was unused but perhaps intended for Hr-bꜣ.f, possibly the husband and brother of Mrs-ḥnh II¹⁶³. Simpson considered Mrs-ḥnh II to be a daughter of Khufu¹⁶⁴, while von Beckerath thought she might have been a wife of Khafre. This is perhaps unlikely in view of the situation of her tomb in the most prestigious part of the Khufu necropolis.

As a daughter of Khufu, Mrs-ḥnh II, may be dated to the period from the reign of Khufu to that of Khafre.

¹⁶³ Reisner (1942) 307-8.

[38] Mrs-^ḥ III.

Group: B

Location: Giza: EF

Latest cartouche: IV.3

Identification: G7530 + G7540 PM 197-9

Assigned date: IV.4-6

Highest ranking titles: m³³t Hr-St^h; hmt nswt; s³t nswt nt ht.f

Highest effective titles: smrt Hr mrt.f

Reference: Dunham-Simpson (1974)

Mrs-^ḥ III was the daughter of K³.j-w^ḥb [94] and Htp-^hr.s II, both of whom appear in her tomb and were the children of Khufu. The tomb of Mrs-^ḥ is rock-cut, not uncommon in the second half of Dynasty 4, but unusual in its position beneath a mastaba, G7530-7540 in Cemetery G7000.

Columns of inscription framing the entrance to this tomb give the dates of Mrs-^ḥ's death and burial. On the right side of the entrance the queen is said to have died in "Year of the first count, month 1 of Shemu, day 21". On the left she is said to have been buried "Year after the first count, month 2 of Peret, day 16"¹⁶⁵. No particular king is mentioned. These dates could refer to a number of reigns. Reisner worked from quarry marks on the back of two casing stones from the mastaba core G 7530 ("Year 7, month 4

¹⁶⁴ Simpson. Lexikon 4 (1975) 78.

of Proyet, Day 10" and "Month 3 of Shomu, Day 21"¹⁶⁶) to arrive at Year 13 or 14 of Khafre for "year 7". Dunham, on the other hand, believes the façade inscriptions giving the dates of Mrs-^hnh's death and burial refer to the early years of Menkaure.

A study of Mrs-^hnh's skeletal remains judged her to have been about fifty at the time of death¹⁶⁷. Her father, K3.j-w^hb, probably died before or soon after the death of his father, Khufu¹⁶⁸. Mrs-^hnh must therefore have been born before or around the time of Khufu's death. If she had reached adulthood before the death of Khufu, the entrance inscription date would seem to refer either to the reign of Khafre or Menkaure. If she was only an infant at the time of Khufu's death then the inscription could refer to the first and second years of Shepseskaf or the third and fourth years.

[39] Mr-sw-^hnh

Group: B

Location: Giza CF

Identification: PM 269-70

Assigned date: V.6-8

Highest ranking titles: smr R^h-wr;

Highest effective titles: jmj-r jd^w n hn^w; sh^d hm-k3; nfr-jd;

¹⁶⁵ Smith (1952) 126.

¹⁶⁶ Dunham-Simpson (1974) 3, pl. 2a, fig. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Dunham-Simpson (1974) pp. 21-22.

jmj-r jst.f nbt n hnw ntj rwt

Reference: Hassan Vol 1 (1932) 104-17, figs. 177, 178-87

Mr-sw-^cnh may be dated by his relationship with R^c-wr [61] as he was the overseer of the young men of the endowment of R^c-wr and described himself as 'smr R^c-wr jm3hw.f'. In the tomb of R^c-wr there is a biographical reference to Neferirkare, although the tomb itself, very complex, may be rather later. Mr-sw-^cnh, under the patronage of R^c-wr, may have been a generation younger, in which case his tomb would date from the reign of Neuserre to that of Djedkare.

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[40] Mhj:mh-n.s

**Group: B**

**Location:** Saqqara TPC

**Latest cartouche:** VI.1

**Identification:** PM n/r

**Assigned date:** VI.2E

**Highest ranking titles:** smr w<sup>c</sup>tj

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r hntj-š; jmj-r st hntj-š pr <sup>c</sup>; shd hntj-š; špsj nswt pr <sup>c</sup>

**Reference:** Kanawati et al (1984) 7-11, pls. 1, 5-9.

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<sup>168</sup> See prosopography for K3.j-w<sup>c</sup>b [94].

The remains of the tomb of Mh<sub>j</sub>:mh-n.s lies to the north-east of the pyramid of Teti. According to Kanawati, the officials of Teti were only allotted a limited space in this cemetery, which is bounded by Teti's pyramid complex, the Queens' pyramids, large Dynasty 5 mastabas on the east and the Archaic cemetery to the north. The construction of mastabas in the Teti Cemetery progressed from west to east parallel with the northern boundary of the Teti pyramid complex and then turned northward. A narrow east-west street further to the north has provided more tombs probably dating to the reign of Teti or soon after. The tomb of Mh<sub>j</sub>:mh-n.s is in this street<sup>169</sup>.

In the debris in front of the tomb were found three pieces of inscribed stone, which were originally part of the architrave across the façade of the tomb. The smaller piece of stone, cut to replace a corner of one of the larger stones, was inscribed with the cartouche of Teti that formed part of the phrase 'jm<sup>3</sup>h.f h(r) Ttj'. This is the only royal name found in the tomb. The phrase 'jm<sup>3</sup>h.f h(r) Ttj' (or jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr) accompanied by the name of a king is usually interpreted to mean that the official served the king named. The block bearing the phrase is of poorer quality stone and the hieroglyphs are smaller and less well crafted than the inscription on other blocks. Kanawati interprets this as a replacement of the king's name. He surmises that the original king named was Userkare

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<sup>169</sup> Kanawati et al (1984) 7-11.

who succeeded Teti, and that his name was replaced with that of Teti when Teti's son, Pepy I, regained the throne. Mhj wished to establish his loyalty to the house of Teti<sup>170</sup>.

This suggests that Mhj:mh-n.s decorated his tomb during the brief reign of Userkare<sup>171</sup>. For the purpose of this study the date is rendered as late Teti.

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**[41]**                      **Mtn**                                              **Group: B**

**Location:**      Saqqara NSP                                              **Latest cartouche:** IV.1

**Identification:** LS 6      PM 493-4                                              **Assigned date:** IV.1-2

**Highest ranking titles:** rh nswt

**Highest effective titles:** hkꜣ h(w) ʿ3t; sꜣb hrj-skr; sš; jmj-r wpwt

**Reference:** LD II pls. 4-7; Sethe (1932-3) Urk.i. 5-7; Goedicke (1966) 1-62

Mtn's chapel is one of the few cruciform chapels with preserved reliefs. In the case of Mtn's chapel, these reliefs include the tomb owner's biography, which dates him to late Dynasty 3 or early Dynasty 4.

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<sup>170</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati (1984) 9-10.

**[42]**            Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp

**Group:** A

**Location:**    Saqqara UPC

**Latest cartouche:** V.6

**Identification:** PM 641-4

**Assigned date:** V.6L-8E

**Highest ranking titles:** mḥnk nswt mrrw nb.f

**Highest effective titles:** šḥḏ jrjw ḥnwt pr-ḥ; jmj-r jrjw ḥnwt pr-ḥ; jrj jḥt nswt

**Reference:** Moussa-Altenmüller (1977)

This tomb was buried by the construction of the causeway of Unas. Moussa and Altenmüller<sup>172</sup> accept the middle years of the reign of Neuserre as the earliest limit for its construction as both tomb owners were priests of Re in the sun temple of Neuserre and wab priests of the pyramid of Neuserre. Moussa and Altenmüller give the latest limit as five years into the reign of Unas, when they assume the causeway was being built.

However, they base their precise date for the construction of the tomb (end of Neuserre to Menkauhor) on the archaeological evidence of foundation stones with quarry inscriptions including the names of Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp in the tomb of Pth-špss [28] of Abusir. This suggests that the two tombs were being built at the same time. As Pth-špss married a woman named Ḥḥ-mrr-nbtj, who was probably a daughter

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<sup>171</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati (1988) 12, 14-15, pl. 6.



of Neuserre, Moussa and Altenmüller date Pth-špss from the second half of the reign of Neuserre into the reign of Menkauhor. Nj-‘nh-ḥnmw and Ḥnmw-ḥtp appear in Pth-špss 's tomb.

This dating is supported by the additional burial in the tomb of of Ḥm-r‘ and his wife Tst, Nj-‘nh-ḥnmw 's son and daughter-in-law. Assuming Ḥm-r‘ and Tst were a generation later than the tomb owners, their false doors would date to the time just before Unas came to the throne.

Menkauhor only reigned for eight years according to the Turin Canon, so assigning a date early in the reign of Djedkare as the latest date for the tomb offers a slightly broader time span.

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|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| [43]                      | Nj-‘nh-šḥmt                        | Group: A              |
| Location:                 | Saqqara NSP                        | Latest cartouche: V.2 |
| Identification:           | D 12 PM 482-3                      | Assigned date: V.2    |
| Highest ranking titles:   | smr pr                             |                       |
| Highest effective titles: | wr sjnw; wrsjnw pr-‘3; w‘b pr ḥmwt |                       |

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<sup>172</sup> Moussa-Altenmüller (1977) 44-45.

**Reference:** Mariette (1889) 202-5; Borchardt (1937) Vol. 1, 169-73, pl. 39; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 38-40 [26, A, B].

Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt's tomb is securely dated to the reign of Sahure, who presented him with a false door (CG 1482)<sup>173</sup>.

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[44] Nj-wsr-r^c

Group: B

Location: Giza CF

Identification: PM 234

Assigned date: IV.4-5

Highest ranking titles: s³ nswt n ht.f; smr wtj

Highest effective titles: hrj-hbt; hrj wdb n jt.f; sd³wtj-bjtj

Reference: Hassan (1943) Vol. 4, 185-8, figs. 131-3, pl. 40; Reisner (1942) 231-2, fig. 137.

This is an unfinished rock-cut tomb in the scarp first used as a quarry for the pyramids of Khufu and Khafre and later as a cemetery. Reisner suggested that the

¹⁷³ Borchardt, (1937) 1, pl. 39, pp. 169-73; Sethe (1933) 1, 38-40 [26,A,B].

earlier tombs in this cemetery were those nearest the Khafre causeway, where the queens and sons of Khafre were buried¹⁷⁴. Nj-wsr-r' s tomb is southwest of this family group.

Although they are not mentioned in Nj-wsr-r's unfinished tomb, his parents were probably Khafre and Mrs-ḥ III [38]. Two pillars inscribed with figures of the queen flank the central opening of the main room of Mrs-ḥ III 's tomb. In front of each depiction of the queen is painted a figure of a young boy. The boy on the east pillar is described as 's3 nswt n ḥt.f, Dw3-R', and on the west pillar as 's3 nswt n ḥt.f, Nj-wsr-r-ḥ'. Dunham notes that the painted insertions of the two boys, one with a name compounded with the cartouche of Neuserre, the sixth king of Dynasty 5 and an ankh sign, indicate that the chapel was either accessible up to or reopened in Dynasty 5¹⁷⁵. While the two painted figures have been considered to be later additions, in the tomb of Nb.j-m-3ḥtj [47], who is a son of Khafre, Dw3w[r'] and a Nj-wsr-r' appear as the tomb owner's brothers¹⁷⁶. From this evidence Dunham surmises that both men were the sons of Mrs-ḥ III and Khafre and that the cartouche and ankh sign were added later¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁴ Reisner (1942) 220.

