

ASPECTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MEMPHITE REGION  
OF EGYPT IN THE OLD KINGDOM

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to examine the nature and functions of six of the principal civil administrative departments of the Old Kingdom. It also studies the men who held the highest offices in each of these departments. The subject is approached using the evidence available from the memphite region of Egypt, the administrative centre of the country for the Old Kingdom. Material from the provinces, principally those of Upper Egypt, is compared with that of the memphite region. The method used is to examine the dating of all 173 identified holders of these offices, so as to place them in an accurate chronological order, and then to establish conclusions based initially on the analyses of the different types of titles they held. These findings are complemented by an examination of all other Old Kingdom evidence relevant to these administrative departments.

The material forming the basis of the thesis is culled mainly from the tombs of the officials holding the titles under study; other sources are used as appropriate. Most of this information has been taken from published work, but particular unpublished archives have been utilised and attempts made to examine the original material wherever possible.

The thesis shows that although the general structure of the administration of the Old Kingdom is superficially similar throughout a period of nearly 400 years, there were many changes in the classes of individuals who occupied the offices and also in the number of offices themselves. In particular, major changes can be observed at three points, the end of the fourth dynasty, the early fifth dynasty and the later fifth dynasty. The nature of these reforms has now become clear. For example, the process of the gradual withdrawal of the royal family from high state office at the end of the fourth dynasty was carried out by promoting officials of non-royal birth to work alongside the members of the royal family, whose role then gradually diminished and disappeared in the early fifth dynasty.

Other topics discussed include the location of the burials of the officials studied, and it appears that this is not generally as haphazard as is often supposed. The Old Kingdom false door or tomb stela is examined in some depth to ascertain its use as a dating criterion, and a simple typology of these objects has been built up.

There is no real evidence that the officials who ran the system in the Old Kingdom ever found themselves in a position where their power rivalled that of the king. The balance of power in the upper levels of the administration was not one of the causes of the decline and eventual collapse of the Old Kingdom.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The majority of abbreviations used in this work follow those employed in Helck and Otto (ed.), Lexikon der Ägyptologie. Only those which do not appear therein are given below.

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- Fs Edel Festschrift Elmar Edel, Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und das Alte Testament I, Bamberg 1979.
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- HAB Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim 1976 ff.
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## INTRODUCTION

A group of the highest civil and administrative titles form the aspects of the memphite administration of the Old Kingdom chosen for study in this thesis. Previous studies of the administrative system of this period have concentrated on the nature and functions of the lower ranking officials rather than the higher; there have been no works devoted principally to such offices as that of the vizier or the overseer of works. The desire to fill this gap has resulted in the present work.

The term "memphite" is used to refer to the central administration of the period based in the capital city of Memphis; this is to be contrasted with the provincial administration that developed in the course of the Old Kingdom. The officials whose monuments provide the bulk of the material used in this study were all buried in what may be termed the cemeteries of Memphis, comprising principally the sites of Giza and Saqqara, and to a lesser extent Meydum, Dahshur and Abu Roash.

The selected titles cover five important areas of the administration of the Old Kingdom: the legal system, the scribal bureaucracy, the organisation of labour and of the granaries and treasuries. To these must be added the supreme office in the land, that of the vizier. One chapter is devoted to each of these areas. The methods followed in each are similar, so as to examine the titles from similar standpoints.

Dating is clearly of central importance to a study confined as this is to one particular period. The first part of this work was originally intended to summarise the dating criteria to be used in the

prosopographical section. This has since been augmented by an examination of the potential of the false door for the purposes of dating; many criteria thus obtained have not been analysed or consistently applied before.

The Prosopography aims to list the titles and discuss the dates of all known Old Kingdom officials who bear one or more of the titles forming the principal part of this work. Although such a collection of material can never be truly exhaustive, every effort has been made to secure reasonably complete data for all these officials; in addition to published material, the original monuments themselves have been consulted where possible. In particular, the records of the Harvard-Boston excavations at Giza have been examined, as well as the actual remains visible at Saqqara and Giza, complemented by those in the Cairo Museum.

Much of the data analysis and arrangement of this work has been carried out with the aid of computers. The retrieval of information in the form of names, dates and titles has been accomplished with the use of the University of Liverpool's ICL 1906S and IBM 4341 machines, the programs for which were prepared by the author using the language ALGOL 68. A summary of the method may be found in the author's paper 'An Application of Information Retrieval and Analysis in Egyptology', in the Proceedings of the 1982 Computer Applications in Archaeology Conference (Birmingham 1982). The final version of this thesis has been produced with the aid of the SCRIPT text-processing package, and transferred for final editing and printing to a Rank Xerox 860 word-processor.

The methods of production have required that some of the conventions normally used in Egyptian transliteration be modified.

Words in transliteration have been emphasised by the use of **bolding**. For typographical simplicity the transliterations i and ' have been used in place of ĩ and ˆ . The listings of titles forming part of the entry for each official in the prosopography and which are also to be found as tables in the later chapters do not always follow the precise order of the Egyptian Alphabet. This is as a result of the use of a computer in the compilation of such lists, as the effort expended in producing the elaborate encoding to obtain the required effect would not be repaid. It is hoped that no information is unduly inaccessible. The Indices are, however, arranged in the correct order.

Unless indicated otherwise, numbers in brackets following names of officials refer to the reference numbers assigned to them in the Prosopography (Part II).



PART I

DATING CRITERIA

## CHAPTER 1

General Dating Criteria.

The general use of dates such as 'fourth dynasty', 'fifth dynasty' and so on is frequent and perhaps permissible when the scope of the work in question is a large part of Egyptian History. In a study devoted to the Old Kingdom alone, an attempt must be made to pinpoint the dates of individual officials and monuments. On occasions when this has been carried out, the results are encouraging.<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of criteria to which one may refer for help in the dating of Old Kingdom officials and their monuments. Many of these have been summarised by Baer, notably the use of the title *z3 nzw*, the problems of the occurrences of royal names, and tomb architecture and location. His account is recommended as a general exposition of this subject.<sup>2</sup> Some additional comment may be offered on his criteria, and some further ones discussed.

A. Chronology.

For the length and order of the reigns of kings, the figures in the Turin Canon are generally accepted without comment, as this document forms the basis of the overall chronological structure of Egyptian

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1. For example, the dating of the 'princes' at Dahshur by Schmitz (Königssohn, 141-58) and that of *r'-wr* at Saqqara by el-Fikey (The Tomb of the Vizier Re-wer at Saqqara, 44-6).

2. Rank and Title, 44-51.

History before the New Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> The chronology adopted in this work may be found in table 1, which is based on a summing of the approximate lengths of all the reigns, assuming that there are no rulers of the Old Kingdom whose identities have yet to be discovered.

The reading of eleven years for the reign of Neweserre in the Turin Canon follows that of Gardiner in his publication of that papyrus. A figure of perhaps ten years is given for the reign of Neferirkare on the basis of the unfinished state of his pyramid complex. The short reigns given in the Turin Canon for the minor fourth dynasty kings are included, although the existence of a reign between those of Shepseskaf and Weserkaf cannot be proven from the monuments.

The other contentious point is the length of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I. The total for both, arrived at by deducting the better-known reign lengths and the total for dynasties seven and eight from the Turin Canon figure of 181 years for dynasties six to eight, is perhaps about sixty years. In the Canon, the year figure for Teti is destroyed, while that of Pepy I is given as twenty. The highest cattle-counts known for each king are respectively *rnpt m-ht zp 6<sup>4</sup>* and *rnpt m-ht zp 25.*<sup>5</sup> The latter is the only known example of a king having more cattle-counts than years in the Turin Canon, and as such is probably an error. Alternatively, the apparent gap between the entries for the two kings in the latter papyrus may have furnished an explanation for this discrepancy. At the risk of interpreting the cattle-counts too rigidly, these figures may perhaps indicate reigns of about twelve years for Teti and forty-five to fifty for Pepy I.

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3. Gardiner, The Royal Canon of Turin, passim.

4. Anthes, Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub, pl. 9.

5. Urk. I, 95.



The standpoint adopted here as to the usefulness of cattle-counts found on contemporary monuments is that the period between them was sometimes one year, sometimes two and sometimes perhaps even longer. As far as the Egyptians were concerned, the dates of these countings of the cattle were well-known, and the fact that they were not always conducted at regular intervals was not important. As such, their usefulness for precise dating is somewhat limited.<sup>6</sup>

The same is true for the sd festivals, known for the reigns of ntry-ht (Djoser), Neweserre, Djedkare, Pepy I and Pepy II. It cannot certainly be shown that the thirty year period often found in later times was strictly observed, and so their use is also limited.<sup>7</sup>

#### B. Other Systems of Dating.

There have been but two serious attempts to establish systematic criteria for dating monuments of the Old Kingdom. Baer has attempted to show that a relatively standardised system of ranking (or ordering) of titles on a monument was established in the early fifth dynasty and continued to the end of the Old Kingdom. Within that period, the system was changed from time to time, and because of these changes, reflected in the order of the titles in (usually) funerary inscriptions, the titularies of many officials show characteristics of various periods, and many of those who antedate or postdate this system will not fit any of these periods. To establish the basic ranking charts for the Old Kingdom, a number of reasonably well-dated officials were chosen, each of a slightly different date and whose title sequences were not similar. This set of sequences is used as a basis

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6. The Egyptian term translated 'cattle-count' is here read as rnpt zp, irrespective of what it may have been at later periods (see Edel, JNES 8 (1949), 35-9).

7. cf Hornung-Staelhin, Studien zum Sedfest, 62-5, 82.

Table 1Old Kingdom Chronology adopted in this Work.

<u>King</u>	<u>Approximate Dates B.C.</u>	
Sneferu	2540-2517	
Khufu	2516-2494	
Djedefre	2493-2486	
Khafre	2485-2463	
?Nebka/Wehemka?	2462	
Menkaure	2461-2444	
Shepseskaf	2443-2440	
? ? ?	2439-2438	
Weserkaf	2437-2431	
Sahure	2430-2419	
Neferirkare Kakai	2418-2409	?
Shepseskare Izi	2408-2402	
Neferefre	2401	
Neweserre Ini	2400-2388	?
Menkauhor Ikauhor	2387-2379	
Djedkare Izezi	2378-2351	
Wenis	2350-2320	
Teti	2321-2305	?
Neferzahor/ Meryre Pepy I	2304-2262	?
Merenre Nemtyemzaf I	2261-2255	
Neferkare Pepy II	2256-2167	
Merenre Nemtyemzaf II	2166	?
Dynasties Seven to Eight	2165-2141	
Beginning of Dynasty Nine	2140	

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for the period in which they lived. To these were added further similar examples which enabled these periods to be defined more closely.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the problems of this system outlined by Baer,<sup>9</sup> there are two objections of a methodological nature. The first concerns his

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8. Baer, op. cit., 221-40.

9. op. cit., 10-12.



base charts for the different periods.<sup>10</sup> Particular criticism can be made of the choice of k3i (136) and m3-nfr (54) for this purpose. Little of the evidence Baer gives concerning k3i is conclusive enough for him to be allotted a reasonably certain date,<sup>11</sup> and the choice of m3-nfr for his period VIF appears to be almost arbitrary.<sup>12</sup>

Baer has perhaps also attempted to be too precise in the spans of time he gives to each period. It is logical to expect that there would be a certain amount of overlap between the various periods as the new sequences took effect, but it is a little dangerous to propose actual year limits, even though they are only estimates. This is particularly true for the long and (as far as dates are concerned) relatively poorly-documented reign of Pepy II. The dates of change in these periods can only be very approximate.<sup>13</sup>

The second problem is that of the extent of agreement between the charts of individual officials and the base ones. One may sometimes question the assignation of tombs to certain periods, as the ranking charts of some officials belong no more to the period suggested by Baer than to another.<sup>14</sup>

The work of Kanawati is based upon the premise that people of a similar class at a similar time would have had tombs of broadly similar area. If area is directly connected with wealth, which would vary at different periods in the Old Kingdom, such a thesis must then assume that everyone would put exactly the same proportion of their

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10. op. cit., 224.

11. op. cit., 138-9 (505).

12. op. cit., 77 (171), where the date is initially given as VI?.

13. This problem is illustrated by the doubt placed on the time of the change from period VB to VC (in the reign of Djedkare) as a result of recent work on the tomb of sndm-ib; inti (see the prospography (120) for more detail).

14. In this context one may quote the examples discussed in the prospography below of ihy (15) and 'nh-m-'-k3i (31).



wealth into their tomb, and does not take into account the possibility that preparation for death might well have been more important to one man than to another, rather as size of house nowadays does not automatically reflect the owner's income and wealth.

As his basic criterion is tomb area, only those officials whose tombs are adequately preserved could be included. A large number of men are thereby removed from consideration. These men are divided into four categories: viziers and high, middle and low officials. By assigning dates to a number of officials in each class, a graph may be drawn showing the fluctuation of tomb size in the Old Kingdom. Further officials may be dated by attempting to fit their tomb areas onto the relevant graph.

Unlike Baer, Kanawati does not include an individual discussion of the date for most of his officials, including a number who are placed on his graphs.<sup>15</sup> In consequence, one is unable to verify some of the arguments. A more serious criticism is that nowhere does he explain how the groups of titles which are given as characteristic of each of his classes of official have been obtained. It would also seem that there are a large number of men of the same class but with different tomb sizes from the same reign, for example the higher officials of that of Djedkare.<sup>16</sup> Consequently it may well be asked as to whether there really is any consistent pattern apparent, if supposedly similar officials of the same date had widely differing tomb sizes.

A further problem arises from the method of plotting tomb sizes on a graph using quite exact datings and then deducing comparable examples: if these dates should be questioned and altered, not only does the graph have to be changed, but so do the conclusions about the

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 15. Egyptian Administration, 15-34.

16. op. cit., 19-21.

dates of other officials based on it.

It would seem then that the study of the change in size of private tombs in the Old Kingdom should not be too closely associated with the dating of these tombs. A system of ranking titles, however, must surely have been a feature of many official transactions and also such an accepted part of the officials' titularies that personal whim had perhaps less effect on the order when the titles were inscribed in a tomb chapel, except that the owner might occasionally repeat one particular title of which he was especially proud. Baer's method seems more likely than Kanawati's to reflect different systems at different dates, although its use is perhaps hindered by the similarity between the title sequences of some periods and the doubts voiced about the basis for the existence of others.<sup>17</sup>

For the present purposes, Baer's dates will be referred to where necessary; as for Kanawati, the text will only refer to his archaeological discussions when it is felt that a valid point has been made.

### C. Royal Names.

An occurrence of the name of a king alone or as part of a title or building name should only be taken as a terminus ante quem non for dating purposes. This matter is discussed by Baer<sup>18</sup> and Junker,<sup>19</sup> and there is indeed little that can be added to this, particularly with regard to temple titles. The expression im3hw hr (king) is however considered to show that the man in question was actually contemporary with the named ruler. There is some evidence that this might not

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17. The extent to which the Egyptians would adhere to a systematic arrangement is unknown, although James has perhaps accredited the people of the Old Kingdom with less ability for systematic behaviour than they deserve (review of Baer in JAOS 83 (1963), 119-20).

