

## NEW DISCOVERIES IN THE TOMB OF KHETY II AT ASYUT\*

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Since September 2003, the "Asyut Project", a joint Egyptian-German mission of Sohag University (Egypt), Mainz University (Germany) and Münster University (Germany), has conducted three successive seasons of fieldwork and surveying in the cemetery at Asyut, aiming at documenting the architectural features and decorations of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs.<sup>1</sup> During these seasons, the cliffs bordering the Western Desert were mapped and the geological features studied, providing the clearest picture of the mountain to date (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup> In the south and the north, the mountain is cut by small wadis and consists of eleven layers of limestone. Rock tombs were hewn into each layer, but some chronological preferences became obvious: the nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom chose layer no. 6 (about two thirds of the way up the mountain) for constructing their tombs, while the nomarchs of the 12th Dynasty preferred layer no. 2, nearly at the foot of the gebel. During the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, stones were quarried in the south of the mountain (O17.1),<sup>3</sup> thus not violating the necropolis. During the New Kingdom, however, stones were hewn from the necropolis of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom (O15.1), sometimes in the nomarchs' tombs themselves (N12.2, N13.2, see below).

The tomb of Khety II<sup>4</sup> (Tomb IV; N12.2)<sup>5</sup> is located between the tomb of Iti-ibi (Tomb III; N12.1), his probable father, to the south and that of Khety I (Tomb V; M11.1), which is thought to be the earliest of the three, to the north.<sup>6</sup> Khety II governed as a nomarch of the 13th Upper Egyptian nome during the 10th Dynasty and served under the Herakleopolitan king Merikare.<sup>7</sup> The tomb was first recorded by the savants of the French expedition to Egypt in 1799.<sup>8</sup> The tomb's autobiographical inscriptions are crucial for establishing the history of the country during the First Intermediate Period; as a result scholars have focussed on them since the 19th century.<sup>9</sup> The main epigraphic documentation was produced by Francis Llewellyn Griffith in 1889,<sup>10</sup> and a revised version of his work was published later in 1935 by Pierre Montet.<sup>11</sup> Since then, no major archaeological investigation has been conducted there with the exception of the short visits by Diana Magee<sup>12</sup> in 1986 and Donald Spanel<sup>13</sup> in 1987. Before the Asyut Project began its work, the tomb's architectural features had never

been adequately documented, and no systematic excavation had ever been conducted there. Furthermore, no facsimile drawings are published as yet. The recent work in the tomb of Khety II has yielded interesting results concerning the tomb's architectural features and its history, which are the focal point of this article.

## Description of the tomb

### *The Courtyard and Hall* (Plates 1–2)

A comparison with the neighbouring Tomb III suggests the existence of a forecourt, which has so far not been excavated.<sup>14</sup> The façade of Khety II's tomb was destroyed in the first quarter of the 19th century (Plate 1).<sup>15</sup> The central axis of the hall is perpendicular to the lost entrance wall. The hall itself is more or less rectangular (max. 18.80 m long x max. 10.10 m wide x max. 3.90 m high) (Plate 2; Figure 2) with a floor space of about 147 m<sup>2</sup>. The ceiling is supported by two pairs of rock-cut pillars. The northern pillar of the eastern pair is broken away, while the suspended upper part of the other (south) pillar is preserved showing remains of incised hieroglyphs surmounted by an incised *hkr*-frieze decoration. The western pair of pillars is unfinished and only roughly executed. One of them is still standing, while the other pillar became a victim of later quarrying activities (see below). In the eastern (front) third of the tomb, the hall is broader than in the middle and the rear parts. This configuration is also a characteristic feature of Tomb III<sup>16</sup> and the Northern-Soldiers Tomb (M 11.1).<sup>17</sup>

### *The Decoration*

The north wall, in its eastern part, is decorated with a long autobiographical text in incised hieroglyphs filled with blue paint. The text is accompanied by figures of the tomb-owner and a priestess of Hathor named Iti-ibi, whose relationship to the tomb-owner is not stated. An incised *hkr*-frieze forms the top border of the relief and text. Into the eastern end of the south wall, a passage was cut at a later period to connect this tomb with the adjoining Tomb III. Further along, beyond a narrow projecting shoulder, the south wall is decorated in sunk-relief with marching soldiers armed with battle-axes and shields in three rows, of which the third row is unfinished (Plate 3).<sup>18</sup> A *hkr*-frieze is incised also above this scene. Two rectangular niches were cut into the same south wall underneath the relief. The western end of the tomb was not cut completely and was left unlevelled and rough. At some later point in time, an alcove was cut into the south wall at a level higher than floor level of the hall.