¹⁷⁵ Dunham-Simpson (1974) 13, footnote 21, pl. 6a, fig. 6.

¹⁷⁶ Hassan IV (1943) 125, 144-45, 185-88, fig. 85,

As a son of Mrs-‘nh III and Khafre, Nj-wsr-r‘ 's tomb is to be dated from late in the reign of Khafre to the reign of Menkaure.



[45]	Nj-k3w-jssj	Group: A
Location:	Saqqara: TPC	Latest cartouche: VI.1
Identification:	PM n/r	Assigned date: VI.1M
Highest ranking titles: jrj p‘t; h3tj-‘; smr w‘tj		
Highest effective titles: jmj-js; jmj-r w‘btj; jmj-r prwj-nbw; jmj-r Šm‘w;		
hrj wrw; hrj hbt; sd3wtj-bjtj		
Reference: Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (2000)		

The site for Nj-k3w-jssj's tomb may have been included in the original planning of the cemetery as it is to the immediate north of the mastaba of K3-gmnj [102]. In common with the other original mastabas in this cemetery, the tomb is built entirely of stone, it is almost square and has a staircase leading to the roof. However, it has some feature in common with the later tombs, which were constructed in the second half of

¹⁷⁷ Dunham-Simpson (1974) 5.

Teti's reign. The shaft opens into the floor of the chapel rather than the roof of the mastaba and the chapel occupies the total ground area of the mastaba¹⁷⁸.

The mastaba was originally free standing but other tombs were built against it. One of these is the tomb of Hsj [65], whose biography describes service under Djedkare, Unas and Teti, suggesting that the tomb was constructed in the reign of Teti. This also suggests that the tomb of Nj-k3w-jssj was not built late in Teti's reign¹⁷⁹.

Nj-k3w-jssj has the same titles as the official of this name to whom Teti's decree of Abydos was addressed and as the official depicted on the causeway of Unas. His name suggests that he was born and began his service under Djedkare. His skeletal remains are those of a man in his early forties. If both Unas and Teti had reigns of 15 and 11 years respectively¹⁸⁰, Nj-k3w-jssj may have died in the middle years of the reign of Teti.

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<sup>178</sup> Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (2000) 17-18.

<sup>179</sup> Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (2000) 19.

<sup>180</sup> See p. 17 above.

[46] Nj-k³w-rʿ

**Group: B****Location:** Giza CF**Identification:** LG 87 PM 232**Assigned date:** IV.4-6**Highest ranking titles:** jrj pʿt; ḥ³tj-ʿ; s³ nswt n ḥt.f; s³ nswt n ḥt.f smsw; smr wʿtj**Highest effective titles:** t³tj s³b t³tj; ḥrj ḥbt ḥrj-tp (tp n jtj.f); sd³wtj-bjtj**Reference:** LD II pl. 15[a, b]; LD Erg. pl. 35.

This is one of the rock-cut tombs excavated into the scarp from which limestone for the pyramids of Khufu and Khafre were quarried. Reisner believed that the earlier tombs in this cemetery were those nearest the Khafre causeway, where the queens and sons of Khafre were buried and that they first began to use the quarry in the reign of Menkaure. LG 87 is one of these tombs and was classed by Reisner as belonging to his type RC (i), which he believed to be the older of his two rock-cut tomb categories<sup>181</sup>.

As s³ nswt n ḥt.f smsw and ḥrj ḥbt ḥrj-tp n jtj.f, Nj-k³w-rʿ was very probably the son of a king. Reisner believed, from the names of his estates, that he was the son of Khafre and Queen Pr-[snt], whose tomb, LG 88, is to the immediate south-west of LG 87.

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<sup>181</sup> Reisner (1942) 220, 310.

A date of 'rnpt sp 12' occurs in the tomb<sup>182</sup>. Regardless of how the cattle count is interpreted, only the reigns of Khafre or Menkaure lasted long enough to have such a date, but whether the year 'rnpt sp 12' refers to Khafre or Menkaure is uncertain. Reisner did not believe the members of Khafre's family could have used the quarry as a cemetery until quarrying for the king's pyramid had finished and that the quarry was mainly used by Khafre's family in the reign of Menkaure<sup>183</sup>. The date, 'rnpt sp 12', is therefore more likely to refer to the reign of Menkaure, in which case Nj-k³w-r' was the vizier of that king and decorated his tomb in his reign.

[47] Nb.j-m-³htj

**Group: B**

**Location:** Giza

**Latest cartouche:** IV.4

**Identification:** LG 86....PM 230-2

**Assigned date:** IV.5-6

**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-p't; s³ nswt n ht.f [smsw]; smr w'tj; smr w'tj n jt.f

**Highest effective titles:** t³tj-s³b t³tj; hrj-hbt hrj-tp; sš md³t ntr n jt.f

**Reference:** Hassan (1943) Vol. 4, 125-50, pl. 36 [A]-37, figs. 73-102;

LD II pls. 12 [a-c].

<sup>182</sup> This date is in a will in favour of Nj-k³w-r's wife and children. Sethe (1933) Urk. 1, 16-17 [13].

<sup>183</sup> Reisner (1942) 219.

This rock-cut tomb in the scarp used as a quarry for the pyramids of Khufu and Khafre is one of the closest to the Khafre causeway. Reisner believed the rock-cut tombs closest to the Khafre causeway were the first to be constructed in the quarry<sup>184</sup>. LG 86 was classed by Reisner as belonging to his type RC (I), which he believed to be the older of his two rock-cut tomb categories<sup>185</sup>.

Nb.j-m-ḥtj [47] and Mrs-ḥ III [38] are depicted in each other's tombs in a mother-son relationship<sup>186</sup>. He was therefore, probably a son of Khafre and may have been an 'eldest' son of the king<sup>187</sup>. Strudwick thinks that Nb.j-m-ḥtj would have been born after Khafre had come to the throne<sup>188</sup>. In this case, Nb.j-m-ḥtj would have constructed his tomb in either the reign of Menkaure or Shepseskaf.

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¹⁸⁴ Reisner (1942) 219-20,

¹⁸⁵ Reisner (1942) 220, 310.

¹⁸⁶ Harpur thinks that as Nb.j-m-ḥtj was depicted as an adult but without the title of vizier in his mother's tomb, he did not hold that position at the time of her death. Thus, her depiction in Nb.j-m-ḥtj's tomb is posthumous. Harpur (1984) 16, note 20.

¹⁸⁷ 'smsw' would fit a space between 'n ḥt.f' and 'Nb.j-m-ḥtj' on the entrance drum. Hassan 4 (1943) fig. 74.

[48] Nbt

Group: B

Location: Saqqara: UPC

Latest cartouche: V.9

Identification: PM 624

Assigned date: V.9

Highest ranking titles: ḥmt nswt mrt.f; mꜣꜣt Ḥr-Stḥ; smrt Ḥr; wrt ḥts

Reference: Munro (1993) passim.

This is a large double mastaba situated to the north-east of the pyramid of Unas.

The two tombs within the mastaba belong to Nbt (eastern tomb) and Ḥnwt [74] (western tomb) and they are almost identical in size and plan.

Although Nbt was not 'sꜣt nswt' and nothing is known about her own family background¹⁸⁹, there is little doubt that that she was a wife of Unas. Her titles indicate that she was a queen, while the location of her tomb close to the funerary temple of Unas makes it reasonably certain that she was married to him. The cartouche of Unas was found on one of the mastaba blocks and on the lower part of a small statuette found in the tomb¹⁹⁰.

As a queen, Nbt is likely to have had her tomb constructed and decorated during the reign of her husband.

¹⁸⁸ King's sons, not born of the principal queen were probably born during their fathers' reign as only a reigning king practised polygamy. There is no evidence of any prince or official doing so. Strudwick (1985) 7.

[49] Nfr

Group: B

Location: Giza WF

Identification: G 2110....PM 72-4

Assigned date: IV.4

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt;

Highest effective titles: jmj-r prwj ḥd; ḥkꜣ ḥwt; sš ʿ nswt; wr md šmʿw; ḥrj-sšt n
nswt m swt nbt

Reference: Reisner (1942) 201, 422-5. See also PM 72-4.

According to Reisner, G 2110 was an original core mastaba. It has an L-shaped, one-niched, exterior stone offering room constructed around the southern niche¹⁹¹. The chapel suffered serious damage but the pieces, scattered in museums around the world, show that it was fully decorated and must therefore be one of the earliest fully decorated in the Western Field.

Reisner believed that the finishing of the earlier cores of the three nucleus cemeteries of the Western Field had been interrupted on the death of Khufu and not resumed until the reign of Khafre.

¹⁸⁹ Munro (1993) 20.

¹⁹⁰ Saad (1940) 683-4.

¹⁹¹ Reisner (1942) 201, 306-7.

[50] Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j

Group: B

Location: Saqqara UPC

Identification: PM 639-41

Assigned date: V.6

Highest ranking titles: K3-ḥ3.j: ṛḥ nswt: Nfr ṛḥ nswt

Highest effective titles: K3-ḥ3.j: jmj-r ḥsww pr.wj; w' m wrw ḥsww dt; ḥrp ḥsww; shd

ḥsww: Nfr : ḥrp ḥsww; shd pr-3; shd w'bt; ḥrj-sšt3 nswt

Reference: Moussa-Altenmüller (1971)

This tomb is one of a group of tombs cut into the rock of a natural ditch. A long section of the Unas Causeway is set in this depression and its construction buried the group of tombs.

The tomb chapel of Nfr and K3-ḥ3.j is L-shaped with four false doors in the west wall and 11 shafts. It was planned as a double tomb for father and son. Moussa and Altenmüller believe it was still in use when closed by Unas. In shaft 8 a wooden box was found with writing on it that it was placed in the burial chamber in the 6th year of counting, 4th month of prt. 22nd day¹⁹².

¹⁹² Moussa and Altenmüller think that the wooden box may refer to the third generation buried in this tomb in the reign of Djedkare. Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) 18.

Moussa and Altenmüller speculate whether the tomb was built and first used in the reign of Neferirkare and was still in use when Unas came to the throne, a period of at least 75 years. This is a very long span of time to account for two generations¹⁹³. By identifying Nj-k3w-rꜥ, an offering bearer appearing on Nfr 's false door, with Nj-k3w-rꜥ of mastaba D 50 who probably lived under Neuserre, Moussa and Altenmüller narrow the date for the decoration of the tomb to the reign of Neuserre.

[51] **Nfr-b³w-pth**

Group: B

Location: Giza WF

Latest cartouche: V.6

Identification: G 6010=LG 15 PM 639-41

Assigned date: V.6L

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt;

Highest effective titles: jmj-r pr; jmj-r hwt '3t

Reference: Weeks (1994) 21-29, 63-67, col.pls. 2a-2c, pls. 1a-11a, figs.2-4, 6, 9-24

¹⁹³ This assumes that the tomb was constructed during the adult lifetime of Nfr, son of K3-ḥ3.j and was last used by the third generation, the children of Nfr. Moussa and Altenmüller believe that the tomb was constructed when Nfr was adult because the false doors of Nfr and K3.ḥ3.j are positioned either side of a palace façade false door suggesting that this was the original design. Furthermore, in a dedicatory inscription on the false door of K3.ḥ3.j, Nfr is called the builder of the tomb and the donor of K3.ḥ3.j 's false door. Moussa-Altenmüller (1971) 14.

Nfr -b³w-ptḥ was the son of Jj-mrj [4] and grandson of Špss-k³.f-ḥ [90].

