
THE FAMILY AS REPRESENTED IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM TOMBS OF BENI HASSAN

Aymie Paull, B.A. (Macquarie)



Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Research,

Department of Ancient History, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University, Sydney

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DECLARATION

I certify that my thesis entitled: “The Family as Represented in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Beni Hassan” has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

The research within is my own work and the contribution of others is duly acknowledged where it has been used.

Dated this 12th day of December, 2014

Aymie Paull

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to identify and investigate scenes and inscriptions relating to the family members of the high officials at the site of Beni Hassan in Middle Egypt with the purpose of revealing how the ancient Egyptians viewed the concept of family, and the position and roles of the individual family members of the tomb owners.

The method of investigation is an analysis of the scenes and inscriptions which relate to family members in order to determine the structure of a Middle Kingdom elite family; to study the tradition of marriage, inheritance, and investigate possible cases of polygamy as depicted by inscriptions and iconography; and to determine the role and significance of wives, children, mothers, and fathers in relation to the tomb owner, and the reasons for their inclusion in tomb wall scenes.

As a result of this study, it has been possible to determine the structure of a provincial elite class family in the Middle Kingdom. This study reveals that the basic family unit of husband, wife and children prevailed, however, possible evidence for divorce and multiple wives exists.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACE: *Australian Centre for Egyptology.*

Allam, S., *Notes on the Designation Eldest Son/Daughter*: Allam, S., “Notes on the Designation ‘Eldest Son/Daughter’ (z3z3.t smsw: šri ‘3/šri.t ‘3.t)” in: Hawass, der Manuelian, Hussein (eds.) *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt, Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski* (Cairo, 2010) 29-34.

ASAE: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte.*

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- Gillam, R.A., *Priestesses of Hathor*:** Gillam, R.A., “Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline, and Disappearance” in *JARCE* 32 (1995) 211-237.
- GM:** *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion.*
- Grajetzki, W., *Middle Kingdom*:** Grajetzki, W., *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2006).
- Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*:** Hölzl, C., “The Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan: Architecture and Sequence” in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti I* (Torino, 1992) 279-283.
- JARCE:** *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
- JEA:** *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
- Kamrin, J., *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II*:** Kamrin, J., *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan* (London, 1999).
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Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt*: Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993).

SAK: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*.

Schenkel, W., *Frühmittelägyptische*: Schenkel, W., *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, (Bonn, 1962).

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CHAPTER 1

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

For scholars in the field of Egyptology the two main periods of Egyptian history that have received the most attention are the Old and New Kingdom. There was for a long time a prevailing assumption that the Middle Kingdom was short and that it would not supply enough material for significant research; however, recent studies have proven that there is a wealth of information, particularly in the art and architecture that can shed light on this period. As the Middle Kingdom has been largely neglected by modern scholarship there are large gaps in our knowledge and despite the importance of family in understanding the social and political systems of a society, the topic has never been systematically examined for the Middle Kingdom. This study aims to investigate the family members of the high officials as represented in the tombs of the Middle Kingdom province of Beni Hassan with the purpose of revealing their individual relative importance within the family structure and their relationships with one another.

The majority of our evidence about the ancient Egyptians comes from the tombs of the elite class who could afford large tombs, often extensively inscribed and decorated. With the area of Middle Egypt being the most fertile and accordingly the richest in the country, the best evidence of such tombs comes from this region. The site of Beni Hassan was chosen as the subject for this study because it contains tombs belonging to the highest title holders in the province which contain scenes and inscriptions. These paint a picture of life within the provinces, important events, the achievements of the tomb owner, and place particular emphasis on recording the immediate family of the tomb owner and their ancestry.

This study proposes to analyse the scenes and inscriptions from the twelve decorated tombs in the upper terrace at Beni Hassan in order to establish the type of representation given to the family of the tomb owner. The study of the scenes and inscriptions which relate to the family members will contribute the following aims: to determine the structure of a Middle Kingdom elite family at Beni Hassan; to study the tradition of marriage, inheritance, and investigate possible cases of polygamy as depicted by inscriptions and iconography; and to determine the role and significance of wives, children, mothers, and fathers in relation to the tomb owner and the reasons for their inclusion in tomb scenes. The timeframe of this study is the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties of the Middle Kingdom.

In studying this topic an enormous amount of data was collected but due to the spatial parameters of this study, only the patterns which appeared within the data will be included. It is hoped that the findings of this study may contribute to our ever growing knowledge of ancient Egyptian families and that it may prove useful within the larger picture of the Middle Kingdom period.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

The site of Beni Hassan was chosen for this study because it is a rich source of information for the Middle Kingdom period, particularly for the provinces. Beni Hassan is a reasonably well documented site but despite this it has not received the attention of scholars.

Percy E. Newberry recorded Beni Hassan in the late nineteenth century in a set of publications which includes descriptions, transliterated and translated texts, and clear reproductions of scenes.¹ For some of the less well known tombs at this site these publications are the only source for their scenes and inscriptions. Unfortunately Newberry only recorded wall scenes on a selective basis, claiming some were too damaged or defaced to copy, and he produced no photographs in the publications. Moreover, the interior of the supplied line drawings and hieroglyphs were coloured in black which hides detail, and the transliteration and translation provided are now a product of their time and are quite outdated by later advances in the study of Egyptian language. A development in the study of the site appears in the recent publication of the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II by Naguib Kanawati who is currently in the process of re-recording Beni Hassan.² Kanawati's publication on *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II includes detailed line drawings, architectural plans, colour photographs, transliteration and translation of all inscriptions, and a description and study of the scenes which makes it a very valuable update to Newberry's work.

Previous studies on Beni Hassan have either been of a general nature or focussed primarily on certain research areas. The publication by Shedid was an attempt to re-photograph the site and provided general comments which did not focus on the potential of the site or on analysis.³ Kanawati and Wood's publication re-photographed a select number of the tombs but is mainly a general introduction to the site.⁴ Despite this, these publications assist in making easily accessible photographs of many of the wall scenes which Newberry did not include in his reports.

Kamrin provided an in-depth analysis of the representations in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and contributed to answering the question of the significance of tomb decoration.⁵

¹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan*, I-II (London, 1893).

² Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I* (Oxford, 2014).

³ Shedid, A.G., *Felsgräber von Beni Hassan* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994).

⁴ Kanawati, N. and Woods, A., *Beni Hassan Art* (Cairo, 2010).

⁵ Kamrin, J., *Cosmos of Khnumhotep II* (London, 1999).

While her study focusses only on a single tomb it is a useful piece of work which can be applied to the study of other tombs.

An important study by Favry focussed on the nomarchs under the reign of Sesostriis and compared them to the nomarchs from the First Intermediate Period and the other reigns of the Middle Kingdom.⁶ While this study is restricted to sources which include the titles of *hry-tp ʿ3* ‘great overlord’ and *h3ty-ʿ imy-r hmw-ntr* ‘count and overseer of priests’ it is a very valuable analysis of titles and administration in the provinces.

There have been several studies in the literature on the subject of women such as those by Robins⁷, Watterson⁸, Tyldesley⁹, and Lesko¹⁰, but while these have included sections on family they have been primarily focussed on the New Kingdom period. Two studies which concentrated on the subject of family for a select period include that by McCorquodale who addressed the role of women in the family and within marriage in the Old Kingdom¹¹, and Whale’s on the family in the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹² Studies on the family in the Middle Kingdom are lacking in the scholarship.

As Beni Hassan has not received the analysis it requires it does make it a particularly worthwhile research area which is both far more interesting and challenging, and has motivated this study to contribute to our knowledge of the Middle Kingdom.

⁶ Favry, N., *Le Nomarque* (Paris, 2005).

⁷ Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993).

⁸ Watterson, B., *Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1991).

⁹ Tyldesley, J., *Daughters of Isis* (London, 1994).

¹⁰ Lesko, B., *Remarkable Women* (Providence, 1996).

¹¹ McCorquodale, K., *Family in the Old Kingdom* PhD (Sydney, 2010).

¹² Whale, S., *Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty*, ACE Studies 1 (Sydney, 1989).

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology defined here is designed to investigate the scenes and inscriptions from the wall scenes of the Middle Kingdom tombs of the officials at Beni Hassan in order to establish the type of representation given to the tomb owner's family members and thereby to determine what their individual relative status was. The family members under investigation will include wives, children, parents and grandparents. The data will be organised by tomb with comparisons drawn between the tomb owners in the discussion section in order to determine what trends appear in the representation of family members and whether these change over time. The presence or absence of particular family members within a tomb is a topic that has largely remained unexamined however it has strong implications for the studies of family and gender.

The tombs at Beni Hassan feature wall scenes which are diverse in subject matter and rich in detail. The decorative program of the tombs indicates the individual choices of the tomb owner, his occupation and status. The types of scenes in which the tomb owner chose to feature his family members reveals his own individual thoughts about his family members, but also reflects the artistic conventions of the Middle Kingdom artisans and changing beliefs over periods of time. As not every tomb owner included the same scenes in his tomb, the depiction of particular scenes which include the family of the tomb owner may hint at the activities the family were involved in during their lives.

At Beni Hassan, the type of scenes which feature family accompanying the tomb owner include: the tomb owner overseeing activities undertaken by minor figures; the tomb owner seated at the offering table; the tomb owner as an active figure in fishing, fowling, or the desert hunt; and travelling by boat. Inscriptions which mention family members are not limited to these scenes. The iconography of each family member will be analysed in regards to their relation to the tomb owner, their size, stance, clothing, adornment, and the type of scene and its position within the tomb. The inscriptions will be examined to determine what titles and designations are used to refer to the family members and whether these change over time.

This study will also consider family members who are not mentioned in tombs such as absent wives or parents. In cases where children are depicted in the tomb it is understood that a wife would have been involved in the family, but whether she is excluded from the tomb

scenes because she died prematurely or divorced her husband are important factors to consider. In situations where the tomb owner only refers to one of his parents, it may reveal the ancient Egyptian's thoughts on the importance of particular family members or the titles they carried. Therefore, this study will look at the data relating to the inclusion and exclusion of family members across the tombs in order to discover if any patterns emerge which may suggest whether artistic conventions or personal choice is at play.

As the genealogy and sequence of the elite officials at Beni Hassan has been a disputed topic amongst scholars, this study will propose a genealogy of the elite families by examining the individual inscriptions which relate to each family member, the wall scenes which bear similarity between possibly related tombs, and a brief study of tomb architectural styles.

The lack of attention the subject of family in the Middle Kingdom has received from scholarship means this study will focus on the tomb reports as a main source. For purposes of comparison and ease of viewing much of the data collated during this study has been organised in tables.

CHAPTER 3

THE FAMILY IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

The Middle Kingdom period began with the establishment of the Eleventh Dynasty and covered the following Twelfth and Thirteenth dynasties. During this period the area of Middle Egypt was exceptionally fertile and accordingly the provinces in this region were some of the richest in the country. The provincial sites offer an insight into the little studied subject of family in the Middle Kingdom through evidence from the decorated tombs, which exhibit an individualistic style of artistic representation due to their distance and independence from the capital and feature both traditional and innovative scenes.¹

The decorated tombs of the officials at Beni Hassan are a plentiful source of information for all aspects of Egyptian life but in particular they reveal how the Egyptians viewed the concept of family, and the position and roles of individual family members. The most frequently represented family members were the wife of the tomb owner and their children. For the Egyptians it was important to have a wife who would run the household and bear the children who would in turn help to run the estate. The eldest son would inherit his father's position and property, care for his parents in their old age and maintain their tomb cult when they died.² The act of depicting family members in the scenes or inscriptions of a tomb not only showed their individual importance but also allowed the tomb owner to emphasise his own role as the successful head of a household and estate. The depictions of family could also have a semi-legal function by indicating inheritance and making clear cases of death, divorce, remarriage and polygamous marriages.³

The family members of the tomb owner are often depicted accompanying him in wall scenes and are usually shown on a reduced scale to the tomb owner, not to lessen their own importance but to indicate that the surrounding scene is in regards to the tomb owner himself. His family will participate in scenes relating to the management of the estate which reflects their own role in life. The wife will accompany her husband in scenes which show them observing activities. She stands or sits beside him, often shown affectionately touching his arm, embracing him around the shoulders, holding his hand, or linking arms. The wife was usually depicted wearing a white linen sheath dress, jewellery which consisted of a collar, bracelets and anklets, and either wore a tripartite wig or short hair. Children are shown closely

¹ See McCorquodale, K., *Characteristics and Style of Egyptian Art*, 5-6.

² McCorquodale, K., *The Family*, 17.

³ McCorquodale, K., *The Family*, 19.

following their parents, often touching them or holding one of their hands. They can be shown at various ages, from child through to adult. The young sons of the tomb owner wear jewellery and clothing but may be depicted with the side-lock of youth to indicate their age. If the son of the tomb owner is old enough he might be shown joining his father in the desert hunt. Together as a family, the tomb owner, his wife, and children are regularly depicted in the fishing and fowling scenes where they enjoy an outing together.

The mother of the tomb owner is commonly depicted in the tomb of her son and obvious esteem is shown for her in both scenes and inscriptions. In many cases the tomb owner will list his mother as parent but not his father, which may be due to it being the eldest son's responsibility to care for his mother in the case of his father's death.⁴

⁴ McCorquodale, K., *The Family*, 21

CHAPTER 4

THE DECORATED TOMBS OF BENI HASSAN

The cemetery of Beni Hassan is located on the eastern bank of the Nile near the modern town of El-Minya in Middle Egypt, and was used as the burial ground for the officials of the 16th Upper Egyptian province – the Oryx-nome, and the town of Menat-Khufu during the late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom periods.¹ The region is bordered by the 17th U.E. or Jackal-nome to the north and by the 15th U.E. or Hare-nome to the south.² Beni Hassan is divided into two ridges of tombs that are cut half-way up the mountain. The upper range contains thirty-nine rock-cut tombs belonging to the high officials of the province, while the lower range, which numbers over one-thousand chamber, shaft, and pit tombs, belonged to the lesser officials, the inhabitants of the region, and possibly to family members of the officials buried in the upper range tombs.³ Some of the tombs in the lower range date back to the Old Kingdom but appear to have been re-used in the Middle Kingdom.⁴

Of the thirty-nine rock-cut tombs in the upper range only twelve are decorated with scenes and inscriptions. Of these twelve decorated tombs, eight belong to governors of the Oryx-nome, two to princes, one to a son of a prince of Menat-Khufu, and one to a scribe.⁵ The two main titles that are associated with the owners of the larger tombs are that of *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’⁶ and *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Mnʿt-Hwfw* ‘count of Menat-Khufu’⁷. These titles should not be equated with one another as the former oversaw the entire Oryx-nome which covered both the east and west banks of the Nile between the Hare and Jackal-nomes, while the later were in charge only of the town of Menat-Khufu which lay on the eastern bank.⁸ These titles were not exclusive of one another, as appears to be the case for *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I who rose from the position of *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Mnʿt-Hwfw* ‘count of Menat-Khufu’ to become the *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’.

The tombs in the upper range can be dated to the Middle Kingdom with three of these containing the cartouches of kings which gives them a secure date in the Twelfth Dynasty.

¹ Kanawati, N. and Woods, A., *Beni Hassan Art*, 5.

² Baines, J. and Malek, J., *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, 14-15.

³ Garstang, J., *Burial Customs*, 15, 30-34, pls.3-4; Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 1.

⁴ Garstang, J., *Burial Customs*, 36-41, 42-43.

⁵ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 2.

⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

⁷ Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 16 [874a].

⁸ Willems, H., *Nomarchs and Local Potentates*, 378; See autobiography of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II which details the extent of the territory of Menat-Khufu, in Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 32.

Whilst the tombs of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I, *Imny*, and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II contain royal dates, inscriptions indicate that *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I and II were related to the owners of three other decorated tombs, those of *Nḥt*, *Ntr-nḥt(.w)*, and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV. As these men are from the same family it would mean that their tombs were built within a close period of time. The use of familial relations as a dating criteria assists in determining where a tomb owner falls in the line of succession in the province. The earlier tombs belonging to *B3kt* I, *B3kt* II, *R3-mw-šnti*, *B3kt* III, and *Hty* are more problematic in terms of dating as they do not contain any royal dates; however, inscriptions in these tombs indicate that the owners were related to one another. Whilst they almost certainly predate the Twelfth Dynasty due to architectural and artistic style, and because the Twelfth Dynasty nomarchs are relatively well known, suggested dates for these tombs have ranged from the First Intermediate period to the early Middle Kingdom.⁹ A comparison of the decoration and inscriptions from the earlier tombs with those securely dated to the Twelfth Dynasty reveals a strong similarity which suggests that they were not separated by any great length of time and are generally thought to belong to the Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁰

The tombs at Beni Hassan are relatively well preserved and the iconography of the wall scenes features both traditional and innovative subjects. The decorated tombs in the upper range place particular emphasis on recording the family members of the tomb owner in both the scenes and inscriptions. The inclusion of family members offers an insight into the tomb owner's own thoughts about his family and ancestry, as well as the possible roles these family members played in the running of the province. The artistic conventions of the Middle Kingdom artisans are also reflected in the choice of wall scenes in which family members are included. The iconography and inscriptions relating to family members provide important details relating to titles, ancestry, and the regard in which they were held by the tomb owner, but also aid in determining the important question of the sequence of the nomarchs.

There has been much debate in scholarship as to the sequence of the tombs of the nomarchs of Beni Hassan.¹¹ An analysis by Badawy of the architecture of the tombs shows an evolution in both the architecture of the tomb proper and the burial shaft from the influence of

⁹⁹ Studies which have discussed the chronology of the Beni Hassan tombs include, Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*; Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, 3; Schenkel, W., *Frühmittelägyptische*; Spanel, D., *Beni Hassan in the Heracleopolitan Period*.

¹⁰ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, 2.

¹¹ See Badawy, A., *History of Egyptian Architecture*, 128-129; Schenkel, W., *Frühmittelägyptische*, 84-95; Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*, 279-283; Bovarski, E., *Hare and Oryx Nomes*, 31-85.

the Old Kingdom tombs to the classical style of the Middle Kingdom.¹² Badawy established three “types” of tombs for Beni Hassan which Hölzl later expanded upon by dividing type “II” into two sub-types. Dividing the tombs into architectural types does not singularly answer the question of tomb sequence but it does provide valuable data which can be used in conjunction with studying familial connections in order to determine the sequence of the tombs.

Type I: These tombs have one or more chambers without columns or porticoes and are roofed with flat or cambered ceilings which have two slanting sides meeting in a ridge running along the longitudinal axis of the plan.¹³ The earlier tombs of this type at Beni Hassan retain the rectangular plan common during the Old Kingdom but gradually reduce to the later square plan.¹⁴ The burial shafts in these tombs are square and in the earliest tombs they are irregularly placed.

Type II: These tombs do not have a portico but have columns supporting the roof of the main hall and are roofed with flat or two-sided cambered ceilings. The area of the roof between the columns and the rear wall is cut as a vault running transversely to the longitudinal axis of the tomb.¹⁵

Type IIa: This sub-type of tomb has a small causeway and forecourt. The facades of these tombs are wide and their square shafts reflect those in Type I. The columns in these tombs are lotiform and the architraves are eight palms wide.¹⁶

Type IIb: This sub-type of tomb is much smaller and does not have a causeway or forecourt. The facades of these tombs are narrow and cut deep into the slope. The columns supporting the ceiling seem not to be the lotiform type and the architraves are only seven palms wide. The shaft is a new rectangular type which became standard in the later tombs.¹⁷

Type III: The final type of tomb is the most elaborate in appearance. It consists of a court, a columned portico, a main hall with columns in one or more rows, and a shrine cut in the middle of the rear wall. The columns in the portico are polygonal or fluted, and its roof is a flat vault which runs transversely to the axis of the plan. The columns in the main hall are fluted or lotiform and support two rows of beams running longitudinally, from which spring three flat

¹² Badawy, A., *History of Egyptian Architecture*, 128.

¹³ Badawy, A., *History of Egyptian Architecture*, 129.

¹⁴ Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*, 280.

¹⁵ Badawy, A., *History of Egyptian Architecture*, 129.

¹⁶ Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*, 280; the small causeway and forecourt were finished in Tomb 15 but were left incomplete in Tomb 17.

¹⁷ Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*, 280.

vaults. These tombs place emphasis on the central pathway which leads from the entrance to the cult niche in the rear wall.¹⁸

Table 1. The sequence of the decorated tombs at Beni Hassan

TOMB	NAME	DATE	BADAWY TYPE ¹⁹	BURIAL SHAFT
BH 29	<i>B3kt</i> I		I	square
BH 33	<i>B3kt</i> II		I	square
BH 27	<i>R3-mw-šnti</i>		I	square
BH 15	<i>B3kt</i> III		IIa	square
BH 17	<i>Hty</i>		IIa	square
BH 18	<i>Hty</i> II (?)		IIa	square
BH 14	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I	Amenemhat I	IIb	rectangular
BH 21	<i>Nḥt(i)</i>		IIb	rectangular
BH 23	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Built by <i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	IIb	rectangular
BH 13	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> the scribe ²⁰		IIb or III (?)	rectangular
BH 2	<i>Imny</i>	Senwosret I (Year 43)	III	rectangular
BH 3	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Amenemhat II (Year 19) Senwosret II (Year 6)	III	rectangular
BH 4	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> IV		III (?) (unfinished)	rectangular

¹⁸ Badawy, A., *History of Egyptian Architecture*, 129-30.

¹⁹ This table is based on the three tomb types Badawy outlines as being present at Beni Hassan and Hölzl's Type IIa and IIb additions. See Badawy, A., *History of Egyptian Architecture* 128-130; Hölzl, C., *Rock-tombs of Beni Hassan*, 279-283.

²⁰ The position of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* the scribe within the sequence is tentative and difficult to determine. The tomb consists of a small rectangular chamber that has a small outer court which places it within the criteria for types IIb or III but it does not contain any of the larger identifying architectural details which would allow it to be dated based on architecture alone.

B3kt I²¹ is the earliest recorded *hry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’ at the site of Beni Hassan. He held the titles of *ḥ3ty-ʿ* ‘count’²², *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’²³, *smr –wʿty* ‘sole companion’²⁴, *rḥ nsw* ‘acquaintance of the king’²⁵, *imy-is* ‘councillor’²⁶, *iry Nḥn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’²⁷, and *hry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’²⁸. His tomb is one of the earliest of the decorated tombs in the upper terrace and is located in the southern group of tombs. When Newberry recorded the tombs in the upper terrace in the late nineteenth century he dated the earliest tombs at Beni Hassan to the First Intermediate Period, but it is now believed that these early tombs belong to the Eleventh Dynasty.²⁹ The walls of B3kt I’s tomb feature painted scenes in the provincial style which bares similarity to the tradition of the First Intermediate Period. Unfortunately these scenes have suffered from poor preservation and deliberate damage by the Coptic hermits who re-used the tombs in antiquity.³⁰

The tomb contains no mention of B3kt I’s parentage or ancestry but representation is given to both his wife and son in a scene on the northern wall. Due to many of the wall scenes having suffered damage it cannot be discounted that other family members weren’t originally included in the scenes. There are six burial shafts cut into this tomb, all of similar dimensions; however, one of these is unfinished and cut askew – possibly a later addition to the tomb. Whether these burials were for B3kt I’s immediate family or were later additions cannot be definitively determined and Newberry’s excavation report contains no description of whether these shafts were excavated.

²¹ Ranke, H., *Personennamen* I, 276:6.

²² Ward, W.A., *Index*, 104 [864].