18. Rank and Title, 45-7.

19. Junker, Giza XII, 19-23.



always be the case.<sup>20</sup> Further examples of the same phrase in connection with Wenis where the owner is obviously the later of the two have been found near the pyramid of that king,<sup>21</sup> and it is perhaps possible that such a feature was confined to certain kings (perhaps indeed only to Wenis) whose cults lasted well beyond the Old Kingdom. This is preferable to using these examples to cast doubt on all other occurrences of this phrase.

#### D. Genealogies.

The information available for establishing relationships in the Old Kingdom is rather sparse, and it may be contrasted with that available for the Middle and New Kingdoms, where representations and enumerations of whole families are not uncommon. Because of the commonness of many Old Kingdom private names, it is a dangerous matter to attempt to link individuals from different tombs. Most of the genealogies noted in the following pages have been established before, and new ones are only proposed when there is a good degree of similarity of site, titles, style, tomb design and, of course, names.<sup>22</sup>

The separation in date of two generations of the same family is an unknown quantity. The figure of twenty to twenty-five years is here adopted as perhaps an average figure, although in many cases this will be far too short or long.<sup>23</sup>

With regard to royal genealogies, the view of Junker is followed, that, in the fourth and fifth dynasties, only the presence of titles with the epithet *n iti.f* in the titulary of an official is indicative

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20. For one example see Baer, op. cit., 44-5, with regard to Wenis.

21. Altenmüller, SAK 1 (1974), 1-19.

22. One such example is the probable relationship between *k3i-m-tnnt* (146) and *'nh-izzi* (26).

23. This follows Bierbrier, The Late New Kingdom in Egypt, xvi.



of true royal filiation;<sup>24</sup> his discussion is now supplemented by that of Schmitz.<sup>25</sup>

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24. Giza II, 31-4.

25. Königssohn, 58-64.

## CHAPTER 2

The Use of False Doors and other features of Tomb Design for Dating.General Introduction.

For many of the officials studied here, the dates arrived at by the use of standard criteria summarised in chapter 1 do not provide a close period of time to which they may be assigned. The frequent survival of the false door of many officials suggests their use as a possible criterion for dating by establishing dates for the appearance and development of certain well-defined physical features based on securely dated examples. The principal among these are the cornice and torus moulding, the jambs, the panel, the lintels and architraves, and several lesser features as well as the use of offering lists. Associated topics are the position of the false door in relation to the rest of the tomb, and the types of tomb-chapel in which particular classes of false door appear.

Previous work on false doors has generally concentrated on broad details of their development. The principal study in this context is by Rusch,<sup>1</sup> the major drawback of which is the use of many dates which

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1. ZAS 58 (1923), 101-24, used as the basis of the categorisation in Vandier, Manuel II i, 389-431.

are very vague and are now no longer regarded as valid. Other accounts are by Reisner,<sup>2</sup> Badawy,<sup>3</sup> and Hassan.<sup>4</sup> The account of Badawy is much concerned with the function and general development of the door, and in this context one may add studies by Müller,<sup>5</sup> Junker,<sup>6</sup> and Fischer,<sup>7</sup> particularly with reference to its relationship to the stela.

The very recent work on the Old Kingdom false door by Wiebach (*Die altägyptische Scheintür*) is again principally devoted to the overall development, functions and locations of the door, as well as the status of its owners. The section on dating is brief (pages 17-21), and consists of a critique of Rusch's system, with the conclusion that this produces useful criteria on only a few points. Wiebach makes no attempt to date carefully many specific features of false doors, but is again content to describe them in general terms.

False doors will here be discussed in two groups, those coming from the necropolis of Saqqara and those from Giza. Examples from Dahshur seem to be closely related to those from Saqqara and will consequently be considered as part of that group.<sup>8</sup> Such a division is employed because of the obvious differences between examples from both groups, which have already been recognised.<sup>9</sup> To quote but two examples of such differences: in the fourth dynasty, very different chapel types are evident at the two sites;<sup>10</sup> secondly, the false door with

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2. Giza I, 330-44, 372-9.

3. ASAE 49 (1949), 213-43.

4. Giza V, 65-180, concentrating on doors from his own excavations.

5. MDAIK 4 (1933), 165-206.

6. Giza II, 4-19.

7. Dendera, 57-65.

8. For example, those of *dw3-r'* (Cairo, CG 1389), *ny-'nh-snfrw* (de Morgan, Dahchour II, fig. 27) and *ini-snfrw-istf* (id. ib., fig. 9).

9. Wiebach, op. cit., 19, with references.

10. Compare the plans of the chapels of *mtn* (LD, Text I, 142) and *h'f-hwfw I* (Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 19).



torus moulding and cornice appears at Saqqara in the early fifth dynasty,<sup>11</sup> but is not found at Giza until the reign of Wenis, and then only occasionally.<sup>12</sup>

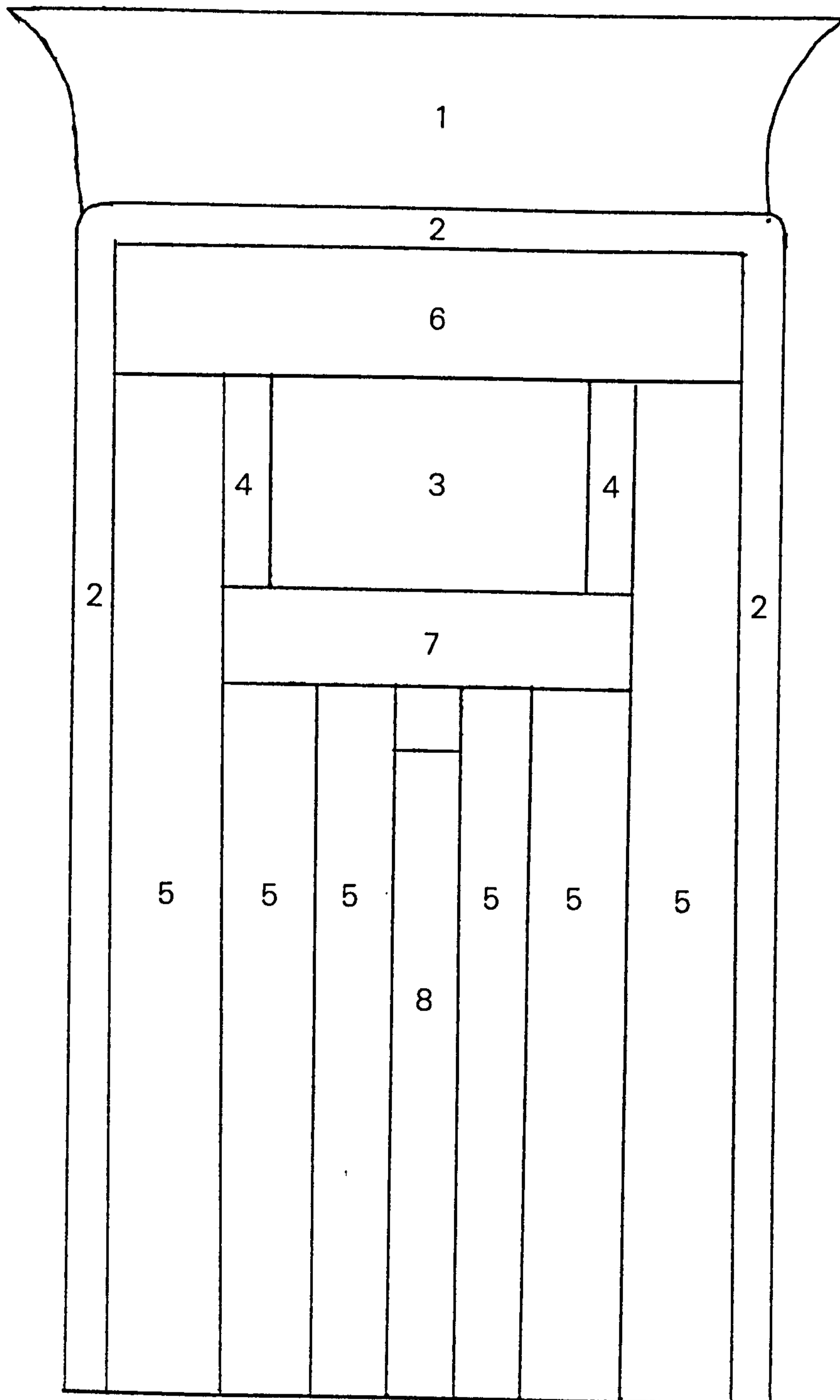
### Terminology.

Figure 1 presents the terms as used here to describe the principal elements of a false door. Three particular points require further explanation: 'CORNICE' indicates the cavetto cornice to be found above the architraves of doors, although a second is occasionally found within the outer one. 'TORUS' or 'TORUS MOULDING' indicates the roll around the outer edges of the door intended to represent original fibrous binding. It is always found in conjunction with a cornice. The terms 'ONE-JAMB DOOR', 'TWO-JAMB DOOR' and 'THREE-JAMB DOOR' describe a false door with respectively one, two or three pairs of jambs.

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 11. That of pr-sn, reign of Sahure (Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. IX).

12. That of sndm-ib; inti (Mariette, Mastabas, 505-7).

Figure 1: A false door with names of its Principal Parts.



**Key to Parts:**

- |            |                  |
|------------|------------------|
| 1. Cornice | 2. Torus         |
| 3. Panel   | 4. Apertures     |
| 5. Jambs   | 6. Architrave    |
| 7. Lintel  | 8. Central Niche |

Section I: False Doors from Saqqara.

The study of examples from this site will be built around a base list of reasonably well-dated examples (Table 2). These examples may be dated using criteria other than those derived from features of false doors. Most of these officials will be discussed below in the prosopography; some, however, do not bear titles to be discussed in this study and consequently will not appear there. These are mtn, šry, pr-sn \*, ny-'nh-shmt \*, pth-špss \* (fifth dynasty), hnmw-htp, nfr, k3h3i, nfr-sšm-ptḥ, shntyw, irw-k3-ptḥ, hmt-r', and pth-špss \* (sixth dynasty). For those marked \*, the dates of Baer may be consulted.<sup>13</sup> Of the others, general stylistic features cause mtn and šry to be dated to the fourth dynasty, while hnmw-htp to irw-k3-ptḥ were buried in the area of Saqqara that was later to be occupied by the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis. Although the causeway did not pass over the tombs of nfr and k3h3i, it is perhaps likely that no more tombs were built in the immediate area following this construction.<sup>14</sup> They all may thus be dated to the period mid-fifth dynasty to the reign of Wenis. The cartouches of Wenis and Teti give an approximate date for hmt-r'. In discussion of specific points, the doors in this list will be augmented with less well-dated examples that illustrate the features in question. At the end of each sub-section, a list will be given of the officials to be discussed below in the prosopographical section in whose cases the particular feature has been useful in helping to decide a date.

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13. All references to Rank and Title: pr-sn 72 (144), ny-'nh-shmt 86 (221), pth-špss (fifth dynasty) 75-6 (164), pth-špss (sixth dynasty) 76-7 (168).

14. Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nyanchehnum*, 44-5.



Table 2List of Well-dated False Doors from Saqqara.

<u>Date/ Owners</u>	<u>Published Source</u>
<u>Early 4</u>	
<u>mtn</u>	<u>LD II, 3.</u>
<u>Mid-late 4</u>	
<u>mry</u>	Assemblage of parts, Fischer, <u>Varia</u> , 28, fig. 1.
<u>šry</u>	Lower part, Cairo, <u>CG 1384</u> ; Mariette, <u>Mastabas</u> , 92-4. Upper part, Lepsius, <u>Auswahl</u> , Taf. IX upper.
<u>Sahure</u>	
<u>pr-sn *</u>	Petrie-Murray, <u>Memphite Tomb Chapels</u> , pl. IX.
<u>ny-'nh-šhmt</u>	Cairo, <u>CG 1482.</u>
<u>Neferirkare</u>	
<u>w3š-ptḥ</u>	Mariette, <u>Mastabas</u> , 267-71; Mogensen, <u>Inscriptions Hieroglyphiques du</u> <u>Musée National de Copenhague</u> , pl. X-XI.
<u>Neweserre</u>	
<u>ptḥ-špss</u>	<u>BM Stelae I<sup>2</sup></u> , pl. XVII.
<u>Mid 5 to Menkauhor</u>	
<u>ph-n-wi-k3i *</u>	<u>LD II, 48.</u>
<u>ntr-wsr</u>	Murray, <u>Saqqara Mastabas I</u> , pl. XX.
<u>hnmw-ḥtp</u>	Moussa-Altenmüller, <u>Nyanchnum</u> , abb. 26.
<u>nfr and k3ḥ3i</u>	id., <u>The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay</u> , pl. 28-9, 32, 36, 39.
<u>Djedkare</u>	
<u>ptḥ-ḥtp I *</u>	Murray, <u>op. cit.</u> , pl. VIII; Hassan, <u>Saqqara II</u> , fig. 13.

Table 2 (Continued)

<u>Date/ Owners</u>	<u>Published Source</u>
nfr-sšm-ptḥ * ) shntyw * ) irw-k3-ptḥ * )	Moussa-Junge, <u>Two Tombs of Craftsmen</u> , illustr. 1-3.
<u>Wenis</u>	
'nh-izzi *	Mariette, <u>Mastabas</u> , 191.
3ḥt-ḥtp *	Davies, <u>Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II</u> , pl. XXVIII-IX.
<u>Late 5</u>	
ptḥ-ḥtp II *	Paget-Pirie, <u>Ptah-hetep</u> , pl. XXXIV.
<u>Early 6 - Teti</u>	
k3i-gmni *	von Bissing, <u>Die Mastaba des Gemnikai II</u> , pl. XXXIV.
nfr-sšm-r' *	Capart, <u>Rue de Tombeaux</u> , pl. XI.
s3bw; ibbi *	Cairo, <u>CG</u> 1565; Mariette, <u>Mastabas</u> , 412-5
nfr-sšm-ptḥ *	Capart, <u>op. cit.</u> , pl. XCIV.
ḥmt-r' *	Hassan, <u>Saqqara III</u> , fig. 2, pl. II.
mrrw-k3i *	Duell, <u>Mereruka II</u> , pl. 107.
<u>Early Pepy I</u>	
nfr-sšm-ptḥ *	Unpublished (Door in later rooms).
ḥnty-k3i *	James, <u>Khentika</u> , pl. XIX, XIII.
mḥw *	Saad, <u>ASAE</u> 40 (1940), pl. LXXXI.
<u>Mid-late Pepy I</u>	
ptḥ-špss *	Murray, <u>op. cit.</u> , pl. XXVIII.
r'-wr *	el-Fikey, <u>The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara</u> , pl. 5, 9, 21.
mry-tti *	Unpublished (son of mrrw-k3i).
zzi *	Mariette, <u>Mastabas</u> , 420.

Table 2 (Continued)Merenre-early Pepy II

mrri \* Hassan, Saqqara III, fig. 17b.

'nh-mry-r' \* Unpublished (son of mhw).

Mid Pepy II

hnmw-htp \* Jéquier, Pepi II, III, fig. 63.

Later Pepy II

ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' \* id. ib., fig. 60.

tti \* id. ib., fig. 70.

\* indicates false door with cornice and torus moulding.