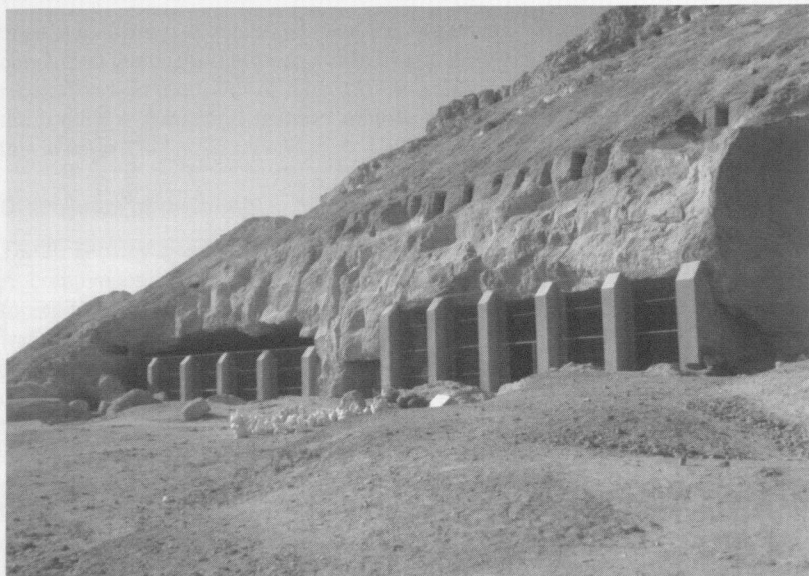


Plate 1. Facades of the tombs of Khety II (right) and Iti-ibi (left).

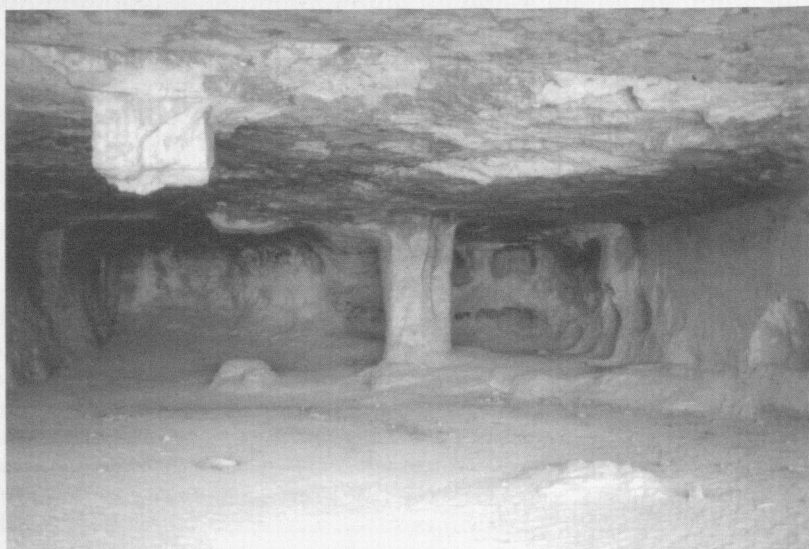


Plate 2. Tomb of Khety II: chapel.

### New Discoveries (Seasons 2004 and 2005)

During the seasons 2004 and 2005, the fill, which formed a nearly horizontal surface in the large inner hall, was removed. The fill consisted of limestone chips in different sizes, in some layers mixed with Nile silt and/or remains of bones, reed, bandages and other small objects. The thickness of this deposit ranged from 50 to 100 cm. The fill was once covered by a layer of mud plaster, which was in turn covered by a layer of lime plaster (Figure 3). Both layers only survived in parts in the south-east corner of the hall in front of the later passage leading to Tomb III. Remains of a bench made of mud bricks are visible on top of the lime plaster, possibly pointing towards the habitation of the tomb in later periods similar to the situation found in Tomb III.<sup>19</sup> This indicates that most of the levelling inside the chapel took place before the plaster layer was applied and the bench was installed. It has been suggested, that this later floor was a Coptic installation.<sup>20</sup> This is confirmed by chisel marks detected on the northern face of the north-west pillar (see below).