²³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 170 [1472] and Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 77.

²⁴ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 151 [1299].

²⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 1, 3 (see reference 12) Ward has omitted this title from his index believing it to be an honorific epithet in the Middle Kingdom based on the fact that this title can be found attached to both important and minor officials and is often the sole epithet for unimportant people without titles. Whether this is the case and the title held no actual responsibilities this title will not be omitted from this paper.

²⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 9 [23].

²⁷ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 64 [523].

²⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 126 [1074].

²⁹ Shedid, A.G., *Felsgräber von Beni Hassan*, 13-15.

³⁰ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 33.

The eastern section of the northern wall is the only location within the tomb in which the family of *B3kt* I appears. This scene depicts *B3kt* I spear-fishing accompanied by his wife and son. They stand upon a rectangular platform of bound reeds which bears similarity to the nearby papyrus boats of workmen in the same scene. If this platform is meant to represent a papyrus boat it may have been depicted as flat rather than curved due to spatial issues. *B3kt* I stands in the middle of the platform holding a spear on which he has caught at least one fish. He wears a projecting kilt, a collar, bracelets and a fillet headband with streamers. In front of him on the prow of the platform stands a smaller figure holding another spear. As the scene is mostly destroyed no name or titles accompany this figure, but it most likely represents the son of the tomb owner, *B3kt* II³¹, because this figure is directly involved in the scene by holding a spear of his own. The position in front of the tomb owner in a spear-fishing scene was usually reserved for the wife, sons or daughters of the tomb owner, but sometimes an official could appear here such as in the later tomb of Khnumhotep II (tomb 3).³² The depiction of a son spear-fishing with his father appears in earlier period tombs such as on the southern wall of the tomb of *Dꜥw* of Deir el-Gebrawi in which his son appears standing before him on a papyrus boat and holds caught fowl and fish in his hands.³³ In the tomb of *Hnꜥw* II at Deir el-Gebrawi the son of the tomb owner stands behind his father in the spear-fishing scene and wields his own spear.³⁴

Dḥwti-ḳ3i(.w) the wife of *B3kt* I's stands behind her husband and is shown in smaller scale. She wears a white sheath dress with one strap and a band underneath the breasts. Her jewellery consists of a collar, bracelets and anklets. She holds a lotus flower in each hand with one raised to her face. Her name and titles are provided in front of her in a vertical inscription where she is described as: *ḥm.t=f mri.t=f ḥm.t-(ntr) Ḥw.t-Ḥr nbw Dḥwti-ḳ3i(.w)* 'his wife, his beloved, priestess of Hathor, the golden one, *Dḥwti-ḳ3i(.w)*³⁵'. Her title of priestess of Hathor is one of the most common women's titles of the Middle Kingdom and was usually held by the women of the highest stratum who were married to the high officials.³⁶ No further textual information accompanies *Dḥwti-ḳ3i(.w)* so her parentage is unknown.

³¹ Although unnamed in this tomb, *B3kt* II names his father as *B3kt* I and his mother as *Dḥwti-ḳ3i(.w)* in Tomb 33.

³² Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl.132.

³³ Kanawati, N., *Deir el-Gebrawi III*, pl.69.

³⁴ Kanawati, N., *Deir el-Gebrawi I*, pl.54.

³⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 114 [954].

³⁶ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 26.

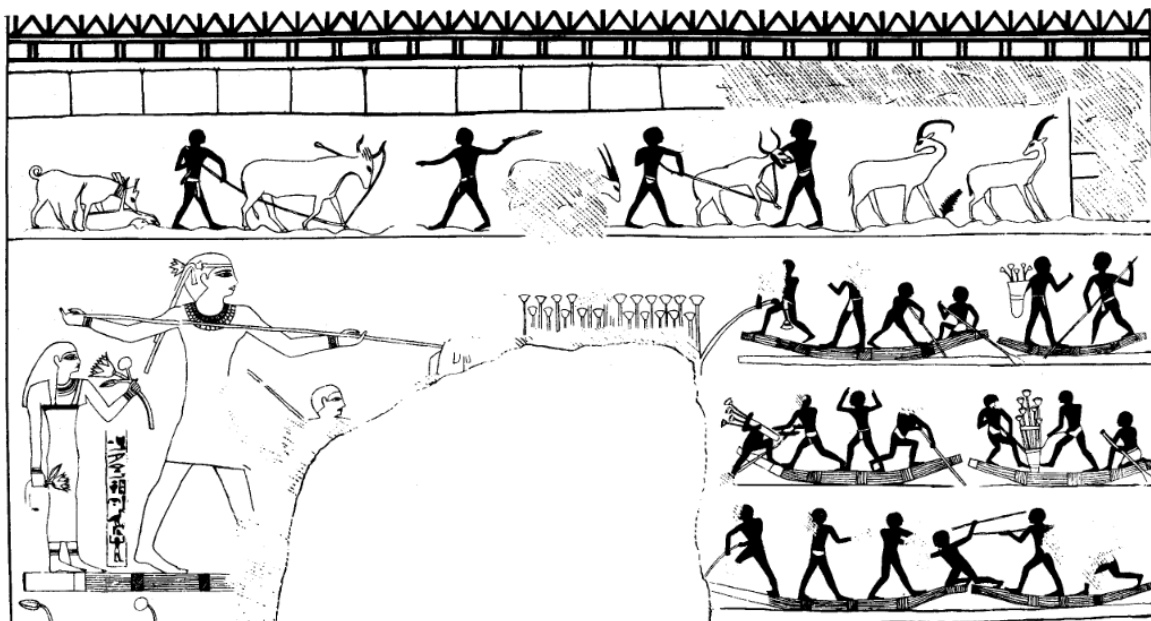


Figure 1. North wall, eastern section of *B3kt* I's tomb showing the tomb owner spearfishing

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, pl. XXIX)

LOCATION: Beni Hassan Tomb 33

DATE: Eleventh Dynasty

In the southern group of tombs in the upper terrace is the tomb of *B3kt II* who inherited his father *B3kt I*'s titles as *hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd* 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome', *ḥ3ty-ʕ* 'count', *ḥtmty-bity* 'sealer of the king of Lower Egypt', *smr wʕty* 'sole companion', *rh nsw* 'acquaintance of the king', *imy-is* 'councillor', *iry Nḥn* 'keeper of Nekhen', and *hry-tp Nḥb* 'chief of Nekheb'. Unfortunately this tomb has suffered severe damage and as many of the scenes are almost entirely destroyed they have not been recorded.³⁷ The tomb contains three burial shafts, two of similar proportions and one larger in size; however, Newberry's excavation reports contain no description of whether these shafts were cleared.

In this tomb *B3kt II* provides the names of both of his parents but he does not name a wife or any children, although it might be due to the scenes containing this information having been destroyed. *B3kt II* certainly had a family as evidenced by the three burial shafts in the tomb.

The northern wall features a spear-fishing scene which is very similar to the northern wall of *B3kt I*'s (tomb 29) and was probably modelled after it. Unfortunately the scene in *B3kt II*'s tomb is almost entirely destroyed and only half of the upper torso of *B3kt II* spearfishing remains. Due to the similarity in position and clothing such as the fillet headband with streamers, it is possible that this scene would have perhaps originally included other family members as is common in spearfishing scenes.

³⁷ Newberry did not record many of the wall scenes because they were too defaced. Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 40.

The tomb of *R3-mw-šnti*³⁸ is located in the southern group of tombs of the upper terrace and contain no inscriptions or depictions of family members although there are six burial shafts. The wall scenes in this tomb are heavily damaged and were unfortunately too mutilated for Newberry to trace.³⁹ *R3-mw-šnti* is known to have held the same titles as his predecessors which includes *hry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’, *ḥ3ty-ʿ* ‘count’, *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’, *smr wʿty* ‘sole companion’, *rh nsw* ‘acquaintance of the king’, *imy-is* ‘councillor’, *iry Nḥn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’, and *hry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’.

R3-mw-šnti’s decision to not include his ancestry or immediate family in the wall scenes of his tomb is in line with the fashion of these early tombs which contain little detail of the tomb owner’s family and focus primarily on the tomb owner himself. Unfortunately this can make it difficult to discern the line of succession. The names of *R3-mw-šnti*’s wife and son are known from the tomb of *B3kt* III (tomb 15) who names his father as *Rmw-šn* and his mother as *Ḥtp-r-3w(i)*. The relationship between *R3-mw-šnti* and his predecessor *B3kt* II (tomb 33) is unknown and is not directly recorded in either tomb. While it is possible to suggest that they may have been father and son, Brovarski hypothesises that *Rdw-Ḥnm*, a great overlord of the Oryx-nome known from a stele found in Dendera and dating to the reign of Intef II or III may have ruled between them.⁴⁰ While this is a possibility, how *Rdw-Ḥnm* might have been related to either of them is unknown.

The decorative program in the tomb of *R3-mw-šnti* was certainly influenced by the earlier tomb of *B3kt* I (29). The eastern wall of *R3-mw-šnti*’s tomb bears similarity in the layout of the figures to the corresponding wall in *B3kt* I’s tomb. On the left-hand side there is a large standing figure of *R3-mw-šnti* clad in a leopard’s skin and holding a staff. Before this figure are wrestlers and offering bearers. On the right-hand side is a large figure of *R3-mw-*

³⁸ Ranke, H., *Personennamen* I, 216:21.

³⁹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 31.

⁴⁰ See Brovarski, E., *Hare and Oryx Names*, 67, Brovarski presents the hypothesis that *Rdw-Ḥnm*, a Great Overlord of the Oryx Nome, known from a fragmentary stele found at Dendera (location number 23.492) ruled between *B3kt* II and *R3-mw-šnti* at Beni Hassan. As no familial link is known between the two, it is possible that *Rdw-Ḥnm* may have ruled between them.

šnti seated upon a chair and accompanied by dogs. He sits before a very mutilated offering table, a procession of offering bearers and a list of offerings.

The southern wall of the tomb features an interesting scene which shows the figure of *R3-mw-šnti* standing before offering bearers and accompanied by two retainers in the form of a dwarf and a crooked-legged man who stand behind him. These retainers wear pointed kilts and their position close to the tomb owner would suggest that they were held in good favour although they are not members of the family.⁴¹ What is important about these figures is that they also appear in the tombs of *B3kt* I, *Hty*, and possibly in *B3kt* II, which provides additional evidence that these tomb owners were all related to one another. While it is possible to suggest that these figures were included as an artistic convention, were painted by the same artists, or were copied from the original in *B3kt* I's tomb for the succeeding tombs, this scene may just reveal that the tomb owners were from the same family.

The three retainers first appear on the southern wall of *B3kt* I's tomb and are designated with captions referring to their deformities: Ξ *nmw* (dwarf), 𐀓𐀓 *dnb* (crooked), 𐀓𐀓 *iw* (hump-back).⁴² The three do not appear together in the tomb of *B3kt* II, but Newberry noted that a dwarf appears behind *B3kt* II on the southern wall.⁴³ Whether this dwarf is the same one pictured in the tomb of *B3kt* I is difficult to discern. The dwarf and crooked-legged man reappear together in *R3-mw-šnti*'s tomb standing behind the tomb owner on the southern wall. In the tomb of *R3-mw-šnti*'s son, *B3kt* III, the dwarf and crooked-legged man do not appear. This could possibly be explained by the fact that they appear in the tomb of the son of *B3kt* III, *Hty*, and that they may have had more involvement in his life than in the life of *B3kt* III. In *Hty*'s tomb the two retainers are again designated with the captions Ξ *nmw*, and 𐀓𐀓 *dnb*.

⁴¹ Dasen, V., *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, 35.

⁴² El-Aguizy, O., *Dwarfs and Pygmies*, 54.

⁴³ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 5.

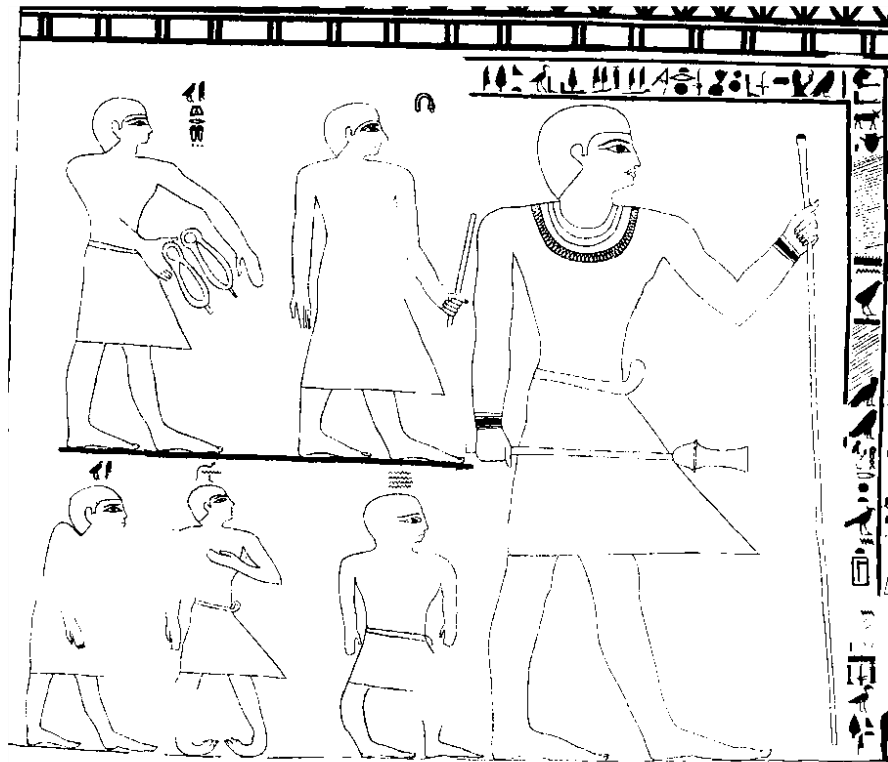


Figure 4. South wall of *B3kt* I's tomb (tomb 29), a dwarf, a crooked-legged man, and a hunchback accompany the tomb owner

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, pl. XXXII)

What becomes apparent in studying the depiction of the crooked-legged man and the dwarf is that their appearance in a tomb skips generations. They are shown in the tombs of *B3kt* I, *R3-mw-šnti* and *Hty*, but are absent in the tombs of *B3kt* II and *B3kt* III. This could be explained in that their position as retainers was only to certain members of the family and this may have included skipping generations, or being passed down from a grandfather to his grandson. If the lifetimes of these retainers were not long enough for them to have served each tomb owner in whose tomb they appear, perhaps their memory alone was enough for them to become part of the artistic repertoire of tomb decoration for the last tomb they appear in, that of *Hty*. What is evident in all of their depictions is that they bring no accessories and are not involved in any particular activity, which suggests that they had a prestigious status in the family.⁴⁴ These retainers may be used as indication that these tomb owners were all in the same family; their depiction links *R3-mw-šnti*, whose tomb mentions no ancestors, to the earlier tomb of *B3kt* I, to whom he was certainly related.

Whilst the employment of dwarfs and individuals with deformities is not uncommon in ancient Egypt, it would seem unlikely that these particular retainers were all different

⁴⁴ Dasen, V., *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, 135.

individuals. The likelihood of these tomb owners each employing men bearing the same combination of conditions would be an extraordinary coincidence and it is more feasible that they were the same employed by one family and immortalised in the wall scenes.

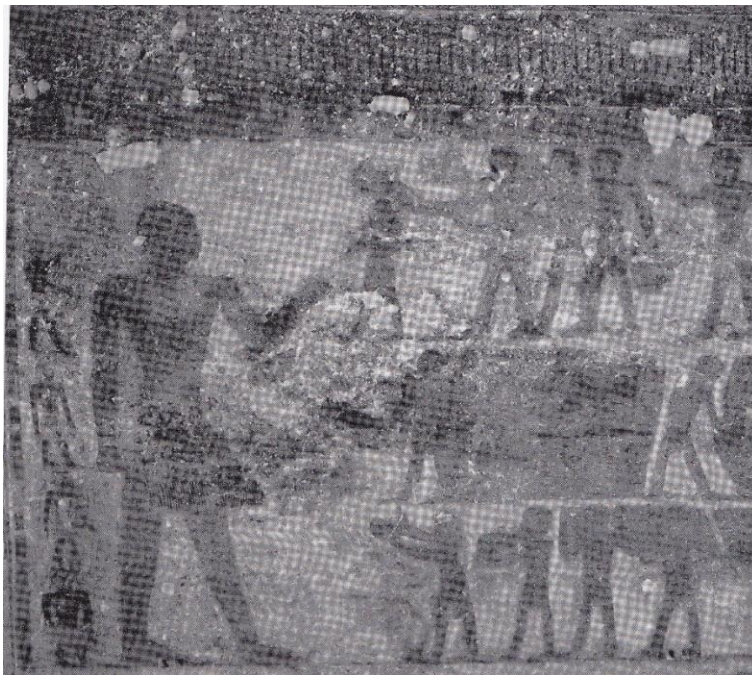


Figure 5. South wall of the tomb of *R3-mw-šnti* (tomb 27), a dwarf and a crooked-legged man accompany the tomb owner

(After Shedid, A.G., *Die Felsgräber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten*, abb. 13)

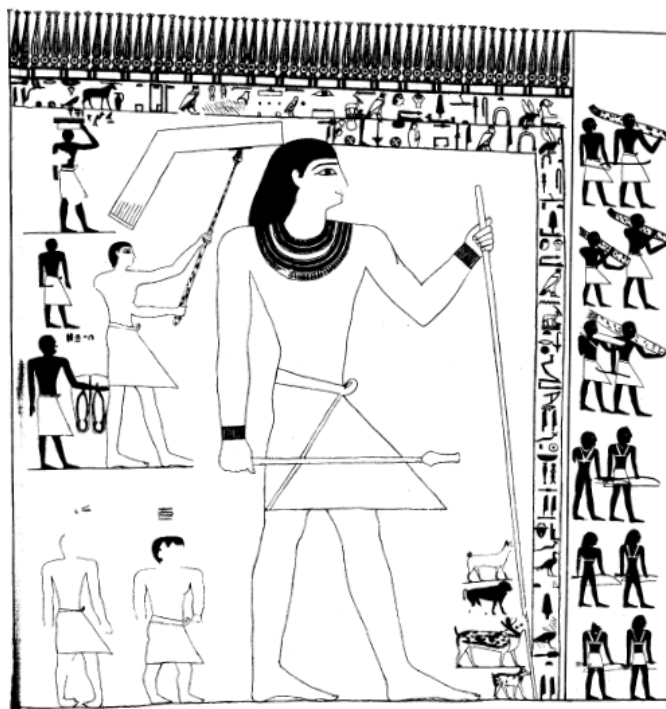


Figure 6. South wall of the tomb of *Hty* (tomb 17), a dwarf and a crooked-legged man accompany the tomb owner

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, pl. XVI)

The tomb of *B3kt III* is located in the southern group of tombs in the upper terrace. *B3kt III* held the titles of *hry-tp 3 n M3-ḥd mi-ḳd.f* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome to its entirety’, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* ‘count’, *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’, *smr wꜥty* ‘sole companion’, *rh nsw m3ꜥ* ‘true acquaintance of the king’, *imy-is* ‘councillor’, *iry Nḥn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’, and *hry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’. The occurrence of the extended title of *hry-tp 3 n M3-ḥd mi-ḳd.f* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome to its entirety’ in *B3kt III*’s titulature might be suggestive of a change to the boundaries of the Oryx-nome and the reclamation of land that had been previously lost.

The tomb contains seven burial shafts, all of relatively similar size, three of which were cleared by Newberry.⁴⁵ While the wall scenes in this tomb have suffered some damage it was primarily the western wall that Newberry found too mutilated to copy⁴⁶. Inscriptions in this tomb provide the names of *B3kt III*’s parents and daughter, but no mention is made of his wife. While an absent wife in a tomb is not unusual, this appears to have been a deliberate choice as the scene on the northern wall shows *B3kt III* with his daughter in the customary position the wife would be depicted in. It is possible that his wife either died before the tomb was built or she had divorced her husband. This is also supported by the fact that the son of *B3kt III*, *Hty*, does not mention his mother in his tomb either. No mention of *Hty* appears in *B3kt III*’s tomb, although, supposing *B3kt III* built his tomb late this may be due to *Hty* already having begun construction of his own tomb.

The northern wall features a variety of scenes including the desert hunt, games and dancing, herdsmen, craftsmen, and fishermen. To the left stands *B3kt III* overseeing these scenes, he wears a kilt, a collar, and bracelets, and holds a staff and baton of office. Behind him depicted in a smaller scale and standing upon a raised platform is his daughter. An inscription above and beside her reads: *im3hy.t Inpw hr tpy dw=f s3t=f mri.t=f Nfr-ḥp.wt-Ḥwt-ḥr* ‘The honoured one before Anubis, upon his hill, his daughter, his beloved one, *Nfr-ḥp.wt-Ḥwt-ḥr*’. She wears a white sheath dress with V-shaped shoulder straps, a collar, bracelets, and anklets, and holds a papyrus flower in one hand and a staff that is topped with a closed papyrus flower head in the other hand. The *ḥtp-di-nsw* inscription to Osiris on the upper

⁴⁵ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 45, 80.

⁴⁶ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 45-46.

portion of the northern wall which ends in *msi.n Htp-r-3w* ‘born to *Htp-r-3w*’ reveals the name of *B3kt III*’s mother.

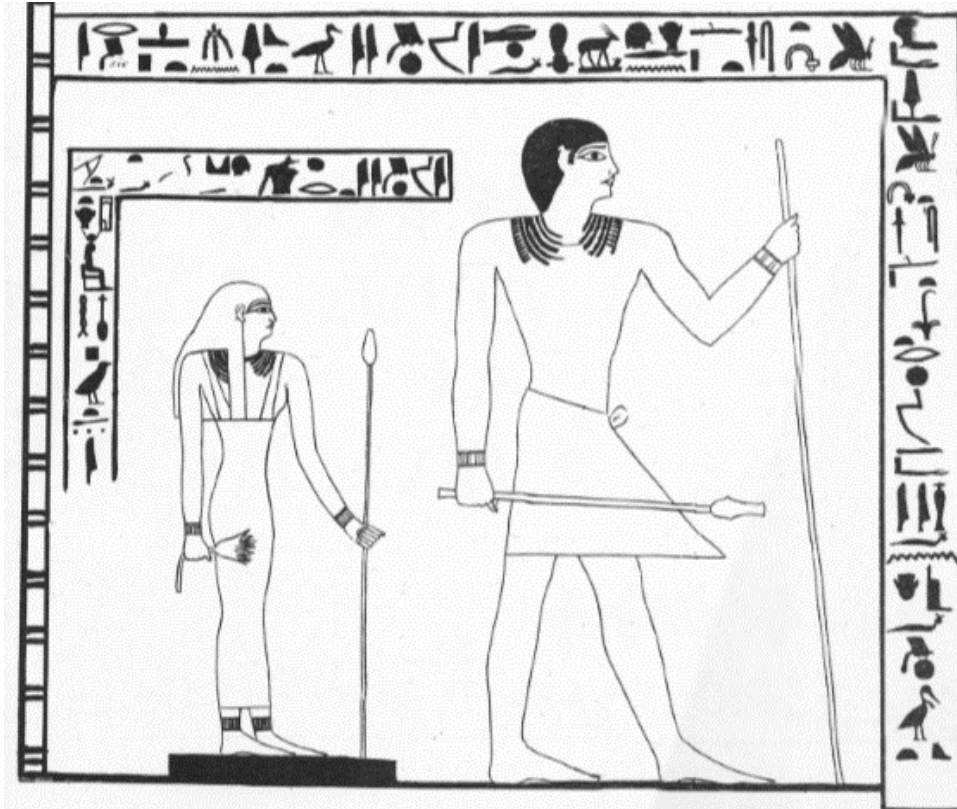


Figure 7. North wall of the tomb of *B3kt III*, the tomb owner and his daughter, *Nfr-hp.wt-Hwt-hr*, overseeing outdoor activities

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, pl. IV)

The western section of the southern wall provides the names of both of *B3kt III*’s parents: *im3hy Rmw-šn s3 B3kt msi.n Htp-r-3wi* ‘the honoured one, *Rmw-šn*’s son, *B3kt III*, born to *Htp-r-3wi*’. While his father is here written as *Rmw-šn* it is very likely that this man is one and the same as the *R3-mw-šnti* known from tomb 27.