A. The Cornice and Torus Moulding.

The presence or absence of these features is perhaps the most obvious difference between many false doors. Rusch used it as the basis of his system of differentiation,<sup>15</sup> as did Wiebach.<sup>16</sup> The latter has provided a discussion of this feature, its date of appearance and its meaning.<sup>17</sup>

Only the date of its appearance is relevant to the present discussion. Wiebach has noted that it appears first in the early to middle fifth dynasty in both royal and private contexts.<sup>18</sup> In her list appear several examples, the dating of which cannot yet be closely ascertained (ty, for example). Turning to table 2, the earliest example with a cornice and/or torus is that of pr-sn (not included by Wiebach) of the reign of Sahure or slightly later. From the time of ph-n-wi-k3i onwards almost all the well-dated examples exhibit a torus and cornice, the only exceptions being those of hnmw-htp, nfr and k3h3i. These men are of much lower rank than most of the others, and it would thus seem that this newer type of false door was at first reserved only for the most important officials (its appearance with nfr-sšm-pth, shntyw and irw-k3-ptḥ from the same group of tombs probably indicates that they were the latest tombs in this group). The owner of the earliest example (pr-sn) must thus have been particularly favoured

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15. ZAS 58 (1923), 106 ff, 113 ff, Taf. A, B.

16. Scheintür, 8.

17. op. cit., 128-41.

18. op. cit., 133-5.

to have had such a door at this early date.

In the sixth dynasty, the addition of a torus and cornice may be considered as the norm. Before this date it was very much an indication of the importance or favoured status of an individual.<sup>19</sup>

This feature has been of assistance in deciding dates for:

'nh-m'-k3i (31)            k3i (136)            k3i-m-snw (144)

#### B. The Number, Arrangement and Decoration of the Jambs.

The earliest examples in table 2 are most closely related to the deep niche as found in the third dynasty:<sup>20</sup> in the niche of mtn, there is a large difference in depth between the panel and the figures on the walls of the chapel. It is likely that this original arrangement of the niche and walls either side of it gradually developed into the false door with two pairs of jambs. In the example of mtn, the figures on the outer level of the niche face away from the centre, but the slightly later examples of mry and šry show them facing towards it. The outer figures of mtn and mry are larger than the inner ones. In all cases the figures are surmounted by columns of inscription. Thus the two-jamb door had evolved by the end of the fourth dynasty.

The early fifth dynasty doors of pr-sn, ny-'nh-shmt and w3š-ptḥ all exhibit two jambs in an arrangement which becomes regular. An undecorated false door with two jambs seems to have been situated in the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir.<sup>21</sup> The decoration of the jambs of pr-sn is different from that of the other two examples (and

19. Wiebach has arrived at a similar conclusion, op. cit., 134.

20. For example, that of h'-b3w-zkr (Cairo, CG 1385; Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. I).

21. Borchardt, Neferirkare, 31, Abb. 33.

from most doors of the fifth and sixth dynasties) in that the inner jambs feature several small registers with figures of his family. Members of the families of *ny-'nh-shmt* and *w3š-ptḥ* appear on their false doors but in conjunction with the large figure of the deceased.

The door of *ph-n-wi-k3i*, which has cornice and torus, has three jambs of varying width, only one pair of which bears a figure of the deceased. The inner ones bear elements of a palace-facade panelling design. That of *ntr-wsr* has two jambs without figures of the deceased. The inscriptions on each jamb, unlike the earlier examples, are of an even length, that is, they all terminate at the same distance from the bottom of the false door. The inscriptions on the door are all of similar length, although the arrangement in single columns is unusual.

The doors of the high officials of the reign of Djedkare and later (*ptḥ-ḥtp* I, *'nh-izzi*, *3ḥt-ḥtp* and *ptḥ-ḥtp* II) all exhibit jamb inscriptions of even length, with a figure of the deceased at the bottom of each. The doors of the two viziers *ptḥ-ḥtp* I and *3ḥt-ḥtp* have three jambs, the others two. *ptḥ-ḥtp* II unusually replaced the normal standing figure on the outer jambs with representations of himself carried in a palanquin and seated in a booth; *nfr-ssm-r'* is also seated in a booth on the inner left jamb of his false door.

The false doors of *hnmw-ḥtp*, *nfr* and *k3h3i* are however unlike these. The inner jambs are very wide and contain a large figure of the deceased (not unlike the style of the earlier part of the dynasty), but the outer jamb is narrow with one column of inscription only which reaches to the bottom of the door.

It is apparent in the fifth dynasty that as the cornice and torus were introduced, the inscriptions, size and decoration of the jambs of



false doors became more regular: the length of the texts became even and the figures of the deceased on each jamb became equal in height. This development may be illustrated by the sequence of the doors of ph-n-wi-k3i, ntr-wsr and pth-htp I. The number of jambs was not standardised, but may bear some relation to the rank or means of the owner, because the largest doors with cornice and torus seem to belong to viziers only at first (it will be noted that pth-htp II does not bear the title of vizier on his false door). Officials of lower rank continued to use door types which owed more allegiance to the early fifth dynasty examples.

Further door types may however be found in the period. Those of h'-mrr-ptḥ,<sup>22</sup> shm-'nh-ptḥ,<sup>23</sup> k3i-pw-r',<sup>24</sup> and 'nh-m-'-r'<sup>25</sup> have jamb inscriptions of even length with a figure of the deceased below, but do not seem to have a torus and cornice. The first two examples have three jambs, the others two. From this combination of features it should be concluded that the introduction of these false door features took place not suddenly but over a period of time. The torus and cornice concept, although it had been in existence for longer, took more time to become a standard feature of false doors than did the new layout of the jambs and their inscriptions. These false doors are therefore transitional examples and presumably belong to the middle and later fifth dynasty. It will be noted that none of them belongs to someone as high as a vizier.

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22. Mariette, Mastabas, 118-20.

23. Simpson, Sekhem-ankh-ptah, pl. B.

24. Mariette, Mastabas, 278-9.

25. id. ib., 282-4.

In the sixth dynasty, the false door with cornice, torus moulding and three jambs of equal length each with a similar disposition of texts became the standard type for all officials. Examples from the reign of Teti all exhibit these features. A similar pattern was followed down to the early part of the reign of Pepy II. Two doors of viziers however from this period employ only two pairs of jambs (r'-wr, zzi) showing some variation to be possible even for the highest officials.

In the reign of Pepy II, the false doors from the cemetery surrounding his pyramid at South Saqqara show changes from the above form. Two or three jambs are used, but they tend to be narrow with only one column of inscription each. The trend is towards a simplification of the door. The examples of ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r' and tti date from the end of the reign; that of hnmw-ḥtp cannot be dated so closely, as cannot the additional examples of nḥri,<sup>26</sup> nfri,<sup>27</sup> r'-ḥr-k3i,<sup>28</sup> and dgm.<sup>29</sup> Some examples have an extra jamb and architrave outside the cornice.<sup>30</sup> A figure of the deceased appears occasionally on the jambs, usually at the bottom of the second, or middle, one.

The development of the jambs of the false door at Saqqara may be briefly summarised. The practice of using unequal length jambs with figures of the deceased of varying size began in the fourth dynasty and continued at least to the middle of the fifth. At that time, the cornice and torus moulding began to make its appearance on the doors

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26. Jéquier, Pepi II, III, fig. 64.

27. id. ib., fig. 62.

28. id., Tombeaux, fig. 138.

29. id. ib., fig. 134.

30. For example, ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r'; also nḥri, dgm and r'-ḥr-k3i above.

of the highest officials which brought with it the development of even length inscriptions and smallish figures of the deceased on the jambs. This latter feature is sometimes found in the later fifth dynasty without the cornice and torus. In the sixth dynasty the cornice and torus false door with this new style of jamb is the norm, but changes are apparent at South Saqqara in the reign of Pepy II. Jambs are therefore a more useful criterion for dating fifth than sixth dynasty false doors.

This feature has been of use in the following cases:

iy (5)	ny-k3-r' (80)	k3i (136)
'nh-irs (25)	hzzī (98)	k3i-pw-r' (143)
bb-ib; sndm-ib (43)	h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)	dw3-r' (162)
m3-nfr (54)	shḥ-'nh-ptḥ (124)	df3wi (167)
ny-k3w-ptḥ (77)	sšmw (127)	

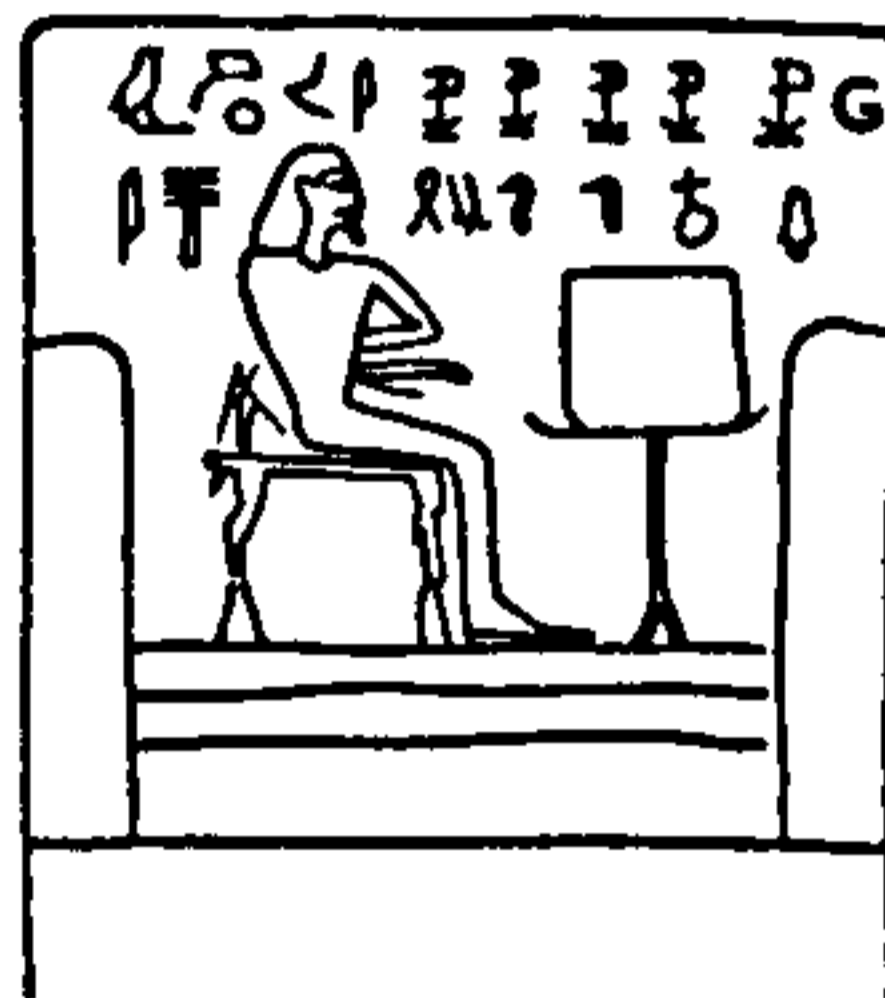
### C. The Panel.

The overall shape of the panel shows relatively little change over the Old Kingdom. In the fourth dynasty it is squarish, extended slightly to incorporate an offering list (mtn, mry, šry). In the early fifth dynasty, panels are sometimes extended to include a figure of the wife of the owner (ny-'nh-shmt), or a second representation of himself (w3š-ptḥ). Panels of the middle and later fifth dynasty are again squarish (ph-n-wi-k3i, ntr-wsr, 'nh-izzi), while those of the end of the fifth and early sixth show a tendency towards a slight elongation (ptḥ-htp II, mrrw-k3i, nfr-sšm-r', hnty-k3i). Some examples dating to the reign of Pepy I are indeed very elongated (nfr-sšm-ptḥ (later



example),  $r'-wr$ ,  $pth-\overset{v}{spss}$ ), although there are other approximately contemporary examples that are again squarish ( $mhw$ ,  $zzi$ ,  $mrri$ ).

With the exception of the noted elongation in the reign of Pepy I, these variations are rather subtle. However, from the middle of the sixth dynasty to the First Intermediate Period there existed a panel shape which is quite distinctive and apparently confined to this period only:-



This will be referred to as the "T" shaped panel. The earliest example seems to be that of  $ppy-ddi$  (shown above), found in the tomb of  $hnty-k3i$ .<sup>31</sup> The owner is presumably the son of the same name of  $hnty-k3i$ ; the general style and workmanship suggest that it was not made along with the rest of the tomb, and so perhaps dates to the end of the reign of Pepy I, about the middle of the sixth dynasty. Other examples are found in the tombs around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara, such as the group discussed on page 26 above under 'Jambs', and there are obvious First Intermediate Period examples from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery.<sup>32</sup> That this form had ceased to exist by the early twelfth dynasty may be illustrated by the form of the false door of  $ihj$ ,<sup>33</sup> although examples of the older form may also be found along-

31. James, Khentika, 33-4, 69, pl. XLII.

32. The clearest are those that mention the pyramid of Merykare:  $gmni-m-h3t$  (Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 27B),  $htpi$  (Quibell, Excav. Saqqara (1906-7), pl. VI (2)),  $inpw-m-h3t$  (id., Excav. Saqqara (1905-6), pl. XV).

33. Firth-Gunn, op. cit., pl. 83.

side this newer form.<sup>34</sup>

The most frequent scheme of decoration on the panel at all times is a seated figure of the deceased at the left-hand side facing right, with the left arm clasped to the chest and the right extended towards an offering table. The earliest exception to this is the panel of the false door of *w3š-pth*, on which are found figures of the deceased on both the left and right-hand sides, facing each other. That on the right is in the attitude described above, but that on the left has his left arm extended towards the table with the right on his lap.

The doors of *ph-n-wi-k3i* and *ntr-wsr*, probably quite close to each other in date, replace the table scene with three or four vertical columns of text. This feature seems to be confined to a short period in the middle of the fifth dynasty. In the later fifth dynasty, the usual attitude is found on the panels of *'nh-izzi*, *nfr*, *k3h3i* and *hnmw-htp*, although that of *pth-htp* II has the arms extended to the table rather than folded to the chest.

The oldest type of depiction is the most frequent in the sixth dynasty, the only exceptions among the well-dated examples being the panels of *s3bw*; *ibbi* and his son *pth-špss*. The panel of *s3bw* has two figures, the left-hand of which has the less common of the two attitudes described above, and the right-hand one shows the deceased with his left hand extended to the table and the right holding a cup to his lips. This latter type is that found on the door of *pth-špss*, only differing in that there it is on the left. This presumably shows a family or sculptural tradition.

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34. *ipi* (Quibell, op. cit., pl. XIII), mentioning Merykare.

There are more interesting variations found among the less well-dated examples. For instance, the panel of the door of nn-hft-k3i, on which his wife is also shown, depicts the owner on the right facing left (in conventional attitude).<sup>35</sup> The doors of k3i-pw-r'<sup>36</sup> and 'nh-m-'-r'<sup>37</sup> also depict the deceased facing left. These two officials can date no earlier than the reigns of Djedkare and Menkauhor respectively, and their tombs are both quite close to each other. The panel of the false door of h'-mrr-ptḥ is not dissimilar.<sup>38</sup> These may all reflect a style current at the times their tombs were built (for other similarities see above page 25).