When the fill was removed,<sup>21</sup> two shafts so far unknown came to light.<sup>21</sup> Shaft 1 is situated east of the south-eastern pillar. Its opening measures 3.40 m (N-S) x 1.70 m (E-W) and it has a maximum depth of 5.00 m. It leads to a burial chamber cut into its south side. Shaft 2 was cut to the east of the south-west pillar. Its mouth measures 3.30 m (N-S) x 1.40 m (E-W) and it has a maximum depth of 9.40 m. It gives access to three burial chambers cut into its south side and two burial chambers cut into the northern side.

Both shafts produced many objects dating to different periods, ranging from artefacts which might belong to the original inventory to remnants of later burials and the reuse of the tomb. Both shafts were already plundered in antiquity, as was evident by the positions of the finds. Even if the existence of the several chambers in Shaft 2 points to a later reuse as a tomb, there is some evidence that the construction of both shafts was already completed at the end of the First Intermediate Period. Pottery, fragments of wooden models and bricks of sizes typical for the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom found in front of the burial chamber of Shaft 1 are clear indications.

Several objects might have belonged to the original burials.

#### *Shaft 1*

- Fragments of wooden models (S05/st 1239, S05/st 1311, S05/st 1354), which suggest a burial before the end of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>22</sup>
- Fragment of an offering tray made of clay (S05/128) comparable to those found by Petrie at Deir Rifeh in Middle Kingdom tombs.<sup>23</sup>

- Mud bricks found on the bottom of the shaft in front of the burial chamber. Their size corresponds to those of the First Intermediate Period/Middle Kingdom.<sup>24</sup> The bricks might, however, have been placed there when the shaft was plundered later.

### Shaft 2

- A completely preserved hemispherical cup (S05/28) (Plate 4), which can be dated to the First Intermediate Period. Its index is 228 (diameter 13.5 cm x height 5.9cm)<sup>25</sup> and this figure fits well with the index of cups from the earlier tomb (Tomb III) ranging between 270 and 250.<sup>26</sup> The lower index of the cup in Tomb IV suggests that the index number decreased in the latter part of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.<sup>27</sup>
- Fragments of wooden models (S05/10, S05/26, S05/64).


Other objects are the remains of a later reuse of the shafts.

### Shaft 1

- The base of a small limestone statue (S05/140: 6.9 x 4 x 2.1cm) with an incised inscription on three sides of the base (Plate 5).

*jn z3=s s'nh rn=s r hrtjw ntr Wp-w3wt-htp*

"it is her son who perpetuates her name more than the stone-masons, Wepwawet-hetep".

The non-enclitic particle *jn* is written here with the red crown  (S3 in Gardiner's sign-list); although it is used for *n* sporadically from early in the 12th Dynasty,<sup>28</sup> it is not commonly found until the late Middle Kingdom.

- Blue glazed faience ushebti fragment (17/09/05). Ushebti were not used as grave goods before the middle of the 12th Dynasty.<sup>29</sup>
- Feather crown made of wood (S05/131) (Figure 4).
- Copper blade (S05/139).
- Islamic pottery (interior: yellow glazed with black pattern) (S05/132).
- Green and yellow glazed Islamic pottery (S05/st 1227).
- Fragment of paper, presumably of playing cards (S05/st 1381).

### Shaft 2

- Headless wooden ushebti, painted yellow and inscribed in black (S05/52).
- Green and yellow glazed Islamic pottery (S05/st 757).

The fill in the inner hall contained objects from later periods:

In some of the niches, artefacts from diverse periods were found. The context in which papers, notes and pencil inscriptions were found suggests that they

Figure 2. Plan of the tomb chapel of Khety II (Tomb IV, N12.1).