The tomb of *Hty*⁴⁷ is positioned in the southern group of tombs in the upper terrace and is one of the largest tombs at Beni Hassan. *Hty* held the same set of titles as his predecessors which included *hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd mi-ḳd.f* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome to its entirety’, *ḥ3ty-ʕ* ‘count’, *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’, *smr wʕty* ‘sole companion’, *rh nsw m3ʕ* ‘true acquaintance of the king’, *imy-is* ‘councillor’, *iry Nḥn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’, and *hry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’. His titulature importantly includes the addition of the new titles of *imy-r smiwt i3btyw* ‘overseer of the eastern deserts’⁴⁸ and *imy-r m3ʕ m s.t nb.t št3.t* ‘overseer of the army in every secret place’⁴⁹.

The decoration on the tomb walls is ill-proportioned in style and has unfortunately suffered damage. The tomb has two burial shafts on the eastern side but Newberry’s excavation reports do not indicate whether he excavated these or not. The scenes chosen for the north-west and eastern walls are similar to those on the corresponding walls of *B3ḳt* III’s (tomb 15) which may support a familial and artistic link between the two tombs. The inscriptions in *Hty*’s tomb provides the names of his father, wife, and son, but no mention is made of his mother, as is the case in his father’s tomb where he mentions no wife.

The western section of the northern wall shows a variety of scenes which includes the desert hunt, dancing and games, crafts, industries and the procession of the statues of *Hty* and his wife, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, in a naos drawn by seven men. They are both in a standing position with *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* placed behind her husband where she is positioned with one arm around his shoulders and the other holding his hand. The inscription in the top register of this wall provides *Hty*’s name and titles, and labels him as *s3 B3ḳt Hty* ‘*B3ḳt*’s son *Hty*’.

⁴⁷ Ranke, H., *Personennamen* I, 277:23.

⁴⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 44 [340].

⁴⁹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 30 [213].

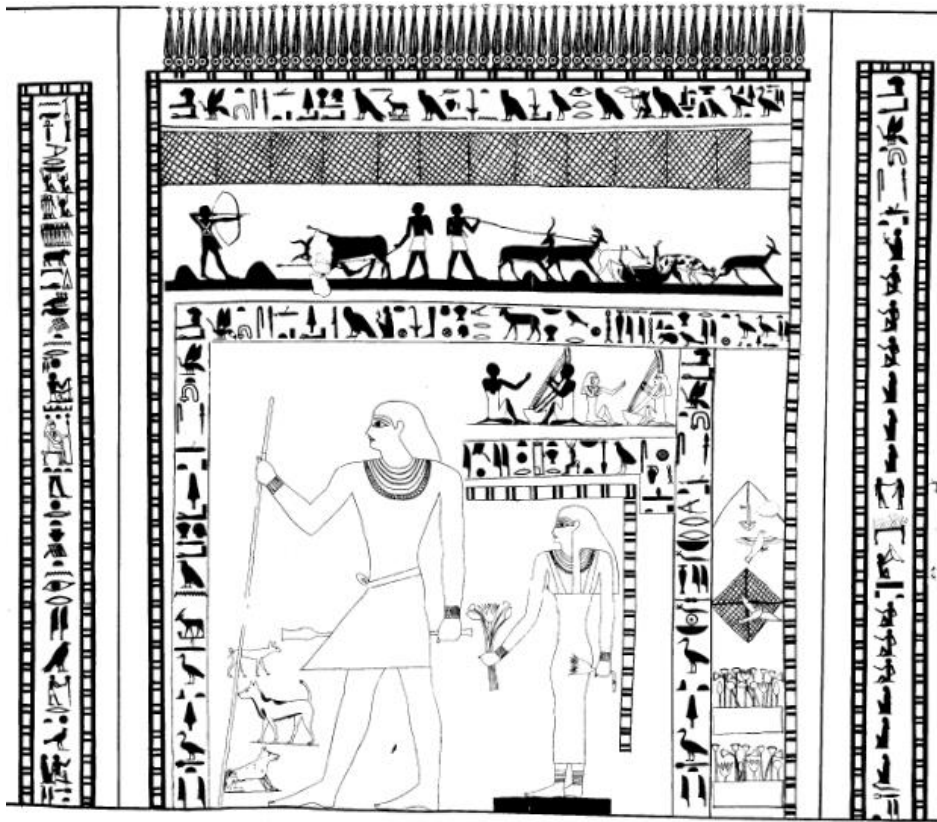


Figure 8. North wall, eastern section of *Hty*'s tomb, the tomb owner and his wife overseeing activities
(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, pl. XIV)

The eastern section of the northern wall depicts the figures of *Hty* and his wife, *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, overseeing the scene from the western section despite the fact that a pilaster separates them from the scene. *Hty* is depicted larger than his wife, holding a staff in one hand and a baton of office in the other. He wears a kilt, two bracelets and a collar. He is accompanied by three dogs which stand in varied positions before him. Behind him is *Hnmw-htp(.w)* who is shown much smaller than her husband and stands on a raised platform. She holds a bunch of lotus flowers in an outstretched hand and one single lotus flower in the hand by her side. *Hnmw-htp(.w)* is clothed in a white sheath dress with V-shaped straps over her shoulders. Her jewellery consists of anklets, bracelets and a collar. The accompanying inscription reads *im3hy.t hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Nfrw.sy Hnmw-htp(.w)* 'honoured before Hathor, lady of Neferus, *Hnmw-htp(.w)*'. Above this inscription are two sets of musicians, one male pair and one female, to entertain the figures of *Hty* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*. Separated by a vertical line of inscriptions behind *Hnmw-htp(.w)* is a small scene of lotus ponds with bird traps and although *Hty* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)* are not directly participating in this scene it may show an attempt by the artists to integrate their figures into participating with or overseeing the scene which the artists have incorporated into the available small space.

The pilasters on this wall feature stylised hieroglyphs which have been the subject of much interpretation.⁵⁰ A hieroglyph on the eastern pilaster depicts the most explicit depiction of sexual intercourse known from tomb inscriptions or decoration⁵¹, whilst the western pilaster features possibly the earliest reference to the position of ‘overseer of the eastern deserts’ at Beni Hassan.⁵²



Figure 9. South wall, eastern section of *Hty*'s tomb, the tomb owner and his wife overseeing the events on the eastern wall

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, pl. XVI)

The eastern section of the southern wall features the couple, *Hty* and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, who are positioned facing the corner of the wall which joins the southern wall to the eastern wall. They appear to be overseeing the events on the eastern wall which depicts wrestlers and offering bearers. *Hty* appears wearing a kilt, a leopard skin, bracelets and a collar, and holds a staff in one hand and a baton of office in the other. Behind him stands *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* who wears a white sheath dress with V-shaped straps over the shoulders and a coloured band beneath the bust. Her jewellery consists of anklets, bracelets and a collar. In one hand she holds a lotus flower and in the other a staff with a closed lotus flower head. She stands upon a

⁵⁰ For discussion and translation see Spanel, D., *Beni Hassan in the Heracleopolitan period*, 149; Rabehl, S.M., *Grab des Amenemhat*, 196-197.

⁵¹ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 63. This hieroglyph was not copied by Newberry who instead chose to show it as ‘damaged’ however the photo from Kanawati’s publication shows the hieroglyph in good form.

⁵² For discussion see Rabehl, S.M., *Grab des Amenemhat*, 196.

raised platform with a lotiform column behind it which is similar to those present in the architecture of the tomb. The inscription beside her reads *hm.t=f mri.t=f Hnmw-htp(.w)* ‘his wife, his beloved, *Hnmw-htp(.w)*’. Above her are two female musicians and a nurse with a male child at her breast. This child may be taken to represent their own son, *Hty* II.

The western architrave provides a two-way dedicatory inscription which reveals that *Hty*’s like-named son, *Hty* II, built tomb 17 for his father: *ir rn[.f hr] mnw <nw> dt in s3.f iwꜥy.f Hty* ‘whose name is written upon a monument of eternity by his son and his heir, *Hty* (II)’. At the northern end of this same architrave the inscription *im3h(w) h3ty-ꜥ im3-ꜥ Hty* follows the titles and epithets of *Hty*. It is possible that *Hty* did not finish the construction or decoration of his own tomb during his lifetime and the task had to be finished by his son. Although *Hty* II has no named tomb of his own, it has been suggested by Brovarski that tomb 18 may belong to him.⁵³ The tomb is one of the largest constructed in the upper terrace featuring ten lotus columns of similar appearance to those in tomb 17 and five burial shafts. This tomb has an asymmetrical design due to the smaller tomb 19 having already been excavated to its south side.⁵⁴ Brovarski suggests that this tomb was constructed between tombs 17 and 19 and forewent symmetry in an effort to have the tomb built in the available space which may indicate that the owner of tomb 18 had a personal relationship to the owner of tomb 17.⁵⁵ That tomb 18 is unfinished suggests that *Hty* II did not have a long reign in office and either died prematurely or was replaced by the family of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I in the reign of Amenemhat I.⁵⁶ Willems noted that the tombs of *Hty* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I must not be separated by much time due to both sharing a common writing of the epithet of Anubis *nb t3-dsr*.⁵⁷

⁵³ Brovarski, E., *Hare and Oryx Nomes*, 49.

⁵⁴ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 25.

⁵⁵ Brovarski, E., *Hare and Oryx Nomes*, 48.

⁵⁶ Brovarski, E., *Hare and Oryx Nomes*, 49.

⁵⁷ Willems, H., *Chests of Life*, 65.

LOCATION: Beni Hassan Tomb 14

DATE: Twelfth Dynasty – Amenemhat I

The tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I*⁵⁸ is located in the southern group of tombs in the upper terrace and is the first of a new line of rulers for the Oryx-nome. The tomb contains two burial shafts both of which were not cleared by Newberry.⁵⁹ Unfortunately the scenes in this tomb are very mutilated but enough survives to provide information about the tomb owner and his family. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I* began his career as a mayor of Menat-Khufu but would eventually rise in position to become nomarch of the entire nome.⁶⁰ An historical inscription on the south-west wall of the tomb states that Amenemhat I appointed *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I* to the position of *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ n Mnꜥt-ḥwfw* ‘count of Menat-Khufu’ for his efforts in an expedition with the king to expel a foe from Egypt.⁶¹ His titles were not inherited through his paternal or matriarchal lines but were earned, they include *ḥry-tp ꜥ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’, *iry-pꜥt* ‘hereditary prince’⁶², *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* ‘count’, *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’, *smr wꜥty* ‘sole companion’, *rh nsw m3ꜥ* ‘true acquaintance of the king’, *imy-is* ‘councillor’, *iry Nḥn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’, *ḥry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’, and *imy-r ḥmw-ntr* ‘overseer of Priests’⁶³. These titles do not differ greatly from those held by his predecessors with exception to the final title of *imy-r ḥmw-ntr* ‘Overseer of Priests’ which shows that the rulers of the province began to be directly involved in the religious sphere. The autobiographical inscription in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II* (tomb 3) provides further information about *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I* and includes the additional title of *imy-r smiwt i3bt(yw)t m Mnꜥt-ḥwfwy* ‘Overseer of the eastern deserts in Menat-Khufu’⁶⁴ among his repertoire.

The tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I* provides the names of his mother, *B3kt*, and his wife, *S3.t-ip(y)*, but does not name his father and no further details regarding their individual parentage is known. His son, *Nḥt*, and daughter, *B3kt*, are known from details in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II*.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Ranke, H., *Personennamen I*, 276:6.

⁵⁹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 83.

⁶⁰ Willems, H., *Nomarchs and Local Potentates*, 377.

⁶¹ See Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 84; Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records I* §463-465.

⁶² Ward, W.A., *Index*, 102 [850].

⁶³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 35 [259].

⁶⁴ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 44 [340].

⁶⁵ Known from the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II*, see Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, §7.

The northern wall of the tomb depicts the large standing figures of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I and his wife, *S3.t-ip(y)*, who have unfortunately suffered severe mutilation. They are overseeing scenes of an offering table with offering bearers, industries and the desert hunt. The figure of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I stands in a striding position holding a staff while wearing a sheer-kilt, leopard skin, bracelets and sandals.⁶⁶ *S3.t-ip(y)* is positioned behind her husband, with one arm around him, and a lotus flower held in the other. She wears a sheath dress, bracelets, a collar and possibly anklets. Due to the damage it is difficult to determine whether her hair is long or worn short, but a headdress with lotus flowers upon her head is discernible. Above the pair is a short horizontal inscription ending in *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) msi ny B3kt* ‘*Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* born to *B3kt*’ provides the name of his mother. Beside *S3.t-ip(y)* is a vertical line of hieroglyphs which gives her name and titles: *iry.t-p^ct ḥm.t ḥk3 ḥnw.t ḥm.wt nb.wt nb.t pr S3.t-ip(y)* ‘hereditary princess⁶⁷, wife of a ruler⁶⁸, mistress of all women⁶⁹, lady of the house⁷⁰, *S3.t-ip(y)*’.



Figure 10. North wall of the tomb showing *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I and his wife standing before an offering table and overseeing outdoor scenes

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. XLVI)

⁶⁶ The leopard skin was not recorded by Newberry in his line drawing of this wall.

⁶⁷ Ward, W., *Index*, 103 [857].

⁶⁸ Ward, W., *Feminine Titles*, 11.

⁶⁹ Ward, W., *Index*, 115 [962].

⁷⁰ Ward, W., *Index*, 99 [823].

LOCATION: Beni Hassan Tomb 21

DATE: Twelfth Dynasty – Senwosret I

This tomb is a part of the southern group of tombs in the upper terrace of Beni Hassan and was cut in an excellent piece of rock in the stratum but was never finished.⁷¹ The tomb contains two burial shafts on the southern side, but a third and probably later pit is just outside the doorway of the tomb.⁷² The remains of a painting on the southern wall provide the name and titles of the tomb owner.⁷³ Here he is named *Nḥt* and his titles include *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’, *ḥ3ty-ʿ* ‘count’, *imy-r smiwt i3btyw* ‘overseer of the eastern deserts’, and *ḥ3.ty-ʿ n Mnʿt-ḥwfw* ‘count of Menat-Khufu’. Although he does not name any family members this man is probably synonymous with *Nḥt*⁷⁴, the son of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I, known from the great inscription in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II.⁷⁵ This inscription from *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II names the father of *Nḥt* as *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I, and declares that he inherited the principedom of Menat-Khufu from his father by the command of Senwosret I.⁷⁶ At the end of his reign *Nḥt* having died purportedly childless, the title passed through to his sister, *B3kt*’s, son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 77.

⁷² Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 77.

⁷³ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, pl.XXIIa.

⁷⁴ Ranke, H., *Personennamen* I, 209:16.

⁷⁵ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 60.

⁷⁶ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 60.

⁷⁷ Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records* I, 281 (footnote b).

The tomb of *Ntr-nht(.w)*⁷⁸ was built by *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II for his ancestor in the southern group of tombs. Although the tomb was not completely finished it was probably used as it contains four burial shafts. The eastern wall is the only wall that is painted with scenes and much of these were damaged by the Coptic monks who dwelled in the tomb.⁷⁹ *Ntr-nht(.w)* titles include *iry-pꜣt* ‘hereditary prince’, *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* ‘count’, *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’⁸⁰, *smr wꜣty* ‘sole companion’, *imy-r smiwt i3btwt* ‘overseer of the eastern deserts’, and *imy-r ḥmw-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥ(wi) rḥyt* ‘overseer of the priests of Hathor, smiter of the common folk’⁸¹. The names and titles of his mother, *ꜣryt-htp*, and his wife, *Ḥr-ib*, are provided, but no information is given concerning his father or any children. Various relatives appear on the eastern wall, including *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II, his wife *Hty*, and a *Hty* born to *Ḥw*.

The eastern wall depicts an offering table scene for *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II and his wife, *Hty*. On the northern section of the wall are three standing figures, the central one being *Ntr-nht(.w)* with his mother standing behind him and his wife in front of him. Although very damaged, what can be discerned is that he is wearing a kilt, holds a baton of office, and has a collar around his neck. Above him is an inscription that provides his titles and describes that he is overseeing the offerings being brought from the towns and fields of the Oryx-nome.⁸²

His mother, *ꜣryt-htp*, is designated *mw.t=f mri.t=f ḥm.t-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr m ꜣry.t nb.t pr ꜣryt-htp* ‘his mother, his beloved, priestess of Hathor in Aryt’⁸³, lady of the house, *ꜣryt-htp*. She has one arm around her son and carries a lotus flower in the other. She wears a sheath dress with V-shaped shoulder straps and wears a collar and bracelets. The figure of *Ntr-nht(.w)*’s wife, *Ḥr-ib*, is very damaged and it is difficult to discern her attire apart from the sheath dress with V-shaped shoulder straps. Her body faces away from her husband but her face is turned towards him and her arm is either behind him or entwined with his. The inscription concerning her reads: *ḥm.t=f mr.t=f nt s.t pr ib=f rh.t nsw ḥm.t-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr m ꜣry.t m s.wt nb.wt nb.t pr Ḥr-ib m3ꜣ.t-ḥrw* ‘his wife, his beloved, in the place of his heart, acquaintance of

⁷⁸ Ranke, H., *Personennamen* I, 209:6.

⁷⁹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 28.

⁸⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 170 [1472] and Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 77.

⁸¹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 36 [268].

⁸² Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 29.

⁸³ Variation of title in Ward, W.A., *Index*, 114 [949].

the king⁸⁴, priestess of Hathor in Arit and in all [her] places⁸⁵, lady of the house, *Hr-ib*, justified’.

The scene in front of the three figures is almost completely destroyed but offerings can be seen in front of the remains of a seated male figure, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. The inscription above him provides his titles, the names of his parents *Nḥri s3 Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) iri.n B3kt* ‘*Nḥri*’s son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, born to *B3kt*’, and reveals that he built this tomb for his ancestor, *Nṯr-nḥt(.w)*.⁸⁶

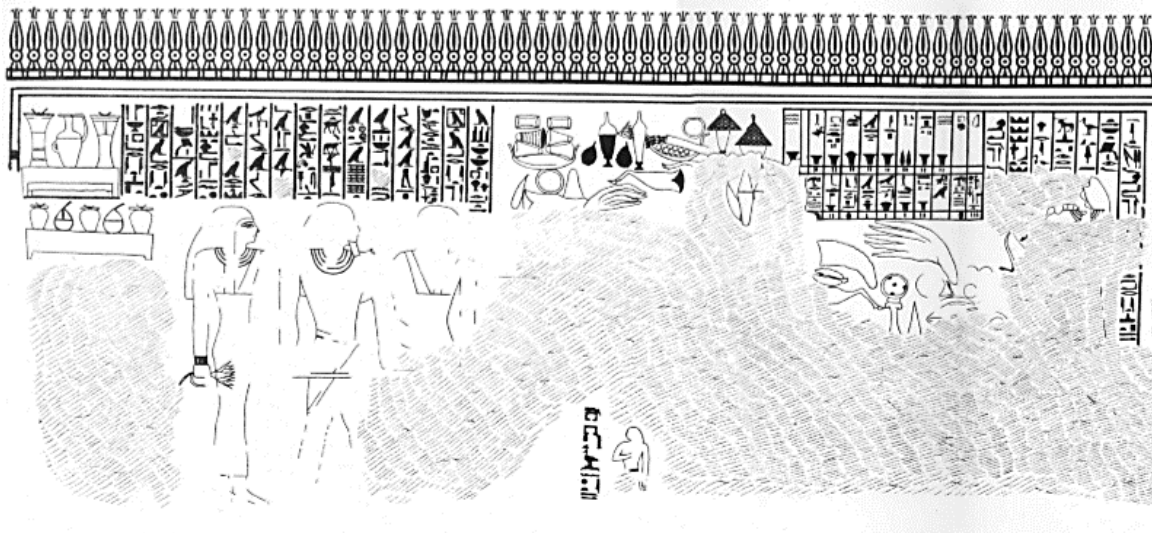


Figure 11. East wall, northern section of tomb, *Nṯr-nḥt(.w)* accompanied by his mother and wife approach the seated figure of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, pl. XXIV)

On the southern section of the wall are two female figures, one seated on a chair on a raised platform before an offering table and the second standing behind her. This first figure is *Hty*, the wife of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II, and she wears a sheath dress with V-shaped, knotted straps. A four-lined vertical inscription above her reads: *iry.t-pṯt ḥ3.tyt-ṯ mrr ḥ3i.s ḥn.wt-pr ḥis ḥn.wt mry.t rmtw.s s3.t ḥ3ty-ṯ nb.t pr Hty irit.n Tnt m3ṯ(t)-ḥrw* ‘hereditary princess, countess⁸⁷, beloved of the people, beloved of her husband, daughter of a count⁸⁸, lady of the house, *Hty* born to *Tnt*, justified’.⁸⁹ The second figure is another *Hty* who wears a sheath dress and has a collar around her neck. She holds one hand to her breast and there is a lotus positioned in front of her directed to her face. A three-lined vertical inscription above her reads: *im3hy.t hr*

⁸⁴ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 119.

⁸⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 114 [949].

⁸⁶ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 29.

⁸⁷ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 10.

⁸⁸ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 14.

⁸⁹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 29.

Wsir nb Ddw nbt-pr Hty irit Hw m3^ct-hrw nb(t) im3h ‘The honoured one before Osiris, lord of Busiris, lady of the house⁹⁰, *Hty* born to *Hw*, justified, possessor of veneration’.⁹¹ It is unknown who the woman *Hty* born to *Hw* was, but she was probably a relative of the family.