Only two well-dated examples represent the wife of the deceased in addition to the owner himself, those of šry and ny-'nh-shmt. Again, such representations are more frequent among the less well-dated examples, several of which interestingly will also be discussed below under the heading of offering lists on panels: tnti,<sup>39</sup> nn-hft-k3i (see previous paragraph), k3i-ḥp,<sup>40</sup> k3i-m-qdi,<sup>41</sup> wr-ir-n-ptḥ,<sup>42</sup> and wr-dd-ptḥ.<sup>43</sup> Only the last does not have such a list. It is likely that the whole group (with the exception of tnti who is clearly earlier) are of middle to late fifth dynasty date, the latest being wr-dd-ptḥ; his false door was found in the tomb of k3i-m-snw and sḥtpw, whose dating is discussed in the prosopography. One unusual example

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35. Cairo, CG 1484; Mariette, Mastabas, 307-9.

36. id. ib., 278-9.

37. id. ib., 282-4.

38. id. ib., 118-20.

39. id. ib., 38-9.

40. Martin, Hetepka, no. 14.

41. LD II, 100 c.

42. BM Stelae I2, pl. XXVIII.

43. Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 62.



is the panel of in-b3.<sup>44</sup> The style of this panel is very similar to many of the poorer examples from Giza,<sup>45</sup> and the owner was of much lower rank than those officials already mentioned.

It is not clear why a depiction of the owner's wife is found only occasionally. Expense in the saving of a separate false door may be one explanation (compare the aforementioned poorer examples from Giza). It may also show special respect or affection, particularly as many Old Kingdom tombs show no trace of the deceased's wife.

No example has yet come to light of a door of the fifth or sixth dynasties with cornice and torus that represents the husband and wife together on the panel. This would seem to be more evidence for the greater standardisation of this type of false door.

There are at least two panels from Saqqara which show the deceased standing. These are sšm-nfr; hb3<sup>46</sup> and m3-nfr.<sup>47</sup> Both men held office at the pyramid of Djedkare, and it is possible that they may have been close to one another in date. Both false doors have cornice and torus, and are overall rather similar, although that of m3-nfr employs two jambs to sšm-nfr's three. There seems to be no further evidence of this panel feature at Saqqara, and it may have been an idea of the later fifth dynasty which did not meet with much acceptance and was not used thereafter.

The early examples of the loaves on panel offering tables are of a small size, reaching only as high as the level of the deceased's chest (mry, šry and perhaps also tnti<sup>48</sup>). The normal fifth dynasty form,

44. Martin, op. cit., no. 30.

45. Examples, Junker, Giza XII, 73, Abb. 4.

46. Mariette, op. cit., 399-400.

47. LD II, 65.

48. Mariette, Mastabas, 38-9.

developed by the time of *ny-'nh-shmt* and *w3š-ptḥ*, was for the loaves to reach the level of the shoulders or thereabouts. Late fifth and some early sixth dynasty examples show this still to be the case (*ptḥ-ḥtp* II and *s3bw*). However the panels of *mrrw-k3i* and *hnty-k3i* have offering loaves reaching level with the top of the head of the deceased, and this would seem to remain so until the reign of Pepy II, when the previous level was resumed (*mrrī, ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r'*).<sup>49</sup>

The principal text on the panel is located above the head of the figure(s), and gives the name and one or two titles, usually in horizontal lines. Occasionally the text appears in vertical columns (*w3š-ptḥ*), perhaps due to the dictates of space.

The offerings that appear with the offering table are usually of the 'a thousand of ....' type, mainly bread, beer, alabaster, clothing, oxen and fowl. Extra elements are occasionally found, as in the case of *ptḥ-ḥtp* II. These offerings are usually located beneath the table of bread, but in some examples from South Saqqara they appear with the texts at the top of the panel (*ny-ḥb-sd-nfr-k3-r', tti*). Representations of funerary equipment (chests, pots and the like) are only found from the second half of the fifth dynasty onwards (the panel of *hnmw-ḥtp* is one of the earliest examples), and the quantity that appears may to some extent be due to the amount of free space left on the panel after the rest of the decoration had been cut - for example, one may contrast the offerings on the square panels of *mrrw-k3i* and *hnty-k3i* with the oblong ones of *nfr-sšm-ptḥ* (later example) and *r'-wr*.

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49. It has recently been suggested that this idea which originated as loaves on offering tables became understood as an image of a field of reeds, see Worsham, JARCE 16 (1979), 7-10.

The general trend was thus for the panels of false doors to receive a wider variety of decoration as time progressed. However, the arrangement of the deceased on the panel was quite standardised except for a few isolated examples. Offering lists on the panel are discussed separately below.

Criteria based on panel design have been used in the dating of these examples:

h <sub>z</sub> zi (98)	k <sub>3</sub> i-pw-r' (143)
h'-mrr-pt <sub>h</sub> (106)	<u>ttw</u> (160)
s <sup>v</sup> sm-nfr; hb <sub>3</sub> (132)	

#### D. The Panel Apertures.

The terms 'narrow' and 'wide' will be used to describe individual examples, 'narrow' generally referring to those with a width of less than 5-6 cm.

The apertures of mt<sub>n</sub> do not appear to be very wide, but those of mry and šry are each almost half the size of the panel itself, and most importantly feature a palace-facade type decoration.

Examining the preserved fifth dynasty examples, one finds those of ny-'nh-'shmt to be wide (approximately 30 cm.), and decorated with depictions of his children. Children and offering bearers form the decoration of the even wider apertures of w<sub>3</sub>š-pt<sub>h</sub> (approximately 38 cm.). ph-n-wi-k<sub>3</sub>i (exact dimensions unable to be ascertained from publication) and n<sub>tr</sub>-wsr (approximately 27 cm.) employ wide apertures on their false doors, and those of the former are decorated with a palace-facade design. Similar decoration is found in the wide apertures of hnmw-htp (approximately 19 cm.). Those of nfr and k<sub>3</sub>h<sub>3</sub>i are



also wide, varying approximately between 19 and 36 cm.) and decorated with a mixture of the palace-facade design and depictions of children and dependents.<sup>50</sup> In the later fifth dynasty however, it appears that the highest officials were tending towards the use of narrower apertures, for example those of 'nh-izzi and pth-htp II. That this was not yet standard practice is demonstrated by the variations among other false doors probably of the later fifth dynasty: the door of h'-mrr-ptḥ has wide apertures (approximately 44 cm.),<sup>51</sup> that of shm-'nh-ptḥ narrow (approximately 15 cm.) but decorated ones,<sup>52</sup> and those of k3i-pw-r' and 'nh-m-'-r' are narrow and undecorated.<sup>53</sup>

In the sixth dynasty, narrow apertures seem to be the rule; the exact width varies but is nearly always too small to be decorated.

It is not clear exactly when the change from wide to narrow apertures took place, but the fact that it seems to coincide with the appearance of the cornice and torus moulding suggests that it might be part of a general move from the varying forms of the first half of the dynasty towards a new and more standardised one.

One of the reasons for small apertures becoming the rule with the newer type of false door is connected with the size of the jambs. In most examples of either type the panel is situated on the lintel located on top of the inner jambs. Consequently, as one feature of the newer door was narrower jambs with less columns of inscription, the amount of space left after the panel was cut was more restricted.

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50. On the less well-dated door of ty, the apertures are decorated with htp-di-nzwt formulae, Steindorff, Das Grab des Ti, Taf. 135-6, 139-40.

51. Mariette, Mastabas, 118-20.

52. Simpson, Sekhem-ankh-ptah, pl. B.

53. Mariette, Mastabas, 278-9, 282-4.

## Ch. 2.I.D: Apertures

It may be speculated that some of the panel shapes found from the late fifth dynasty onwards may be as a result of a deliberate effort not to produce wide apertures on the doors. If this be true, it suggests that the paramount feature to the officials of this time was the arrangement of the jambs, lintels and apertures. This might explain the inordinately large panel of s3bw; ibbi, which was perhaps designed to fill out the space left by the uncommon arrangement of both the inner and middle jambs 'supporting' the panel area; also the panel of nfr-<sup>v</sup>ssm-pt<sup>h</sup> could have been filled out with extra offerings to avoid leaving large apertures which were not the custom of the time. However, in the first instance it is perhaps equally possible that the jambs were so arranged as to leave space for a large panel required by the deceased.

This feature is of use in determining the date of the following:

'nh-m'-k3i (31)	m3-nfr (54)	k3i-pw-inpw (141)
k3i-m-qdi (145)	bb-ib; s <sup>u</sup> ndm-ib (43)	sh <sup>m</sup> -nh-pt <sup>h</sup> (124)

E. The Lintels and Architraves.1. Figures of the Deceased.

The earliest depiction of the owner to appear on a lintel or architrave of a false door is that of *ny-'nh-shmt* (early fifth dynasty), who is shown seated at the left-hand end of both. *w3š-ptḥ* is represented on the right-hand end of his architrave, and also on the additional one above the offering list. The doors of *ph-n-wi-k3i* and *ntr-wsr* appear to have no figures at all on them, nor does that of *hnmw-ḥtp*. *ptḥ-ḥtp* I is shown seated on his lintel, while *3ḥt-ḥtp* and *ptḥ-ḥtp* II appear only on their architraves, the former seated, the latter standing.

For the sixth dynasty, *s3bw; ibbi* is represented on the right-hand end of both elements, standing on the architrave and seated on the lintel. *hmt-r'* has a similar arrangement, but on the left. *mrrw-k3i* and *hnty-k3i* are not shown on their lintels, although the smaller doors of the latter have a standing figure on the left-hand side of the architrave; *ptḥ-špss* appears standing on the left side of the lintel, *r'-wr* is seated on the left of both, *mrrī* stands on the left of the architrave and *z3i* is seated on (at least) the left of the lintel. Figures on either element of false doors from South Saqqara are very rare - a notable exception may be found on that of *nhri*,<sup>54</sup> probably because of the presence of an offering list.

The depictions on the architrave and lintel seem to assume the same orientation as the figure on the panel, and where there are two figures, the position of the figure on the lintel/architrave probably

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54. Jéquier, Pepi II, III, fig. 64.



indicates which of the two is the more important. A good illustration of this may be found on the door of nn-hft-k3i:<sup>55</sup> the lintel/architrave figures are to be found on the right facing left, thus emphasising his position rather than that of his wife.

The standing figure of the deceased does not seem to appear before the later fifth dynasty, and tends to be the more common form on the architrave during the sixth dynasty. Overall, figures are found more frequently on the architrave than the lintel.

## 2. The texts.

The earliest doors from Saqqara do not divide the texts on the lintel and architrave into horizontal lines in the manner of later practice. The orientation of these texts, once a reasonably consistent pattern for the design of false doors had been established, usually follows that of the figures (if any) at the end. If there is no such figure, the texts face in the direction of the figure on the panel (mrrw-k3i, hnty-k3i), or, as found on some fifth dynasty lintels, there may be two such texts which begin in the centre, reading  $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ , or which begin at the outer ends and read  $\rightarrow \leftarrow$  (ph-n-wi-k3i, pth-htp II).

Such criteria as based on lintels and architraves have been useful for dating 3ht-htp (4).

## F. Smaller Features.

### 1. Relief.

The fourth dynasty material (mtn, mry, šry) is decorated in raised

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55. Cairo, CG 1484; Mariette, Mastabas, 307-9.

## Ch. 2.I.F.1: Relief

relief, and of the well-dated examples from the early and middle fifth dynasty, only those of  $w3\check{s}$ - $pth$  and  $pth$ - $\check{s}pss$  seem to have been decorated in sunk relief. That sunk and raised relief existed alongside each other is shown by the employment of both types in the doors from the tomb of  $nfr$  and  $k3h3i$ . Towards the end of the dynasty, sunk relief was used by the most important individuals, for example,  $nbt$ , a wife of  $Wenis$ .<sup>56</sup>

In the sixth dynasty, all the false doors that can be certainly dated to the period are cut in sunk relief. To summarise: raised relief was the norm in the fourth and the greater part of the fifth dynasties for the doors of the most important officials, who form the bulk of the examples used here. Sunk relief began to be used at least by the time of  $Neweserre$ , and gradually became the predominant form by the end of the fifth dynasty.

Some of the sunk relief of the fifth dynasty may be attributed to the need for speedy completion of the monument. The tomb of  $w3\check{s}$ - $pth$  was built for him by his son, as was that of  $dw3-r'$  at  $Dahshur$ , also in sunk relief.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the quicker execution of sunk relief and the consequent cheapness may account for the change in the sixth dynasty, but it is more likely that it came to be used for the most important parts of the tomb, those which would identify its owner, and which it was essential to protect against damage or usurpation.<sup>58</sup> Often offering lists were cut in sunk relief but the rest of the decoration was raised, for example on the false door of  $k3i-pw-inpw$ .<sup>59</sup>

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56. Fischer, JEA 60 (1974), 94 fig. 1; relief type obtained from personal examination of original.

57. Cairo, CG 1389.

58. cf Schäfer, Principles of Egyptian Art, 77-9.

59. Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. XI.

In consequence, the development of the use of sunk relief is not one of the features introduced along with the new false door with cornice and torus, but gradually became an accepted part of the design.

This feature has been of assistance in the dating of:

'nh-m'-k3i (31)      k3i-pw-inpw (141)      ty (157)

## 2. Decoration of the Central Niche.

Excluded deliberately under this heading are the offering lists discussed below. The decoration most commonly found in this niche consists of one column of text, comprising names, titles or offering formulae. As such it appears in the middle fifth dynasty, well-dated examples being pth-šps, ph-n-wi-k3i, ntr-wsr, hnmw-htp and pth-htp I. It does not seem to appear on any doors of certain late fifth to sixth dynasty date, and is thus a feature not normally associated with cornice and torus doors with the exception of some early examples. Less well-dated examples of this feature may be found on the false doors of k3i-m-nfrt,<sup>60</sup> htp-k3i,<sup>61</sup> and ny-'nh-r'.<sup>62</sup>

The original inspiration of this feature is uncertain. It may be perhaps derived from the figure of the deceased surmounted by a text found in the central niche of doors of the fourth and early fifth dynasties (mry, šry and probably 'nh-irs<sup>63</sup>); these may however have inspired decoration such as that of h'-b3w-pt, <sup>64</sup> whose door niche has three columns of titles, his name and a figure.

60. Mariette, Mastabas, 247-9.

61. Martin, Hetepka, pl. 14.

62. BM Stelae I<sup>2</sup>, pl. XXVI (BM 658, 1429B).

63. Mariette, op. cit., 109-10.

64. id. ib., 295.



This feature has been used to assist dating  $h^i$ -inpw (101).

### 3. The Incorporation of Additional Scenes.

Examples of this are not common. Certain doors from the early fifth dynasty include representations of children with or below the figures of the deceased ( $ny$ - $'nh$ - $shmt$ ,  $w3\check{s}$ - $pth$ ), but the above heading is intended to cover those doors of which a complete jamb or more is devoted to scenes which more normally find their place on other walls of a tomb.

The earliest such example is the door of  $pr$ - $sn$ , the inner jambs of which each contain four representations of children or dependents. The other examples are less well-dated. That of  $k3i$ - $hp$  has many representations of offering bearers and dependents on the jambs.<sup>65</sup> The outer jambs of the false door of  $z\bar{t}w$  are composed of five registers of butchers and offering bearers;<sup>66</sup> below the large figures on the door of  $df3wi$  are three registers of offering bearers and butchers;<sup>67</sup> and the large outer jambs (if they can be so called, as they almost form the whole west wall of the chapel) of the false door of  $shm$ - $k3i$  contain similar scenes, with the addition of seated figures of the deceased at the top.<sup>68</sup> In all but the example of  $pr$ - $sn$ , the false door forms the sole decorated surface in the tomb, and this must explain the presence of the extra scenes. Such scenes are in fact those that are almost obligatory in any Old Kingdom decorated tomb-chapel, namely

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65. Martin, op. cit., no. 14.