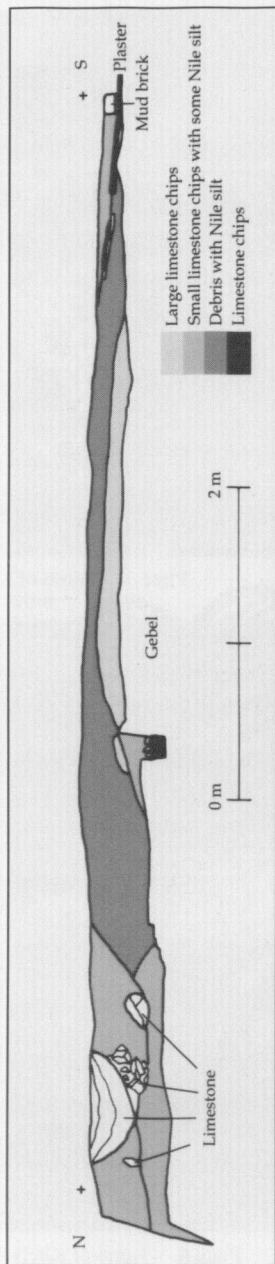
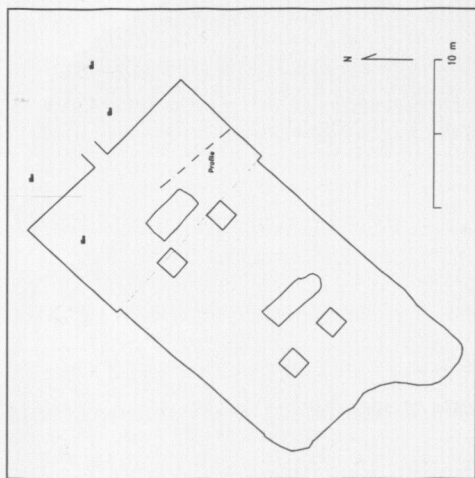


Figure 3. Tomb of Khety II: N-S section of the fill on the floor of the chapel.



Plate 3. Tomb of Khety II: south wall, marching soldiers.



Plate 4. Tomb of Khety II: hemispherical cup (SO5/28) from Shaft 2.





Plate 5. Tomb of Khety II: base of statuette (S05/140) from Shaft 1.

Figure 4. Tomb of Khety II: wooden feather crown (S05/131) from Shaft 1.

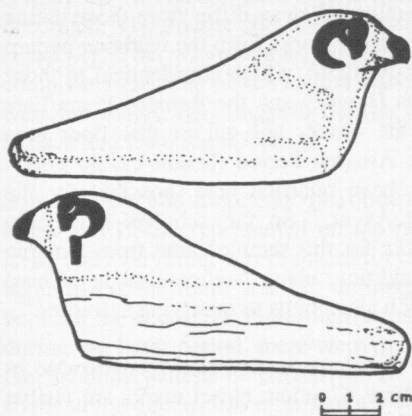
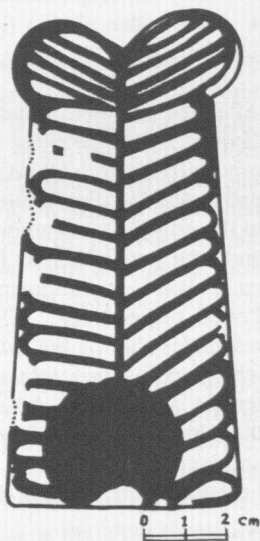


Figure 5. Tomb of Khety II: wooden falcon (S05/99) from southern wall alcove.

were deposited there by earlier excavators. One of the niches especially, contained many objects dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside Period. It also included some Coptic and early Arabic artifacts. It has been suggested that these objects were deposited there either by the British archaeologist David Hogarth or the French Egyptologist Charles Palanque.<sup>30</sup>

- A wooden falcon was found deposited in the later niche of the chapel's south wall (S05/99) (Figure 5). Similar falcons are known from the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. Interpreted as a representation of the god Sokar,<sup>31</sup> some of these falcons were found on top of canopic chests or ushebtu chests, while others were found on top of coffins.<sup>32</sup> This falcon is clear evidence that later tombs were cut into the mountain, although none are documented yet. It also asserts that some of the early excavators inhabited this tomb and used it as a tentative magazine. The Roman numeral XVII, written in pencil on the falcon, presumably refers to Hogarth's tomb XVII where he found a wooden falcon.<sup>33</sup>
- A headless blue glazed faience ushebtu fragment (S04/33).
- Bronze coin (diameter 3.5 cm x 0.5 cm thickness) (S04/174).
- Clay oil-lamp (diameter 5.2 cm x 7.3 cm thickness) (S04/214).
- A wooden phallic figure comparable to those found in Elephantine and Edfu.<sup>34</sup>