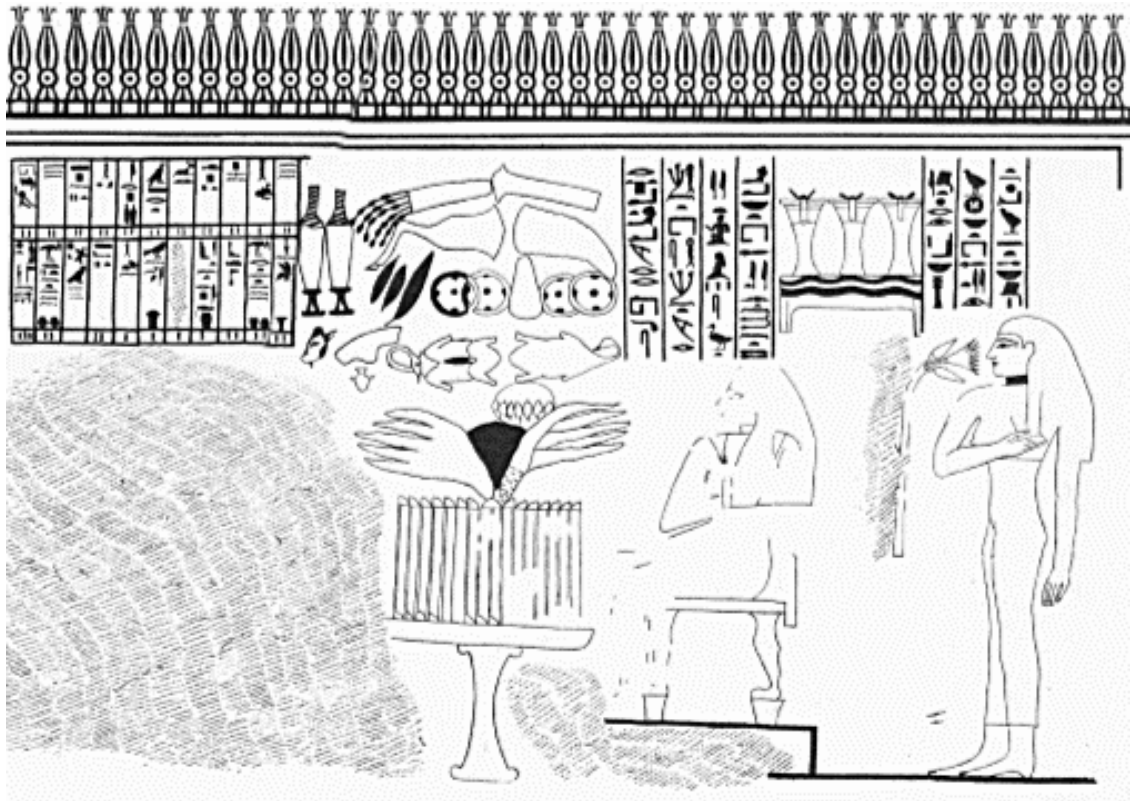


Figure 12. East wall, southern section, *Hty*, born to *Tnt*, sits at an offering table with *Hty*, born to *Hw*, standing behind her

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, pl. XXIV)

⁹⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 99 [823].

⁹¹ Newberry P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 29.

LOCATION: Beni Hassan Tomb 2

DATE: Twelfth Dynasty – Senwosret I

The tomb of *Imn-m-ḥꜥt* or *Imny*⁹² is located in the northern group of tombs of the upper terrace. He was the last to hold the title of *ḥry-tp ꜥ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’ at Beni Hassan. Of the twelve decorated tombs along this terrace, his is one of the most elaborately decorated and provides important information about administration in the province.⁹³ The tomb contains two burial shafts which probably belonged to *Imny* and his wife but these have not been cleared.⁹⁴ *Imny* also held many other titles⁹⁵ among those including *iry-pꜥt* ‘hereditary prince’, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* ‘count’, *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the ling of Lower Egypt’, *smr wꜥty* ‘sole companion’, *rh nsw m3ꜥ* ‘true acquaintance of the King’, *imy-r mšꜥ wr n M3-ḥd* ‘overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome’⁹⁶, *imy-r ꜥbw whmw šww nšmwt* ‘overseer of horned, hoofed, feathered and scaled animals’⁹⁷, *imy-is* ‘councillor’, *iry Nhn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’, *ḥry-tp Nhb* ‘chief of Nekheb’, *imy-r ḥmw-ntr n Hnmw nb Hr-wr* ‘overseer of the priests of Khnum, lord of Herwer’⁹⁸, *imy-r ḥmw-ntr* ‘overseer of priests’⁹⁹, *imy-r r-prw* ‘overseer of chapels’¹⁰⁰, *ḥry sšt3 n mdw-ntr* ‘master of secrets of the sacred writings’¹⁰¹, *mty n s3 m ḥw.t-ntr* ‘controller of a phyle in a temple’¹⁰², *imy-r wp.wt ḥtpw-ntr* ‘overseer of the inventories of divine offerings’¹⁰³, *hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp* ‘chief lector priest’¹⁰⁴, *hrp šndy.t nb.t* ‘director of every kilt’¹⁰⁵, and *hrp ḥw.wt n.t* ‘controller of the estates of the red crown’¹⁰⁶.

Imny’s biographical inscription is dated to Year 43 of Senwosret I and in this text *Imny* states that this date corresponded to year 25 of his own rule in the Oryx-nome.¹⁰⁷ This would

⁹² Ranke, H., *Personennamen* I, 28:8.

⁹³ Kanawati, N. and Woods, A., *Beni Hassan Art*, 21.

⁹⁴ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 20.

⁹⁵ For full list of titles see Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 11-12.

⁹⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 30 [208].

⁹⁷ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 14 [64]; for discussion see Gillam, R.A., *Instance of the title imy-r šwt nšmt*, 15-27.

⁹⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 37 [274].

⁹⁹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 35 [259].

¹⁰⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 32 [234].

¹⁰¹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 121 [1021].

¹⁰² Ward, W.A., *Index*, 97 [807].

¹⁰³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 20 [122].

¹⁰⁴ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 140 [1202].

¹⁰⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 137 [1176].

¹⁰⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 135 [1159].

¹⁰⁷ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 24.

mean that *Imny* ruled the Oryx-nome for at least 25 years, from Year 18 to Year 43 of Senwosret I. That *Imny* counted his own years of rule as the King did is very interesting but whether this was a personal choice or if other governors followed this idea is unknown as none of the other decorated tombs at Beni Hassan follow this fashion. *Imny* may have continued to live under Amenemhat II but there are no recorded dates in his tomb to support this.

His tomb provides an insight into his immediate family, referring to his father's titles and providing the names of his mother *Hnw*, his wife *Htpt*, and his son *Hnmw-htp(.w)*. Unfortunately the ancestry of both of *Imny*'s parents and wife are not included in any of the inscriptions and his connection to the other ruling families of the nome is uncertain. The biography of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II of Beni Hassan provides information about the officials who preceded and succeeded *Imny*. *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I, grandfather of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II, held the office of *hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd* 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome'¹⁰⁸ during the reign of Amenemhat I. The biographical inscription in the tomb of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II states that during the reign of Senwosret I, *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I appointed his eldest son, *Nht*, to the inheritance of Menat-Khufu; however, in *Nht*'s possible tomb (21) his list of titles includes *hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd* 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome'.¹⁰⁹ As *Imny* states in his own tomb, dated to Year 43 of the reign of Senwosret I, that he ruled the Oryx-nome for 25 years, he must have been appointed in Year 18 of Senwosret. This should mean that unless *Nht* was appointed prior to Year 18, *Imny* and *Nht* may have ruled alongside each other in their respective positions.

The tomb of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I records the name of his wife, *S3.t-ip*, but does not record any children. What is known of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I's family comes from the biographical inscription in the tomb of his grandson, *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II, who names *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I's children. *Imny* is not named but it is possible that *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I had a second wife who produced *Imny*.¹¹⁰ *Imny* does not record the name of his father in his own tomb but he does provide his titles of *ḥ3ty-ʕ* 'count', *ḥtmty-bi.ty* 'sealer of the king of Lower Egypt'¹¹¹, and *imy-r mšʕ wr n M3-ḥd* 'overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome'. It may also be possible that *Imny* was a nephew of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I as he is of a similar age to *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I's son, *Nht*, and both of his parents were of nobility.

¹⁰⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

¹⁰⁹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

¹¹⁰ Kanawati, N., Beni Hassan I, 21; Newberry suggests *Imny*'s father might have been *Hty*, see Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* II, 6-7.

¹¹¹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 170 [1472] and Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 77.

In his biography, which is incised on the door jambs of the tomb entrance, *Imny* states that as the *s3 h3.ty-ʿ* ‘son of a count’, *htmty-bi.ty* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’ and *imy-r mšʿ wr n M3-ḥd* ‘overseer of the great army of the oryx-nome’ he replaced his aged father.¹¹² Although this is the only reference to *Imny*’s father in the tomb, it reveals his father’s noble heritage and some of the titles he held. On the exterior left-hand door-post, the *ḥtp-di-nsw* inscription to Osiris provides the name of *Imny*’s mother, indicating that he is *Imn-m-ḥ3t msi.n Hnw* ‘*Imn-m-ḥ3t* born to *Hnw*’.¹¹³



Figure 13. Biographical inscription on the northern and southern jambs of *Imny*’s tomb

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, pl. VIII)

¹¹² Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, pl.8.

¹¹³ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, pl.7.



Figure 14. Exterior inscription of *Imny*'s tomb
(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. VII)

The shrine located in the eastern wall of the tomb contains a colossal seated statue of *Imny* flanked by the standing statues of his mother, *Hnw*, and his wife, *Htpt*. Unfortunately these statues are very mutilated, especially that of *Imny*, but some of the surrounding inscriptions survive. The statue of *Hnw* located on the left-hand side is clothed in a long white garment, and she wears bracelets and anklets. At her feet is an inscription which provides her titles: *im3hy.t hr Wsir nb.t-pr Hnw m3^ct-hrw* 'Honoured before Osiris, lady of the house, *Hnw*, justified'.¹¹⁴ On the wall above her head another inscription reads: *im3hy.t hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Nfrw.sy hr P3h.t nb.t st mw.t=f mr.t=f s3.t h3.ty-^c nb.t pr Hnw m3^c.t-hrw* 'honoured before Hathor, lady of Neferus, towards Pacht, lady of the (Speos) valley, his mother, his beloved, daughter of a count, lady of the house, *Hnw*, justified'.¹¹⁵ This inscription indicates that *Hnw* was of noble descent being a *s3.t h3.ty-^c* 'daughter of a count'.

The right-hand statue of *Htpt* is similarly clothed in a long-white garment, and wears bracelets and anklets. An inscription at her feet reads: *im3hy.t hr Wsir nb.t-pr Htpt m3^ct-hrw* 'honoured before Osiris, lady of the house, *Htpt*, justified'. On the wall above her head an inscription reads: *im3hy.t hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Nfrw.sy hr P3h.t nb.t st hr Hw.t-Hr m^cry.t hm.t=f mr.t=f s3.t h3.ty-^c nb.t pr Htpt m3^c.t-hrw* 'honoured before Hathor, lady of Neferus, towards Pakhet, lady of the (Speos) valley, towards Hathor in Arit, his wife, his beloved, daughter of a count, lady of the house, *Htpt*, justified'.¹¹⁶ This inscription specifies that *Htpt* was also of noble descent being a *s3.t h3.ty-^c* 'daughter of a count'.

¹¹⁴ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 35.

¹¹⁵ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 36.

¹¹⁶ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 35.

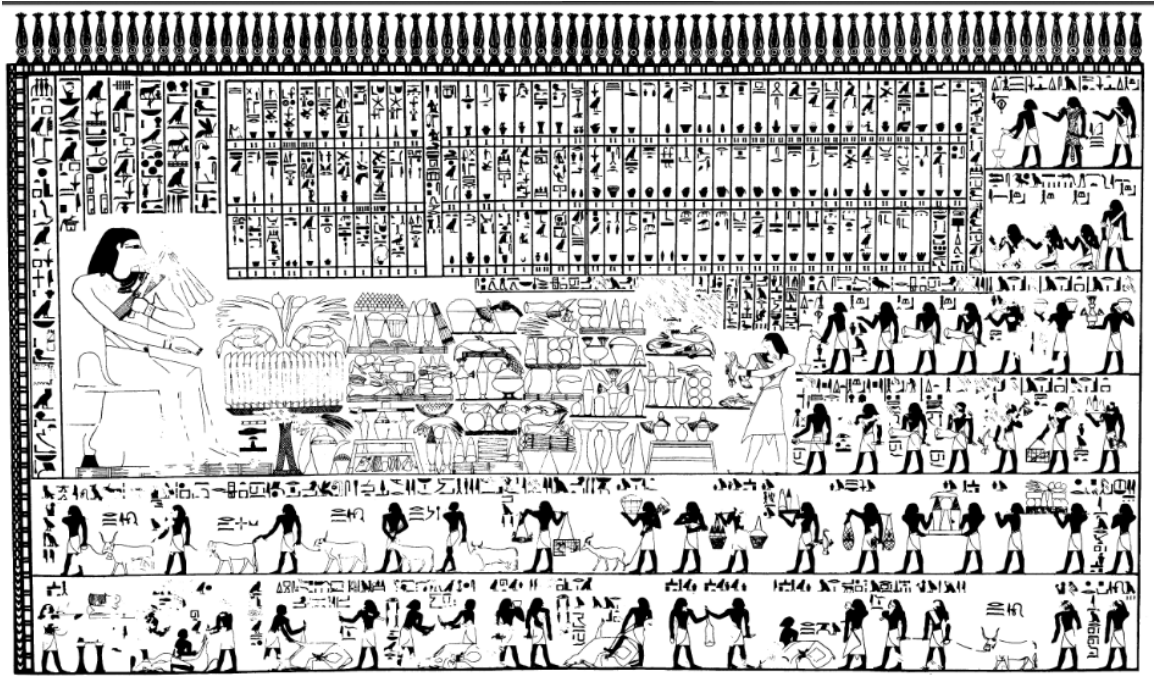


Figure 15. South wall, eastern section of the tomb showing the offering procession to the seated figure of

Imny

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. XVII)

The eastern section of the southern wall depicts the figure of *Imny* seated before an offering table with offering bearers approaching. In front of the pile of offerings is the figure of his son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, who wears a long kilt that wraps around his upper back and is held over the shoulder by a patterned strap. He wears a collar and bracelets, and holds a fowl in both hands as an offering to his father. Above him, a damaged inscription provides his name, titles, and the name of his mother: [...] *n hr.y-ḥb.t hr.y-tp ḥtmty-bi.ty smr w^cty rh nsw m3^c m Šm^cw s3 ḥ3ty-^c imy-r mš^c Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) m3^c-ḥrw nb im3ḥ msi.n Ḥt-ḥrw-ḥtp m3^c.t-ḥrw* ‘[...] chief lector priest, sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole companion, true acquaintance of the king in Upper Egypt¹¹⁷, son of a count, and overseer of the army¹¹⁸, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, born to *Ḥt-ḥrw-ḥtp*, justified. This woman named *Ḥt-ḥrw-ḥtp* who is referred to as the mother of *Imny*’s son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, is mentioned only once in the tomb. Whether this is just another name of *Ḥtpt*’s as many scholars suggest or if she was a previous wife of *Imny*’s, possibly deceased or divorced, is uncertain.¹¹⁹ There is also the rare possibility that this is the full name of *Imny*’s wife and all other instances in the tomb of the name *Ḥtpt* are an abbreviation.

¹¹⁷ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 1, 3 (see reference 12).

¹¹⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 29 [205].

¹¹⁹ See Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 14.

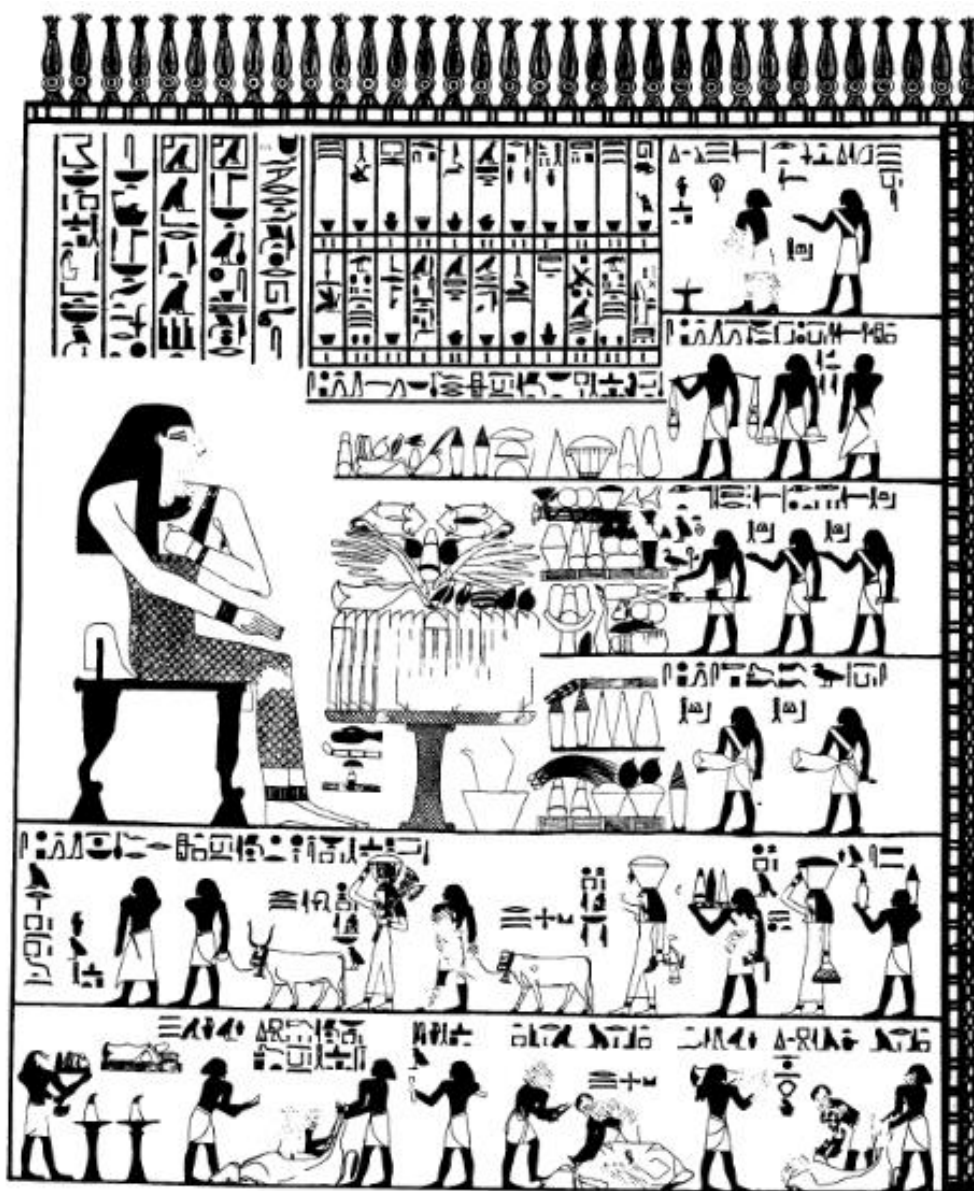


Figure 16. South wall, western section of the tomb showing the offering procession to *Htpy*.

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. XVIII)

The western section of the wall is dedicated to *Htpy* who sits at her own offering table with offering bearers approaching. She wears a white sheath dress that is secured with one strap over the shoulder and has a striped coloured band under the breasts. Over the top of the sheath dress is a shift dress of brightly coloured beads. Her jewellery consists of anklets, bracelets, and a collar. Above her is a vertical inscription consisting of five lines that reads: *hmt=f mrr.t=f im3ht hr h 3y.s hm.t-ntr Hw.t-Hr nb.t Nfrw.sy hm.t t3.wy im3ht hr Hw.t-Hr m ʕry.t m swt.s nb.wt hm(.t)-ntr P3h.t nbt st rht nswt m3ʕt nbt-pr Htpy m3ʕt-hrw nb.t im3h* ‘his wife, his beloved, honoured before her husband, priestess of Hathor, lady of Neferus and mistress of the two lands, honoured before Hathor in Arit and in all her places, priestess of

Pakhet¹²⁰, lady of the (Speos) valley, true acquaintance of the king, lady of the house, *Htp*, justified, possessor of veneration'. There are two inscriptions which describe the scene, one in front of *Htp* and one below her. They each have a slight variation but read: *shpt ini nb nfr r hwt-ꜥ3t n k3 n im3hw.t nbt-pr Htp mꜥt-hrw* 'Bringing all good offerings to the something for the ka of the worthy one, the lady of the house, *Htp*, justified'.¹²¹

On the southern section of the western wall there is a small scene of offering bearers carrying gifts for *Htp* which consists of a small box, fans, jars and a large ebony box. Accompanying these offering bearers are two harpists, a dwarf carrying a clacker, a woman with a sistrum and three women clapping. The inscription on the fan reads: *im3hy.t hr ntr nfr nb-p.t nb.t-pr Htp* 'the honoured one before the good god lord of heaven, the lady of the house, *Htp*'. The inscription on the small box reads: *im3h hr nb.t pr Htp* 'honoured one, lady of the house, *Htp*'. The inscription on the large ebony box reads: *im3hy nb.t-pr Htp* 'honoured one, lady of the house, *Htp*'.¹²²

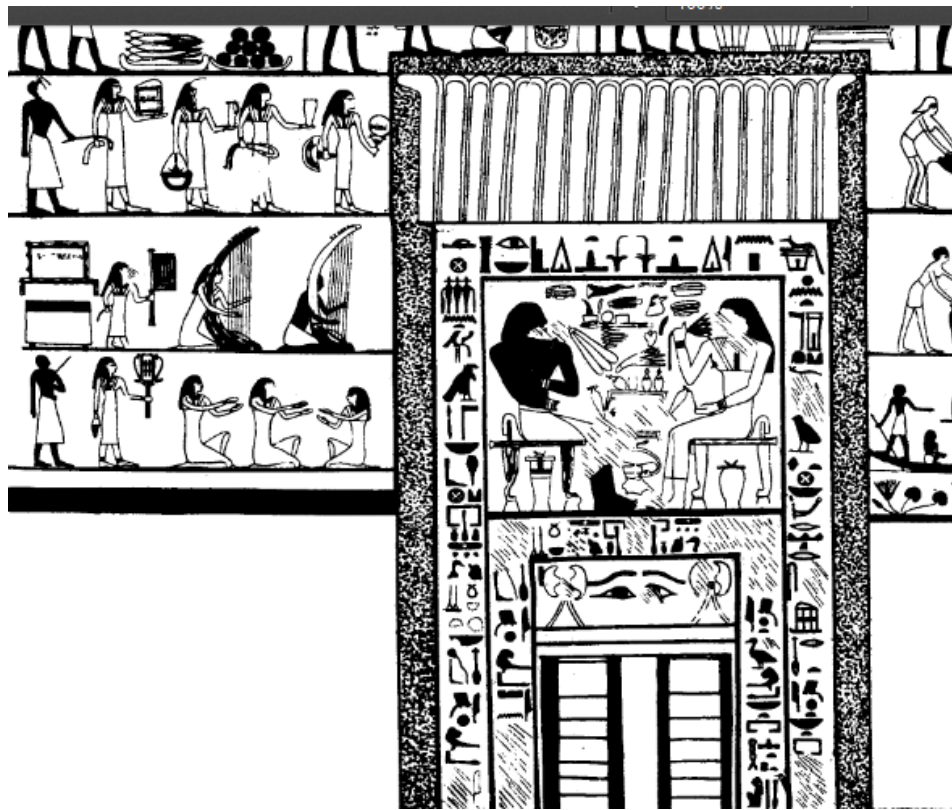


Figure 17. West wall of *Imny*'s tomb depicting the offering bearers of *Htp* and the false door
(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, pl. XII)

¹²⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 113 [946].

¹²¹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, 34.

¹²² As this appears too small in Newberry's line drawings the translation is based off my own transcription during fieldwork at Beni Hassan in 2013.

The false door on the western wall depicts the figures of *Imny* and *Htpt* each sitting on a chair facing each other. *Imny* wears a kilt, has bracelets and carries a flail in one hand.¹²³ His wife, *Htpt*, wears a sheath dress with one strap over the shoulder, bracelets, and holds a lotus flower to her face. An inscription names her as: *im3hwyt s3(.t) h3.ty-^c nb.t pr Htpt m3^ct-hrw* ‘honoured one, daughter of a count, lady of the house, *Htpt*, justified’.