Both men appear in his tomb¹⁹⁴ and he appears in that of his father¹⁹⁵. The nucleus tombs of the group, Cemetery G6000, are those of the Špss-k³.f-ḥ family. Weeks, who published Cemetery G6000, does not attempt to date any of these tombs. Instead, he quotes in full Reisner's 1939 article, which he describes as a still "very useful study"¹⁹⁶.

According to Reisner, Špss-k³.f-ḥ chose a bare rock area on the side of an old quarry and built his mastaba on the best site. His son, son-in-law and grandson built their mastabas nearby forming a complex family group of tombs. Reisner dated the birth of Špss-k³.f-ḥ to the reign of Shepseskaf, presumably by virtue of his name, and assigned his position of 'estate steward' to a son of Neferirkare whom he identified as the future king Neuserre.

Nfr -b³w-ptḥ appears as an adult in his father's tomb¹⁹⁷. It is probable, therefore, that he was born before Neuserre came to the throne. However, Neuserre would have been the king he served, in whose reign he built and decorated his tomb.

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<sup>194</sup> Kanawati thinks that the orientation of these depictions indicate that Jj-mrj and Špss-k<sup>3</sup>.f-ḥ were already dead when the sculptures were being crafted. Kanawati, 1981 (2) 216.

<sup>195</sup> Weeks (1994) pls. 4, 5, 12b, 16, 28 (LD 2, 54)

<sup>196</sup> Weeks (1994) 4; Reisner (1939) 29-35.

<sup>197</sup> Weeks (1994) pl. 28 (LD II, 54). The figure of Nfr -b<sup>3</sup>w-ptḥ has almost disappeared but its position suggests the depiction of an adult.

**[52]**            Nfr-m³'t**Group: B****Location:**    Giza EF**Latest cartouche:** IV.1**Identification:** G7060= LG 57   PM 183**Assigned date:** IV.2-4**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-p't; h³tj-'; s³ nswt; s³ nswt n ht.f; smr w'tj;**Highest effective titles:** t³tj-s³b-t³tj; hrj-tp Nhb; hrp 'h; sd³wtj-bjtj**Reference:** Mariette (1889) 530-1; LD II pl. 17[a-c].

From his false door and that of his son, Snfrw-h'f [79], Nfr-m³'t was the son of Nfrt-k³w, eldest daughter of Sneferu<sup>198</sup>. Whether his mother was born early or late in the reign of Sneferu is not known.

According to Reisner, the relief in his one-niched interior chapel is of the 'old technique', that is 'not sized' relief<sup>199</sup> and was built between the middle years of Khafre and the middle years of Menkaure<sup>200</sup>. Reisner's opinion of this feature supports an estimated dating for Nfr-m³'t as a grandson of Sneferu, who probably constructed his tomb 40 to 60 years after the death of Sneferu.

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¹⁹⁸ LD II, 16.

¹⁹⁹ See footnote 148.

²⁰⁰ Reisner (1942) 308-9).

[53] Nfr-m³ᵗ

Group: B**Location:** Medum**Latest cartouche:** IV.1**Identification:** Petrie 16 PM 639-41**Assigned date:** IV.1**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-pᵗ; ḥ³tj-ᵘ; s³ nswt smsw**Highest effective titles:** t³tj-s³b-t³tj; sm³ mnw; sd³wtj-bjtj**Reference:** Petrie (1892) 14-16, 24-29, 39-40, pls. 16-28.

Nfr m³ᵗ may have been the son of Huni and therefore a brother of Sneferu²⁰¹.

He could also have been a son of Sneferu as his tomb is near the Medum pyramid, which was probably completed by Sneferu even if begun by Huni.

Bolshokov dates Nfr -m³ᵗ to the reign of Sneferu through his likely relationship to Ḥm-jwnw²⁰². According to Bolshokov, Ḥm -jwnw was responsible for the construction of the Great Pyramid and surrounding nucleus cemeteries, which would make him an adult when Khufu ascended the throne²⁰³. In this case, Nfr-m³ᵗ would have been a mature man during the reign of Sneferu, when he would have constructed his tomb.

²⁰¹ Schmitz (1976) 65-66.

²⁰² Junker I (1922) 151-53, 157-61.

²⁰³ Bolshokov (1991) 11-20.

[54] Nfr-sšm-ptḥ**Group: B****Location:** Saqqara UPC**Identification:** PM 645**Assigned date:** V.6-8E**Highest ranking titles:** mḥnk-nswt m pr ˁ**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r ḥmt.jw; jmj-r ḥmt.jw-nbw**Reference:** Moussa-Junge (1975), 11-27, fig. 1, pls. 1-7.

The presence of a cartouche of Neuserre²⁰⁴ and the terminus ante quem provided by the construction of the causeway of Unas, which blocked this tomb, provide a range of possible dating. As the owners are likely to be father and son, the suggested time for the construction of the tomb has been brought back approximately one generation before the closure of the tomb on the hypothesis that it would have been constructed either before or immediately after the death of the father. The decoration of the chapel must also lie within the date range of Neuserre to Djedkare as the beginning of the construction of the causeway would have been a great disincentive to start or continue work on the tomb.

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<sup>204</sup> Moussa and Junge, Illustr. 1.



**[55]**            Nfr-sšm-r<sup>c</sup>:ššj

**Group:** A

**Location:**    Saqqara: TPC

**Latest cartouche:** VI.1

**Identification:** PM 511

**Assigned date:** VI.1E-M

**Highest ranking titles:** ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r prwj-nbw; jmj-r prwj-ḥd; jmj-r ḥwt-wrt;

jmj-r ḥwt-wrt 6; jmj-r sš<sup>c</sup> nswt; jmj-r Šm3w; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt

**Pyramid titles:** ḥntj-š dd-swt-ttj

**Reference:** Capart (1907) 17-26, pls. 9-17; Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1998) 11-38, pls. 3-19, 39-60.

The tomb of Nfr-sšm-r<sup>c</sup>:ššj is situated in a prime position vis à vis the pyramid complex of Teti. It is the first in the 'Rue de Tombeaux' and lies in the first row of tombs that run parallel with the northern perimeter of the Teti pyramid. There is, therefore, little doubt that Nfr-sšm-r<sup>c</sup>:ššj served under Teti. However there are indications that this tomb may be a little earlier than the great tombs of the highest officials of Teti and Pepy I. Both Nfr-sšm-r<sup>c</sup>:ššj and K3-gmnj [102], one of Teti's earliest viziers, constructed a square mastaba and only used a relatively small portion of the interior for their chapel. But K3-gmnj decorated all his chapel walls, while Nfr-sšm-r<sup>c</sup>:ššj seems not to have intended to do so. The coarse stone used in some of the rooms

of Nfr-sšm-rʿ:ššj 's chapel suggest that they were never meant to be decorated.

Furthermore Nfr-sšm-rʿ:ššj 's burial chamber is not cased with limestone and contains no decoration. K3-gmnj and later high officials of Teti decorated their tomb chambers<sup>205</sup>.

These features, according to Kanawati, suggest that was Nfr-sšm-rʿ:ššj the first high official to be buried in the Teti cemetery.

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**[56]**                      Nn-sdr-k3.j I                                              **Group: B**

**Location:** Giza WF                                                                      **Latest cartouche:** IV.2

**Identification:** G 2101 PM 72                                                                      **Assigned date:** V.2-3

**Highest ranking titles:** s3t nswt

**Highest effective titles:** hm.t-ntr Hwt-hr; hm.t ntr Hwfw; shkrt nswt

**Reference:** Junker (1934) Vol. 2, 97-121, figs, 1-10, pls. 3[a, b, c] 4[b].

Nn-sdr-k3.j I was the daughter of Mr-jb.j, in whose tomb she is called 'king's daughter'<sup>206</sup>. Mr-jb.j appears in Nn-sdr-k3.j I 's tomb<sup>207</sup>. As Mr-jb.j's tomb is assigned a date between Shepseskaf and Sahure, his daughter's adjacent tomb may be dated to

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<sup>205</sup> Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1998) 15-16, 21-22.

<sup>206</sup> LD II, 22(a).

<sup>207</sup> Junker II (19) pl. 3, fig. 8 p. 118.

Sahure to Neferirkare.

[57] Nswt-nfr

Group: B

Location: Giza

Latest cartouche: IV.4

Identification: G 4970....PM 143-4

Assigned date: IV.5-V.1

Highest effective titles: jmj-r ḥ; jmj-r wpt (3 nomes); jmj-r nswtjw sšm-t3; ḥm-nṯr

Ḥwfw; ḥk3 ḥwt ʿ3t (3 nomes); ḥrj-sšt3; s3b

Reference: Junker (1938) Vol. 3, 163-87, pl. 5, 11, figs.9b, 25-31.

Nswt nfr's stone built mastaba, which has an L-shaped chapel with two false doors, is situated in the most westerly row of the Cemetery en Echelon<sup>208</sup>. Reisner believed that this cemetery was laid out as a unified plan probably in the second half of the reign of Khafre, and that the mastaba cores, all of his type (IIa), were constructed before the end of Menkaure<sup>209</sup>. Reisner further classed G4970 with his group of two-niched type (4a) chapels which he dated from Menkaure to the end of the reign of Neferirkare.

As Nswt nfr was administrator of Nomes 8 and 10, Kanawati is inclined to date his working life to Dynasty 4 rather than Dynasty 5. Kanawati's reasons are that Nswt

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<sup>208</sup> Porter-Moss (1974) Plan 16

nfr held priesthoods of Khafre, a dwarf named  $\text{Dd.f-re-}^{\text{c}}\text{nh}$  appears in his tomb and his chapel is of the exterior mud brick type<sup>210</sup>.

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[58]             $\text{Ntr-wsr}$

**Group: B**

**Location:**    Saqqara

**Identification:** D 1=S 901....PM 485

**Assigned date:** V.7-8

**Highest ranking titles:**  $\text{hrj-tp nswt}$

**Highest effective titles:**  $\text{jmj-r hwt wrt}$ ;  $\text{jmj-r sš}^{\text{c}} \text{ nswt}$ ;  $\text{jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt}$ ;  $\text{hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt}$

**Reference:** Murray (1905) 19-24, pls. 20-5, 32; Mariette (1889) 164-74.

$\text{Ntr-wsr}$  was related to  $\text{R}^{\text{c}}\text{-špss}$  [64], but whether as father or son is unclear.

Their tombs, which are near each other, each show a figure as a son who is named after the other man<sup>211</sup>.

As  $\text{R}^{\text{c}}\text{-špss}$  is securely dated to the reign of Djedkare<sup>212</sup>, and his relationship with  $\text{Ntr-wsr}$  cannot be settled, it is necessary to date  $\text{Ntr-wsr}$ 's tomb between the latter years of Neuserre and the beginning of the reign of Unas.

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<sup>209</sup> Reisner (1942) 81-2.

<sup>210</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati, (1990) p. 15 and Notes 24 and 28.

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**[59]**            **Ndt-m-pt:tjt**

**Group: A**

**Location:**    Saqqara: TPC

**Identification:** PM n/r

**Assigned date:** VI.1L

**Highest ranking titles:** ḥ.t nswt

**Highest effective titles:** ḥm(t)-ntr Nt mḥtjt jnb.s wpt w<sup>3</sup>wt; ḥm.t-ntr Hwt-ḥr nbt nht

**Reference:** Kanawati-Hassan (1996) 11-30, pls. 3-11.

Ndt-m-pt' s mastaba lies to the north east of K<sup>3</sup>-gmnj [102] among other mastabas built in the reign of Teti<sup>213</sup>. Although he does not appear in her tomb, Ndt-m-pt was certainly the mother of the vizier, Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j [36]. She appears in her son's tomb<sup>214</sup> and their two mastabas are close to each other. Ndt-m-pt was given a separate tomb in this small cemetery where space must have been at a premium and reserved for the highest officials. Presumably this was a high honour bestowed on her because her son was married to the daughter of Teti.