After the complete removal of the fill, it became apparent that the bedrock floor of the hall was not a flat surface but a rather irregular one (Plate 2), and especially around the shafts, several steps are hewn into the rock. The chisel marks and the dimensions of the stone quarried away differ from those dating to the original tomb architecture. These chisel marks form the fishbone pattern and long parallel marks (with a length of 20cm), which are identical to those recognizable in the quarries of the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside era/Late Period respectively.<sup>35</sup> The height of the blocks cut out of this floor area resembles that of the *talatat* from the Amarna Period (height ca. 30 cm),<sup>36</sup> which means that *talatat* might have been quarried here, possibly for the temple assigned to Amenophis IV at Asyut.<sup>37</sup> So far, scholars have only thought of the possibility that the blocks for this temple came from Amarna and were reused later at Asyut.<sup>38</sup> In addition, many hammers made of hard limestone were found in the debris, which also points to quarrying activities.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from this obvious quarry area, chisel marks are also recognizable in several other places in the hall. Early New Kingdom chisel marks are visible on the middle part of the northern wall. Patterns of copper chisels that leave very short and not parallel marks, which are typical for the Old and Middle Kingdoms,<sup>40</sup> can be recognized, for example, in the western part of Tomb IV

in the lower, not yet smoothed parts of the south wall. In addition, there are also chisel marks datable to the Coptic Period. They are 2.5 cm wide and on average 4 cm long,<sup>41</sup> and they can best be observed on the north side of northwest pillar, the only one still standing.

There are signs of an attempt to turn the rough rectangular pillar into a round column. But this work came to a halt, presumably because of a crack in the pillar, which might have appeared during the work. Perhaps the intention was to turn the tomb chapel into a sacred space, which would mean that all four pillars probably still existed during this period.

### **Use and reuse of the tomb**

The original rock-tomb was planned at the end of the First Intermediate Period. This fact seems to be confirmed by the regular arrangement of the pillars and the still visible architectural plan. Khety II chose the same area as his predecessor Iti-ibi, Level 6, where the mountain has the best quality of stone, and was therefore ideal for constructing a tomb. But the tomb was not completed, which presents us with a good example to reconstruct the process of tomb-building during the First Intermediate Period.

Evidence from the inner hall suggests that a horizontal tunnel was first cut into the mountain using the same technique as in stone quarries.<sup>42</sup> The left and right sides of the front part of the tunnel were then cut in order to create the planned rectangular design; the rear part was left unfinished in the form of a tunnel (Figure 2). The eastern part, including the front pair of pillars, is smoothed and decorated. The middle part is smoothed, but its decoration was left unfinished (Plate 2). The western part, including the inner pair of pillars, was not completely cut. The pillars have a smoothed architrave, while their lower parts were left rough. This suggests that the work in the tomb progressed from front to back and from top to bottom.

Some pottery and fragments of wooden models indicate that the tomb-owners Kheti and Iti-ibi, represented on the northern wall, were buried there, or, at least, that everything was prepared for their burial and that after the burials had taken place, the tomb was left unfinished. Probably the tomb was plundered between the end of the First Intermediate Period and the Amarna Period, since during the latter period, there were quarrying activities in the tomb for which the fishbone pattern of chisels on the walls and the "steps" cut around the shafts in the dimensions of *talatat* are evidence.