¹²³ Klebs, L., *Reliefs und Malereien*, 30 (note 24). This is the first time a flail is seen in a Middle Kingdom officials tomb.

The tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II* is located in the northern group of tombs in the upper terrace and is one of the most elaborately decorated. His tomb contains two burial shafts which were cleared by both Newberry and Kanawati, and has cuttings for another two shafts which were never completed.¹²⁴ He is one of the few of the twelve decorated tombs to have not held the title of *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’¹²⁵ despite his grandfather, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I*, having held the title. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II*’s held many titles¹²⁶ which included *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Mnʿt-Ḥwfw* ‘count of Menat-Khufu’, *imy-r smiwt i3btyw* ‘overseer of the eastern deserts’, *iry-pʿt* ‘hereditary prince’, *ḥmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’, *smr wʿty* ‘sole companion’, *rḥ (n) nswt (m3ʿ)* ‘(true) acquaintance of the king’, *imy-r niwt* ‘mayor’¹²⁷, *ḥry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’, *imy-r ḥnw-ntr* ‘overseer of priests’, *ḥm-ntr Hr Inpw* ‘Priest of Horus and Anubis’¹²⁸, *ḥry-tp i3wt ḥwt-ntr P3ḥt* ‘chief of the offices of the temple of Pakhet’¹²⁹, *hrp šndt nbt* ‘director of every kilt’¹³⁰, *imy-r whʿw šʿw sšw* ‘overseer of the fishermen/fowlers of the swamps and fowl ponds’¹³¹, *m3t n bity* ‘proclaimed one of the king of Lower Egypt’¹³², *ḥry-tp¹³³ ḥk3w(?) nb(w)* ‘chief of all rulers’¹³⁴, and *sdty n bity* ‘foster child of the king of Lower Egypt’¹³⁵.

The inscriptions in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II* provide an extensive insight into the genealogy of his family, their appointments to important positions in the province, and provides evidence of intermarriage with the Jackal-nome. His father was *Nḥri*, son of *Sbk-ʿnḥ(.w)*, and his mother was *B3kt*, the daughter of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I* (tomb 14) and his wife *S3t-ip*. He married a woman named *Hty*, daughter of an unnamed *iry-pʿt* ‘hereditary prince’¹³⁶ of the Jackal-nome and a woman named *Tnt*, to whom he had four sons, *Nḥt*, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) III*,

¹²⁴ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan II*, 73; Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 28.

¹²⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

¹²⁶ For full list of titles see Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 15-16.

¹²⁷ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 31 [220].

¹²⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, [922] [899].

¹²⁹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 123 [1047].

¹³⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 137 [1176].

¹³¹ For *imy-r whʿw* see Ward, W.A., *Index*, 20 [125]; Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 15.

¹³² Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 15.

¹³³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 123 [146-47]; Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 16.

¹³⁴ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 41.

¹³⁵ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 16.

¹³⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 102 [850].

Nḥri, and *Nṯr-nḥt(.w)*, and three daughters, *B3kt*, *Tnt*, and *Mr.s*. He also had a second “wife” named *T3t*, daughter of a woman named *Nṯrw*, to whom he had two sons *Nḥri* and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV, and a daughter, *S3t-ip(y)*.¹³⁷ In the representations these two women and their children are always clearly separated from each other, with *Hty*’s family in the primary position. While *T3t* is not referred to as a wife of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II in this tomb it would appear that he ultimately married her, possibly after the death of his first wife, as the inscriptions in the later tomb 4 belonging to *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV label *T3t* as *nb.t pr* ‘the lady of the house’.¹³⁸ What is evident in the names of the children of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and not uncommon in Egyptian society is that there is a tradition of naming children after their ancestors.

Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II’s tomb contains extensive references to his ancestry. The exterior door-posts and lintel at the entrance to the tomb provides the names of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II’s parents several times. The tomb owner is *s3 Nḥri* ‘*Nḥri*’s son’ and *ir.n / msi.n B3kt* ‘born to *B3kt*’.¹³⁹ The two architraves in the main chamber of the tomb contain four inscriptions containing prayers for offerings and the name and titles of the tomb owner. Of these *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II is named as *s3 Nḥri* ‘*Nḥri*’s son’ three times.¹⁴⁰

The autobiography of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II is a two hundred and twenty-two lined inscription that is incised vertically upon the dado beneath the wall scenes in the main chamber.¹⁴¹ This inscription extensively relates the biography of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and his family, and is an insight into the governorship of the Oryx-nome in this period.

(Lines 1-3) The opening of the autobiography describes *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* as *Nḥri s3* ‘*Nḥri*’s son’ and *ir n s3t ḥ3ty-ḥ nbt-pr B3kt m3ḥ(t)-ḥrw* ‘born to the daughter of the count, the lady of the house, *B3kt*, justified’.

(20-53) This section of the autobiography describes Amenemhat I establishing the borders of the Oryx-nome and appointing *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II’s maternal grandfather, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I, to the position of *iry-pḥt* ‘hereditary prince’, *ḥ3ty-ḥ* ‘count’, and *imy-r smiwt i3bt(yt) m Mnḥt-Hwfw* ‘overseer of the eastern deserts in Menat-Khufu’. Amenemhat I then appoints *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I as *iry-pḥt ḥ3ty-ḥ im3-ḥ ḥry-tp ḥ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘hereditary prince, count, gracious of arm, great overlord of the Oryx-nome’.

¹³⁷ In this tomb *T3t* only held the title of *ḥtmtyt* ‘sealer’.

¹³⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 99 [823]; Ward, W.A., *GM* 71, 52ff.

¹³⁹ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, 54-55.

¹⁴⁰ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, 55-56.

¹⁴¹ For full translation see Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan* I, 31-36.

(54-62) Amenemhat I appoints *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I's eldest son, *Nḥt*, to his inheritance in Menat-Khufu.

(62-71) *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's mother, *B3kt*, who as a *iry.t-p^ct* 'hereditary princess', *ḥ3.tyt-^c* 'countess', and *s3.t ḥk3 n M3-ḥd* 'daughter of the ruler of the Oryx-nome' was appointed during the reign of Amenemhat I to be the wife of *Nḥri*, the *iry-p^ct ḥ3.ty-^c ḥk3 niwwt m3wt m3t.n nswt imty n bity r s3ḥ.f n imy-r niwt Nḥr[i m3^c-ḥrw nb im3ḥ]* 'hereditary prince, the count'¹⁴², the ruler of new-towns¹⁴³, whom the king proclaimed (as) foster child of the king of Lower Egypt, according to his rank as overseer of the city, *Nḥri*, the justified, the possessor of veneration'.¹⁴⁴

(71-79) *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II is installed into his inheritance in the principedom of his grandfather by Amenemhat II in Year 19 of his rule.

(121-131) *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's eldest son, *Nḥt*, is placed in the position of ruler of the Jackal-nome according to his inheritance through his maternal grandfather, and was made a *smr -w^cty* 'sole companion'.

(150-160) At *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's request, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III, who is described as *kyy wr* 'another eldest'¹⁴⁵ is made a *smr -w^cty* 'sole companion' and is described as *iry 3 ḥ3swt* 'keeper to the gateway to the foreign lands'.¹⁴⁶

(161-169) *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II repairs the name of his ancestors. Possibly referring also to his restoration of *Nṯr-nḥt(.w)*'s tomb (23).

(170-192) The father of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II, *Nḥri*, is said to have built for himself a tomb-chapel in Mer-nofret.¹⁴⁷ His career is provided and he is said to have been raised to his position by the king. The name of *Nḥri*'s father is also given, being *Sbk-^cnḥ(.w)*, the fraternal grandfather of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. No further information is provided regarding *Sbk-^cnḥ(.w)*.

(192-221) The building of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's tomb. The name of his parents is provided towards the end of the inscription: *Nḥri s3 Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) ir n B3kt* '*Nḥri*'s son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, born to *B3kt*'.

¹⁴² Ward, W.A., *Index*, [864].

¹⁴³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 130 [1113]; According to Newberry, New-towns is possibly Tehna or Sheikh Said where the title 'governor of new-towns' is known from the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 60 (Note 2).

¹⁴⁴ Translation from Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 33.

¹⁴⁵ Fischer, H.G., *Varia*, 86.

¹⁴⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, [843]; Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 34.

¹⁴⁷ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 35; Redford, D.B., *Father of Khnumhotpe II*, 158-159.

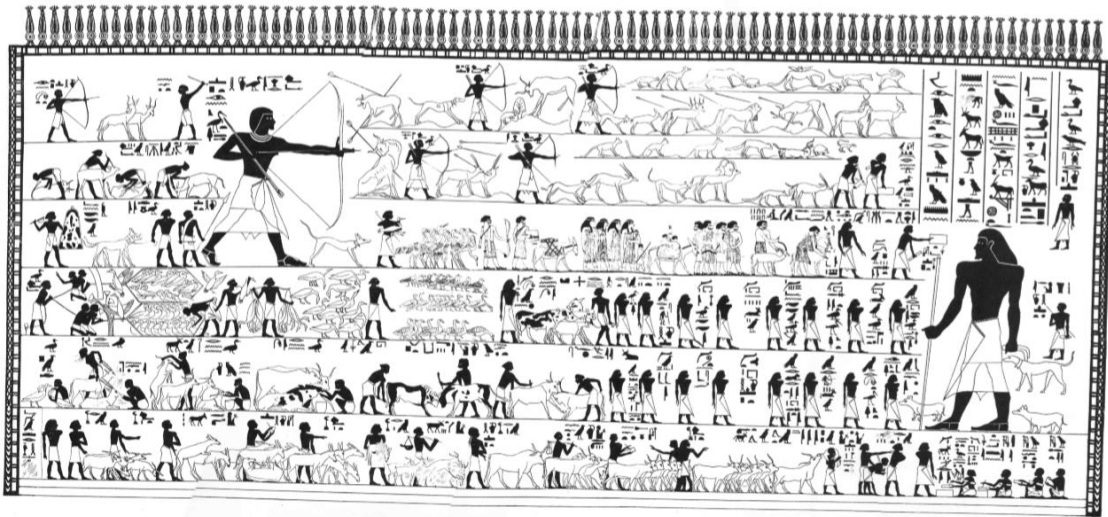


Figure 18. North wall of the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II showing the tomb owner and his sons in the desert hunt

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, pl. XXX)

On the northern wall *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II is accompanied by five of his sons in a desert hunt scene. The large-scale figure of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II stands in a striding pose, facing right and drawing a bow. Above him, an inscription identifies him as *ḥ3ty-ḥ Nḥri s3 Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) ir n B3kt m3ḥ hrw* ‘the count, *Nḥri*’s son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, born to *B3kt*, justified.’ In front of him in the top two registers are four of his sons which are each labelled with *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ* and their names, *Nḥt*, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III, *Nḥri*, and *Ntr-nḥt(.w)*. These four sons each hold a drawn bow and wear short white kilts with transparent kilts. The fifth son who wears a short kilt and holds a bow drawn (without arrows) is separated from his step-brothers and is behind his father in the top register. The accompanying inscription labels him as *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) ir.n sd3w.tt* ‘*Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV born to the sealer’. He is set apart from the other sons because his mother is *T3t* but it may also be due to his young age. In front of him are two gazelles and another man named *Nḥt* who brandishes a stick to keep the gazelle in place. It might be that this microscene is showing *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV learning how to hunt. During the Middle Kingdom the tomb owner participates directly in the desert hunt scene whilst in the Old Kingdom he only watched the activities.¹⁴⁸

Below the desert hunt is a scene of men trapping birds with clap-nets. A man labelled as *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ* ‘the son of the count’ holds ropes which are attached to two clap-nets. Whilst no name is provided for this son, Kanawati believes him to be *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV, the son of *T3t*,

¹⁴⁸ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan* I, 45-46.

who is receiving help from men who are closing the clap-net and may have been training him in fowling.¹⁴⁹

On the eastern side of the northern wall a large-scale standing figure of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II oversees a procession of attendants and cattle. He has a shoulder-length wig, a moustache, a short kilt with a transparent kilt, sandals, and carries folded cloth and staff. He is again identified as *Nḥri s3* ‘*Nḥri*’s son’. Above him and wearing the same kilt is his son, recognized as *s3 ḥ3ty- s3 wr shpr ntr Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* ‘son of the count, the eldest son whom god permitted to grow up, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III’.¹⁵⁰ *Nḥt* and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III are both described in the tomb as the ‘eldest’ which suggests that they were either twins, or that *Nḥt* died prematurely causing *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III to become the eldest living son.¹⁵¹

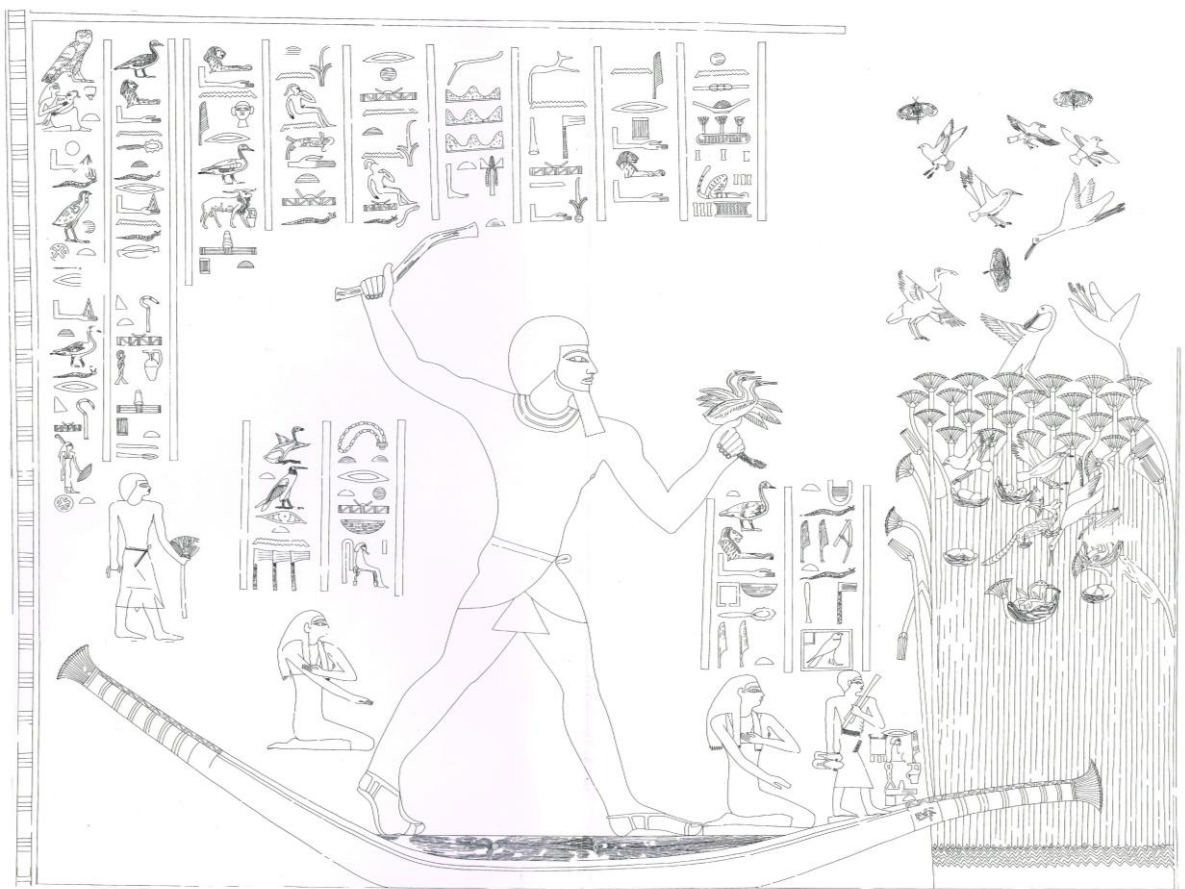


Figure 19. East wall of the tomb showing *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and his family in a fowling scene

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 132)

¹⁴⁹ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 50.

¹⁵⁰ Kamrin, J., *Cosmos of Khumhotep*, 89.

¹⁵¹ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 25.

The northern section of the eastern wall depicts a large, brightly coloured fowling scene that takes up most of this section of the wall. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II stands upon a papyrus boat wearing a kilt similar to the shendyt-kilt, with a throw-stick in his right hand and holding three birds in his left. He wears a skullcap that covers his ears but has no fillet and streamer, a long beard, moustache, a collar, a tunic, and sandals.¹⁵² An inscription above the scene provides his father's name: *Nḥri s3 Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* 'Nḥri's son *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II'. In front of him in the prow of the boat sits his wife, *Hty*. She is seated with her legs folded beneath her, has one arm lightly outstretched and the other to her breast. She wears a white sheath dress with V-shaped straps, wears a broad collar around her neck and has a long wig. An inscription above her describes her as *ḥmt.f mryt.f ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr s3.t ḥ3ty-ḥ nb(t) pr Hty* 'his wife, his beloved, the priestess of Hathor, the daughter of a count, the lady of the house, *Hty*'. A woman named *T3t* is seated on another register above the boat and her position is probably meant to represent that she is sitting on the riverbank, observing the scene. She is in the same position as *Hty*, and wears a white sheath dress and has a long wig. The inscription above her provides her name and titles: *ḥtmtyt rḥt nb.s T3t iri.t n Ntrw* 'the Sealer, the acquaintance of her lord, *T3t* born to *Ntrw*'. *T3t* is one of only two known women from the Middle Kingdom to have held the title of *ḥtmtyt*.¹⁵³ Behind her is the figure of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III who wears a long kilt and holds a handkerchief in one hand and a papyrus umbel in the other. An inscription above his head provides his name and titles: *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ n ḥt.f rdi n.f iwḥt ḥk3t m Mnḥt-Hwfw rdi.t(w) s3.f r ḥk3 (...?), Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) m3ḥ hrw* 'the son of the count, of his body, to whom was given the inheritance of the rulership in Menat-Khufu, and whose son was appointed to rule (...?), *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III, the justified'.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 54. When the person's ears are depicted it is most likely that they are wearing their natural hair, but in cases such as this where the ears are covered it would indicate that he is wearing either a skullcap or a wig.

¹⁵³ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 17, Ward suggests that "Sealers" may have been in charge of household stores or perhaps the personal belongings of artistocratic women.

¹⁵⁴ Translation from Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 54.

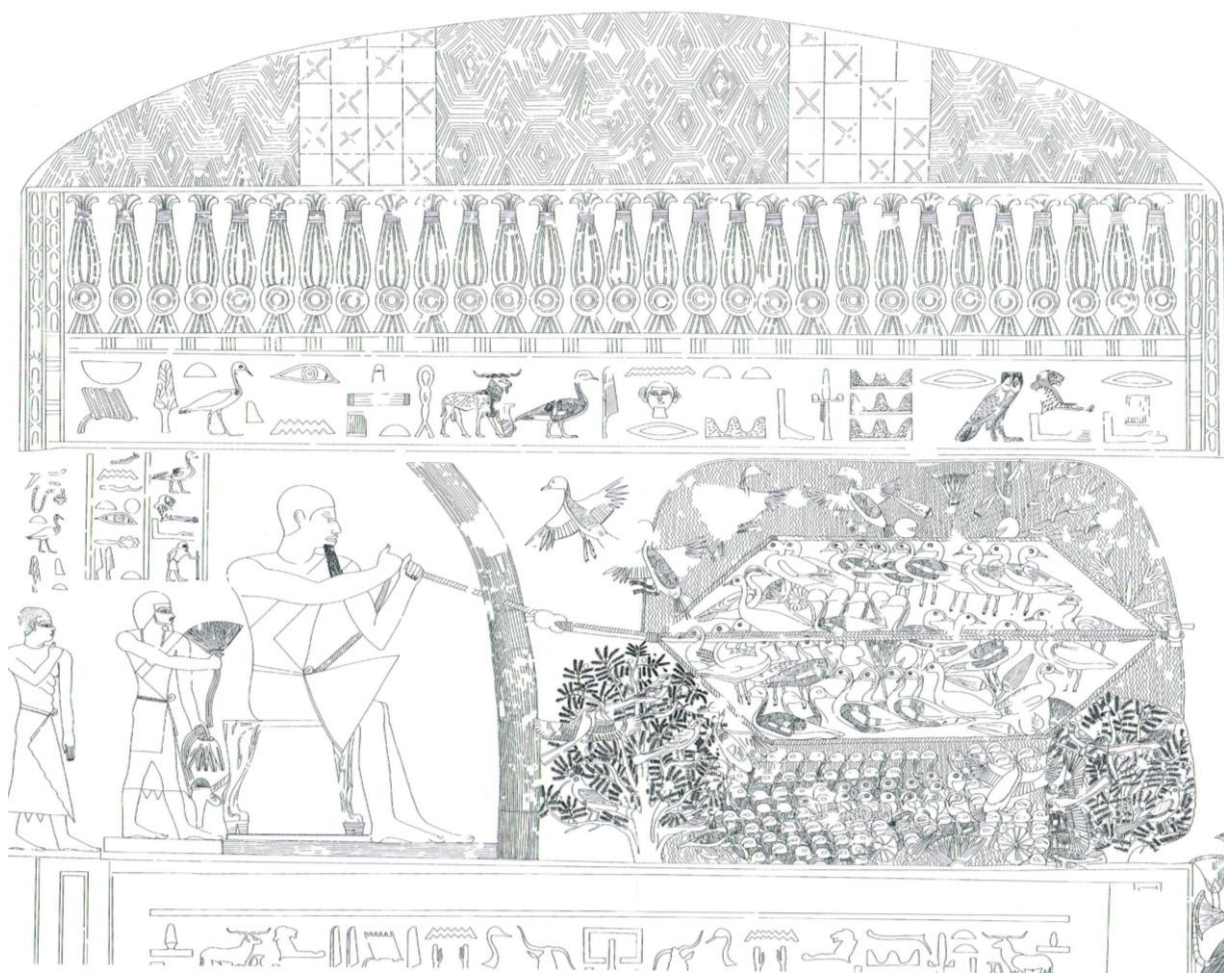


Figure 20. East wall, central section of the tomb, the tomb owner and his son catch birds with a clap-net

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 133)

On the central section of the eastern wall above the entrance to the shrine there is a scene of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II seated behind a clap-net, accompanied by his eldest son, *Nḥt*, and by the *imy-r ḥtmt B3kt* ‘overseer of the treasury, *B3kt*’.¹⁵⁵ *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II has short hair, a long beard, and wears a belted, white kilt that has the single strap over the shoulder. He is seated on a backless lion footed chair that is tied to the ground with a peg. Above him is an inscription which reads: *iry-p^ct ḥ3ty-^c imy-r smiwt i3btywnt Nḥri s3 Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) ir n B3kt nb im3h* ‘the hereditary prince, the count, overseer of the eastern deserts, *Nḥri*’s son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II born to *B3kt*, possessor of veneration’. His son, *Nḥt*, stands behind him wearing a short kilt with a transparent kilt and has a single tie over the shoulder. He holds two papyrus umbels with one outstretched towards his father. The accompanying inscription above him reads: *s3 ḥ3ty-^c smsw.f Nḥt ir (n) Hty* ‘the son of the count, his eldest, *Nḥt*, born to *Hty*’. Below

¹⁵⁵ K Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 57.

this scene in the inscription surrounding the doorway to the shrine the names of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's father, *Nḥri*, and mother, *B3kt*, appear again.