66. From personal examination in November, 1981; cf Mariette, op. cit., 303. Small part, Spencer, JEA 68 (1982), Pl. II (2).

67. Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. XIV.

68. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII.

## Ch. 2.I.F.3: Other Scenes

offering bearers and butchers,<sup>69</sup> and thus the false door contained the essential elements of a tomb.

With the exception of that of *pr-sn*, these doors are all examples of the older type, with wide jambs and very large figures of the deceased. Such a similarity of design suggests that they may be all of kindred date, perhaps middle to later fifth dynasty, after which time certain of the features they exhibit disappear.

This feature has been useful for dating:

ztw (115)      wr-k3-pt<sub>h</sub> (41)      df3wi (167)

#### G. The Incorporation of Offering Lists into False Doors.

Two types of offering list are found. The first consists of a list not arranged according to what will be termed the 'canonical list', and the second one that is. The order of the canonical list is discussed principally by Barta,<sup>70</sup> and this form was followed, with certain additions, from the early part of the fifth dynasty (a little later than at Giza) until late in the sixth.

##### 1. Uncanonical Offering Lists.

The most distinctive feature of this group is that examples are only ever found on the panel of the false door. They can be further divided into two sub-groups, those which antedate the introduction of the canonical list and those which exist alongside it. The former type is more common at Giza than at Saqqara. These early panel lists

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69. It will be noted that one other important element, the offering list, also appears on the false doors of *df3wi* and *shm-k3i* (below).

70. Opferliste, 47-88, particularly the table on pages 47-50. A less systematic presentation is given by Hassan, Giza VI<sup>2</sup>, passim.



## Ch. 2.I.G.1: Offering Lists

serve the same function as the later canonical lists (to provide the deceased with an idealised set of offerings to replace the real ones should they cease), and their increasing complexity in the fourth dynasty may be illustrated by comparing the examples of mtn and mry. More developed examples may be found on the panels of hwti,<sup>71</sup> 'nh-irs,<sup>72</sup> and k3i-'pr,<sup>73</sup> all of which would seem to date from the early fifth dynasty, antedating the canonical list which makes its first Saqqara appearance in the tomb of w3š-ptḥ.

The second sub-group of offering lists is much more selective in its choice of elements, consisting principally of the seven sacred oils. The earliest well-dated occurrence of this is on the panel of ny-'nh-shmt, of the reign of Sahure. Other examples come from tombs which cannot be as easily dated. Table 3 attempts to illustrate the range of these items; the examples in this table are not necessarily in order of date. From this table it is clear that, in addition to oils, these short lists sometimes include cosmetics and certain agricultural products, but items in the latter category do not appear very often and in no consistent pattern by date: tnti is generally assigned to the later fourth dynasty,<sup>74</sup> and ntr-nfr to the sixth,<sup>75</sup> while that of spdw-ḥtp is uncertain.<sup>76</sup> These have a degree of affinity with the pre-canonical lists mentioned above. Most of the other individuals probably date to the period around the middle of the fifth dynasty, notably nn-ḥft-k3i who is probably depicted in the mortuary

71. Cairo, CG 1392.

72. Mariette, Mastabas, 109-10.

73. Fischer, JNES 18 (1959), pl. IV.

74. Baer, Rank and Title, 153 (568).

75. From the Cairo Catalogue.

76. Baer, op. cit., 82 (198), "mr(?)-ḥtp".



Table 3

Principal Component Elements of Short Offering Lists.

<u>Official</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
nn-ḥft-k3i <sup>a</sup>		X	X	X	X	X	X						1)
'nh-m3' <sup>b</sup>		X	X	X	X	X	X						
ntr-nfr <sup>c</sup>	X	X						X	X	X	X	X	
wr-ir-n-ptḥ <sup>d</sup>	X	X	X	X	X								
k3i-m-nfrt <sup>e</sup>		X	X	X	X	X	X						
tnti <sup>f</sup>	X							X	X	X	X	X	2)
k3i-m-qdi <sup>g</sup>	X	X	X	X	X								
k3i-ḥp <sup>h</sup>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
spdw-ḥtp <sup>i</sup>												X	3)
nwb-ḥtp <sup>j</sup>	X	X	X	X									1)
ty <sup>k</sup>		X	X	X	X	X	X						

## Key to Columns:

1. sntr	2. sti-ḥb	3. ḥknw
4. sft	5. nhnm	6. ḥ3tt
7. tw3t	8. msdmt	9. w3dt
10. w'h	11. irp	12. d3b
13. Others:	1) ztw	2) išd, t-nbs
	3) sht ḥdt, sht w3dt, ḥbnnt, š't, dšrt	

## References:

- a. Cairo, CG 1484; Mariette, Mastabas, 307-9.  
b. Cairo, CG 1465. c. Cairo, CG 1447.  
d. BM Stelae I<sup>2</sup>, pl. XXVIII. e. Mariette, op. cit., 247-9.  
f. id. ib., 38-9. g. LD II, 100 c.  
h. Martin, Hetepka, no. 14. i. Mariette, op. cit., 211.  
j. Cairo, CG 1415. k. Steindorff, Das Grab des Ti,  
Taf. 135, 139.

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## Ch. 2.I.G.1: Offering Lists

temple of Sahure.<sup>77</sup> The most questionable conventional date is Baer's assignment of *k3i-m-nfrt* to his period VIE,<sup>78</sup> as this tomb exhibits more features of fifth dynasty date, for example the jambs, apertures and relief of the false door. The example of ty is in many ways the most interesting of the group, as his is the only door of the newer design with cornice and torus to bear any type of offering list. His date is by no means certain, but such a mixture of features associated with older and newer door styles suggests that his example was made during a period when the newer type had only just come into use, which was, as seen above, around the middle of the fifth dynasty.

It is thus suggested that the use of small uncanonical offering lists of this type was a feature of the middle of the fifth dynasty, from perhaps the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare to that of Djedkare, with sporadic examples from slightly later times.

## 2. Canonical Offering Lists.

The origin and development of the canonical list cannot be seen as clearly at Saqqara as at Giza, whence comes more material of the formative stages in the fourth and early fifth dynasties. In all the very early Saqqara offering lists, the selection of the individual offerings shows a large degree of fluctuation, which was drastically reduced by the advent of the canonical list. The linen list had established itself on the right of the panel by the time of mtn, but it seems to have ceased to be a part of the decoration of the door by the end of the fourth dynasty (compare the section on offering lists at Giza in the next section), from which period probably come the

77. Borchardt, Sahure II, 91, 120, 124.

78. Early to middle reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 142 (523).

## Ch. 2.I.G.2: Offering Lists

additional examples of *ms-z3*,<sup>79</sup> *hwti*,<sup>80</sup> and *k3i-'pr*.<sup>81</sup>

The canonical list seems to have made its debut at Saqqara above the architrave of the false door of *w3š-ptḥ*, a little later than its appearance at Giza. It is usually considered that the 'normal' position in the Old Kingdom for the large canonical offering list is on one of the walls of the chapel adjacent to the false door. There are however no examples of this practice at Saqqara until the reign of Neweserre at the earliest (*ntr-wsr* and perhaps *ty*<sup>82</sup>). It is therefore likely that the offering list was located on the false door for a while after its first appearance at Saqqara. It should be noted that all the early examples of such lists are found in the tombs of very important officials, as seems to have been the case with most important developments, for example the door with cornice and torus moulding.

The tombs of *ntr-wsr* and *ty* noted above are also among the first to use this newer design of false door. There does not seem to be a single example of such a door with cornice and torus which bears an offering list on any of its parts, while, as will be seen below, they are not uncommon on the older pattern of door. The new door and canonical offering lists seem to have been mutually exclusive.

As the false door without cornice and torus continued in use until the later part of the fifth dynasty, it is likely that offering lists on such doors will date to a similar period, from the reign of Neferirkare at the earliest to some point near the end of the dynasty.

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79. Cairo, CG 1422.

80. Cairo, CG 1392.

81. Fischer, JNES 18 (1959), pl. IV.

82. Steindorff, Das Grab des Ti, Taf. 126; Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XXI, XXIII.



## Ch. 2.I.G.2: Offering Lists

Such offering lists are found on most parts of the false door, with the largest number being on the panel. Table 4 gives an enumeration of these, together with the number of elements in the list; examples are mainly of as yet poorly-dated doors. From this table it is evident that in most cases the jambs would receive a full list and the panel an abbreviated one, which is logical in terms of space. In only one case (ty) is there a short panel list and a jamb list, although that of 3ht-htp does begin on the panel and is continued on the right outer jamb. The only full panel lists are those of shm-k3i, and htp-hr-3ht, and probably nht-z3s and hnmw-htp (when restored). When placing a list on the panel, the most important part of the list was clearly the first twenty or so elements, comprising the oils, cosmetics and royal offerings.

One may only guess at the reasons prompting one arrangement in favour of another. In many cases the inclusion of them on the door is probably because this was the only surface in the tomb to be decorated (h'-mrr-pth, 'nh-m'-k3i, r'-mry-pth). In others, the restriction of the offering list to certain areas must have been due to the particular requirements of the owner for decoration elsewhere, and also to current practice. In fact the unique arrangement of the list on the lintel of h'-mrr-pth may have been due to his concern not to interfere with the arrangement of the jambs in the style of the new false door - even length inscriptions and a figure of himself at the bottom of each jamb. In only one tomb (hnmw-htp), is there another offering list in addition to the one of the door.

Table 4Canonical Offering Lists on False Doors.

<u>Location/ Name</u>	<u>Elements</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<u>i. Panel:</u>		
ny-k3i-'nh <sup>a</sup>	20	
ty <sup>b</sup>	16	
shm-k3i <sup>c</sup>	96	
df3wi <sup>d</sup>	24	
k3i-pw-inpw <sup>e</sup>	72	
htp-hr-3ht <sup>f</sup>	96	
nht-z3s <sup>g</sup>	88 ?	
hnw-htp <sup>h</sup>	69 + lost ?	
dw3-r' <sup>i</sup>	19	
'nhi <sup>j</sup>	12	
3ht-htp <sup>k</sup>	36	
<u>ii. Lintel or Architrave:</u>		
w3s-pt <sup>h</sup>	96	Above architrave
h'-mrr-pt <sup>h</sup> <sup>l</sup>	96	Lintel
k3i <sup>m</sup>	66	Above architrave
<u>iii. Central Niche:</u>		
z3-mry <sup>n</sup>	85	
wr-ir-n-pt <sup>h</sup> <sup>o</sup>	96	
nn-hft-k3i <sup>p</sup>	80	
<u>iv. Jambs:</u>		
ty <sup>b</sup>	95	Inner jambs
r'-mry-pt <sup>h</sup> <sup>q</sup>	98	Inner jambs; also one-third in niche
ny-'nh-r' <sup>r</sup>	96	Inner jambs
itti; <sup>t</sup> 'nh-irs <sup>s</sup>	96	Inner jambs
hnw	24 + lost ?	
3ht-htp <sup>k</sup>	53	Right outer; continuation of panel list
<u>v. Panel Apertures:</u>		
'nh-m-'-k3i <sup>u</sup>	96	One per aperture
'nh-m3' <sup>v</sup>	96	





## Ch. 2.I.G.2: Offering Lists

izi (17)	ny-k3i-'nh (75)	k3i-pw-inpw (141)
itti; 'nh-irs (21)	h'-mrr-ptḥ (106)	k3i-m-qdi (145)
'nh-irs (25)	k3i (136)	ty (157)
'nh-m-'-k3i (31)	k3i-'pr (139)	dw3-r' (162)

H. The Relationship of False Doors and Chapel Types.

By examining the changes in chapel types and the classes of false door found in them, it may be possible to establish some sort of relationship by date of these two features. A summary of overall developments in chapel design in the course of the Old Kingdom is given by Baer.<sup>83</sup> Most of the chapels discussed below belong to the officials whose false doors have been used as the basis of the preceding discussion.

1. Summary of Principal Chapel Types.

In the fourth dynasty, the plans of chapels seem to be of what is known as the true cruciform type, to be found, for example in the tombs of mtn and ph-r-nfr (figure 2.a and b). Examples from the early fifth dynasty show a wider range of chapel types. The modified cruciform and "L"-shaped chapels made their appearance, for example in the tomb of k3i-'pr (figure 2.c), but the cruciform chapel was still in evidence (that of 'nh-irs, figure 2.d). Another new type is the east-west chapel, found in the tomb of pr-sn (figure 2.e). The prin-

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83. Rank and Title, 48-9, with references.

## Ch. 2.I.H.1: Chapels

cipal orientation of chapels prior to this was north-south, and the new type was thus a major innovation.

In the middle of the dynasty, the cruciform chapel was still used (pth-<sup>v</sup>spss, figure 2.f), but the east-west form became more frequent. There seem to have been two variants on this scheme, one with the main offering room at the end of a north-south corridor (ty, figure 3.a), and more complex ones in which the main room was reached through other smaller ones, as in the examples of ph-n-wi-k3i and ntr-wsr (figure 3.b and c).

The well-dated tombs of the later fifth dynasty show an increasing tendency towards the use of the complex and east-west chapels, as may be found in the mastabas of pth-htp I and 3ht-htp; hmi (figure 3.d and 4.b), but with others still of the north-south type ('nh-izzi, figure 4.a).

The east-west chapel became the principal form in the sixth dynasty. The extent of the complexity of the tomb-plan presumably depended on the status and means of the tomb-owner. The tombs of k3i-gmni, mrrw-k3i and hnty-k3i are good examples of very complex chapels (figure 4.c and figure 5.a). However, as may be seen from the chapel of r'-wr, older forms still existed, even in the tombs of the very highest officials (figure 5.b). Little has been preserved of the chapels from the cemetery of Pepy II at South Saqqara to enable conclusions to be drawn about the plans of the tombs.

## 2. Relationship of these Chapels to the False Door.

It is evident that the most far-reaching development in chapel design in the fifth dynasty was the introduction of the east-west offering room. The majority of such chapels contain the new type false doors

## Ch. 2.I.H.2: Chapels

with cornice and torus moulding, while most of the older false doors are found in north-south chapels. Like the new false door, it is possible to trace the origin of the east-west chapel to a royal monument. An elongated example of such a chapel seems to have been the central feature of the Menkaure pyramid temple,<sup>84</sup> and an abbreviated version appears also in the temple of the Mastabat Faroun.<sup>85</sup> The standard location for this chapel and the false door seems to have been established in the mortuary temples at Abusir.<sup>86</sup> It is thus highly probable that such a scheme evolved in royal monuments, and shortly afterwards began to be used by the highest officials, and later all ranks of tomb owners.

The new chapel type and false door form are thus closely associated. False doors must be included in this group which resemble the newer ones in all respects except their lack of torus and cornice (examples above, page 25). There are several other chapels of the east-west type which contain false doors of the older form, for example that of df3wi (figure 5.d). The door in this tomb contains an offering list on the panel and so cannot be considered to be of the new type. The chapel is a very simple one, but shows the outlines of the east-west type in its overall shape.

Perhaps another variant of the east-west offering room is to be seen in those chapels which consist of a small square room at the end of a corridor, as in, for example, the tomb of s<sup>v</sup>mw (figure 5.c).<sup>87</sup>

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84. Brinks, Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches, Taf. 8.