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<sup>211</sup> Son named R<sup>c</sup>-špss in Ntr-wsr's tomb. [Murray (1905) Volume 1, pls. 21 and 23] Son named Ntr-wsr in the tomb of R<sup>c</sup>-špss. [LD 2, 60 (left and right); LD 2, 61 (6)].

<sup>212</sup> Sethe (1932-3) Urk 1, 179-80.

<sup>213</sup> Kanawati-Hassan (1996) 12-13.

<sup>214</sup> Duell ii (1938) pls. 150, 171,

**[60] R<sup>c</sup>-wr****Group: B****Location:** Saqqara: TPC**Identification:** PM 558**Assigned date:** VI.2L-3**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-p<sup>c</sup>t; h<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup>; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj**Highest effective titles:** t<sup>3</sup>tj s<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>tj; jmj-r Šm<sup>c</sup>; hrp šndwt nbt; hrj-ḥb hrj-tp; sd<sup>3</sup>wtj-bjtj**Reference:** Fikey (1980)

The location of R<sup>c</sup>-wr's tomb at the south-east corner of Teti's pyramid suggests he was vizier some time after Hntj-k<sup>3</sup>.j [75], whose career lasted into Pepy I's reign and whose tomb is situated at the north-east corner of Teti's pyramid<sup>215</sup>. R<sup>c</sup>-wr does not appear in the funerary temple of Pepy II, nor did he build his tomb near the pyramid of Pepy II, as did the later viziers of that reign<sup>216</sup>. Accordingly, R<sup>c</sup>-wr's career, until his presumed disgrace<sup>217</sup>, may have taken place in the reigns of Pepy I or Mernere.

Malek has suggested that this R<sup>c</sup>-wr was the same person as the figure defaced on the Dahshur decree of Pepy I<sup>218</sup>. Strudwick argues that the two cannot be identical<sup>219</sup>. With this question remaining open and Kanawati's surmise that there was a second

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<sup>215</sup> Fikey (1980) 1; Malek (1981) Map 51.

<sup>216</sup> Kanawati (1981) 206-7.

<sup>217</sup> Fikey (1980) 46; Kanawati (1981) 204.

<sup>218</sup> Fikey (1980) 46.

<sup>219</sup> Strudwick (1985) 115.

conspiracy in the reign of Pepy I unsubstantiated<sup>220</sup>, the date for R<sup>c</sup>-wr's tomb is assigned the time span from the later years of Pepy I to Mernere<sup>221</sup>.

[61] R<sup>c</sup>-wr

**Group: A**

**Location:** Giza CF

**Latest cartouche:** V.3

**Identification:** PM 265-9

**Assigned date:** V.3

**Highest ranking titles:** smr w<sup>c</sup>tj; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj n mr wt

**Highest effective titles:** jrj nfr-ḥꜣt; jrj šnj; ḥrj sšꜣ pr dwꜣt; ḥrp ḥ; ḥrp šndwt; ḥrj-ḥbt;

sm

**Reference:** Hassan (1932) Vol. 1, 1-61, pls. 1-20, 25-8, 32.

This is a large chapel complex with a cruciform rock-cut offering room. In his biography, R<sup>c</sup>-wr refers to an incident that occurred during the reign of Neferirkare<sup>222</sup>.

The chapel is securely dated to this reign or soon after.

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<sup>220</sup> Kanawati (1981) 214-17.

<sup>221</sup> Accepting Kanawati's argument that the size and position of R<sup>c</sup>-wr's tomb make it probable that he was one of the latest of Pepy I's viziers. Kanawati (1981) 207-9.

<sup>222</sup> Hassan I (1932) pl. 12 p. 15

**[62] R<sup>c</sup>-wr II****Group: B****Location:**Giza WF**Latest cartouche:** V.8**Identification:** LG 32=G 5470 PM 162-3**Assigned date:** V.8-**Highest effective titles** s3b jmj-r sš; wr mḏ šm<sup>c</sup>; s3b ʿd-mr**Reference:** Junker (1938) Vol. 3, 223-35, figs.44-6, 48; LD II pl. 84; LD Erg. 25-6;

Junker (1947) 38-40, fig. 12.

This tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon was classed by Reisner as his chapel type (4b), that is without a large subsidiary northern niche. Reisner believed that G5470 was the last of the chapels of this type constructed in the Cemetery and that it was built prior to the accession of Djedkare but used in his reign<sup>223</sup>.

According to Junker, R<sup>c</sup>-wr II may have been the son of Sšm-nfr II [87] and brother of Sšm-nfr III[88]. Junker consequently gives him a date of late Dynasty 5<sup>224</sup>. This dating is supported by a seal of Djedkare which was found in the main shaft<sup>225</sup>.

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²²³ Reisner (1942) 217.

²²⁴ Junker 3 (1938) 14.

²²⁵ Junker 3 (1938) 13, 226, fig. 45 [7]

[63] R^c-ḥtp

Group: B

Location: Medum

Identification: PM IV 90-92

Assigned date: IV 1L-2E

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt; s3 nswt n ḥt.f

Highest effective titles: jmj-r mš^c; ʿd-mr wj3; wr md Šm^c; ḥk3 ḥwt;

Reference: Petrie (1892) 15-17, pls. 9-15.

R^c-ḥtp's tomb, like that of Nfr-M3^ct [53], is a large mudbrick mastaba with cruciform chapels for himself and his wife, Nfrt²²⁶. It was probably built a little later than that of Nfr m3^ct. R^c-ḥtp's tomb is in the middle of the row of mastabas which begins with Nfr-m3^ct²²⁷. R^c-ḥtp's tomb has a rock-cut shaft and burial chamber, while Nfr-m3^ct has an open pit chamber with a sloping passage. Nfr-m3^ct's chapel was added to the original structure during a second phase of construction, while R^c-ḥtp's chapel was part of the original construction, again suggesting the construction of R^c-ḥtp's chapel as later than that of Nfr-m3^ct²²⁸.

According to Bolshakov, both tombs have features that precede the practice which was typical in the reign of Khufu. These include the construction of the

²²⁶ Petrie (1892) 15-17.

²²⁷ Reisner (1936) fig. 116.

²²⁸ Reisner (1936) 121-23.

substructures of the tombs, the bricking up of the chapels and the artistic style of the murals and statues. Bolshakov notes that none of these features is associated with tombs that are contemporary with Khufu²²⁹. However, negative arguments of this nature amount to probability rather than proof. Bolshakov's argument that Hm-Jwnw (G 4000) was both the son of Nfr-Mꜣt and planner and organizer of Khufu's pyramid and surrounding cemeteries, may suggest that Nfr-Mꜣt's tomb belongs to the reign of Snefru²³⁰, but it does not have the same force for that tomb of Rꜥ-ḥtp.

The construction and decoration of Rꜥ-ḥtp 's chapel is dated from late in the reign of Snefru to early in the reign of Khufu.



[64]	Rꜥ-špss	Group: A
Location:	Saqqara NSP	Latest cartouche: V.8
Identification:	LS 16=QS 902 PM 494-6	Assigned date: V.8
Highest ranking titles:	ḥrj-tp nswt	
Highest effective titles:	tꜣtj-sꜣb tꜣtj; jmj-r sꜣꜥ nswt; jmj-r šnwtj; jmj-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt	

²²⁹ Bolshakov (1991) 13-15.

²³⁰ Bolshakov (1991) 15-18.

Reference: LD II pls. 60-64; LD Erg. Pl. 39 [a]; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 179-80 [24 (115)].

This tomb is securely dated to the reign of Djedkare by a letter from the king to the tomb owner, which is inscribed in the open court at the front of his tomb²³¹.

However, R^c-špss may have built and decorated most of his multi-room chapel before Djedkare appointed him vizier as this title does not occur elsewhere in the tomb.

[65] Hsj

Group: A

Location: Saqqara: TPC

Latest cartouche: VI.1

Identification: PM n/r

Assigned date: VI.1L

Highest ranking titles: hrj-tp nswt

Highest effective titles: t3tj s3b t3tj; jmj-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr m t3 r dr.f; jmj-r wd^c-mdw

(nb št3) n hwt wrt 6; jmj-r pr Hrj(w)-wdb;jmj-r sš^c nswt

Pyramid titles: jmj-ht hm(w)-ntr dd-swt-ttj; w^cb dd-swt-ttj; hntj-š dd-swt-ttj; shd

hm(w)-ntr dd-swt-ttj

Reference: Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1999)

Hsj's biography is inscribed on the western thickness of the entrance to his chapel. It

²³¹ Quibell (1907-23) vol.3 pl. 61 [2] p. 24. Sethe Urk 1 (1933) 179-80 [24 (115)].

recounts his service under Djedkare, Unas and Teti, making it clear that the tomb was decorated in the reign of Teti. His appointment as vizier only appears on a pillar. This suggests that the promotion came later in his career. Everywhere in his tomb Hsj's entire figure is erased, suggesting a fall from grace, perhaps at the end of Teti's reign²³².

[66]	Hsjj-r'	Group: B
Location:	Saqqara	Latest cartouche: III.2
Identification:	A 3=S 2450 PM 437-39	Assigned date: III.2
Highest effective titles: mdh sš nswt; wr mdw šm'w		

Reference: Quibell (1913)

The tomb of Hsjj-r' is situated in the Archaic Cemetery which lies along elevated ground overlooking Abusir village²³³. The mudbrick tomb has as a main room, a long narrow corridor with rectangular niches down one side. The mastaba is almost entirely filled with mudbricks²³⁴.

Two pieces of a clay seal with the imprint of Neterkhet (Dsr), second king of Dynasty 3, was found among the debris of the burial chamber. Quibell describes how these

²³² Kanawati-Abder-Raziq (1999) 15-16.

²³³ Porter-Moss(1981) Plan 45.

²³⁴ Quibell (1913) pp. 3, 12.

pieces were in "almost the last basketful of earth from the the burial chamber"²³⁵. This fact has led Cherpion to state that it is almost certain that the tomb was constructed in Dsr's reign²³⁶.

[67] Hww-wr **Group: B**

Location: Giza **Latest cartouche:** V.3

Identification: LG 95 PM 254-55 **Assigned date:** V.8

Highest effective titles: jmj-r mšꜥ jd-w-nfrw; jrj-ḥt nswt; sꜣb jmj-r sš;sš ꜥ nswt [n] pr ꜥꜣ

Reference: Hassan (1944) Vol. 5, 237-56, pl. 26[B], 27-8; LD II, pl. 43 [a,b,c,d], 44 [a,b,c]; LD Erg. 38, 39 [d]; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 46-8 [29].

This is a partly rock-cut tomb with a façade cased in local limestone.

A son called Hww-wr appears on the entrance lintel of the adjacent tomb of Ms-sꜣ²³⁷.

This Hww-wr is probably the owner of LG 95, as Hww-wr 's serdab is built against the wall of Ms-sꜣ. A drum with the names of Ms-sꜣ and Hww-wr was found among the entrance debris of LG 95²³⁸. Hww -wr, who could be the official of that name mentioned in the Abusir papyri, may be dated to the reign of Djedkare.

²³⁵ Quibell (1913) pp. 3, 4, 12.

²³⁶ Cherpion (1989) 24, Note 25.