The chisel marks of 4 cm length on the rough rectangular pillar are typical for the Coptic era, which seems to suggest that some architectural changes took place or were at least intended at that time. The front part of the ceiling has a painted decoration which appears to be of Coptic style (Plate 2b) and the tomb was probably used as a sacred space by the Copts. Later again, the floor surface was levelled with a layer 50–100 cm thick of limestone chips, bones, linen, ropes, and basketry (all perhaps material from burials outside the tomb), and this level plastered over, so that the space could be reused again. Above this layer, a plaster of red colour was detected in the north-eastern part of Tomb IV. A final phase of work at the site occurred during the early 19th century: drill holes around today's tomb entrance point to the destruction of the façade with the aid of dynamite.<sup>43</sup>

In 1903, the French Egyptologists Chassinat and Palanque seem to have used Tomb IV as a magazine and installed an iron gate in front of it (Plate 1). They were afraid of an attack by antiquities dealers.<sup>44</sup> The British archaeologist David G. Hogarth probably also occupied Tomb IV and presumably built his camp here and spent the nights inside during the cold winter days in 1906/07.<sup>45</sup> Objects found in the rectangular niche in the northern wall of Tomb IV might have been deposited there either by Palanque or by Hogarth.

### General Commentary

After the Eighth Dynasty, the centralized government definitely lost its power and the country broke up into several regions governed by local rulers, but gradually two nuclei of power emerged. In the north Herakleopolis<sup>46</sup> continued the Old Kingdom tradition, and in the south Thebes aggressively expanded north and south, thus becoming a threat to the northern Herakleopolitan kingdom.<sup>47</sup> This rivalry culminated in a war, which lasted for at least 60 years. Asyut was obviously the last bastion of the Herakleopolitan kingdom and the stage for the decisive struggle, since the Siutian magnates were the closest allies of Herakleopolis.

The autobiographical text on the northern wall of Khety II's tomb chapel gives rich information about the fight for Asyut between King Merikare of Herakleopolis allied with Kheti II, on the one hand, and the Theban forces, on the other hand. Even if some details of the inscription are uncertain, the essential points are clear. Khety II seems to have been driven out of Asyut, but with the support of the Herakleopolitan king Merikare he managed to push back the Theban aggressors and to regain possession of his territory. He states in his autobiographical inscription:

*You (King Merikare) did convey him (Khety II from Asyut) upriver, the heaven was cleared for him, the whole land was with him, the counts of Middle Egypt, and the great ones of Herakleopolis. The district of the Queen of the land came to repel the evil-doer (the Theban ruler). The land trembled, Upper Egypt bailed water (its ships sank). All people winced (all people were in terror) the villages in panic (?), fear entered into their limbs ... The land burned in its (Herakleopolis') flame ... The head of the fleet extended to Shub,<sup>48</sup> and its end to ww hrj.<sup>49</sup> Heaven was blowing the north wind. Papyrus fell on the water. Herakleopolis was landing. "Welcome", the town (Asyut) cried jubilantly to its ruler, the son of a ruler, women together with men. The ruler's son (Khety II) reached his town. He entered his father's (Iti-ibi) territory. He brought back the refugees into their homes. He buried his old people.<sup>50</sup>*

This might explain the unfinished state of the tomb. The fact that Khety II was driven out of Asyut for some indefinite period and resumed the war after his return might have been responsible for this situation.

Later, however, the Thebans seized Asyut. The existence of the two finished shafts in the tomb of Khety provides new evidence concerning the end of the First Intermediate Period. Khety II continued the fight against Thebes, which is reported in the autobiographical inscription in his father's tomb (Tomb III).<sup>51</sup> The fact that his tomb has two shafts demonstrates that his defeat was not so sudden. Nevertheless, it is still uncertain whether he was really the last Siutian nomarch before the reunification by Mentuhotep Nebhepetre. Large tomb chapels with roofs supported by pillars and showing the projected shoulders characteristic of the First Intermediate Period tombs at Asyut<sup>52</sup> are known. Although anonymous, their large sizes suggest that they belong to some unknown nomarchs. One of these is Tomb M.12.1, now undecorated, situated in the upper level of the mountain. The other tomb (O14.2), decorated with wrestlers and some pastoral scenes, is located near Deir el-Meitin.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps one of these tomb-owners was the last Siutian nomarch before the reunification by Mentuhotep Nebhepetre.