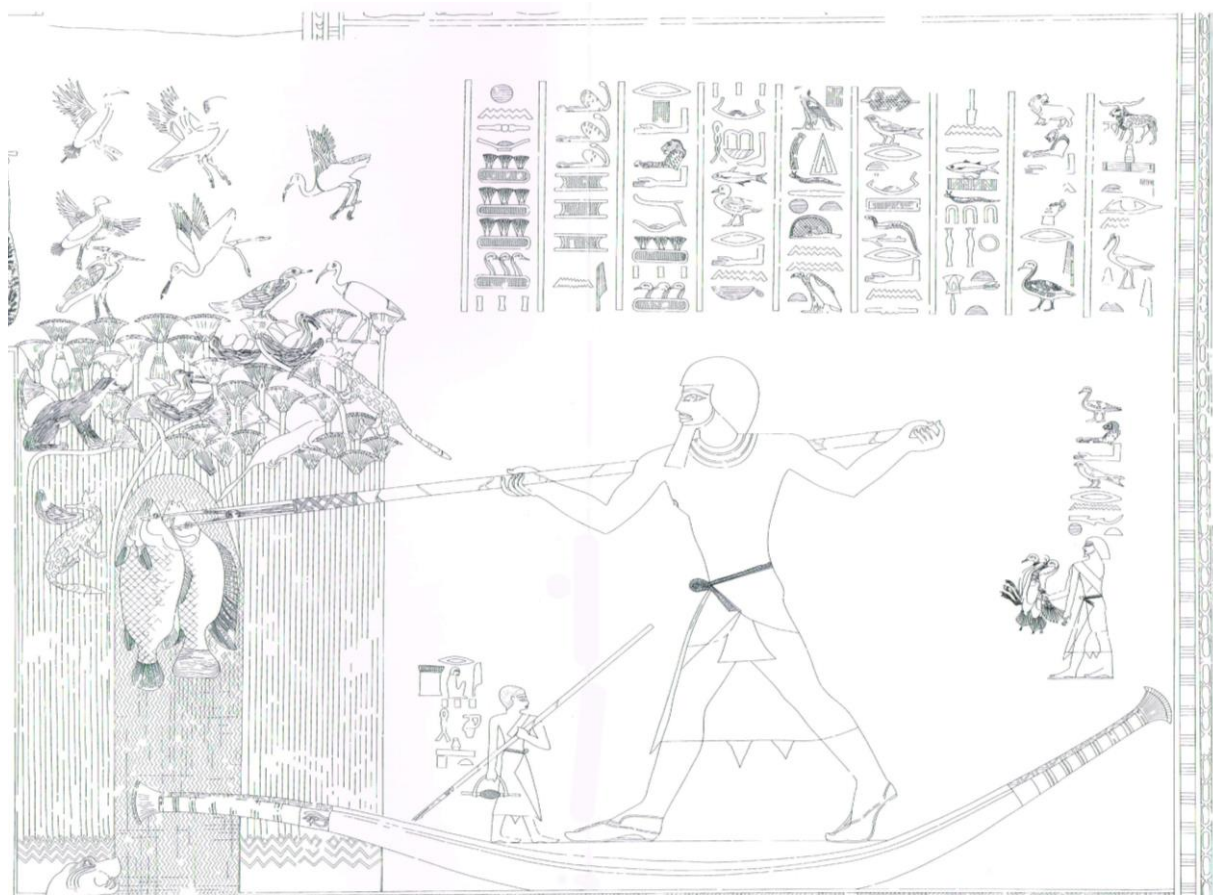


Figure 21. East wall of the tomb showing *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II spearfishing with his son

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 136)

The southern section of the eastern wall depicts *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II standing on a papyrus boat whilst spearfishing. He has a collar around his neck and wears a tunic and a short white kilt similar to a shendyt-kilt with a transparent kilt over it. He is holding a spear with both hands that has a tilapia and a Nile perch caught upon it. Above him is a text that lists his titles and names him as *ḥ3ty-ᵐ Nḥri s3 Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) ir n B3kt* ‘the count, *Nḥri*’s son, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, born to *B3kt*’. Behind *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and outside of the boat, probably watching from the river bank is his son, *Nḥt*. He is wearing similar clothing to his father except the kilt has a single strap over one shoulder and he wears sandals. In his hands he holds three birds that have been caught. The inscription above him reads simply: *s3 ḥ3ty-ᵐ wr Nḥt* ‘the eldest son of the count, *Nḥt*’.

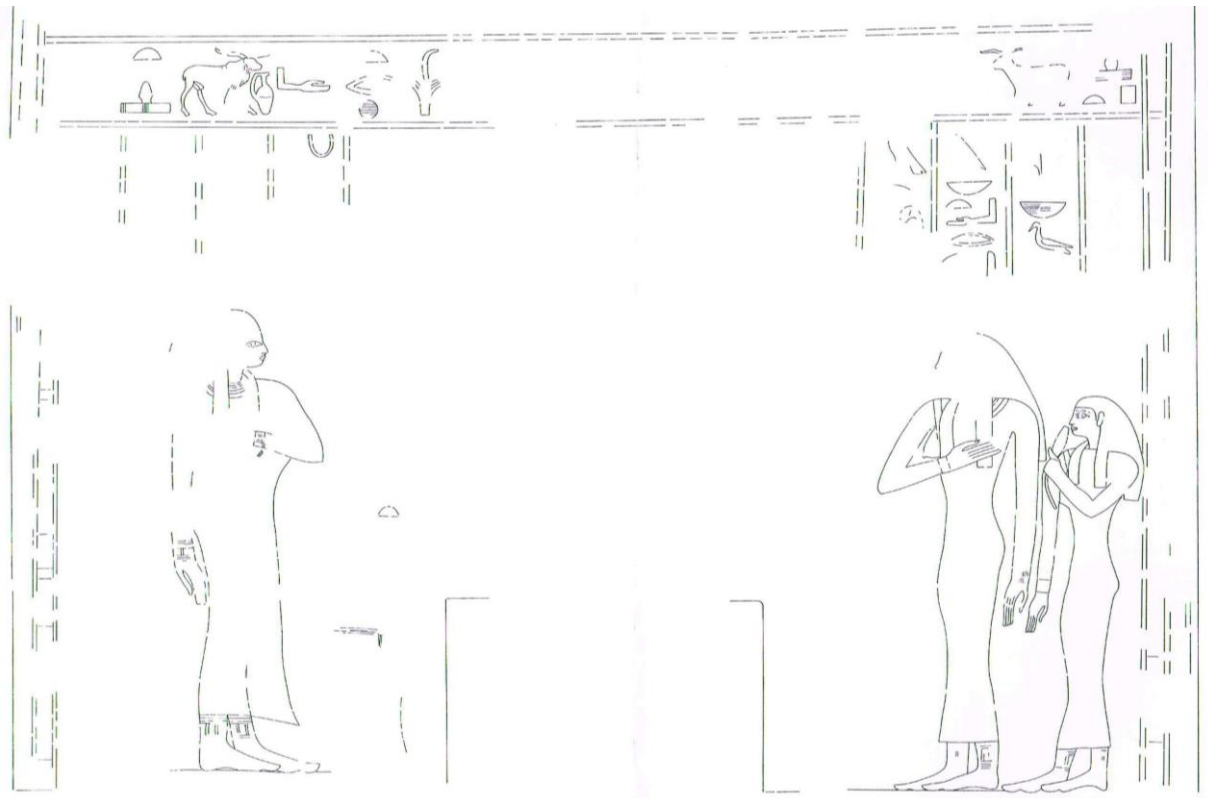


Figure 22. Shrine, east wall, showing the female members of the family of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 145)

The entrance to the shrine is in the centre of the eastern wall. Inside the shrine there once existed a colossal seated statue of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. Unfortunately this statue is almost completely destroyed but the seat is mostly intact.¹⁵⁶ On the walls either side of him are incised and painted portraits of female family members, although they have suffered mutilation the inscriptions above them survive to indicate who they are. On the left-hand side is a portrait of his wife, *Hty*, identified by the sign ‘*ḥm*’ from ‘his wife’ which is all that remains of a four-lined inscription. On the right-hand side are two women wearing long wigs and sheath dresses. The first is described as *mwt ḥ3ty[-ḥm(t)-ntr] Hwt-ḥr nbt ʿryt [ḥm(t)]-ntr P3ḥt B3kt* ‘mother of the count, the priestess of Hathor, lady of Aryt, the priestess of Pakhet, *B3kt*’. The second woman is depicted smaller in size and holds a lotus flower to her nose but unfortunately no identification is preserved for her. It has been suggested by Kamrin that she might be identified with, *S3t-ip(y)*, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II’s grandmother, as the other female figures of the family all appear painted on the walls of the shrine participating in the cult.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 71.

¹⁵⁷ Kamrin, J., *Cosmos of Khnumhotep*, 37.

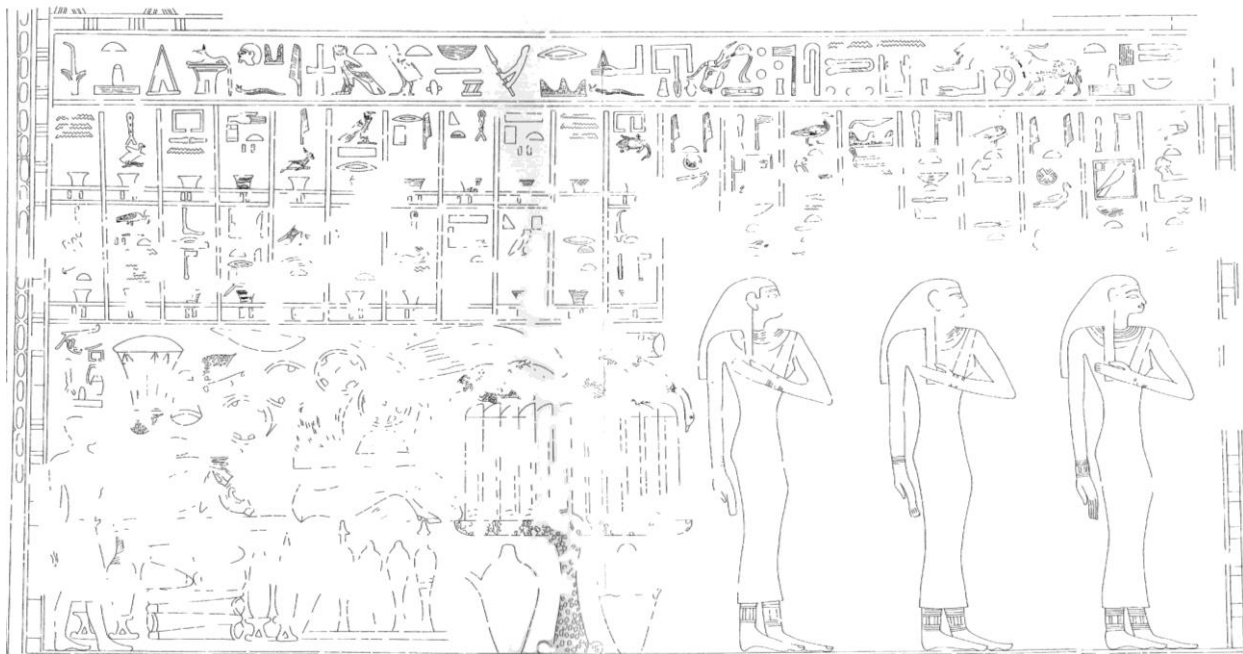


Figure 23. Shrine, north wall, showing the daughters of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 144)

The northern wall of the shrine depicts three female figures facing in the direction of the statue of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. Although this scene is quite damaged these women are posed with an arm to their chest as a gesture of respect and appear to wear sheath dresses, anklets and broad collars.¹⁵⁸ The inscription above them which provides their names and titles is damaged but can be reconstructed as (*s3*)*t ḥ3ty-ꜥ nt [ḥt].f ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt [ꜥr]yt B3kt* ‘the daughter of the count, of his body, the priestess of Hathor, lady of Aryt, *B3kt*’; *s3.t ḥ3ty-ꜥ [nt] ḥt[.f] ḥm(t)-ntr [P3ḥt] nbt [mjt] s Tnt* ‘the daughter of the count, of his body, the priestess of Pakhet, lady of the desert, *Tnt*’; *s3.t ḥ3ty-ꜥ nt ḥt.f ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nbt ꜥryt Mr[.s]* ‘the daughter of the count, of his body, the priestess of Hathor, lady of Aryt, *Mr.s*’. These women are the daughters of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and his first wife, *B3kt*. Behind them is an offering table, a pile of offerings and list of twenty-two offerings. The north-west wall of the shrine depicts a single female figure who is identified in an accompanying inscription as: *ḥtmtyt T3t* ‘the sealer, *T3t*’. She is depicted in the same pose and clothing as the daughters of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II.

¹⁵⁸ Kamrin, J., *Cosmos of Khnumhotep*, 135.

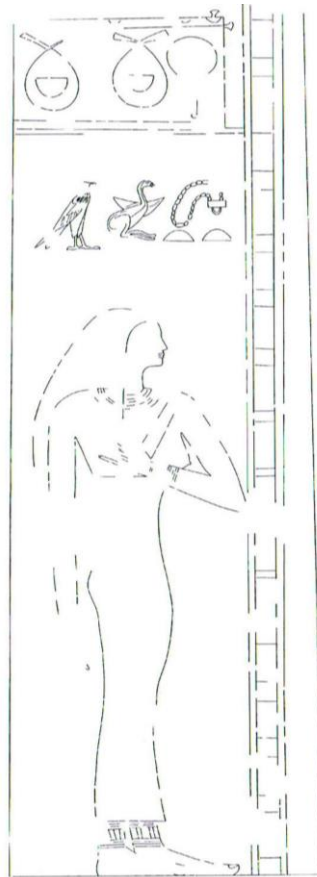


Figure 24. Shrine, west wall, north, showing *T3t*

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 147)

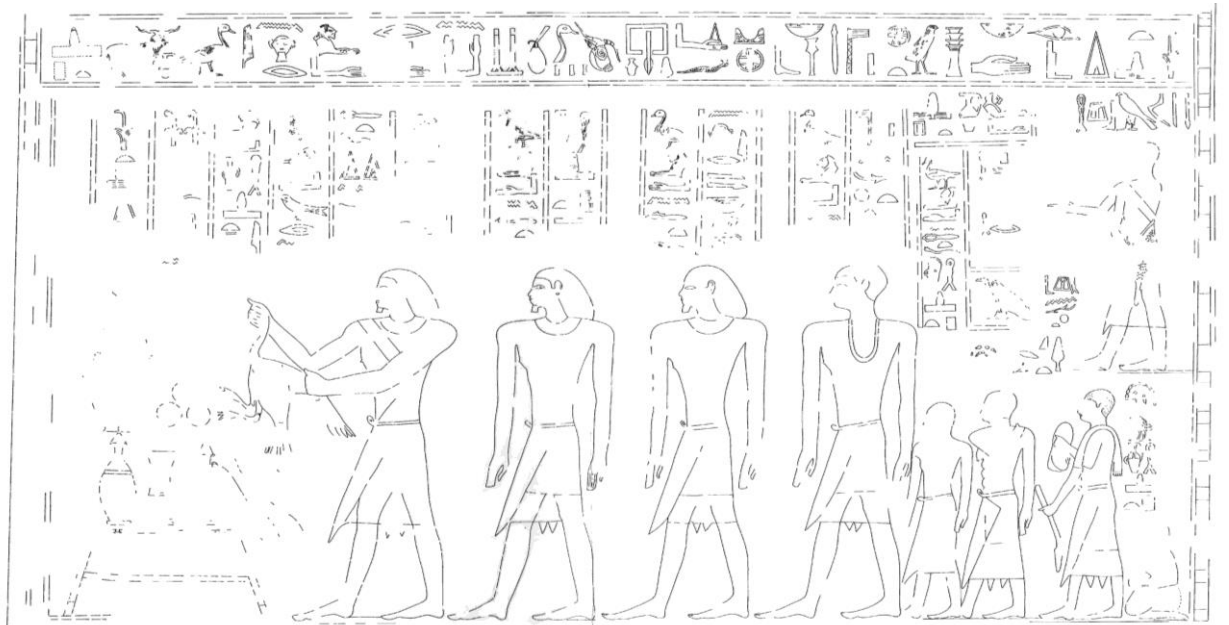


Figure 25. Shrine south, showing the sons of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II*

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 146)

The southern wall of the shrine mirrors the northern wall by depicting the sons of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. Four of these men are shown on a larger scale, these are *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's sons by *Hty*. The damaged inscription above them can be reconstructed as: *ḥtp di nswt ... nn ... n ḥ3ty-ḥ Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) i[n] s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ wr n ḥt.f dd n.f [iw]ḥt ... [Nḥt]* 'an offering which the king gives, ... this... to the count, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* by the eldest son of the count, of his body, to whom the inheritance was given...[*Nḥt*].¹⁵⁹ *Nḥt* acts as the chief celebrant of the cult, wearing the kilt and sash of a lector priest and holding a fowl raised in his hands to an offering table. The next two sons of *Hty* wear shoulder-length wigs, beards, collars, and are clothed in short white kilts. These are: *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ n ḥt.f Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) m3ḥ[-ḥrw]* 'son of the count, of his body, *Hnmw-ḥtp* III, the justified', and *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ n ḥt.f Nḥri m3ḥ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ* 'son of the count, of his body, *Nḥri*, the justified, possessor of veneration'. Following these men is the youngest of *Hty*'s sons who has short hair, no beard, and wears an amulet around his neck. He is designated as *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ n [ḥt.f] Ntr-nḥt(.w)...* 'the son of the count, of his body, *Ntr-nḥt(.w)*'. Behind these four men on a much smaller scale is one of the sons of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II by *T3t*. He wears the same white kilt and a short inscription above him identifies him as: *s3 ḥ3ty-ḥ n ḥt.f Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* 'son of the count, of his body, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV'. The eldest son of *T3t*, named *Nḥri* does not appear in this scene, nor does he appear on the north wall where all of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's sons are shown participating in the hunting scene. It may be the case that his elder brother *Nḥri* had died and this is why he is not shown participating with his brothers in either scenes.

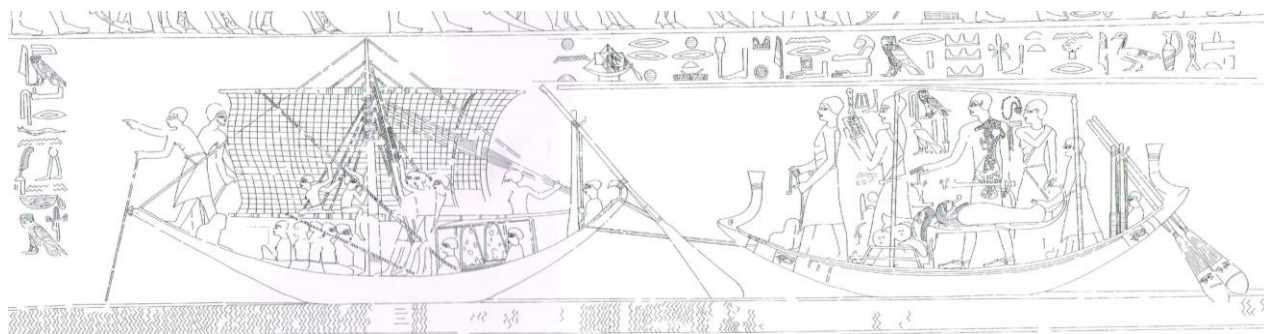


Figure 26. West wall, north of the entrance, showing boats journeying to Abydos

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan* I, pl. 118)

The western wall depicts a variety of scenes including crafts, industries, manufacturing, and agricultural pursuits. In the prime position on the wall is the scene of the

¹⁵⁹ Translation from Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan* I, 71.

tomb owner and his household travelling to and from Abydos. The boats on the north-western side of the wall shows the journey to Abydos. Two men sitting inside a small cabin on the first boat may be identified as the tomb owner and his eldest son.

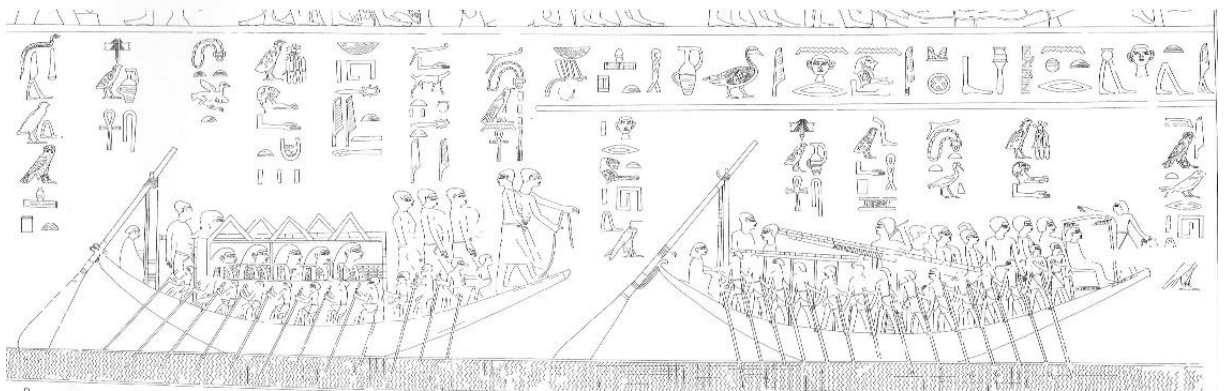


Figure 27. West wall, south of the entrance, showing the return journey

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 121)

The boats on the south-western side of the wall represents the return journey north with the boat sails down. On the first boat standing behind the figure of *Hnmmw-htp(w) II* are seven men, four of whom are identified as his sons by an accompanying label reading *msw ḥ3ty-ḥ* ‘the children of the count’. These four are probably his sons by *Hty*, being *Nḥt*, *Hnmmw-htp(w)*, *Nḥri*, and *Ntr-nḥt(w)*. The female members of his family are in the second boat inside a canopied structure. The first is *nb(t) pr Hty m3ḥt-ḥrw* ‘the lady of the house, *Hty*, the justified’. Behind her a label identifies *ḥ3ty-ḥ ḥmwt* ‘the female children of the count’, probably *B3kt*, *Tnt*, and *Mr.s*, whilst the final figure is that of *ḥtmtyt T3t* ‘the sealer, *T3t*’. Above both the north and south voyage scenes are inscriptions which identify *Hnmmw-htp(w) II* as *Nḥri s3* ‘*Nḥri*’s son’.