²³⁷ Hassan 5 (1944) pl. 57 [A], fig. 152.

[68] Hwfw-^{nh}

Group: B

Location: Giza: WF

Latest cartouche: V.1

Identification: G 4520 PM 129

Assigned date: V.1

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt

Highest effective titles: jmj-r hsw pr ʿ3; hntj-š pr ʿ3

Reference: Reisner (1942) 215-6, 503-7, pls. 65[a], 66[a], 67[a,b]

Hwfw-ḥ's chapel is two niched, of Reisner's type (4a), situated in the 'old traditional' position in the south east corner of the mastaba²³⁹. It belongs to a group of chapels that Reisner assigned to the years from the end of Menkaure to Neferirkare. Its monolithic stela, donated by Userkaf, and a box sealing with the Horus name of the same king found in the shaft narrow the date of the chapel.

[69] Hwfw-h^c.f I

Group: B

Location: Giza: EF

Latest cartouche: IV.2

Identification: G 7130+7140 PM 188-90

Assigned date: IV.4-6

²³⁸ Hassan (1944) pl. 26 [A], fig. 100.

Highest ranking titles: jrj-p^ct; s³ nswt; s³ nswt n ht.f; smr w^ctj

Highest effective titles: t³tj-s³b t³tj; wd mdt (n) hr(jw) wdbw; s³b

Reference: Simpson (1978) pp. 9-20, pls.11-29 , figs. 19-35.

This is one of the great double mastabas of the Eastern Field. Hwfw-h^c.f I was most probably a son of Khufu as he was s³ nswt n ht.f. But whether his tomb was decorated in the reign of Khufu or of Khafre is less certain. His mother was a queen ("she who sees Horus and Seth"). This could be Henutsen, a secondary queen, although the name is missing from the inscription²⁴⁰. Hwfw-h^c.f I may only have been in his twenties when his father died. We do not know the age at which officials generally decorated their tombs, but the evidence suggests that they usually waited until their career was well advanced. In this case, he is more likely to have decorated his tomb under Khafre or later.

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[70] Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f II

**Group: B**

**Location:** Giza: EF

**Latest cartouche: V.6**

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<sup>239</sup> Reisner (1942) 214.

<sup>240</sup> Simpson (1978) 11 fig. 26. Henutsen is suggested as the mother of Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I owing to the proximity of her pyramid.

**Identification:** G 7150 PM 190-91

**Assigned date:** V.6

**Highest ranking titles:** s<sup>3</sup> nswt

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r k<sup>3</sup>t nswt; [jmj-r] mš'; jmj-r smjw<sup>t</sup> jmntjt; wr md(w)

šm'w; hrj-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nb.f;

**Reference:** Simpson (1978) pp. 21-27, pls.30-45 , figs. 36-50.

Hwfw -h'.f II's tomb is directly south of the great double mastaba of Hwfw-h'.f I [69]. It was first constructed as a small free-standing stone structure with an interior north-south chapel. In three further stages it was extended to the south providing a serdab and an exterior chapel<sup>241</sup>. Although the two tombs are so close and the names of the tomb owners are identical, there is no clear evidence that Hwfw -h'.f II was the grandson of Hwfw-h'.f I, as Reisner surmised. However, it is probable, considering the propensity of tomb owners at Giza to construct tombs in family clusters, that there was a relationship between the two men.

Hwfw -h'.f II was jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr three kings, Sahure ,Neuserre and a third king whose name is difficult to read<sup>242</sup>. The cartouche of Neuserre provides a date *ante quem non* for the decoration of the chapel. If 'jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr' combined with the name of a king

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<sup>241</sup> Simpson (1978) 21, pls. 30, 31, fig. 36

<sup>242</sup> Simpson (1978) 24, fig. 42.





or the reign of Khafre, raising the question of why cores built in the reign of Menkaure would be located so far from his pyramid<sup>244</sup>.

Reisner classed Hwfw-dd.f 's decorated interior chapel as his type (3) in which the one-niched chapel was constructed after the core. He seems to have assigned these chapels to later Dynasty 4<sup>245</sup>.

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|                                                                                  |                         |                               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>[72]</b>                                                                      | Hwn-r <sup>c</sup>      | <b>Group: B</b>               |
| <b>Location:</b>                                                                 | Giza: Menkaure Cemetery | <b>Latest cartouche:</b> IV.5 |
| <b>Identification:</b>                                                           | MQ1 PM 293-4            | <b>Assigned date:</b> IV.5    |
| <b>Highest ranking titles:</b> s3 nswt n ht.f smsw; smr w <sup>c</sup> tj n jt.f |                         |                               |
| <b>Highest effective titles:</b>                                                 |                         |                               |
| <b>Reference:</b> Reisner (1942) 152, 226-7. See PM 293-4.                       |                         |                               |

This is a partly decorated rock-cut tomb. Hwn-r<sup>c</sup> 's parents were Menkaure and H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj II<sup>246</sup>. Hwn-r<sup>c</sup> was the 'eldest' son of Menkaure and H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj II. His tomb may therefore be assigned to late in the reign of Menkaure

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<sup>244</sup> Reisner (1942) 74. However, very few tombs have been discovered around the pyramid of Menkaure.  
<sup>245</sup> Reisner (1942) 311.  
<sup>246</sup> Reisner (1942) 347-48.

[73]

Hmt-nw

Group: B

Location: Giza: WF

Latest cartouche: IV.2

Identification: G 5210=LG 43 PM 155

Assigned date: IV.6-V.1

Highest ranking titles: rh nswt

Highest effective titles: jmj-r pr; jmj-r hm-k3; hm-ntr Hwfw; s3b jmj-r sš; sš

Reference: Mariette (1889) 517, 519-21; LD II pl. 26.

Although G5210 has an exterior stone chapel of his type (8f), Reisner classed the chapel with his 'decorated chapels types (3) and (4a)' because its decoration 'more or less' followed the pattern of L-shaped chapels<sup>247</sup>. Yet Hmt-nw is clearly of a later date than that assigned by Reisner to chapels of his type (8f)<sup>248</sup>.

In his tomb Hmt-nw records his service to K3.j-w' b.[94] and his wife, Htp-hr.s, and to their daughter, Mrs-ḥh III [38]<sup>249</sup>. This suggests that he may have been of the same generation as Mrs-ḥh III and would therefore have built his tomb close in time to hers, perhaps at the end of Dynasty 4 or the very beginning of Dynasty 5.

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<sup>247</sup> A roofed, exterior, multiple-roomed chapel built against the façade of the mastaba, attached to the chief niche. Reisner (1942) 185-86, 312.

<sup>248</sup> Reisner (1942) 272-73.

**[74]    Hnwt****Group: B****Location:**        Saqqara: UPC**Assigned date:** V.9**Identification:** PM 623-4**Highest ranking titles:** m<sup>33</sup>.t-Hrw/Sth; hm.t nswt**Reference:** Munro (1993) passim.

Hnwt has a tomb in the double mastaba which she shares with Nbt [48].

However, most of Hnwt 's decoration has disappeared, as blocks of facing stone were stripped off and reused in nearby tombs of a much later date<sup>250</sup>. Hnwt's tomb has a groundplan showing the striking similarity to that of the tomb of Nbt<sup>251</sup>,

Nothing is known about Hnwt's family background and her relationship to Unas and Nbt is unclear<sup>252</sup>. The situation of the tomb in relationship to the pyramid of Unas and its comparability to that of Nbt make it likely that Hnwt was also a wife of Unas, in which case it would have been decorated during that reign.

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²⁴⁹ Hmt-nw appears twice in the tomb of Mrs-'nh III. Dunham-Simpson (1974) 4, , pl. 2c, fig. 3b and pp. 5, 15 pl. 8 fig 7.

²⁵⁰ Saad (1940) 684.

²⁵¹ Munro (1993) fig. 2.

²⁵² Munro (1993) 20.

[75] Ḥntj-k³.j:jhhj**Group: A****Location:** Saqqara: TPC**Latest cartouche:** VI.2**Identification:** PM 508-11**Assigned date:** VI.2**Highest ranking titles:** jrj- p^ct; ḥ³tj-^c (m³^c); smr w^ctj (m³^c)**Highest effective titles:** t³tj-s³b t³tj (m³^c); jmj-r prwj ḥd; jmj-r sš^c nswt;

jm j-r šnwtj; jmj-r k³t nbt nt nswt;

Pyramid titles: šhd ḥm-ntr dd-swt-ttj; šhd ḥm-ntr mn-nfr-mrjj-r^c ppjj**Reference:** James (1953)

This is probably the latest tomb in the cluster of tombs of important officials north of the

Teti pyramid. The workmanship of its relief does not match the standard of that of K³.j-

gmnj:mmj [102], ṇḥ-m-^c-ḥr:ssj [14] and Mrrw-k³.j:mrj [36]²⁵³. There is evidence that

Ḥntj-k³.j:jhhj expanded his tomb perhaps when promoted by Pepy I²⁵⁴.

See prosopography for ṇḥ-m-^c-ḥr:ssj [14].

[76] Ḥntj/ttj**Group: B****Location:** Saqqara: TPC**Latest cartouche:** VI.1**Identification:** PM: n/r**Assigned date:** VI.1L

²⁵³ Strudwick (1985) 101.

Highest ranking titles: rḥt nswt

Reference: El-Khouli-Kanawati (1988) 12-17, pls. 6-9.

This false door of Ḥntj/ttj in the tomb of Mḥj/mḥ-n.s [40] is possibly that of the mother of the tomb owner, as an inscription on the architrave of Mḥj/mḥ-n.s's tomb announces that he was the son of a woman named Ḥntj/ttj²⁵⁵. For the dating of this false door refer to Mḥj/mḥ-n.s [40].

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[77]      Sḳbw-jbbj

**Group: A**

**Location:** Saqqara: NSP

**Latest cartouche:** VI.1

**Identification:** MM E1, 2 + H3    PM 460-1

**Assigned date:** VI.1

**Highest ranking titles:** špss nswt

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r kḳt nbt nt nswt; wr ḥrp ḥmwt m prwj n hrw ḥb; ḥrp

ḥmwt nbt; ḥrj-sšḳ

**Pyramid titles:** jmj-ḥt ḥm-nṯr nfr-swt-wnjs; jmj-ḥt ḥm-nṯr dd-jswt ttj

**Reference:** Mariette (1889) 373-85, 412-15; Borchardt (1937) Vol. 1, 91-101, pls. 21, (1964) Vol. 2, 31-4, pl. 65; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 82-4 [5,C,D].

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<sup>254</sup> James (1953), 16-19.

S3bw-jbbj shares a funerary complex with Pth-špss [29], who is probably his son or younger brother. His biography, on his false door, dates his tomb to the reign of Teti<sup>256</sup>.

[78] S'nh-w(j)-pth/htp-n(j)-pth

**Group: A**

**Location:** Saqqara: TPC

**Latest cartouche:** VI.1

**Identification:** PM n/r

**Assigned date:** VI.1

**Highest ranking titles:** smr w'tj

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-jb n nswt hntj jdbwj.f; jmj-r šwj pr-<sup>3</sup>; wr jdt; wr swnw

Šm'w Mḥw; ḥrj sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt; ḥrj sšt3 n nswt m st.f (nbt) sš md3t ntr

**Pyramid titles:** jmj-r wpwt hntjw-š dd-swt-ttj; hntj-š dd-swt-ttj; ḥm-ntr dd-swt-ttj

**Reference:** Kanawati-Abder-Razik (1998) 39-71, pls. 61-78.

This mastaba is situated at the head of the second east-west street behind K3-gmnj 's [102] mastaba. In both the first and second streets are tombs of high officials who served Teti. Kanawati thinks that this cemeery was planned during the reign of Teti and allotments of land made to that king's high officials<sup>257</sup>.