85. id. ib., Taf. 10.

86. id. ib., Taf. 12, 13, 15.

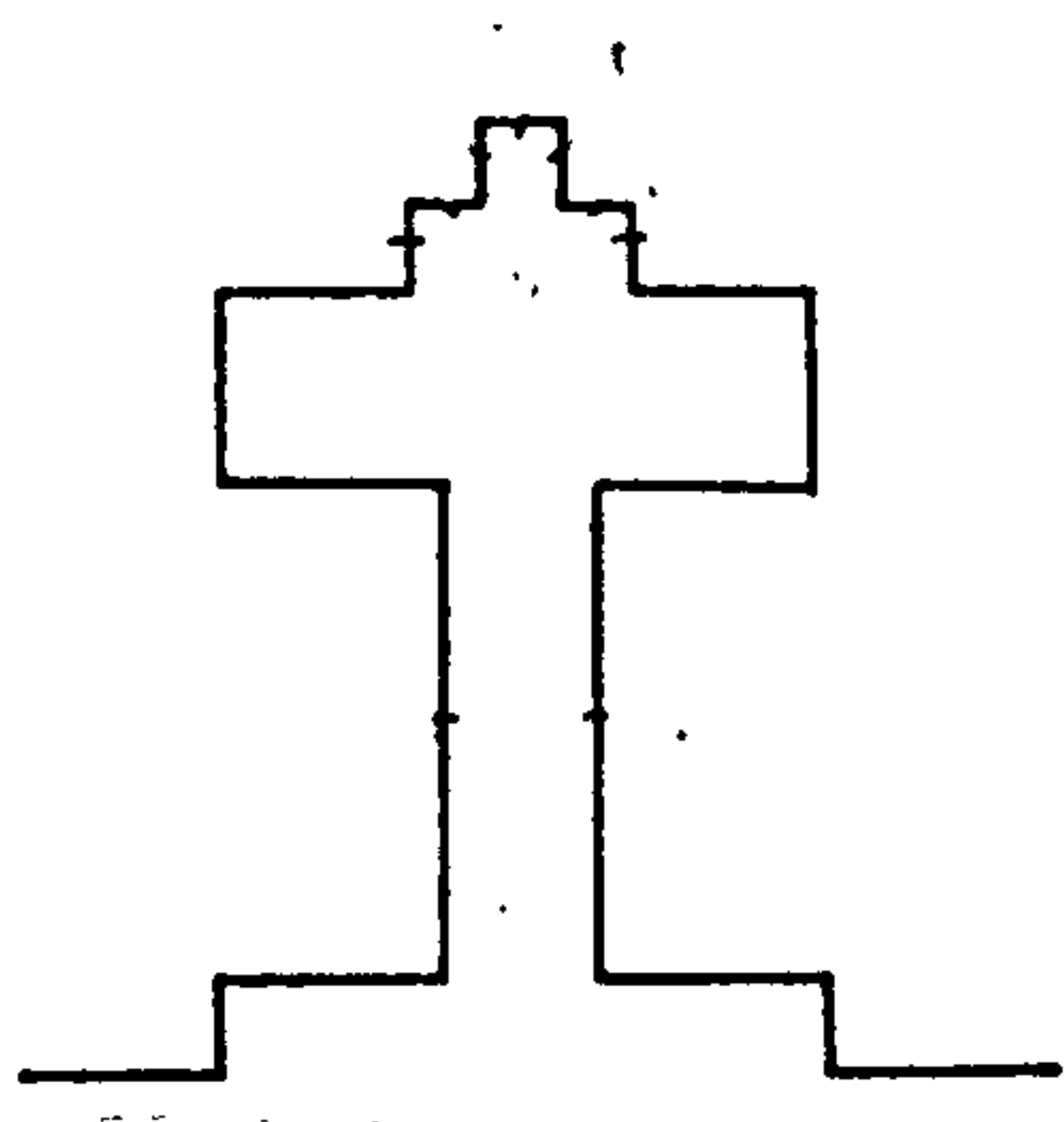
87. Comparable examples may be found in the tombs of tp-m-'nh (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 483-4), htp-k3i (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 447-8) and pth-wsr (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 456).



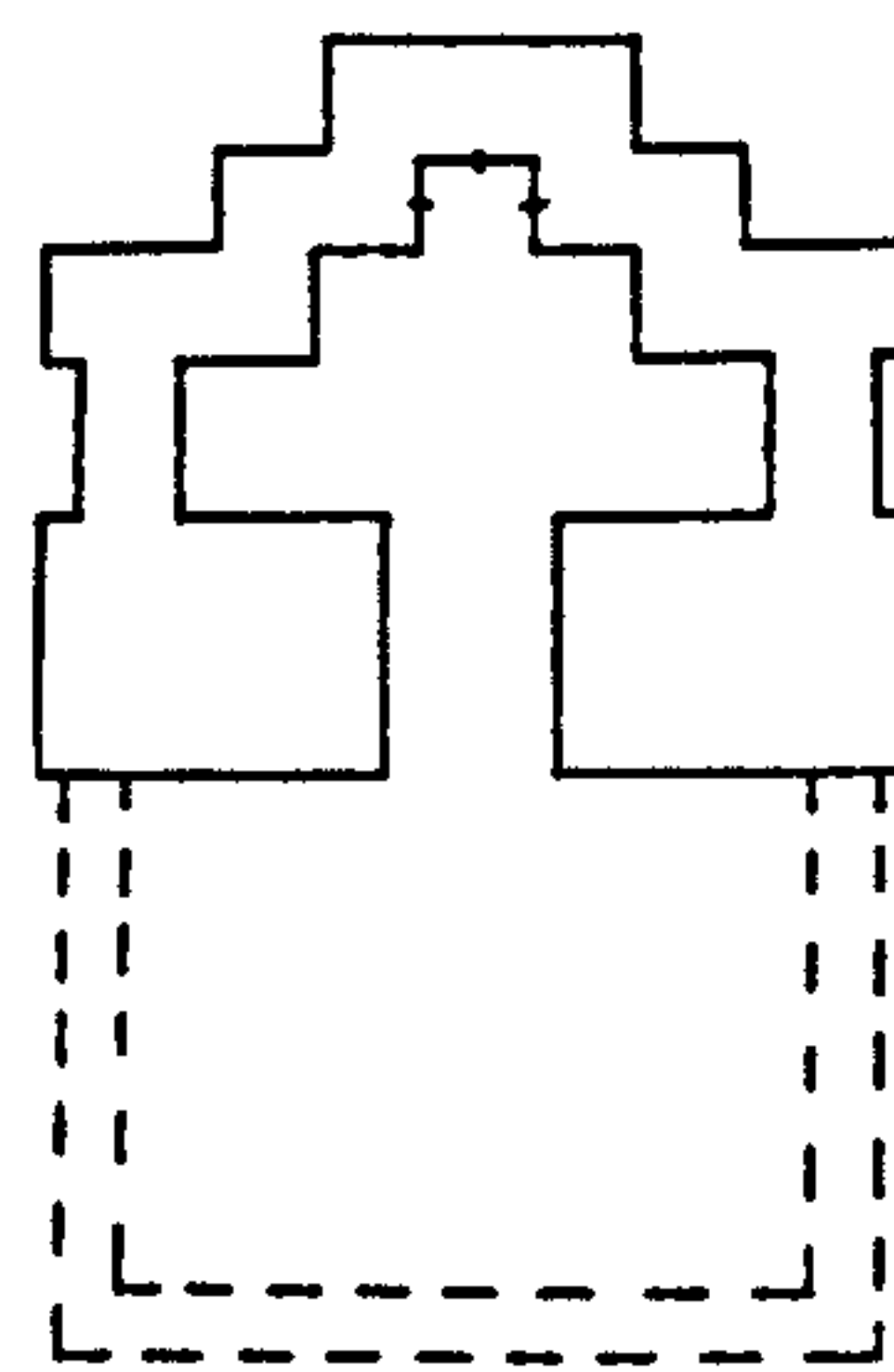
## Ch. 2.I.H.2: Chapels

These are similar to that of ty above (figure 3.a), but are simpler. In most of these tombs, the offering room is not very deep, perhaps suggesting that the room was the east-west chapel in a very early stage of development.

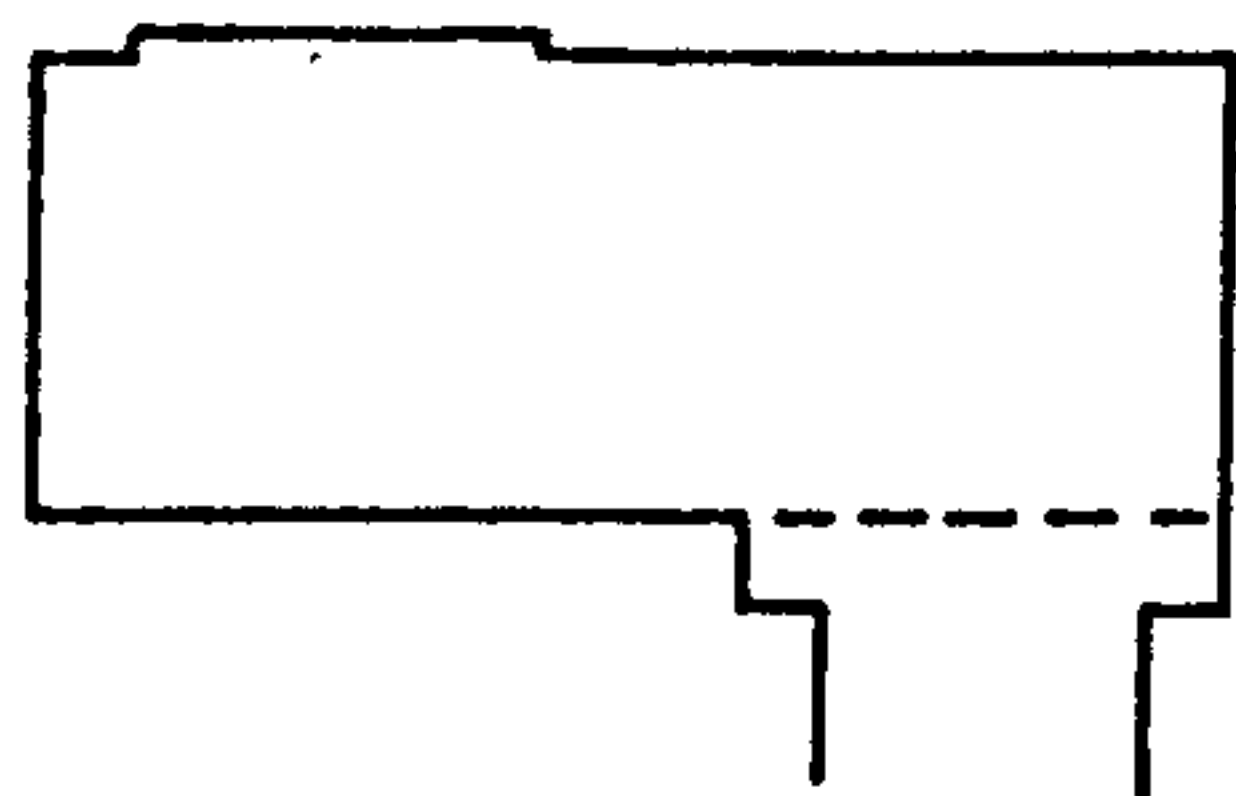
Figure 2: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (1).



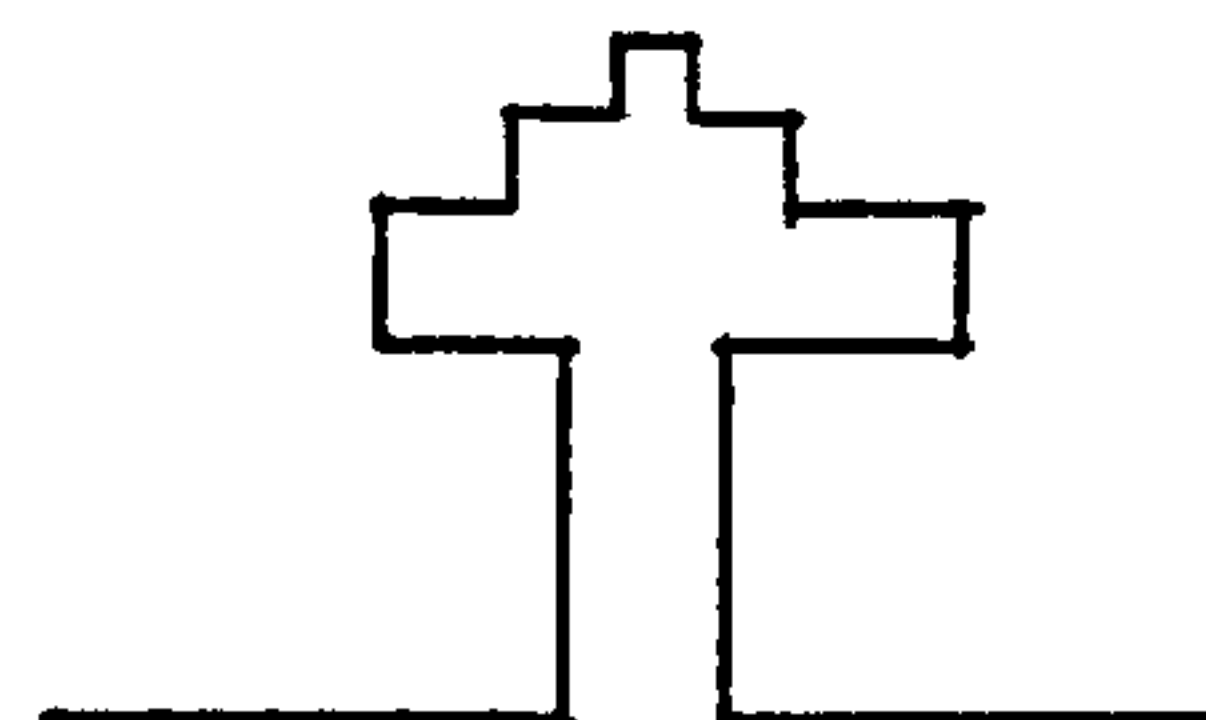
a. From PM 3<sup>2</sup>, pl. XLIX.