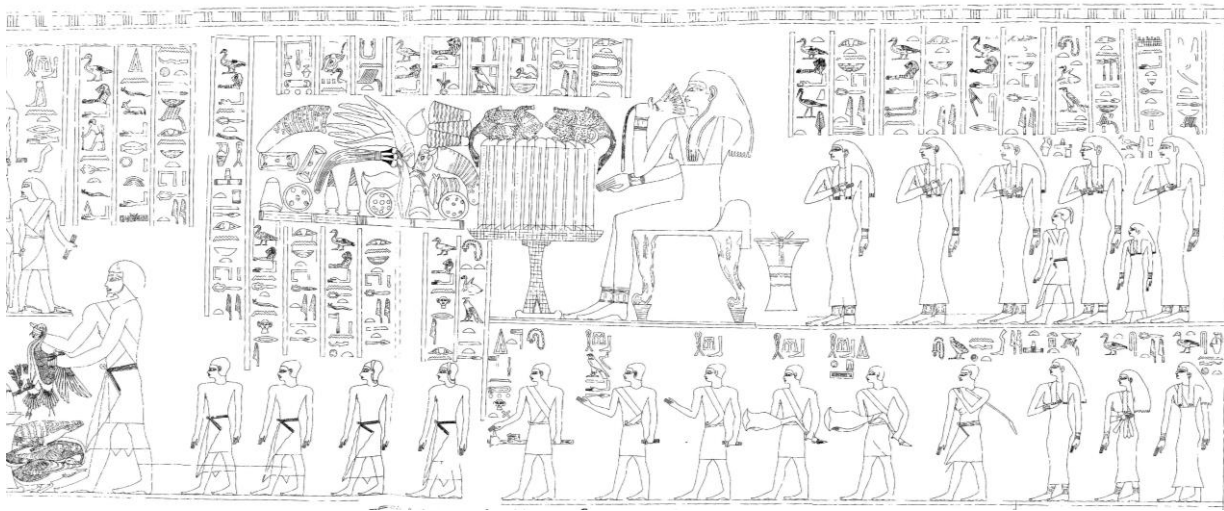


Figure 28. South wall, west, the family of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II in the offering

(After Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. 139)

The southern wall is dedicated to the procession of offerings to *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II who is seated before an offering table. He sits upon a low-backed, ebony chair with lions-feet on small pedestals. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, moustache, bracelets, a collar, and a white kilt with a starched front panel. He has one hand extended towards the offering table and in the other he holds a flail. Behind him an inscription identifies him as *Nhri s3* ‘*Nhri*’s son’. In front of the large pile of offerings and leading a procession of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II’s sons is his eldest, *Nht*, depicted in larger size and wearing a skullcap, a beard, sash, and a short kilt with a transparent kilt over it. He holds two fowl in his raised hands, acting in the position of the chief celebrant of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II’s cult. An inscription above him identifies him as *s3 h3ty-^c smsw n ht.f di n.f iw^ct h^c r^c Nht m3^c-hrw nb im3h ir n nbt-pr Hty* ‘the eldest son of the count, of his body, to whom the inheritance is given, when the sun rises, *Nht*, the justified, the possessor of reverence, born to the lady of the house¹⁶⁰, *Hty*.’¹⁶¹ *Nht* is followed by three of his brothers who are identified as the sons of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II and *Hty*, these being *Hnmw-htp(.w)* III, *Nhri*, and *Ntr-nht(.w)*. Behind them follows the eldest son of *T3t*, *Nhri*. Both *Ntr-nht(.w)* and *Nhri* have the sidelock of youth to identify their young age.

Seated at her own offering table in the upper west section of the wall scene is *Hty*. She is seated on a low backed chair made of ebony, has a long wig, wears anklets, bracelets, and a long white sheath dress with V-shaped straps. She has one hand raised towards the offering table and in the other she holds a lotus flower to her face. She is identified by the inscription *prrt-hrw t hnkt p3wt k3w 3pdw n k3 n im3hwt s3t h3ty-^c h3tyt-^c rht nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-Hr hm(t)-*

¹⁶⁰ Not given in Khnumhotep II’s tomb, listed in tomb no.4.

¹⁶¹ Translation from Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 64.

ntr P3ht nb(t) pr Hty irt n Tnt ‘innovation offerings of bread, beer, cakes, oxen and fowl to the ka of the honoured one, the daughter of the count, the countess, the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Hathor, the priestess of Pakhet, the lady of the house, *Hty*, born to *Tnt*.’ In a procession behind her are her three daughters *B3kt*, *Tnt*, and *Mr.s*. All three are clothed in long white sheath dresses with one shoulder strap, anklets, and bracelets, and stand with one hand raised to their breast in a pose of respect. Similarly clothed is the next figure of *T3t* who has her two youngest children with her, all three identified by accompanying inscriptions. In front of her stands the small-scale figure of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* IV who wears a long kilt and his hair is fashioned in the side-lock of youth. Behind *T3t* is her young daughter, *S3t-ip(y)*, who is also depicted in small-scale. Following the procession of female family members is a nurse who was probably accompanying *T3t* because of the age of her young children.

Below the register of the female family members are a series of lector priests followed by a man wearing a short kilt and holding a baton beneath his armpit. He has sagging breasts and a paunch stomach and is labelled as *htmw/sd3wty Nht* ‘the sealer, *Nht*’. He is followed by three women, the first woman stands with a hand to her breast in a sign of respect while the other two have one hand lightly outstretched. The inscriptions identify the first figure as *W^cryt-htpt nb.t im3h* ‘*W^cryt-Htpt*, the possessor of veneration’; *s3t.s Hty* ‘her daughter, *Hty*’, and *s3t.s Hnmw-nht* ‘her daughter, *Hnmw-nht*’. That these figures are in close proximity to the other family members of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II and the fact that they carry no offerings may suggest they are also members of the family. Kamrin suggests that *W^cryt-htpt* might be another wife, a mistress, or a sister of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II.¹⁶² Kanawati suggests that *W^cryt-htpt* may have had a similar relationship to *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II like that of *T3t*. He also suggests that while less likely, it is possible that these women had a relationship to the sealer *Nht*, who may have been a close relative or was even the elder brother of the tomb owner who had the same name. He proposes that the reason the designations of ‘his wife’ and ‘his daughter’ are missing from this scene was to avoid confusing the family with *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II’s own wife and daughters.

¹⁶² Kamrin, J., *Cosmos of Khnumhotep*, 128.

LOCATION: Beni Hassan Tomb 4

DATE: Twelfth Dynasty

The tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) IV*, son of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II* was probably the last tomb built for the family of the Governors of Beni Hassan in the upper terrace. The tomb was left unfinished and contains no burial shafts, paintings or graffiti.¹⁶³ The lintel of the doorway to the main chamber contains just a short inscription which names the tomb owner and his titles of *iry-pꜣt* ‘hereditary prince’ and *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* ‘count’. The name of his mother, *T3t*, and her title of *nb.t pr* ‘lady of the house’ are also given. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) IV* and *T3t* are both known from the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II* and while they are both not given titles in that tomb that would indicate they were family to *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II*, this unfinished tomb provides them with basic titles befitting the family of an official.¹⁶⁴

It is not unusual that *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) IV* does not mention his father in this tomb and perhaps having his tomb next door to his father’s was indication enough of their kinship. That this tomb was left unfinished and with no burial suggests that *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) IV*’s career took him away from Beni Hassan. It is also possible to suggest that there was a lack of wealth in the region with the decline of the nomarchs and that meant such a large tomb was unfeasible.¹⁶⁵ An insight into what might have become of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) IV* may be found in the fate of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) III*, his older half-brother, who was taken to the King’s residence to receive education. He ultimately achieved the title of *imy-r pr wr* ‘chief steward’,¹⁶⁶ before building his tomb north of Senwosret III’s pyramid at Dashur.¹⁶⁷

The decline of the officials with the title *ḥry-tp ꜣ3* occurred throughout the Middle Egyptian provinces during the reigns of Senwosret II and III.¹⁶⁸ This may have been due to the King refusing to appoint the heirs of the nomarchs to their fathers’ position and thus ending the line of inheritance. This could be achieved by having the nomarchs’ heirs go to the residence for education and thereby become loyal to him.¹⁶⁹ If this was the case for *Hnmw-*

¹⁶³ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 7.

¹⁶⁴ For a discussion on *T3t* and the fate of Khnumhotep IV’s elder brother, see Ward., W.A., *Case of Tchat*, 51-59.

¹⁶⁵ Franke, D., *Career of Khnumhotep III*, 63.

¹⁶⁶ Known from Mastaba no.2 at Dashur see Franke, D., *The career of Khnumhotep III*, 61; Ward, W.A., *Index*, 22 [141].

¹⁶⁷ Franke, D., *Career of Khnumhotep III*, 63.

¹⁶⁸ Franke, D., *Career of Khnumhotep III*, 52.

¹⁶⁹ Franke, D., *Career of Khnumhotep III*, 55.

ḥtp(.w) III then *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV may have gone elsewhere too. Certainly the line of administrators of the Oryx-nome and the eastern desert came to an end with *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Franke, D., *Career of Khnumhotep III*, 58.

LOCATION: Beni Hassan Tomb 13

DATE: Unknown (?)

The tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* nicknamed ‘the scribe’ is in the northern section of the upper terrace. This tomb is the only inscribed tomb in the upper terrace to belong to a person who is not known to have been related to the nomarchs of the Oryx-nome. Other small rock cut tombs were cut into the upper terrace (e.g., tombs 6-8, 10, 20 etc) but their owners are unknown. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*’s tomb is small, contains one burial shaft, and is only inscribed on the door-posts and lintel of the entrance to the main chamber.

Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) held the titles of *sš ʿ nsw* ‘scribe of the royal documents’¹⁷¹, *imy-r i3w.t hntywt* ‘overseer of the foremost offices’¹⁷², *imy-r pr* ‘steward’¹⁷³, *mty n s3 n pr P3ht* ‘regulator of the sa-order in the house of Pakhet’¹⁷⁴, *shd ḥw.t-ntr* ‘inspector of a temple’¹⁷⁵, *hrp ḥtpw-ntr m r-prw ntrw niw.t tn* ‘controller of divine offerings in the chapels of the gods of this city’¹⁷⁶, *hry sšt3 m ḥw.t-ntr nt [...]* ‘master of secrets in the temple of [...?...]’¹⁷⁷, and *hry-tp i3wt ḥwt-ntr* ‘chief of temple offices’¹⁷⁸. Seidlmayer identified that *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*’s titles were hierarchically above those of the occupants of the shaft tombs in the lower terrace but below those of the nomarchs.¹⁷⁹

The tomb provides the names of his father, *Ntrw-ḥtp(.w)*, and his mother, *S3t-th*, but their parentage and titles are unknown.

¹⁷¹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 158 [1360].

¹⁷² Ward, W.A., *Index*, 10 [33].

¹⁷³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 21 [132].

¹⁷⁴ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 96 [805].

¹⁷⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 154 [1325].

¹⁷⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 136 [1165].

¹⁷⁷ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 122 [1032].

¹⁷⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 123 [1046].

¹⁷⁹ Seidlmayer, S.J., *People at Beni Hassan*, 355.



Figure 29. Exterior and jamb inscriptions of the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* the scribe

(After Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, pl. XLI)

Newberry thought that the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* was built in an earlier period and dated it to Tenth or Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁸⁰ However, Seidlmayer has suggested that *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* may correspond to the figure of *Sḥ-Ḥnmw* who appears in the tomb of *Imny*.¹⁸¹ This

¹⁸⁰ Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan I*, 75.

¹⁸¹ Seidlmayer's paper wrongly lists *Sḥ-Ḥnmw* as appearing in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II, however the image used is from the tomb of *Imny*. Seidlmayer, S.J., *People at Beni Hassan*, 363.

figure holds the titles of *wr-swnw* ‘chief physician’¹⁸², *imy-r pr n M3-ḥd* ‘steward of the Oryx-nome’¹⁸³, *ḥtmty-ntr* ‘god’s sealer’¹⁸⁴, and *wt Inpw* ‘embalmer of Anubis’¹⁸⁵



Figure 30. Re-drawn figure by Fischer of section of the north wall

(After Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 30)

While a close date is permissible due to the location of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*’s tomb in the northern section of the upper terrace which hosts the tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, a precise date is highly speculative.

¹⁸² Ward, W.A., *Index*, 88 [731].

¹⁸³ Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 4 [153a].

¹⁸⁴ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 171 [1480].

¹⁸⁵ Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 14 [754a].

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The decorated tombs of the officials at Beni Hassan are a rich source of information for all aspects of life within the province, but notably they provide an insight into how the ancient Egyptians viewed the concept of family, and the position and roles individual family members held. Whilst there are only twelve decorated tombs of the officials in the upper terrace, this select group provides a corpus of data relating to the subject of family ranging from the Eleventh Dynasty through to the Twelfth Dynasty which reveals how the Middle Kingdom officials at Beni Hassan viewed their families. The province of Beni Hassan was far removed from the capital of Memphis, and therefore it should be understood that the position, titles, and inter-nome marriages of the ancient Egyptians in the provinces were substantially different than they were in the capital, and by extension, the status of family members could have been significantly different as well.

A study of the twelve decorated tombs shows that there is a pattern in the representation of family members in scenes and inscriptions. In the Eleventh Dynasty tombs the tomb owners were not as concerned about including their ancestry or immediate family in the tomb decoration, while the Twelfth Dynasty tombs show much greater representation. This probably does not reflect the Egyptians changing views on their families but rather a change in art. The tomb owners of the earlier tombs may have been more concerned with recording their own image into their tombs, understanding that building a tomb near to his father would be enough to show familial relations. The focus of the artistic representation is on the tomb owner himself. The later tombs exhibit more representations of family which might be linked to a change in the way the province was being administrated. In the case of *Hnmw-htp(w)* II it was in his best interest to depict his family's entitlement to their position, not only to legitimise, but to show that he came from a line of men with great achievements and women with high titles.

Of all of the family members to be depicted in the decorated tombs, the mother of the tomb owner appears most frequently in inscriptions whilst the wife is more often depicted in both scenes and inscriptions. It is notable that in the earlier tombs the family members are referred to by their relationship to the tomb owner and few carry titles or are depicted in scenes. In the later tombs there are longer title strings in the inscriptions and more depictions in the wall scenes. The fact that the tombs show no visual representation of the tomb owner's

father in the scenes might be due to the tomb owner not wanting to confuse who the tomb, titles, and achievements belonged to.

Table 2. Scenes and inscriptions depicting family members in the tombs of the officials

Tomb Owner	Father	Mother	Wife	Son(s)	Daughter(s)	Other
<i>B3kt</i> I			I+S	S		
<i>B3kt</i> II	I	I				
<i>R3-mw-šnti</i>						
<i>B3kt</i> III		I			I+S	
<i>Hty</i>	I		I+S	I (?)		
<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> I		I	I+S			
<i>Nḥt</i>						
<i>Nṯr-nḥt(.w)</i>		I+S	I+S			I+S
<i>Imny</i>	I	I	I+S	I+S		I (?)
<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> II	I	I	I+S	I+S	I+S	I+S
<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> IV	I	I				
<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> the scribe	I	I				
I = inscription, S= scene						

The occurrence and quantity of the male titles present in the decorated tombs speak to the transitional period of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. Prior to *Hty*, the previous nomarchs all carried the same set of titles: *hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’¹, *ḥ3ty-ʕ* ‘count’², *ḥtmty-bity* ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’³, *smr –wʕty* ‘sole companion’⁴, *rḥ nsw* ‘acquaintance of the king’⁵, *imy-is* ‘councillor’⁶, *iry Nḥn* ‘keeper of Nekhen’⁷, and *hry-tp Nḥb* ‘chief of Nekheb’⁸. *Hty* held all of these titles as well as the addition of the two new titles of *imy-r smiwt i3btywt* ‘overseer of the eastern deserts’⁹ and *imy-r mšʕ m s.t nb.t št3.t* ‘overseer of the army in every secret place’¹⁰. The title of great overlord of the Oryx-nome becomes *hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd mi-ḳd.f* ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome to its entirety’. The addition of the titles relating to the eastern deserts and the military, and the change of phraseology to the position of great overlord of the Oryx-nome may suggest that the borders of the Oryx-nome were expanded and the nomarchs became directly involved with expeditions to the eastern desert. It may also be that in this case *Hty* is emphasising his suzerainty over the nome, having risen from a lower position to eventually have full rule over the entire nome.¹¹ From the titles of the nomarchs present in the tombs it would appear that the overseers and mayors of Menat-Khufu controlled areas relating to property management, temple administration and military control in the Oryx-nome.¹²

Table 3a. Titles of Eleventh Dynasty high officials

¹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

² Ward, W.A., *Index*, 104 [864].

³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 170 [1472] and Fischer, H.G., *Egyptian Titles Supplement*, 77.

⁴ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 151 [1299].

⁵ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 1, 3 (see reference 12).

⁶ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 9 [23].

⁷ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 64 [523].

⁸ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 126 [1074].

⁹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 44 [340].

¹⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 30 [213].

¹¹ For a discussion on the distinction between the titles of nomarch and mayor of Menat-Khufu see, Willems, H., *Nomarchs and Local Potentates*, 378 (note 107).

¹² Seidlmayer, S.J., *People at Beni Hassan*, 355.

Title	<i>B3kt</i> I	<i>B3kt</i> II	<i>R3-mw-šnti</i>	<i>B3kt</i> III	<i>Hty</i>
<i>hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>ḥ3ty-ʕ</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>ḥtmty-bi.ty</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>smr wʕty</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>rḥ nsw / rḥ nsw m3ʕ</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>imy-is</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>iry Nḥn</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>hry-tp Nḥb</i>	x	x	x	x	x
<i>imy-r smiwt i3btywt</i>					x
<i>imy-r mšʕ m s.t nb.t št3.t</i>					x

Table 3b. Titles of Twelfth Dynasty high officials¹³

	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> I	<i>Nḥt</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	<i>Imny</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> II	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(w)</i> IV
<i>hry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd</i>	x	x		x		
<i>iry-pʕt</i>	x		x	x	x	x
<i>ḥ3.ty-ʕ (n Mnʕt-ḥwfw)</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>ḥtmty-bi.ty</i>	x		x	x	x	
<i>smr wʕty</i>	x		x	x	x	
<i>rḥ nsw / rḥ nsw m3ʕ</i>	x			x	x	
<i>imy-is</i>	x			x	x	
<i>iry Nḥn</i>	x			x		
<i>hry-tp Nḥb</i>	x			x	x	
<i>imy-r ḥmw-ntr</i>	x			x	x	
<i>imy-r smiwt i3btywt</i>		x			x	
<i>hrp šndt nbt</i>				x	x	

The male family members of the tomb owners are very rarely provided with titles in the inscriptions and are frequently referred to in regards to their relationship to the tomb owner, such as ‘father’s son’. It is only in the tombs of *Imny* and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II which both feature long autobiographical texts that titles, and in the case of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II, names, are provided. In these cases the inclusion of the names and titles of male family members is most probably to emphasise the tomb owner’s own greatness having come from a prestigious background.

¹³ *Hnmw-ḥtp(w)* ‘the scribe’ has been excluded from these tables due to his lower rank.

Table 4. Titles of male members of the families of the tomb owners

Title	Family member	Tomb Owner	Relation to tomb owner
<i>im3-ꜥ</i> ‘gracious of arm’	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Grandfather
<i>imy-r mšꜥ wr n M3-ḥd</i> ‘overseer of the great army of the Oryx-nome’	Unnamed	<i>Imny</i>	Father
<i>imy-r niwwt</i> ‘mayor’	<i>Nḥri</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Father
<i>imy-r smywt i3btywt</i> ‘overseer of eastern deserts’	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Grandfather
<i>imty n bity</i> ‘foster child of the king of Lower Egypt’	<i>Nḥri</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Father
<i>iry-pꜥt</i> ‘hereditary prince’	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Grandfather
	<i>Nḥri</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Father
<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i> ‘count’	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Grandfather
	Unnamed	<i>Imny</i>	Father
	<i>Nḥri</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Father
<i>ḥry-tp ʕ3 n M3-ḥd</i> ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) I</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Grandfather
<i>ḥk3 Inpw</i> ‘ruler of the Jackal-nome’	<i>Nḥt</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Son
<i>ḥk3 niwwt m3wt</i> ‘ruler of the new towns’	<i>Nḥri</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Father
<i>ḥtmty-bi.ty</i> ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’	Unnamed	<i>Imny</i>	Father
<i>smr wꜥty</i> ‘sole companion’	<i>Nḥt</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Son
	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) III</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w) II</i>	Son

FEMALE TITLES

The female family members of the nomarchs of Beni Hassan are commonly referred to in regards to their relationship to the tomb owner such as *hmt=f* ‘his wife’, *mwt=f* ‘his mother’, and *s3t=f* ‘his daughter’. Their names are often prefixed with the term *mrt=f* ‘his beloved’, which, while formulaic, is an indication of affection.¹⁴ The most popular title among these women is that of the *nb.t pr* ‘lady of the house’ which was a very common title used by married women.¹⁵ The female family members of the nomarchs were in one of the higher positions in society and their titles reflect this. Many of these women held the title of *h3.tyt-^c* ‘countess’ which is only attested at Beni Hassan¹⁶, and popular was the title of *s3t h3ty-^c* ‘daughter of the count’ which was a common title among the families of the nomarchs of Beni Hassan and Meir.¹⁷ Titles such as *iry.t-p^ct* ‘hereditary princess’ were not indicative of royal lineage but were carried by the wives and mothers of the nomarchs by virtue of their high station.¹⁸ This title was rarely used in the Old Kingdom but became in popular use by royal women in the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁹ *S3.t-ip(y)* the wife of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* I had two epithets associated with her that of *hmt h3* ‘wife of a ruler’, and *hnwt hmw nbwt* ‘mistress of all women’, which indicated her high social status and did not act as actual position.²⁰ The woman *T3t*, known from the tomb of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II, is just one of two women to have held the title of *htmtyt* ‘sealer’ during the Middle Kingdom.²¹

There are two religious titles which were held by the female family members of the nomarchs. The most popular was that of *hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* ‘priestess of Hathor’ which was one of the most common titles held by women married to high status men.²² During the Middle Kingdom there is a gradual disappearance of women from public life, the disappearance of the title *hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* ‘priestess of Hathor’ is very dramatic.²³ This title was well attested at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty but was relatively rare in the Twelfth Dynasty with almost all title holders from this period found in the provinces.²⁴ The second religious title of *hmt-ntr*

¹⁴ Watterson, B., *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 62.

¹⁵ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 8.

¹⁶ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 22.

¹⁷ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 14.

¹⁸ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 45.

¹⁹ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 45.

²⁰ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 11.

²¹ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 17.

²² Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 10.

²³ Gillam, R.A., *Priestesses of Hathor*, 214,

²⁴ Gillam, R.A., *Priestesses of Hathor*, 214, 233. The title disappeared almost entirely by the reign of Senwosret II.

P3ḥt ‘priestess of Pakhet’ was only held by two female family members of the nomarchs and was an understandable choice with the local lion-goddess shrine located nearby Beni Hassan.²⁵ Whilst *Htpt* the wife of *Imny*, and *Hty* the wife of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II held both of these religious titles, it is interesting to note that *Hty* passed on one of each of these titles to her daughters, *ḥmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* ‘priestess of Hathor’ to *B3kt* and *Mr.s*, and *ḥmt-ntr P3ḥt* ‘priestess of Pakhet’ to *Tnt*.