<sup>255</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati (1988) 12, 16, pl. 9.

<sup>256</sup> Sethe (1933) Urk. I, 82-4.

<sup>257</sup> Kanawati-Abder-Razik (1998) 40-41.

|                                  |                                                                       |                               |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>[79]</b>                      | <b>Snfrw-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f</b>                                          | <b>Group: B</b>               |
| <b>Location:</b>                 | Giza: EF                                                              | <b>Latest cartouche:</b> IV.2 |
| <b>Identification:</b>           | G 7070=LG 56 PM 183-84                                                | <b>Assigned date:</b> IV.4-5  |
| <b>Highest ranking titles:</b>   | ḥ3tj- <sup>c</sup> ; smr w <sup>c</sup> tj                            |                               |
| <b>Highest effective titles:</b> | ḥrj-sšt3; sd3wtj-bjtj                                                 |                               |
| <b>Reference:</b>                | Mariette (1889) 530, 532-4; Reisner (1929) pl. 3[3-4] ; LD II pl. 16. |                               |

This is the most westerly of a row of three mastabas immediately to the south of pyramid GI-c and probably belongs to the same family. According to Reisner, the mastabas were "obviously built one after the other"<sup>258</sup>. From east to west, the three tomb owners are: Queen Nfrt-k3w, an 'eldest' (smsw.t) daughter of Snefru and perhaps a wife of Khufu, Nfr-m3<sup>c</sup>t [53], either her son or her brother<sup>259</sup>, and his son, Snfrw-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f<sup>260</sup>.

Snfrw-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f may have a grandson or great grandson of Snefru. Allowing a lapse of about 40 to 60 years between the death of Snefru and the construction of Snfrw-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f's tomb would date the tomb from the reign of Khafre to that of Menkaure.

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²⁵⁸ Porter-Moss (1974) Plan 18.

²⁵⁹ Snfrw-ḥ^c.f and Nfr-m3^ct are mentioned in each other's tombs but the relationship between Nfr-m3^ct and Nfrt-k3w is less certain. Nfr-m3^ct's mother was named Nfrt-k3w but the names of her sons is not known. LD 2, 17. Simpson thinks that Nfr-m3^ct was an older brother of Khufu. Lexikon 5, 992-4.

²⁶⁰ Reisner (1929) 97-99.

[80] **Sndm-jb:jntj****Group: A****Location:** Giza: WF**Latest cartouche:** V.8**Identification:** G 2370=LG 27 PM 85-7**Assigned date:** V.9E**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-p^ct; ḥ3tj-^c; ḥ3tj-^c m3^c; smr w^ctj**Highest effective titles:** t3tj s3b t3tj; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt; jmj-r sš^c nswt**Reference:** Mariette (1889) 497, 499; LD II pls. 76-8; LD Erg. Pls. 17-22.

While Sndm-jb:jntj served under Djedkare²⁶¹, his tomb was built just after his death by his son, Sndm-jb:mhj in the reign of Unas.²⁶²

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[81]            **Sndm-jb:mhj****Group: A****Location:** Giza: WF**Latest cartouche:** V.9**Identification:** G 2378=LG 26 PM 87-9**Assigned date:** V.9M**Highest ranking titles:** jrj-p<sup>c</sup>t; ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>; ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj**Highest effective titles:** t3tj s3b t3tj; jmj-r sš<sup>c</sup> nswt; jmj-r šnwtj; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt**Reference:** Marriette (1889) 498-9; LD II pls. 73-5; LD Erg. Pls. 12-16.

<sup>261</sup> Sethe (1933) Urk 1, 59.12 and 63.11.

<sup>262</sup> A cartouche of Unas has been found above the head of a depiction of Mhj in Sndm-jb:jntj's tomb. Strudwick (1985) 133 Note 4.

Sndm-jb:mhj built his father's tomb in the early years of the reign of Unas<sup>263</sup>.

In his own tomb Mhj is described as jm³hw hr Djedkare and Unas<sup>264</sup>. Mhj most probably built his tomb after that of his father, perhaps in the middle years of the reign of Unas.

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[82] Shm-k³-rʿ

Group: A

Location: Giza: CF

Latest cartouche: V.2

Identification: PM 233-4 LG 89

Assigned date: V.2

Highest ranking titles: s³ nswt n ht.f; jrj pʿt; h³tj-ʿ; s³ nswt n ht.f; s³ nswt n ht.f

smsw; smr wʿtj; smr wʿtj n jtj.f

Highest effective titles: t³tj s³b t³tj; sd³wtj-bjtj; hrj-hbt hrj-tp; hrj-hbt hrj-tp n jtj.f; hrp

ʿh; hrj-sšt³ n pr dw³t

Reference: Mariette (1889) 546-7[a]; Hassan (1943) Vol. 4, 103-23, pls. 33-4; LD II, pls. 41-42; LD Erg. pl. 36-7; Sethe (1932-3) Urk 1, 166 [15 (106)].

²⁶³ Sethe (1933) Urk 1, 64.3.

²⁶⁴ LD 2, 75; Mariette (1889) 500-502.

In his tomb Šhm-k3-r^c records that he was jm3hw hr Khafre, Menkaure, Shepseskaf, Userkaf and Sahure²⁶⁵. As his mother was a queen named Hdt-hknw²⁶⁶, his father was probably Khafre. That his father was a king is suggested by the repetition of 'n jt.f' and 'n ht.f' in his titles. As Sahure is named in his tomb, it is most likely that he decorated his chapel in the reign of Sahure.

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**[83]**        Shntjw (+Nfr-šhm-Pth)

**Group: B**

**Location:** Saqqara: UPC

**Latest cartouche:** V.6

**Identification:** PM 645

**Assigned date:** V.6-V8E

**Highest ranking titles:** mḥnk-nswt m pr<sup>c</sup>

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r ḥmt.jw; jmj-r ḥmt.jw-nbw

**Reference:** Moussa-Junge (1975), 11-27, fig. 1, pls. 1-7.

For dating see Nfr-šhm-Pth [54]

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²⁶⁵ Hassan 4 (1943) fig. 64.

[84] Sš3t-ḥtp:htj**Group: B****Location:** Giza: WF**Latest cartouche:** IV.2**Identification:** G 5150=LG 36 PM 149**Assigned date:** IV.4L-6**Highest ranking titles:** s3 nswt n ḥt.f smsw**Highest effective titles:** t3tj s3b t3tj(?)²⁶⁷; jmj-r k3t nbt nswt; ḥrj-sšt3 n k3t nbt nswt**Reference:** Junker (19) 172-95, figs. 23-33, pls. 15, 16[a,b]; LD II pls. 23-5.

This tomb is situated in the Cemetery en Echelon. Reisner believed this cemetery was laid out in three lines of mastabas in an ordered pattern, probably between Year 13 of Khafre and the accession of Menkaure. Junker dated the chapel to early Dynasty 5²⁶⁸ but Kanawati prefers a date in late Dynasty 4 owing to the type of exterior brick chapel²⁶⁹. Kanawati also notes that Sš3t-ḥtp:htj and Nswt-nfr [57] also dated to late Dynasty 4 or the beginning of Dynasty 5 have almost identical scenes and that Sš3t-ḥtp:htj 's funerary estates bear the name of Khufu²⁷⁰. A date of late Dynasty 4 seems the more probable.

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<sup>266</sup> Hassan 4 (1943) fig. 62.

<sup>267</sup> This title is based on an inscription on a nameless pair of statues found in the serdab. It does not appear elsewhere in the tomb. Junker 2 (19) 188-93, pl.25a, fig. 34.

<sup>268</sup> Junker 2 (19) 172-4.

<sup>269</sup> Kanawati (1977)

<sup>270</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati, (1990) 15, Notes 25-28.

**[85]**      Sš3t-shntjw**Group: B****Location:**    Giza: WF**Latest cartouche:****Identification:** G 2120    PM 74**Assigned date:** IV.2**Highest effective titles:** hrj-(hbt) hrj-tp**Reference:** Reisner (1942) 425-30, pl. 39[a].

Reisner classed G2120 as one of the initial cores in Cemetery G2100 and thus one of the earliest mastabas in the West Field. Consequently he dated its construction to the reign of Khufu<sup>271</sup>. The chapel is of Reisner's type (1), an exterior brick construction with only a slab stela for decoration. Fragments of the stela of Sš3t-shntjw have been found<sup>272</sup>.

**[86]**      Sšm-nfr I**Group: B****Location:**    Giza: WF**Latest cartouche:** IV.3**Identification:** G 4940=LG 45    PM 142-3**Assigned date:** V.2-3**Highest ranking titles:** rḥ nswt**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r sš ʿ nswt; jmj-r k3t nswt; wr mḏ Šmʿ; hrj-sšt3;

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<sup>271</sup> A block in the west wall has a quarry mark and "ḥʿt sp 12", a date that could refer to Khufu. Reisner (1942) 76, Note 1.

<sup>272</sup> Reisner (1942) pl. 39[a].

hrj-tp nswt; s3b ʿd-mr

**Reference:** LD II pls. 27-9.

Reisner judged this tomb to be one of the original mastabas of the planned cemetery constructed probably by Khafre and at least before the end of Menkaure<sup>273</sup>. The chapel is of Reisner's type 4(a)<sup>274</sup>. Sšm-nfr I may be part of a family that included Sšm-nfr II [87], Sšm-nfr III [88], D3tj and Rʿ-wr I [61]. Junker argued that Sšm-nfr I was the son of D3tj and father of Sšm-nfr II<sup>275</sup>. The tomb of Sšm-nfr III is probably dated to early Djedkare, and Sšm-nfr II and Sšm-nfr III are mentioned as son and father in each other's inscriptions. The evidence for Sšm-nfr I's relationship to Sšm-nfr II is much more tenuous, depending on identical names and location of tombs.

If Sšm-nfr I is accepted as the father of Sšm-nfr II, then his tomb would probably have been constructed in either the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare. This may appear surprisingly late for a mastaba originally built in mid Dynasty 4, but other tombs dated from late Dynasty 4 to early Dynasty 5 are similarly situated<sup>276</sup>.

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²⁷³ Reisner (1942) 82,

²⁷⁴ An interior, L-shaped, two-niched chapel of white limestone. Reisner (1942) 214.

²⁷⁵ Junker 3 (1938) 14.

Highest ranking titles: ḥꜣtj-ꜥ; smr wꜥtj

Highest effective titles: tꜣtj sꜣb tꜣtj; jmj-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt; jmj-r sꜣ ꜥ nswt;

hrj sꜣtꜣ n wꜣt-mdw nbt nt nswt; hrj-sꜣtꜣ n pr dwꜣt

Reference: Brunner-Traut (1977)

A wooden chest with sealings of lector priests of Sahure and Neferirkare was found in the shaft of the tomb of Dꜣtj²⁷⁹, giving this tomb a probable date in the reign of Neferirkare or a little later. From this find Junker argued that Sꜣm-nfr III should be dated to the reign of Menkauhor on the following grounds: Rꜥ-wr I [61] had built his tomb against the rear wall of Dꜣtj, and Sꜣm-nfr III had constructed his tomb against the rear wall of Rꜥ-wr I. Allowing for a lapse of time between the three constructions would date Sꜣm-nfr III to Menkauhor²⁸⁰. However, this only allows about 35 years at the most between Dꜣtj and, again according to Junker, his greatgrandson, Sꜣm-nfr III. A date in the reign of Djedkare seems more probable.