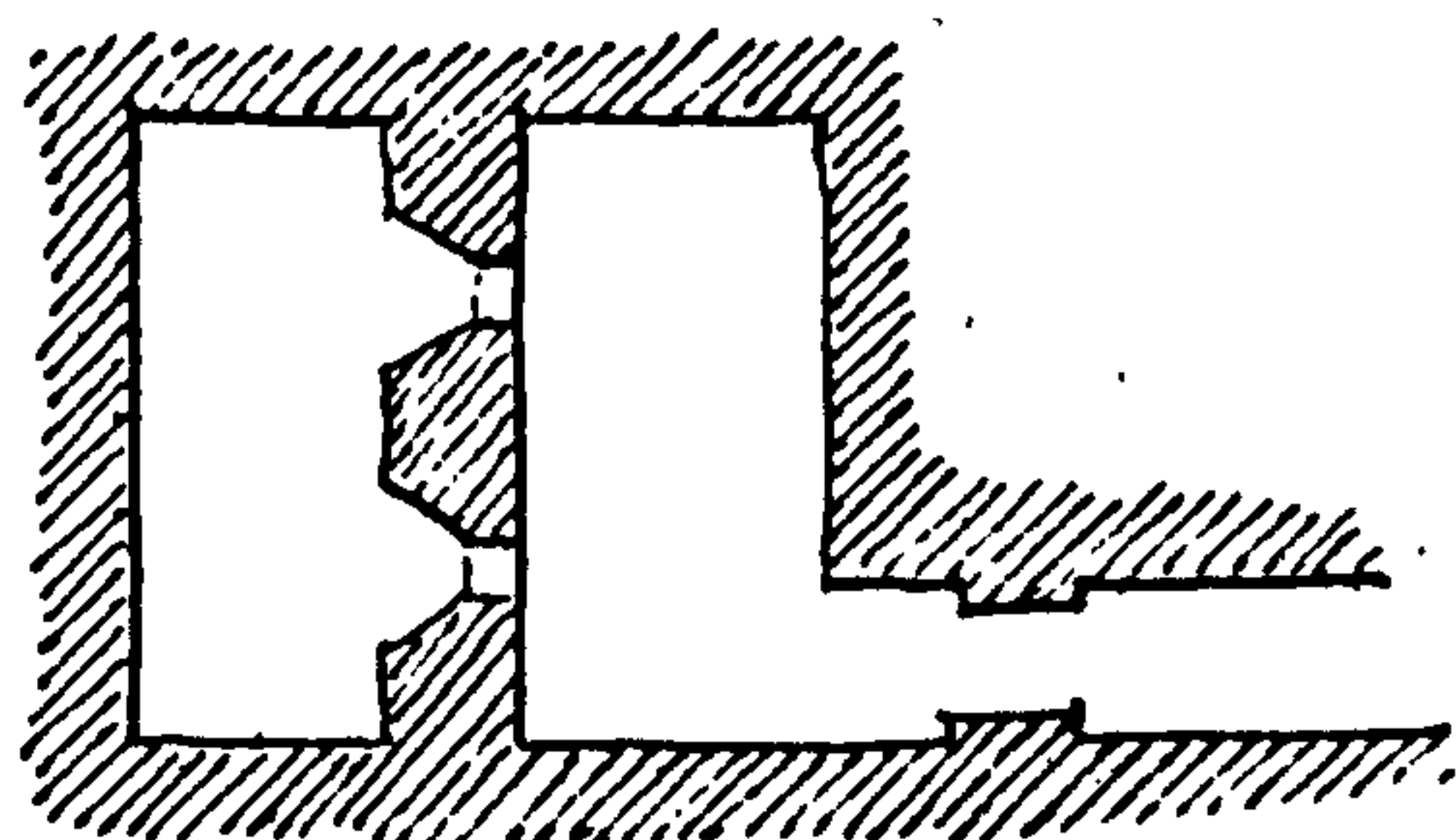
b. From PM 3<sup>2</sup>, pl. L.



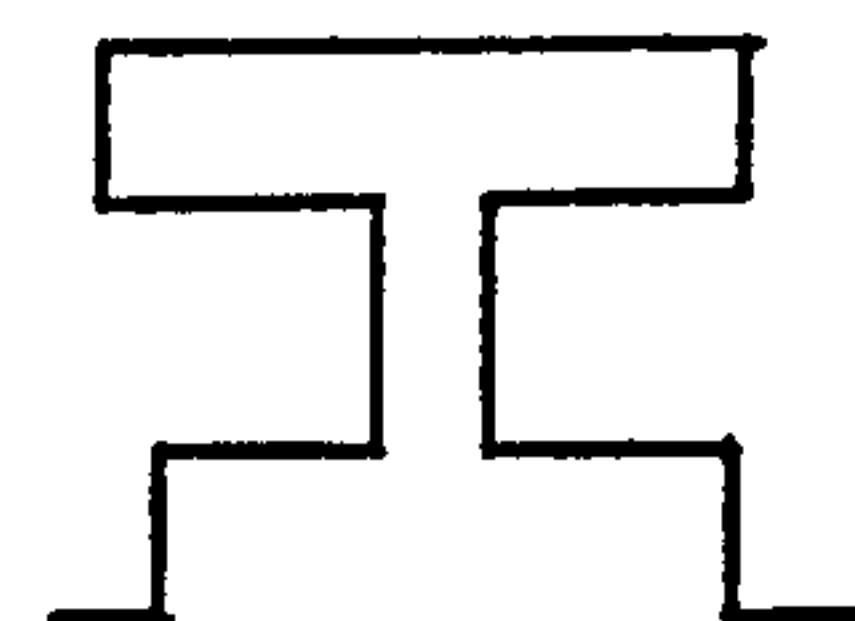
c. From PM 3<sup>2</sup>, pl. XLIX.



d. From Mariette, Mastabas, 109.



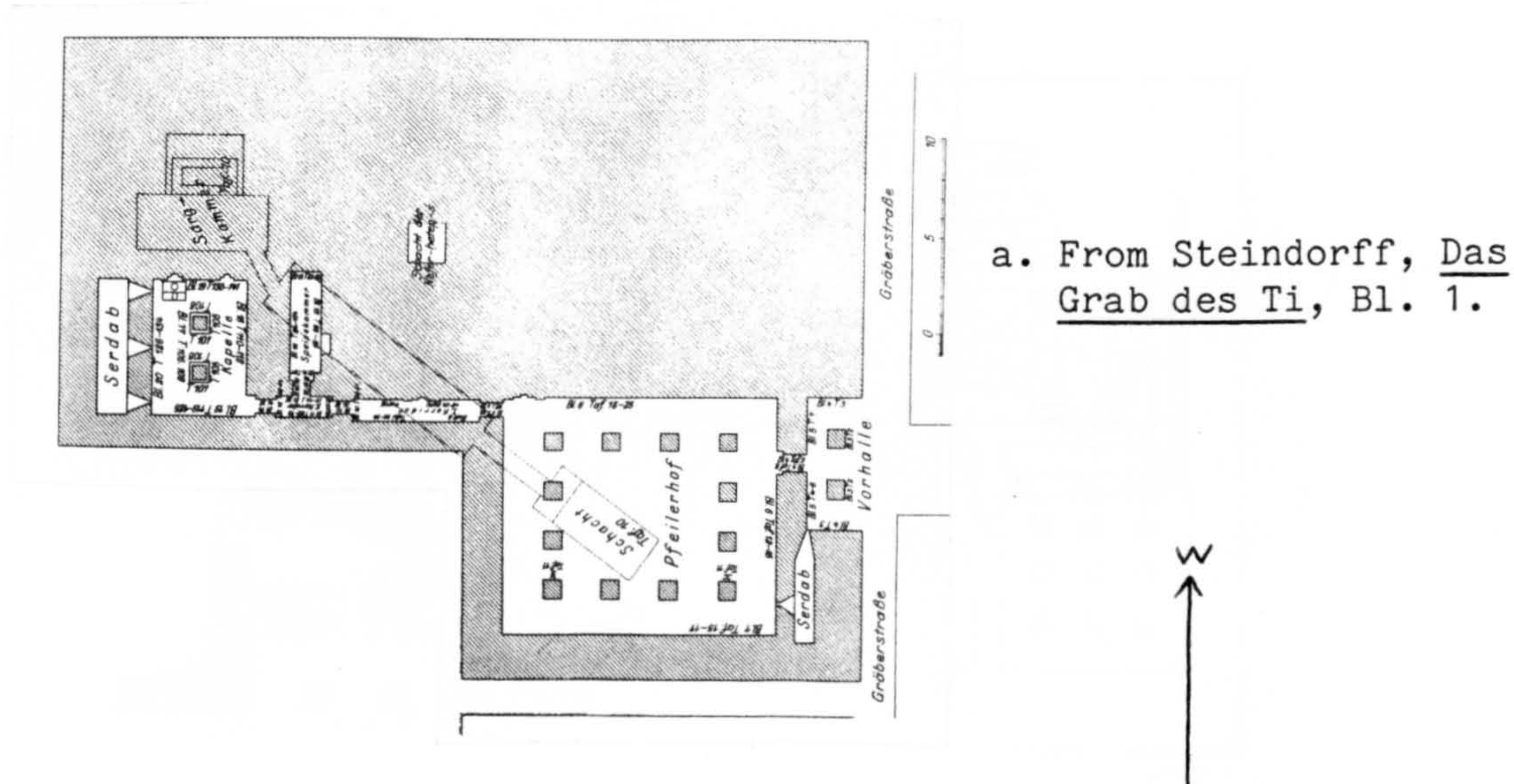
e. From Mariette, Mastabas, 299.



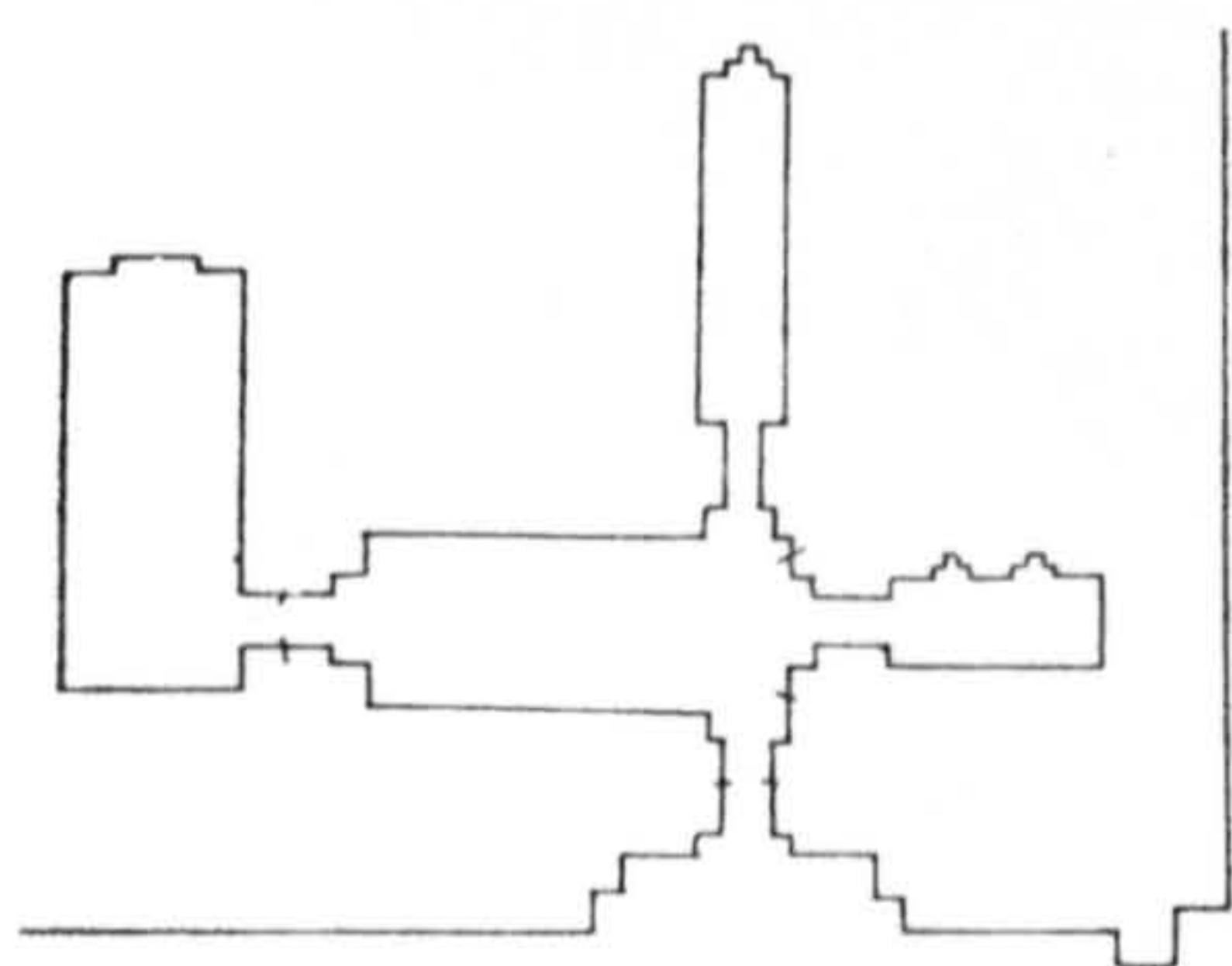
f. From Mariette, Mastabas, 111.