Table 5. Titles of female members of the families of the tomb owners

Title	Family member	Tomb Owner	Relation to tomb owner
<i>iry.t-p^ct</i> ‘hereditary princess’	<i>S3.t-ip</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I	Wife
	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Wife
<i>nb.t pr</i> ‘lady of the house’	<i>S3.t-ip</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I	Wife
	<i>ʿryt-ḥtp</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Mother
	<i>Hr-ib</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Wife
	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Wife
	<i>Hty</i> born of <i>Hw</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Unknown
	<i>Hnw</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Mother
	<i>Htpt</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Wife
	<i>T3t</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Second wife
<i>rh.t nsw (m3^ct)</i> ‘(true) acquaintance of the king’	<i>Hr-ib</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Wife
	<i>Htpt</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Wife
<i>ḥ3.tyt-^c</i> ‘countess’	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Wife
<i>ḥm.t-ntr P3ḥ.t</i> ‘priestess of Pakhet’	<i>Htpt</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Wife
	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Wife
	<i>Tnt</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Daughter
<i>ḥm.t-ntr Hw.t-Hr</i> ‘priestess of Hathor’	<i>Dḥwti-k3i(.w)</i>	<i>B3kt</i> I	Wife
	<i>ʿryt-ḥtp</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Mother
	<i>Hr-ib</i>	<i>Ntr-nḥt(.w)</i>	Wife
	<i>Htpt</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Wife
	<i>B3kt</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Daughter
	<i>Mr.s</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Daughter
<i>ḥm.t ḥk3</i> ‘wife of a ruler’	<i>S3.t-ip</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I	Wife
<i>ḥnw.t ḥm.wt nb.wt</i> ‘mistress of all women’	<i>S3.t-ip</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I	Wife
<i>ḥtmtyt</i> ‘sealer’	<i>T3t</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Second wife
<i>s3.t ḥ3ty-^c</i> ‘daughter of the count’	<i>Hty</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	Wife
	<i>Hnw</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Mother
	<i>Htpt</i>	<i>Imny</i>	Wife

²⁵ Ward, W.A., *Feminine Titles*, 10.

The wife of the tomb owner is typically depicted accompanying her husband in decorated tomb wall scenes, however, in some tombs she is not shown, even though her children might be present. In these cases it is important to consider the period of time in which the tomb was built as changing fashions in art dictate what may or may not be represented.

At Beni Hassan there appears to be only one case in which the wife of the tomb owner has been deliberately left out of the tomb's decoration. On the northern wall of the tomb of *B3kt* III (15) his daughter, *Nfr-ḥp.wt-Ḥwt-ḥr*, is represented accompanying her father in the customary position a wife would usually be depicted in. In the tomb of his son, *Ḥty*, the name of his mother is similarly absent. It would appear in this case that the decision to exclude *B3kt* III's wife from the tomb decoration was a conscious choice possibly because she had either died prematurely and was buried before her husband's tomb was built or she had divorced her husband.

Among the other decorated tombs in the upper terrace of Beni Hassan there are more examples which do not depict a wife or children. In the tomb of *B3kt* II (29) his wife and children are not depicted but he does provide the names of both of his parents. In this case it cannot be discounted that there were scenes or inscriptions in his tomb which did mention his wife and children but are now destroyed. *R3-mw-šnti*'s tomb mentions no ancestry and this appears to be a deliberate choice to draw focus to the tomb owner himself. It is also possible that at the time when his tomb was built his family already had established tombs of their own and their proximity to each other was enough to show familial relations. Likewise, the tomb of *Nḥt* contains no mention of ancestry or family but his tomb was never finished, and as his title passed on to his nephew, *Ḥnmw-ḥtp(w)* II, it may mean he never had children. Similarly, the tomb of *Ḥnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV does not mention any wife or children but as this tomb was left unfinished and without any burial shafts, it would not have been his final resting place. The tomb of *Ḥnmw-ḥtp(.w)* the scribe provides the names of both of his parents, but as it contains only one burial shaft it is possible he was never married or had children.

MULTIPLE WIVES

The pharaohs are known to have kept harems but the existence of polygamy amongst the official classes is a highly contested subject in scholarship. Whilst the plurality of wives is attested in some tombs of officials from the Middle Kingdom period, the question arises as to whether these wives are appearing at the same time as each other. In many cases the official could have been widowed, divorced, or subsequently remarried, but chose to include both of his wives in the wall scenes of his tomb.²⁶ Kanawati identified cases of polygamy for the period of the Old Kingdom and concluded that considering the number of tombs from this period is large and that the number of cases of possible polygamy is relatively small, polygamy would not have been considered common.²⁷ McCorquodale expanded upon the subject by providing many more examples for the Old Kingdom.²⁸ Simpson identified thirteen possible cases for the Middle Kingdom but neither affirmed or denied the existence of polygamy.²⁹ The evidence of polygamy provided by these scholars for the Old and Middle Kingdom periods suggests that this practice was not specific to one period or to just the royal classes, and although rare, it was a possible option for a family unit.

At Beni Hassan there is only one case among the nomarchs which might be considered polygamous. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II (tomb 3) had a wife named *Hty* and a second “wife” in a woman named *T3t*. Certainly he was not officially married to both women at the same time but they both bore him children. At the making of his tomb he was married to *Hty* who is given prime position in the wall scenes and labelled as *nb.t pr* ‘the lady of the house’. *T3t* is depicted in the scenes as separate from the main family group, a clear differentiation in status, and only carries the title of *ḥtmtyt* ‘the sealer’³⁰. Simpson presents the possibility that *T3t* may have been an earlier wife who had died before *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II’s marriage to *Hty*³¹, however, this cannot be the case as *Hty*’s children are depicted as fully grown in the tomb while *T3t*’s are clearly still very young. It would appear that *T3t* only officially became married to *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II after the death of his first wife, *Hty*, as evidenced by an inscription in the later tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV, son of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II and *T3t*, who names his mother as an *nb.t pr* ‘the lady of the house’, a title she did not carry in *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II’s tomb.

²⁶ Simpson, W.K., *Polygamy*, 100.

²⁷ Kanawati, N., *Polygamy*, 160.

²⁸ McCorquodale, K., *Family in the Old Kingdom*, 67-86.

²⁹ Simpson, W.K., *Polygamy*, 100.

³⁰ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 169 [1468].

³¹ Simpson, W.K., *Polygamy*, 102.

INHERITANCE

In ancient Egypt inheritance followed matrilineal descent within a family and the decorated tombs at Beni Hassan display how this functioned within a province. The eldest son of the tomb owner was his heir but if he the tomb owner only had an eldest daughter, his position would be passed through her to her own son. It is known that a child's birth can be proven from the mother's side but to prove the legitimacy of the father is difficult.³²

Whilst the early tombs are uncomplicated and best understood as the inheritance of the title of *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome'³³ passing from father through to his eldest son, the intricacies of inheritance are better understood from the evidence in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. Amenemhat I appointed *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I to the position of *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd* 'great overlord of the Oryx-nome' and his eldest son *Nḥt*, to his inheritance in Menat-Khufu.³⁴ *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I's daughter, *B3kt*, married a man named *Nḥri* and had a son called *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II. When *Nḥt* died without an heir *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II was appointed to the inheritance through the father of his mother.³⁵ *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II himself had married a woman named *Hty* who was an *ḥ3.tyt-ʿ* 'countess' of the nearby Jackal-nome, therefore *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II's son, *Nḥt*, was appointed to the rulership of the Jackal-nome through the inheritance of the father of his mother.

³² Erman, A., *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 156.

³³ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

³⁴ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 32.

³⁵ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 33.

The eldest son of a tomb owner would have enjoyed advantages over other children in his family which is evident in tomb wall scenes where only one child accompanies their father in a significant task.³⁶ Such an example can be seen in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II where his eldest son, *Nḥt*, accompanies him in both fishing and clap-net scenes, while the other eldest, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III, appears in the fowling scene. As both of the sons of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II born to his wife *Hty* are described as the eldest it poses an interesting question in regards to inheritance. His son *Nḥt* is described as *s3 ḥ3ty-ꜥ wr Nḥt* ‘the eldest son of the count’, whereas the other brother, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III, is labelled *ky wr* ‘another eldest’ and as *wr shpr ntr* ‘whom god permitted to grow up’. While it has been suggested that these two brothers may have been twins it is more likely that the eldest son, *Nḥt*, died early causing the second brother, *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III, to become the eldest.³⁷ When they were both alive *Nḥt* was appointed to the rule of the Jackal-nome through his inheritance from the father of his mother³⁸, and *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III was appointed as a *smr -wꜥty* ‘Sole companion’. As *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III is known to have been taken to the King’s residence to receive education and ultimately built his tomb in Dashur the line of inheritance in the Oryx-nome did not continue.³⁹

³⁶ Allam, S., *Notes on the Designation Eldest Son/Daughter*, 30.

³⁷ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 18-9.

³⁸ Kanawati, N., *Beni Hassan I*, 34.

³⁹ Franke, D., *Career of Khnumhotep III*, 63.

ROYAL DATES

Of the twelve decorated tombs at Beni Hassan only two of these contain cartouches linking them to kings of the mid-to-late Twelfth Dynasty; however the autobiography in the tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II provides an insight into the careers of his ancestors and their interactions with earlier Twelfth Dynasty kings. These dates position the men in his family across the Twelfth Dynasty and in conjunction with other dating methods can assist in dating concurrent and earlier tombs.

Table 6. Royal dates in decorated tombs at Beni Hassan

KING ⁴⁰	DATE	EVENT	SOURCE
Amenemhat I 30 year reign (10 year co-regency with successor)	Probably early in career?	Visits province and places <i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I as Mayor of Menat-Khufu.	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II
	??	Under Amenemhat I <i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> I's daughter, <i>B3kt</i> , marries <i>Nḥri</i> of a nearby nome, and they have a son named <i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II.	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II
Senwosret I 45 year reign (3 year co-regency with successor)	Year 18	<i>Imny</i> appointed <i>ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥd</i> 'Great Overlord of the Oryx-nome'.	<i>Imny</i>
	??	<i>Nḥt</i> is given principedom of Menat-Khufu in reign of Senwosret I	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II
	Year 43	<i>Imny</i> is buried in tomb after 25 years of rule.	<i>Imny</i>
Amenemhat II 35 year reign (3 year co-regency with successor)	Year 19	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II appointed <i>Nḥt</i> 's position. i.e. <i>Nḥt</i> must've died	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II
Senwosret II 8/9 year reign (2-3 year co-regency with successor)	Year 6	Aamu arrive in <i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II's tomb	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II
	??	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II's son <i>Nḥt</i> (II) given position in Jackal nome (inheritance of mother)	
	??	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> II's second eldest, <i>Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)</i> III, was made a <i>smr -wʿty</i> 'Sole companion'.	

⁴⁰ Reigns based on table 3., Grajetzki, W., *Middle Kingdom*, 169.

FAMILY NAMES

The decorated tombs at Beni Hassan present a plethora of personal names which indicate an individuals' association to a province and to each other. In the early tombs belonging to *B3kt* I and his descendants there is notable repetition in the name '*B3kt*' in the male line. In the family of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II there are numerable repetitions beginning first with that of the name '*Hnmw-htp(.w)*' itself. Whilst many of these names are common to the Oryx-nome, the repetition of the names within a family may hint at honouring an ancestor. Interestingly, in this family it would appear that *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II may have had the choice in naming his children, as his sons and daughters by the woman *T3t* are all named after his own relations and not hers.

Table 7. Familial names in the family of *Hnmw-htp(.w)* II

Name	Relation to <i>Hnmw-htp(.w)</i> II		
<i>Hnmw-htp(.w)</i>	Maternal Grandfather	Son	Son
<i>S3.t-ip(y)</i>	Maternal Grandmother	Daughter	
<i>Nht</i>	Uncle	Son	
<i>B3kt</i>	Great Maternal Grandmother	Mother	Daughter
<i>Ntr-nht(.w)</i>	Unknown relation	Son	
<i>Nhri</i>	Father	Son	Son
<i>Tnt</i>	Mother in-law	Daughter	

THE FAMILY OF *B3kt* I

The family of *B3kt* I are the earliest known family to have held the position of *hry-tp* *3* *n M3-ḥd* ‘Great Overlord of the Oryx-nome’⁴¹ at Beni Hassan in the Eleventh Dynasty. In the Twelfth Dynasty they were replaced by the family of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I who was appointed to the position by Amenemhat I.⁴² The tombs belonging *B3kt* I and his descendants provide very little information about the individual family members of the tomb owners. No attempt was made in any of these tombs to include the ancestry of the women who married into the family and few were afforded titles. This indicates that the prestigious titles were held by the men of the family, rather than their wives. It is also possible that the choice of scenes and inscriptions in these tombs is indicative of a change in artistic conventions which focussed more on the tomb owner than those around him.

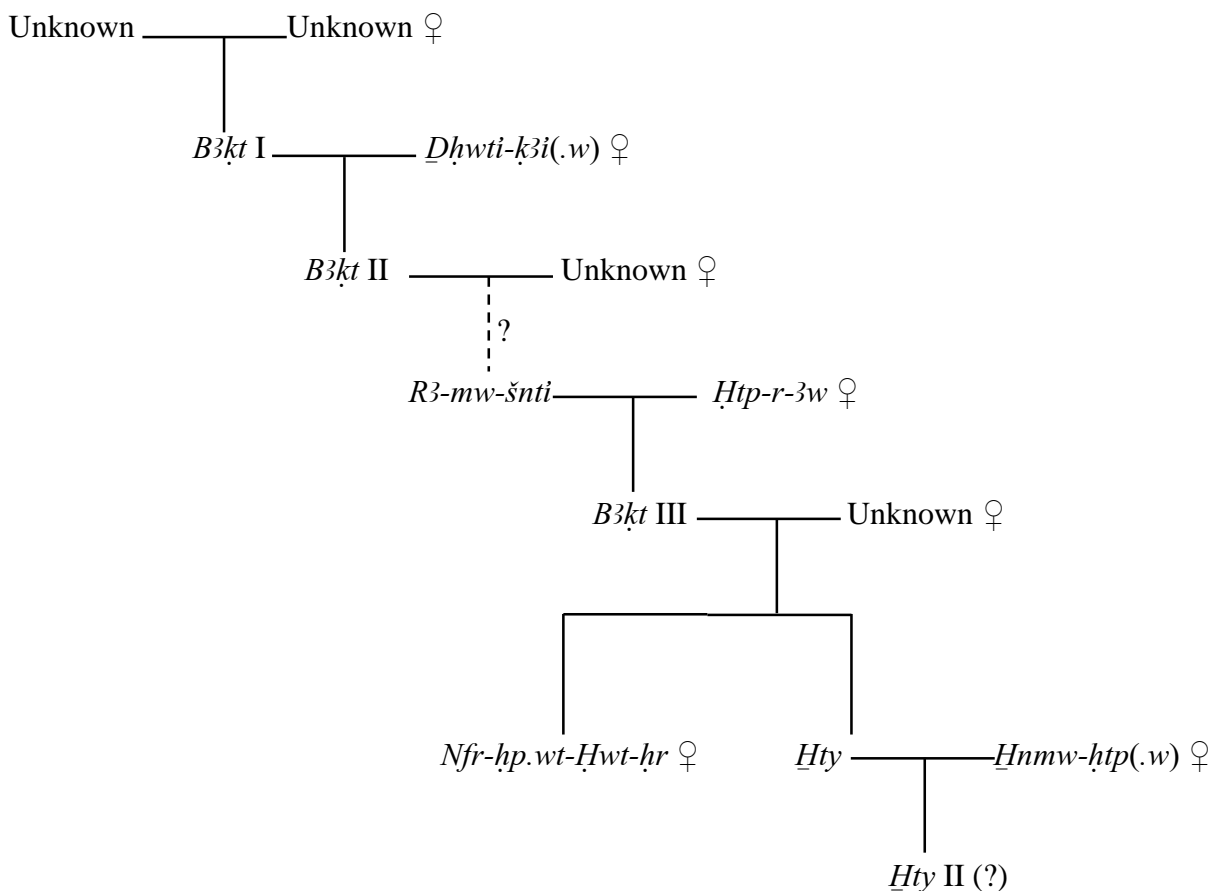


Figure 31. Family tree of *B3kt* I - *Hty* II (?)

⁴¹ Ward, W.A., *Index*, 124 [1055].

⁴² Newberry, P.E., *Beni Hassan* I, 58-59.

THE FAMILY OF *Imny*

In his tomb *Imny* provides the names of his mother, wife and son, but only refers to his father by title. The connection he may have had to the ruling family of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I who preceded and succeeded him is uncertain. Unfortunately there is no inscriptional evidence to support the claim that he was related to the family of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I, but several clues may indicate a connection.

1. At the time that *Imny* inherited the office of *ḥry-tp* 𓆎 there is no evidence of a change in the family who held office.
2. The evidence from other tombs at Beni Hassan has shown that particular names were repeated in families. *Imny* named his eldest son *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* and if he were from another family he would not have named his child after the previous nomarch.
3. *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II who was in office after *Imny* made the decision to build his tomb directly next door to *Imny*'s and copied the design very closely in architecture and decoration.

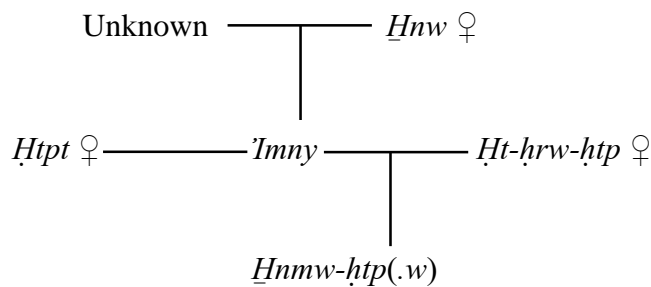


Figure 32. Family tree of *Imny*

THE FAMILY OF *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I

The family of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* I was appointed to the governorship of Beni Hassan in the early Twelfth Dynasty under Amenemhat I and retained their own rule until after the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty where it appears that the king was able to make the nomarchs relinquish their position. This is evidenced by the later tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* IV which remained unfinished and the mastaba of his brother *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* III in Dashur which shows that the successors of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II had moved on from Beni Hassan.⁴³

The autobiography of *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II is the main source for most of what is known regarding his ancestors and immediate family. He demonstrates that the high officials of Beni Hassan might arrange marriage between the provinces as evidenced by his marriage to *Hty* who was the daughter of a ruler of the Jackal-nome.⁴⁴ This is a particularly important factor which might suggest that the provinces had alliances with one another which were strengthened by family ties.

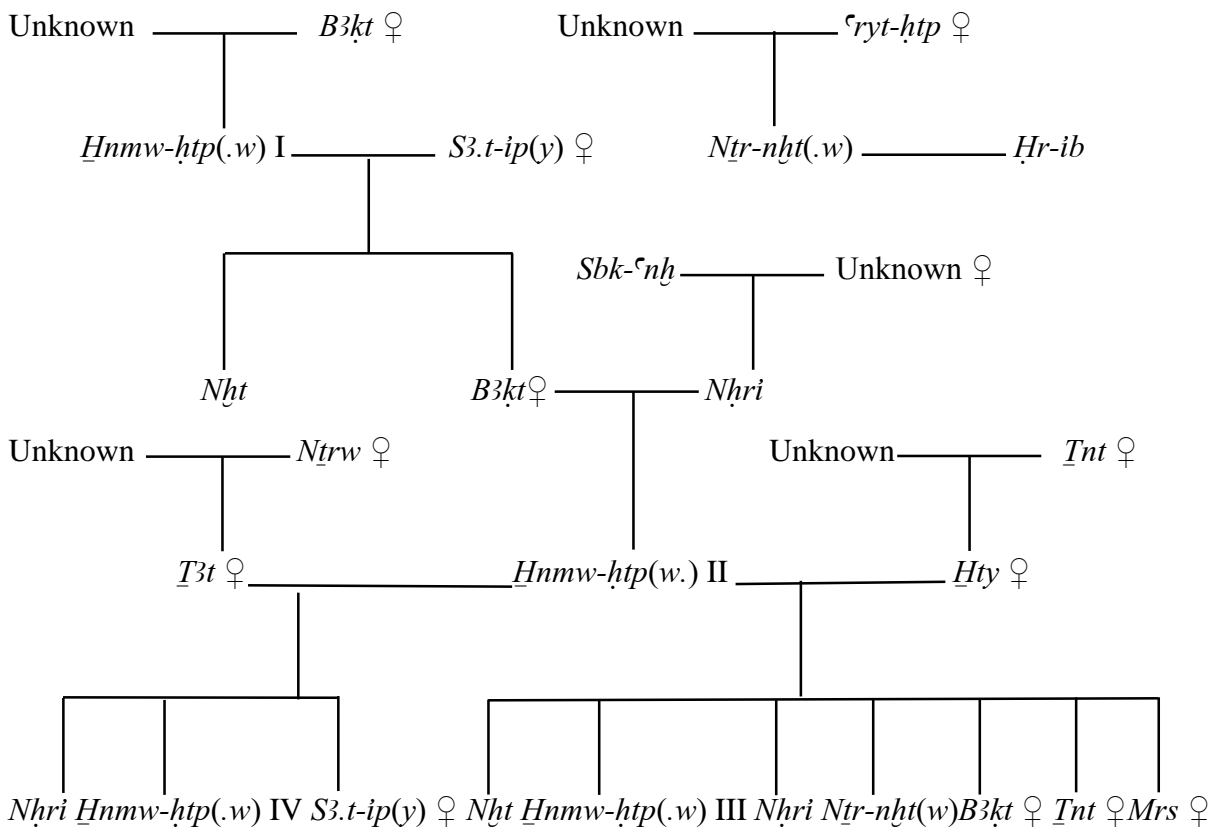


Figure 33. Family tree of *Hnmw-ḥtp II*

⁴³ Franke, D., *The career of Khnumhotep III*, 61.

⁴⁴ Grajetzki, W., *Middle Kingdom*, 114.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The results of this study provide an insight into the province of Beni Hassan during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. The analysis of tomb scenes and inscriptions at Beni Hassan has found that the basic family unit consisted of the tomb owner, his wife, and his children. In some instances it is possible to suggest that premature death or divorce would result in either the exclusion of the wife from the tomb or the inclusion of a second wife. The practice of polygamy was practically non-existent at Beni Hassan, with only one instance in which the tomb owner *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)* II had children by separate women concurrently. It appears that the tomb owner would only legally take a second wife after the death or divorce of his first wife.

One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that the depiction of family members within scenes and inscriptions increased at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and into the Twelfth Dynasty. This would appear to be due to a change in artistic representations and beliefs, with the earlier tombs focussing primarily on the tomb owner himself whilst the later tombs included more family members in scenes and inscriptions. There was similarly an increase in the amount of titles the tomb owner held, particularly within the religious sphere, with a greater quantity present in the Twelfth Dynasty. In the Eleventh Dynasty the family members of the tomb owner held very few titles, if any at all, but in the Twelfth Dynasty they are shown to inherit titles and to have a direct role in the temples based on the presence of religious titles.

In the Twelfth Dynasty there is an increase in the visual depiction of family members within the tomb scenes possibly linked to the tomb owner wanting to portray himself as the successful head of a household and to emphasise his own prestigious ancestry and inheritance. Despite the increase in the representation of the family in scenes, the inclusion of the tomb owner's father only ever occurs within the inscriptions, while the mother appears in both scenes and inscriptions. In some cases the mother appears in a statue in the tomb of her son. These findings suggest that the mother figure was held in high regard within Egyptian society.

The way in which family members are commonly referred to within the inscriptions is by the use of 'his father', 'his mother', 'his wife', 'his son', and 'his daughter'. The phrase *s3/.t ḥ3ty-ꜥ* 'the son/daughter of the count' was another common term used to refer to the tomb owner's children in Beni Hassan. The emphasis in the inscriptions is placed on the tomb owner himself and the way in which his family members are related to him.

The study of familial relations and connections is shown as a possible technique to be used in order to determine the succession of tomb owners within a province. By using this method in conjunction with other dating methods greater accuracy can be achieved.

It is recommended that further research be undertaken which might explore the subject of family in other Middle Kingdom provinces in order to determine if there are similarities in how the tomb owner chose to depict his family and whether the instances described here for the site of Beni Hassan are common for the Middle Kingdom. This study could be furthered for the site of Beni Hassan by analysing the representations of family in the tombs of the lesser officials in the lower terrace.