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\* The work conducted in the 2004 and 2005 seasons was financed by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. This financial support is acknowledged with gratitude. Managed by Professor Dr Ursula Verhoeven, the fieldwork

was directed by both Professor Dr Jochem Kahl and the author. The expedition received full cooperation and support from the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Asyut. In this respect, we would like to express our sincere thanks to Professor Dr Zahi Hawass, Chairman of the SCA; Mr Sabry Abdel-Aziz (Head of the Archaeology Sector), Mr Samir Anis (Director General of Antiquities for Middle Egypt), Mr Hani Sadek (former Director General of Asyut), Mr Magdy El-Ghandour (Head of the Foreign and Egyptian Missions Affairs and Permanent Committee), Mr Hassan Fathy (Director of Antiquities at Asyut) and to our accompanying Inspector, Mr Magdy Shaker. The mission was assisted by a number of individuals who deserve all our thanks and appreciation: Dr Eva-Maria Engel, Dr Ulrike Fauerbach, Dr Sameh Shafik, Ms Monika Zöller, Ms Meike Becker, Mr Yasser Mahmoud, Mr Omar Nour el-Din, Mr Omar Abu Zaid, Mr John Iskandar, Ms Christiane Dorstewitz and Mrs Diana Kleiber. The map of the Asyut necropolis and the architectural plan were produced by Dr Ulrike Fauerbach, while the other drawings were prepared by Dr Eva-Maria Engel (Figures 3–4) and Dr Sameh Shafik (Figure 5). The photographs were taken by Professor Dr Jochem Kahl.

<sup>1</sup> For reports of the "Asyut Project" see: M. El-Khadragy / J. Kahl, "The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisited" in: *SAK* 32 (2004), 233–43; U. Verhoeven-van Elsbergen, "Zwischen Memphis und Theben: Die Gräber politischer Drahtzieher in Assiut/ Mittelägypten" in: *Natur und Geist. Das Forschungsmagazin der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz* (2004), 14–17; J. Kahl / M. El-Khadragy / U. Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Fieldwork Season 2004" in: *SAK* 33 (2005), 159–67; J. Kahl / M. El-Khadragy / U. Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Third Season of Fieldwork" in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 241–49; E.-M. Engel / J. Kahl, "Die Grabanlage Djefaihapis I. in Assiut: ein Rekonstruktionsversuch" in: *J. Popielska-Grzybowska: Proceedings of the Third Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists* (Warsaw, in print); M. El-Khadragy, "The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut" in: *SAK* 35 (2007), forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to Rosemarie and Dietrich Klemm for their five-day visit and their valuable comments on the geological structure of the mountain.

<sup>3</sup> For the numbers enclosed between brackets here and elsewhere in the text, see n. 4 below.

<sup>4</sup> B. Porter / R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* IV (Oxford, 1934), 263–64 (hereafter *PM*).

<sup>5</sup> Tomb IV is according to the terminology of Griffith (see below), while N12.2 is according to our survey of the necropolis which demands a more flexible terminology for the tombs (Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 241–42). A modern designation of the tomb is *Kahf el 'Asâkir* "cave of the soldiers" owing to the subject of the relief within it (F. Ll. Griffith, "The

Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh" in: *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* 3 [1889], 175).