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<sup>278</sup> Junker 3 (1938) 71.

<sup>279</sup> G 5370, PM 161. Junker 7 (1944) 231-41, pls. 38[b], 39, figs. 96a,b, 97.

<sup>280</sup> Junker 3 (1938) 13-14.



**[89]**      Sšsšt:jdwt**Group:** B**Location:**    Saqqara: UPC**Latest cartouche:** VI.1**Identification:** PM 617-19 r/u**Assigned date:** VI.1**Highest ranking titles:** s3.t nswt; s3.t nswt n ht.f**Reference:** Macramallah (1935)

This tomb was reused from an official named Jhjj. Jhjj may have been a vizier of Unas. The large mastaba has a multi-roomed chapel and lies between the tombs of Wnjs-ꜥnh and Mhj, north of Queens Hnwt [74] and Nbt [48] and immediately south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid. The latest cartouche, that of Teti, occurs in the new inscriptions of Jdwt<sup>281</sup>. The alterations to the decoration would then date to that reign. The location of this tomb suggests that Jdwt was a daughter of Unas. She may have died in the reign of Teti,

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[90] Špss-k3.f-ꜥnh**Group:** B**Location:** Giza: WF**Latest cartouche:** IV.6 (V.3²⁸²)**Identification:** G 6040=LG 18 PM 175**Assigned date:** V.3-.5**Highest ranking titles:** rh nswt

²⁸¹ Macramallah (1935) 9-10.

Highest effective titles: jmj-r pr; jmj-r pr hwt-ꜣt

Reference: Weeks (1994) 61-62, 85-88, Col.pls. 8, pls. 33b-37b, figs.2-4, 8, 53-57

This tomb is a core mastaba which was increased by the addition of an exterior chapel. Reisner judged Špss-kꜣ.f-ꜣnh to have been born in the reign of Shepseskaf and to have been estate steward for a son of Neferirkare, whom Reisner assumed to be Neuserre²⁸³. Špss-kꜣ.f-ꜣnh's highest titles occur in the tomb of his grandson Nfr-bꜣw-pth [51]²⁸⁴ and not in his own, so he may not have been an old man when he constructed his tomb. The cartouche of Neuserre does not appear in his own tomb making it likely that the tomb was decorated before Neuserre came to the throne.

[91] Kꜣr:mrjj-rꜣ-nfr

Group: B

Location: Giza: EF

Latest cartouche: VI.2

Identification: G 7101 PM 184

Assigned date: VI.2M

Highest ranking titles: hrj-tp nswt; smr wꜣtj

Highest effective titles: hrj sꜣtꜣ n kꜣt nbt; sꜣ nswt hft hr; sꜣ ꜣ nswt hft hr (mꜣꜣ)

²⁸² In tomb of grandson (Nfrbꜣw-pth), Weeks (1994) 24, pl. 5.

²⁸³ Weeks (1994) 5.

²⁸⁴ Weeks (1994) 24, pl. 5.

Pyramid Titles: jmj-r njwt 3ht-hwfw; jmj-r njwt Ntrj-Mn-k3w-R^c;

hntj-s Mrjj-R^c-mn-nfr

Reference: Simpson (1976) 1-18, pls. 1-14, figs. 1-9, 15-32.

See Jdw [13]. The balance of evidence is that Idw was the father of K3r, whose tomb therefore is likely to be dated no earlier than mid Pepy I.

[92]	Krrj	Group: A
Location:	El Hawawish	Latest cartouche: VI.2
Identification:	Q15	Assigned date: VI.2

Highest effective titles: hrj-tp nswt pr ^c3; shd hm-ntr

Reference: Kanawati (1986) Vol. 6, 47-51, pls. 3, 8-9, figs. 20-22.

In a brief biography in his tomb Krrj records that he served under Pepy I²⁸⁵. As he mentions no later king, it is presumed that he constructed his tomb in the reign of Pepy I, although Kanawati notes that this makes him the only known official to have been buried in the provinces in that reign apart from the expedition leaders at Elephantine and the special situation of Abydos, the seat of the southern vizier.

²⁸⁵ Kanawati (1986) fig. 20.

[93] K3(.j)-ꜥpr(w)²⁸⁶**Group: B****Location:** Saqqara: TPC**Identification:** PM n/r**Assigned date:** VI.1L-2E**Highest ranking titles:** jrj pꜥt; ḥ3tj-ꜥ; ḥrj-tp nswt**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r ḥwt wrt; jmj-r sš ꜥ nswt; jmj-r sšwj;

jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt; ḥrj sšt3 n pr dw3t;

Reference: Kanawati-Hassan (1996) 35-51, pls. 13-23, 46-55.

The tomb of K3(.j)-ꜥpr(w) is located in the 'Rue de Tombeaux', where the tombs are mainly dated to the reign of Teti. According to Kanawati this, the most favoured section of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery was a planned development, with allotments conferred on high officials and royal relatives²⁸⁷. There is evidence, however, that work on the various tombs did not begin at the same time. Certainly work began on Wd3-ḥ3-ttj:nfr sšm-ptḥ:ššj [19] in the reign of Teti and was completed in the reign of Pepy I²⁸⁸. Its neighbour, the tomb of K3(.j)-ꜥpr(w) may have roughly the same dating.

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<sup>286</sup> Kanawati-Hassan (1996) 35-51.

<sup>287</sup> Kanawati-Hassan (1996) 37-8.

<sup>288</sup> Strudwick (1985) 111.

[94] K3.j-wʿb

**Group: B****Location:** Giza: EC**Latest cartouche:** IV.2**Identification:** G 7110-G 7120 PM 187**Assigned date:** IV.4**Highest ranking titles:** jmj-js; jrj pʿt; ḥ3tj-ʿ; s3 nswt; s3 nswt n ḥt.f; s3 nswt n ḥt.f

smsw; smr wʿtj n mrwt

**Highest effective titles:** t3tj-s3b t3tj; wr md šmʿw; [w]r 5 [pr-dḥwtj]**Reference:** Simpson (1978) pp. 1-5, pls. 1-11, figs. 1-18.

K3.j-wʿb, as the eldest son of Khufu and his principal wife, Mrt-jt.s, may have been in line of succession to the throne after the death of his father<sup>289</sup>. His large double mastaba has, according to Simpson, the pre-eminent position in the Eastern Cemetery<sup>290</sup>. Simpson also decided, based on the relatively smaller size of the blocks in their cores, that these Eastern Cemetery double mastabas were later in date than the mastabas of G 4000, and dated to early in the reign of Khafre.

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<sup>289</sup> Three inscribed fragments found to the southern side of the façade of the tomb may be read as identifying K3.j-wʿb as the son of Khufu and Mrt-jt.s, Simpson (1980), 3.

<sup>290</sup> Simpson (1980) 2.

**[95]**            K3.j-m-shm**Group:** B**Location:**    Giza: EF**Assigned date:** IV.5**Identification:** G 7660=LG 59    PM 201-2**Highest ranking titles:** smr w'tj n jtj.f**Highest effective titles:** hrp 'h**Reference:** LD II pl. 32.

Strudwick considers that K3.j-m-shm was a true son of a king because he has 'n jt.f' attached to a title<sup>291</sup>. This makes it unlikely that he was a son of K3.j-w'b [94], as Reisner thought<sup>292</sup>. At the same time, he would not have been a son of Khafre, whose family's tombs were excavated in the scarp from which the limestone for Khafre's pyramid had been quarried. As a junior son of Khufu, K3.j-m-shm's tomb was probably added at a later date in Cemetery G 7000.

The chapel of G 7660 was included by Reisner in his chapel type (3a), an L-shaped, interior stone chapel with one niche. Reisner noted that mastaba cores constructed with the intention of providing recesses for interior chapels of this type all occupy later positions in the nucleus cemeteries. Reisner does not make it altogether clear, but appears to put K3.j-m-shm's tomb in this category. Whether a junior son or

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<sup>291</sup> Strudwick (1985) 165.

grandson of Khufu, the reign of Menkaure seems to be the date that meets most of the above considerations.

[96] K3.j-nj-nswt I

Group: B

Location: Giza: WF

Latest cartouche: IV.2

Identification: G 2155=G 4870 PM 78-9

Assigned date: IV.4-6

Highest ranking titles: s3 nswt n ht.f; smr w'tj

Highest effective titles: hrj-sšt3 n pr dw3t ; hrj-tp Nhb; hrp šndwt

Reference: Junker (19) 135-72, pls.1, 6, 5-8, 10-11, Figs. 7, 16-21.

The tomb of K3.j-nj-nswt I has been given a range of dates from Khufu to early Dynasty 5. The excavator of the tomb, Junker, could not decide on the date. As Cherpion notes, Junker changed the dating of G 2155 several times<sup>293</sup>.

G 2155 is one of eleven mastabas in the nucleus Cemetery G 2100 which Reisner divided into an eastern and a western group. Reisner further argued that the eastern group, containing G 2155, was constructed later than the western group, although still in the reign of Khufu. K3.j-nj-nswt I 's mastaba may have been the last in the group to be finished. The mastaba was enlarged around the original core and given

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<sup>292</sup> Reisner (1942) 208.

an interior two- nighed chapel of Reisner's type (4a)<sup>294</sup>. Reisner identified eleven chapels of this type in mastabas enclosing old cores in the four nucleus cemeteries and generally assigned them to the period from the end of Menkaure to the end of Neferirkare<sup>295</sup>.

The consistent use of the name of Khufu in the tomb may suggest that K3.j-nj-nswt I was either a son or grandson of Khufu. If K3.j-nj-nswt I were a junior son of Khufu, his mastaba may date from the reign of Menkaure; if a grandson the reign of Shepseskaf is more likely.

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**[97]**                      K3.j-nj-nswt (II)                                              **Group: B**

**Location:**      Giza: WF                                              **Latest cartouche: IV.2**

**Identification:** G 2156    PM 79-80                                              **Assigned date: V.2-3**

**Highest ranking titles:** rḥ nswt

**Highest effective titles:** wr-mḏ šmꜥ; (nj) nst ḥntjt; ḥrj-sšt3 n nb.f

**Reference:** Junker (1938) 145-56, figs. 19-22.

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<sup>293</sup> Cherpion (1989) 118-19; Junker 2, (1934) 137.

<sup>294</sup> Reisner (1942) 66-68.

<sup>295</sup> Reisner (1942) 214.



Junker attempted to date K3.j-nj-nswt II's tomb according to the typology of canopic jars found in the tomb<sup>296</sup>. This dating has been challenged<sup>297</sup>, and it is doubtful whether a typology of Old Kingdom canopic jars is capable of yielding such a precise date.

K3.j-nj-nswt II's mastaba, built against the east wall of G 2155 between the chapel and the northern niche, is much smaller than that of K3.j-nj-nswt I [96]. In the burial chamber was found a sealing with the Horus name of Neuserre belonging to a lector priest<sup>298</sup> but there can be no assurance that this dates the tomb.

There is little doubt that K3.j-nj-nswt I and II are father and son as each is mentioned in the other's chapel<sup>299</sup>. Allowing 20 to 25 years between the decoration of the two chapels would give a date for K3.j-nj-nswt II's chapel either in the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare.

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[98]      K3.j-nj-nswt (III)

**Group: B**

**Location:** Giza: WF

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<sup>296</sup> Junker 3 (1938) 145-56.

<sup>297</sup> Cherpion (1989) 118-19.

<sup>298</sup> Junker 3 (1938) 150. This sealing is now in Hildesheim Museum (No. 2502).

<sup>299</sup> Junker 2 (1934) pl. 6, fig. 18.

**Identification:** PM 80 **Assigned date:** V.4-6E

**Highest ranking titles:** ṛḥ nswt

**Highest effective titles:** ḥrj-sšt³

**Reference:** Junker (1947) Vol. 8, 177-8, fig. 93.

K³.j-nj-nswt III is probably the son of K³.j-nj-nswt II [79]. The father is not mentioned in his son's tomb, but a son named K³.j-nj-nswt figures prominently in K³.j-nj-nswt II's tomb<sup>300</sup>. The other factor leading to the conclusion that the relationship of the two men was father and son is the location of K³.j-nj-nswt III's tomb which appears to have been built on to the northern end of G 2155. A date from Shepseskaf to the first half of the reign of Neuserre would allow for a gap of a generation between the decoration of the two tombs.



[99]      K³.j-nfr **Group:** B

**Location:** Giza: WF **Latest cartouche:**

**Identification:** G 1203   PM 57 **Assigned date:** IV.2

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r wpt; ḥrp tm³

**Reference:** Reisner (1942) 389-92, pl. 17[b].

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<sup>300</sup> Junker 3 (1938) figs. 21, 22.

Reisner inferred from the types of mastaba cores and prevalence of slab stelae that Cemetery G 1200 was founded at about the same time as Cemetery G 4000. The exterior brick chapel, built against the southern end of the core mastaba, was classed by Reisner as his type (1a). There was an open recess for a slab stela in the west wall of the offering room<sup>301</sup>.

Smith believed that the quarry mark 'h't sp 5' found on a block of stone within the filling of this mastaba could be interpreted as the ninth year of Khufu<sup>302</sup>.

[100] K3.j-nfr

**Group:** B

**Location:** Giza: WF

**Latest cartouche:** IV.5

**Identification:** G 2150 PM 77-8

**Assigned date:** IV.6-V.2

**Highest ranking titles:** smr w'tj

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r wpt; wr js m prwj; mdw rhjt; hrp 'h; smsw jst

**Reference:** Reisner (1942) 437-45, figs. 257-8, 261-4, 266, pls. 40[a,b], 39[b].

According to Reisner, Cemetery G 2100 consists of eleven original cores which can be divided into two distinct groups. The eastern group, to which G 2150

<sup>301</sup> Reisner (1942) 187.

<sup>302</sup> Smith inferred this interpretation from the fact that a workgang of Khufu built the neighbouring tomb of Hwfw-nht. Smith (1952) 127.

belongs, was constructed slightly later of the two groups. G 2150 has an interior chapel of Reisner's type (4). It is fully decorated and has estates with the name of Menkaure.

K3.j-nfr's wife is Špst-k3w, but he is depicted with another woman named Mrs-ḥḥ, entitled 'rh.t nswt'. Reisner raises the possibility that she is K3.j-nfr's mother and the wife of Nfr [49], who is dated to Khafre. K3.j-nfr's son was probably K3.j swd3 [101].

K3.j-nfr may be dated from Shepseskaf to Sahure.

[101] K3.j-swd3

**Group: B**

**Location:** Giza: WF

**Latest cartouche:**

**Identification:** G 5340=LG 37 PM 159

**Assigned date:** V.2-3

**Highest ranking titles:** smr

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r wpt; mdw k3-ḥd; ḥrp ḥ

**Reference:** Junker (1944) 158-84, figs. 67-71, pls. 28, 34-5: LD II ps. 85[b]; LD Erg. pls. 27-8.

This tomb is in the Cemetery en Echelon, which Reisner considered was later than Cemeteries G 4000 and G 2100<sup>303</sup>. However, the tomb is situated two rows to the

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<sup>303</sup> Reisner (1942) 69.

east of the three north-south rows which Reisner identified as constituting the unified 'en Echelon' plan built in the reign of Khafre.

As the probable son of K3.j-nfr [100]<sup>304</sup>, K3.j-swḏ3 can be dated from Sahure to Neferirkare.

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**[102]**      K3.j-gmnj:mmj      **Group: A**

**Location:** Saqqara: TPC      **Latest cartouche:** VI.1

**Identification:** PM      **Assigned date:** VI.1E-M

**Highest ranking titles:** jrj p<sup>c</sup>t; ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>; smr w<sup>c</sup>tj

**Highest effective titles:** t3tj s3b t3tj (m3<sup>c</sup>); jmj-r prwj ḥḏ; jmj-r ḥwt wrt 6; jmj-r sš<sup>c</sup> nswt; jmj-r šnwtj; jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt

**Pyramid titles:** shḏ ḏḏ-swt-ttj; shḏ ḥm-ntr ḏḏ-swt-ttj

**Reference:** Bissing (1905) Vol. 1; (1911) Vol. 2.

From his tomb inscription<sup>305</sup>, K3.j-gmnj:mmj began his career under Djedkare but may not have been appointed t3tj s3b t3tj until the reign of Teti. However, the

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<sup>304</sup> The two officials hold the same titles of jmj-r wpt, ḥrp ḥ, smr. Junker 7 (1944) 161-3.

<sup>305</sup> Sethe (1933) Urk. 1. 194-5.

position of his tomb, a premier one in relation to the pyramid of Teti, strongly suggests that he did not build it before Teti came to the throne.

See prosopography for 'nh-m-ꜥ-hr:ssj [14].

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**[103]**      K<sup>3</sup>-pw-nswt:k<sup>3</sup>.j

**Group:** B

**Location:** Giza: WF

**Latest cartouche:** -

**Identification:** G 4651    PM 135

**Assigned date:** V.3-5

**Highest ranking titles:** rh nswt;

**Highest effective titles:** jmj-r pr; jmj-r prw msw nswt; jmj-r hm-k<sup>3</sup>; sš ꜥ nswt

**Reference:** Junker (1938) 123-45, pls. 7-8, figs. 14-18.

K<sup>3</sup>-pw-nswt, a ka-servant of J<sup>3</sup>btt [2] against whose northern wall he constructed his much more modest tomb, recorded that he rebuilt her chapel<sup>306</sup>. His name appears in J<sup>3</sup>btt 's tomb.

The tomb of K<sup>3</sup>-pw-nswt is located in what Reisner judged to be the oldest nucleus cemetery, but it is not one of the original mastabas. It is built between G 4650 and G 4660 completely blocking the street between the two tombs<sup>307</sup>. G 4651 is clearly later than the two larger mastabas on either side. Its construction is also different with a

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<sup>306</sup> Junker 3 (1938) 123f.

facade of small blocks of limestone, whereas the facades of the other two mastabas are constructed of much larger blocks. Reisner classed K3-pw-nswt 's chapel as type (5a), a plain, interior corridor chapel<sup>308</sup>.

Junker dated K3-pw-nswt 's tomb and the rebuilding of J3btt 's tomb to mid Dynasty 5 on the grounds of the different type of construction and the blocking of the street. An earlier date is just as likely. According to Reisner, the earliest chapel of this type, G 4631, was constructed in the reign of Userkaf<sup>309</sup>.

The construction and decoration of K3-pw-nswt 's tomb is therefore dated between Neferirkare and Neferefre.

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[104] **Dw3.n-hr**

Group: B

Location: Giza: WF

Latest cartouche:

Identification: G 7550=LG 58 PM 200

Assigned date: IV.4-5

Highest ranking titles: s3 nswt n ht.f

Highest effective titles: stm n jtj.f

Reference: LD II pl. 82.

³⁰⁷ Porter-Moss(1974) Plan 15

³⁰⁸ Reisner (1942) 258-59.

³⁰⁹ Reisner (1942) 255.

This tomb is one of four mastabas identified by Reisner as being built in immediate succession to the massive core mastabas of the Eastern Field. It has a one-niched interior chapel that is decorated in 'old technique', that is, according to Reisner, relief that is not sized, by which he probably meant that no filling or size was used³¹⁰. The owner of G 7550 was further identified by Reisner as a son of K3.j-w' b [94] and Htp-hr.s II, perhaps because it fitted in with his view that this was a group of one-niched decorated chapels of Khufu's grandsons, who were sons of the older children of Khufu³¹¹. Accordingly, Reisner dated the construction of the chapels from mid Khafre to mid Menkaure.

Strudwick, however, agrees with Baer that titles with 'n jt.f' at this time indicated a true son of a king. He therefore classes Dw3 n-hr as a son of Khufu, as the sons of Khafre are buried in the scarp used as a quarry for the pyramid of Khafre³¹².

Dw3 n-hr may be a son or grandson of Khufu. Khufu's later children would be close in age to his grandchildren. A date for the chapel of Dw3 n-hr in the period mid-Khafre to mid Menkaure is probable.

³¹⁰ Reisner (1942) 308-9.

³¹¹ Reisner (1942) 309.

³¹² Strudwick (1985) 165.

[105] Dbḥnj

Group: A

Location: Giza: WF

Latest cartouche: IV.5

Identification: LG 90 PM 235-6

Assigned date: IV.5

Highest ranking titles: smr wꜥtj

Highest effective titles: jrj nfr ḥꜣt; ḥrj-sšꜣ n pr dwꜣt; ḥrj-tp Nḥb; ḥrp ḥ;

ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp

Reference: Hassan (1940) 159-84, pl. 1, 47-8; LD II, pl. 36-7; Sethe (1932-33) Urk 1, 18-21 [14].

Dbḥnj's rock-cut tomb in the Central Field³¹³ contains one of the most securely dated chapels. In a niche, above rock-cut statues of the tomb owner is an inscription describing the construction of the tomb on the order of Menkaure³¹⁴.

[106] Dꜥw/šmꜣj+ Dꜥw

Group: A

Location: Deir el-Gebrawi VI.4

Assigned date: VI.4E

Identification: Davies No 12 PM IV 244-46

Highest ranking titles: (Dꜥw/šmꜣj) jrj-pꜥt; ḥꜣtj-ꜥ; smr wꜥtj

³¹³ Porter-Moss (1974) Plan 22.

³¹⁴ Hassan 4 (1943) pl. 48; Sethe (1933) Urk. 1, 18-21 [14].

(D'w) jrj-p't; h3tj-'; smr w'tj

Highest effective titles: (D'w:šm3j) jmj-r wpwt htp-ntr m prwj; jmj-r prwj-hd; jmj-r Šm';

jmj-r šnwtj; hrj-tp 3 (U.E. 12); hrj-tp 3 (U.E. 8); hrj-tp Nhb; hk3 hwt; hrp šndt nbt

(D'w) jmj-r Šm'; hrj-tp 3 (U.E. 12); hrj-tp 3 (U.E. 8); hk3 hwt; hrj-hbt hrj-tp; hrp šndt

nbt

Reference: Davies (1902) Vol. 2, 1-13, pls. 2-15, 21; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 145-7 (33)

D'w:šm3j was the son of Jbj [6] who, according to biographical inscription³³⁰, was appointed nomarch of Upper Egypt 12 by Mernere. D'w:šm3j inherited his father's title and position but probably did not survive for long as he did not construct a tomb for himself. He was, in turn, succeeded by his son, D'w. Probably quite soon after the deaths of his father and grandfather, D'w constructed a joint tomb for his father and himself.

It is therefore likely that there is a gap of only one generation between the tombs of Jbj and D'w:šm3j and D'w, and that the joint tomb was constructed and decorated early in the reign of Pepy II.

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<sup>330</sup> Davies (1902) 1, pl. 23; Sethe (1932-33) Urk. 1, 142:9-13.