- 6 For the succession of the three nomarchs, see: F. Gomaà, *Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, TAVO Beiheft B/27 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 99–100.
- 7 The name of Merikare is mentioned in the tomb's inscriptions (F. LI. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh* [London, 1889], IV [22]).
- 8 Commission des monuments d'Égypte, *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, IV, *Antiquités: Plates* (Paris, 1817), pls. 46 [1–8], 48 [3–5], 49 [1–4]; *Antiquités: Descriptions* (Paris, 1818), 125–157.
- 9 For those scholars, see: PM IV, 261–262. For the translations, see: H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut mit Übersetzungen und Erläuterungen*, *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 5 (Glückstadt, 1937), 27–35; W. Schenkel, *Memphis – Herakleopolis – Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 12 (Wiesbaden, 1965), 82–89; E. Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herakleopolitenzeit: Eine Wiederherstellung nach den Zeichnungen der Description de l'Égypte*, *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 71 (Opladen, 1984), 67–156.
- 10 Griffith, *Siût*, 11, pls. 13–14, 20 [upper].
- 11 P. Montet, "Les Tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh" in: *Kêmi* 3 (1930–35), 98–106.
- 12 D. Magee, *Asyût to the End of the Middle Kingdom: A Historical and Cultural Study*, II, PhD thesis: microfilm (Oxford, 1988), 1.
- 13 D. Spanel, "The Herakleopolitan Tombs of Kheti I, *Jt(j)jb(j)*, and Kheti II at Asyut", in: *Orientalia* 58 (1989), 304.
- 14 For the ground plan of Tomb III, see: Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 33 (2005), fig. 2.
- 15 Griffith, in: *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* 3 (1889), 177.
- 16 Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 33 (2005), fig. 2.
- 17 El-Khadragy, in: *SAK* 35 (2007), fig. 2, forthcoming.
- 18 For this scene, see: *Description de l'Égypte* IV, *Antiquités*, pl. 46 [4]; Spanel, in: *Orientalia* 58 (1989), 308–09, pl. 9, figs. 10–15; El-Khadragy / Kahl, in: *SAK* 32 (2004), pl. 14.
- 19 Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 243–44.
- 20 Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 33 (2005), 163.
- 21 See also Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 33 (2005), 163.
- 22 A. M. J. Tooley, *Egyptian Models and Scenes*, *Shire Egyptology* 22 (Princes Risborough, 1995), 8–18; J. Bourriau, "Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom" in: *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 11.

- 23 W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, BSAE 13 (London, 1907), 16, pl. 14.
- 24 A. J. Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), pl. 41.
- 25 The index represents the relation of the height to the diameter and is calculated by the formula  $index = \frac{100 \times max. \ diameter}{height}$
- 26 Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 34 (2006), 243–44.
- 27 See also D. Arnold, "Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976–1981" in: *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 60–62; M. Bietak, "Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt" in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), 471–85.
- 28 A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford, 1957), p. 27 n. 4.
- 29 Bourriau, in: *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 12–13.
- 30 Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 33 (2005), 163–64; compare D. P. Ryan, *The Archaeological Excavations of David George Hogarth at Asyut, Egypt* (Cincinnati, 1988), 59; E. Chassinat / Ch. Palanque, *Une campagne des fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, MIFAO 24 (Cairo, 1911), 2.
- 31 U. Wallenstein, *Ägyptische Sammlung: Schlossmuseum Gotha* (Gotha, 1996), 103.
- 32 C.M. Govi / S. Pernigotti, *Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna: La Collezione Egiziana* (Bologna, 1994), 136.
- 33 Ryan, *Excavations of David George Hogarth at Asyut*, 36.
- 34 Kahl / El-Khadragy / Verhoeven, in: *SAK* 33 (2005), 163, pl. 13 [1].
- 35 R. Klemm / D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen* (München, 1981), 37–38.
- 36 For the *talatat*, see: D. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), 63–71; I. Shaw / P. Nicholson (eds.), *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), 282.
- 37 S. Gabra, "Un temple d'Aménophis IV a Assiout" in: *CdE* 12 (July 1931), 237–43.
- 38 See also Magee, *Asyût* I, 1.
- 39 According to R. and D. Klemm flint tools were used for quarrying softer stones (*Die Steine der Pharaonen*, 36).
- 40 Klemm / Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen*, 37–38.
- 41 Klemm/ Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen*, 37–38.
- 42 D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Zürich, 1994), 79.
- 43 See n. 15 above.
- 44 Chassinat/ Palanque, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, 1–2.
- 45 Ryan, *Excavations of David George Hogarth at Asyut*, 59.
- 46 S.J. Seidlmayer, "Zwei Anmerkungen zur Dynastie der Herakleopoliten" in: *GM* 157 (1997), 81–90.
- 47 J.F. Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare*, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV/23 (Wiesbaden, 1992), 98–113.



- <sup>48</sup> For this town, situated 6 km to the south of Asyut, see: P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne* II (Paris, 1961), 125; Gomaà, *Erste Zwischenzeit*, 91.
- <sup>49</sup> For this unknown place, see: Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte* II, 139.
- <sup>50</sup> Griffith, *Siut* IV, [10-18].
- <sup>51</sup> Griffith, *Siut* III, [16-40].
- <sup>52</sup> See notes 16 and 17 above.
- <sup>53</sup> For Deir el-Meitin, see: O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt: Ancient and Modern* (Cairo, 1965), 282-283.