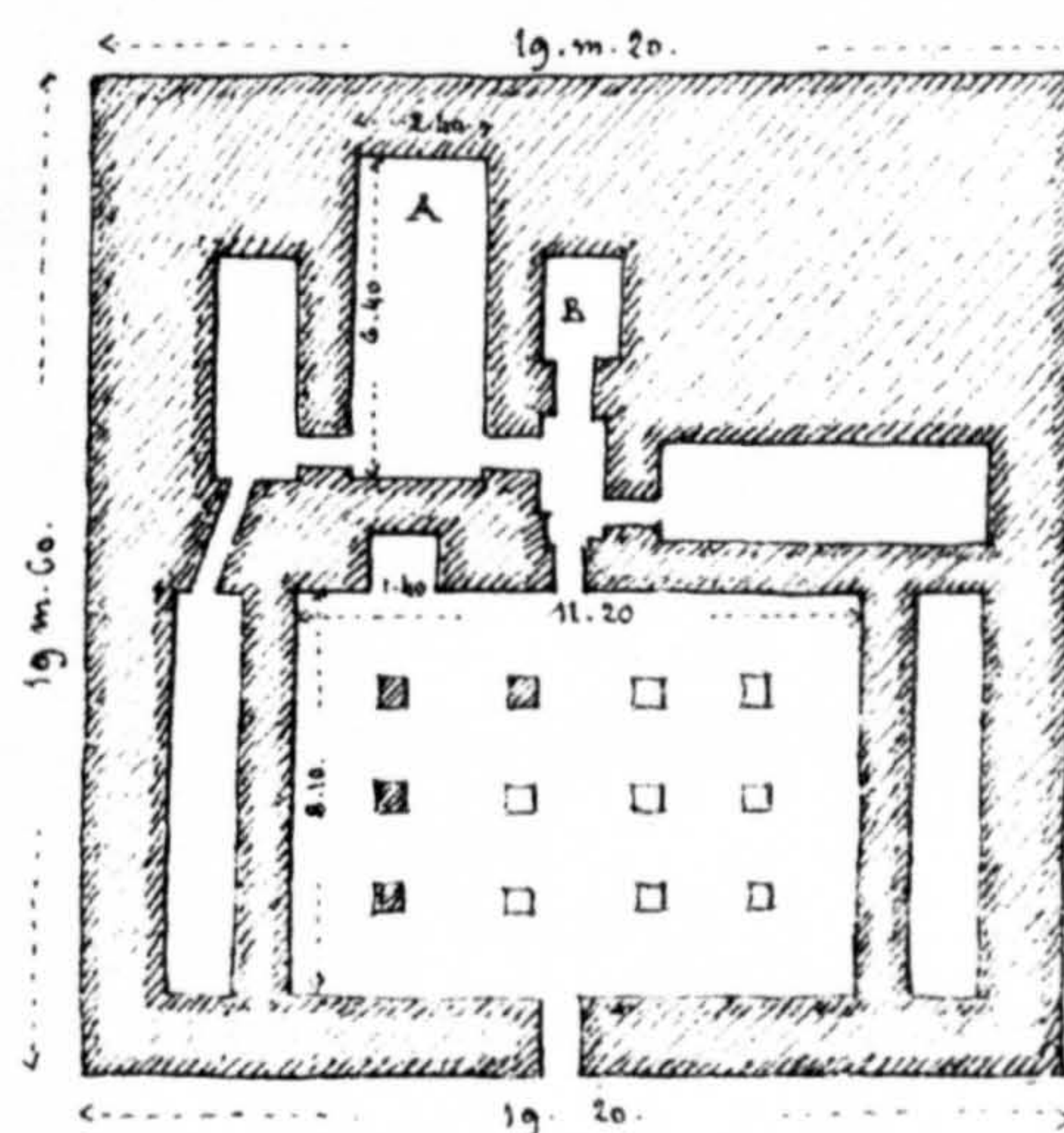
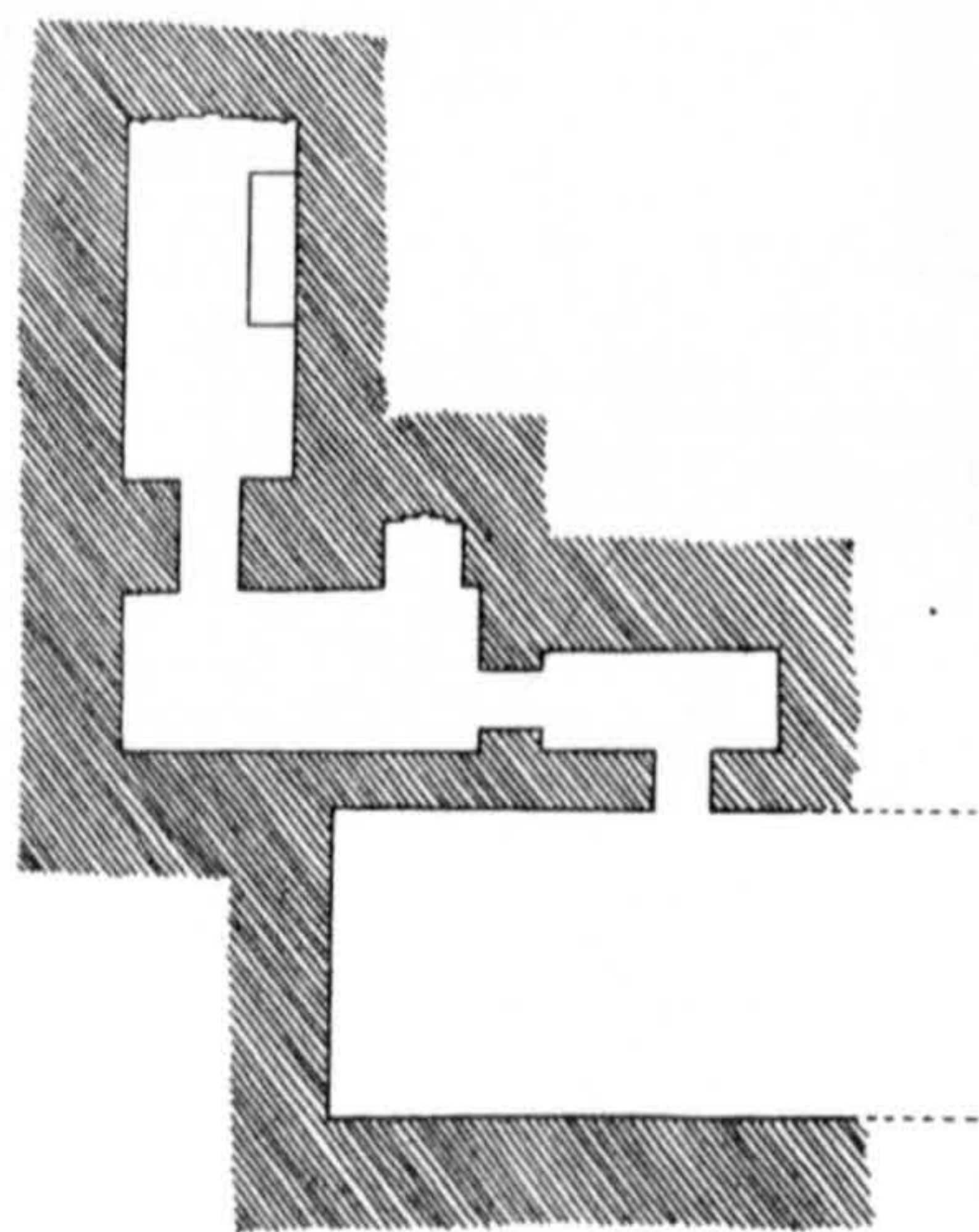
Figure 3: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (2).



a. From Steindorff, Das Grab des Ti, Bl. 1.



b. From PM 3<sup>2</sup>, pl. XLIX.



d. From Mariette, Mastabas, 351.

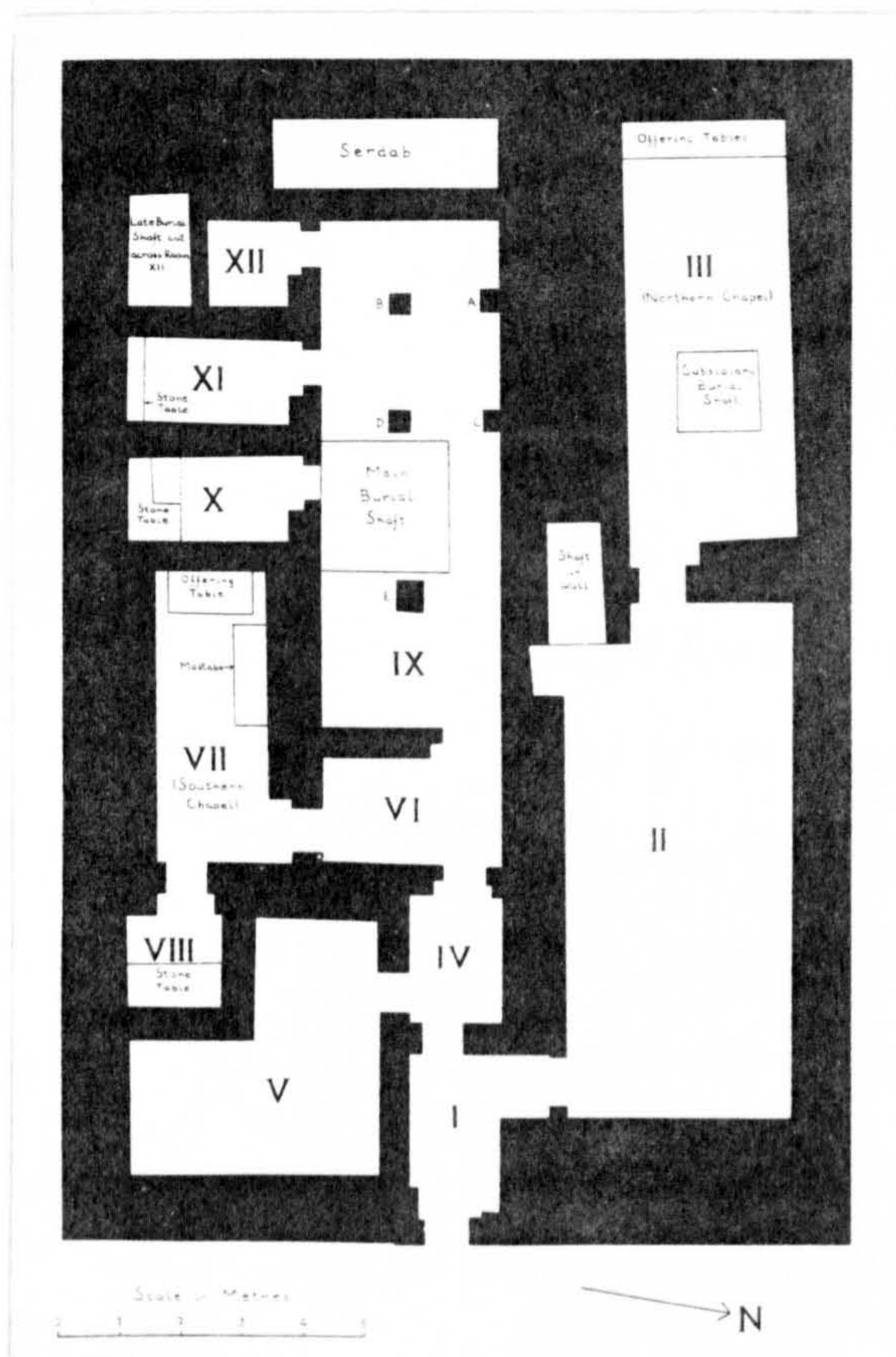
c. From Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XXXII.



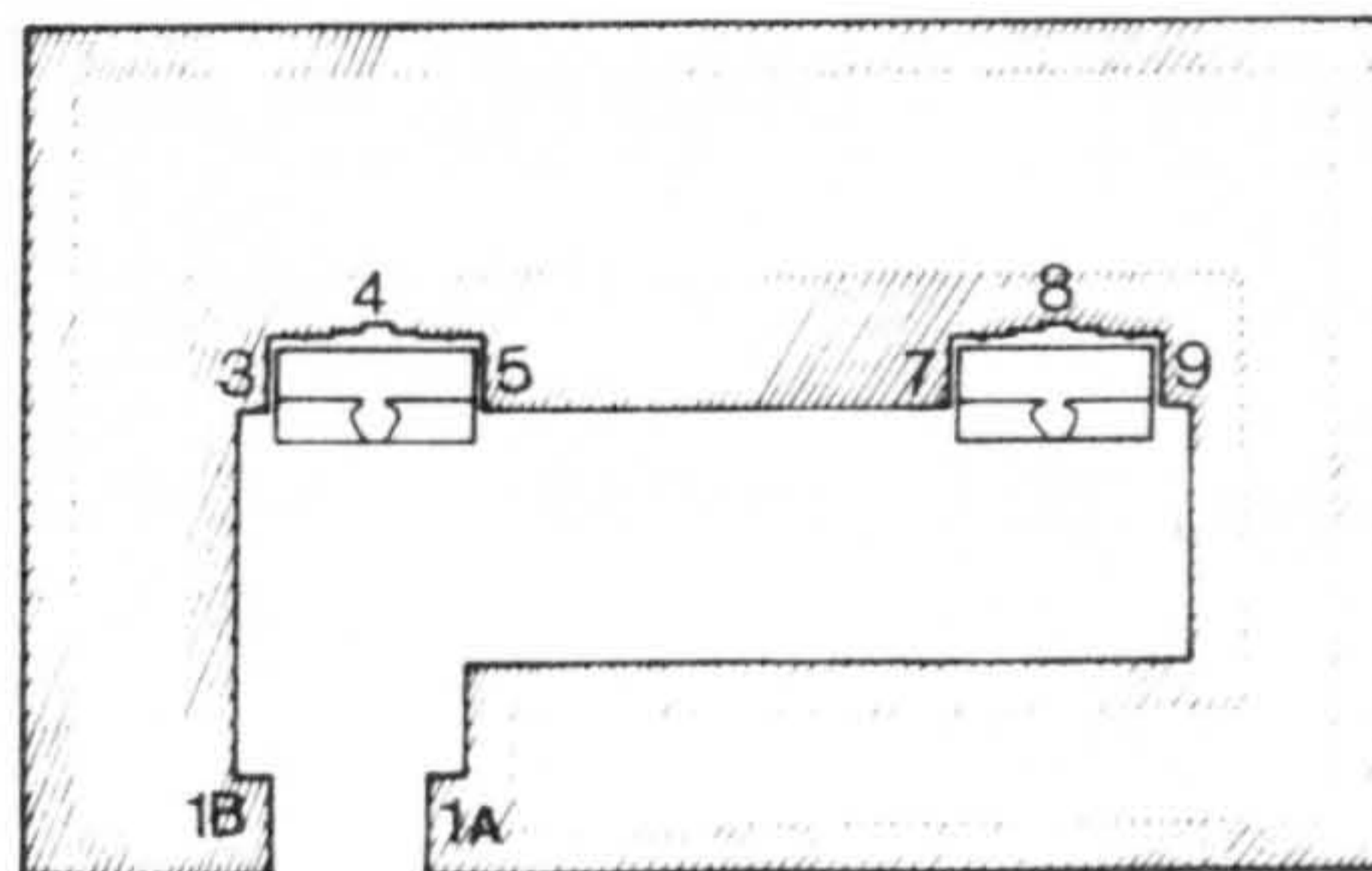




Figure 5: Plans of Offering Rooms in Saqqara Chapels (4).

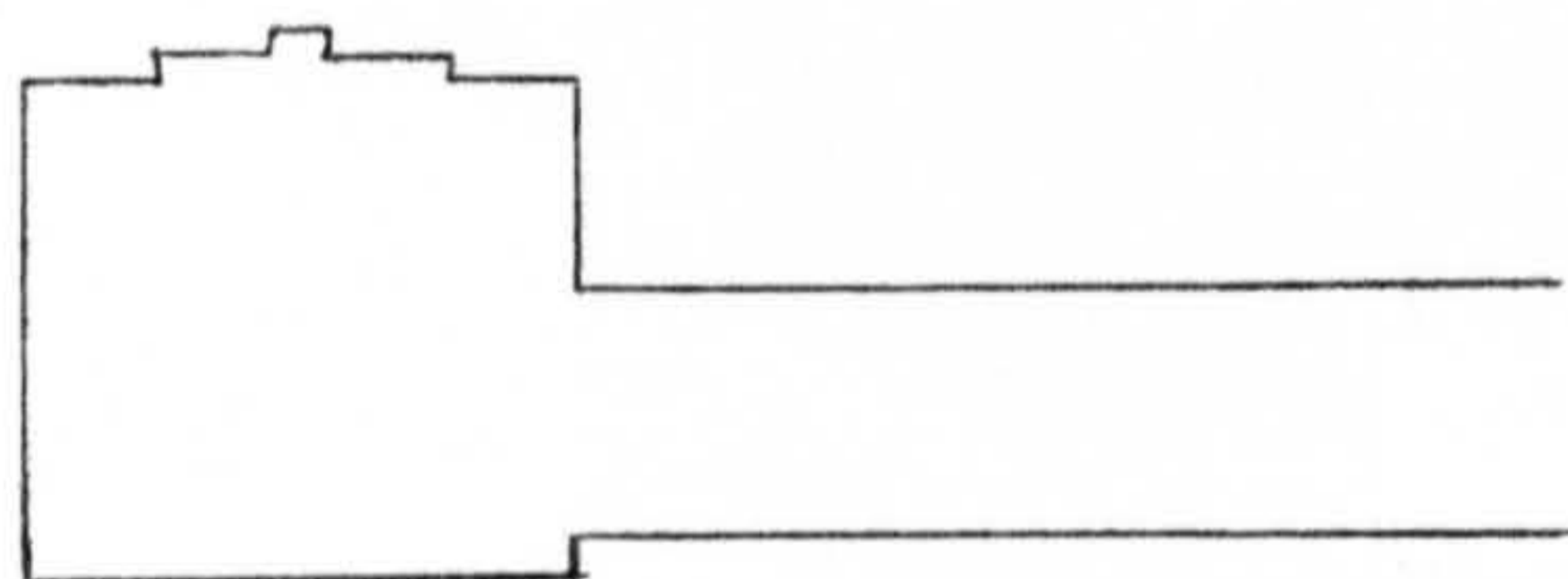


a. From James, Khentika, pl. III.

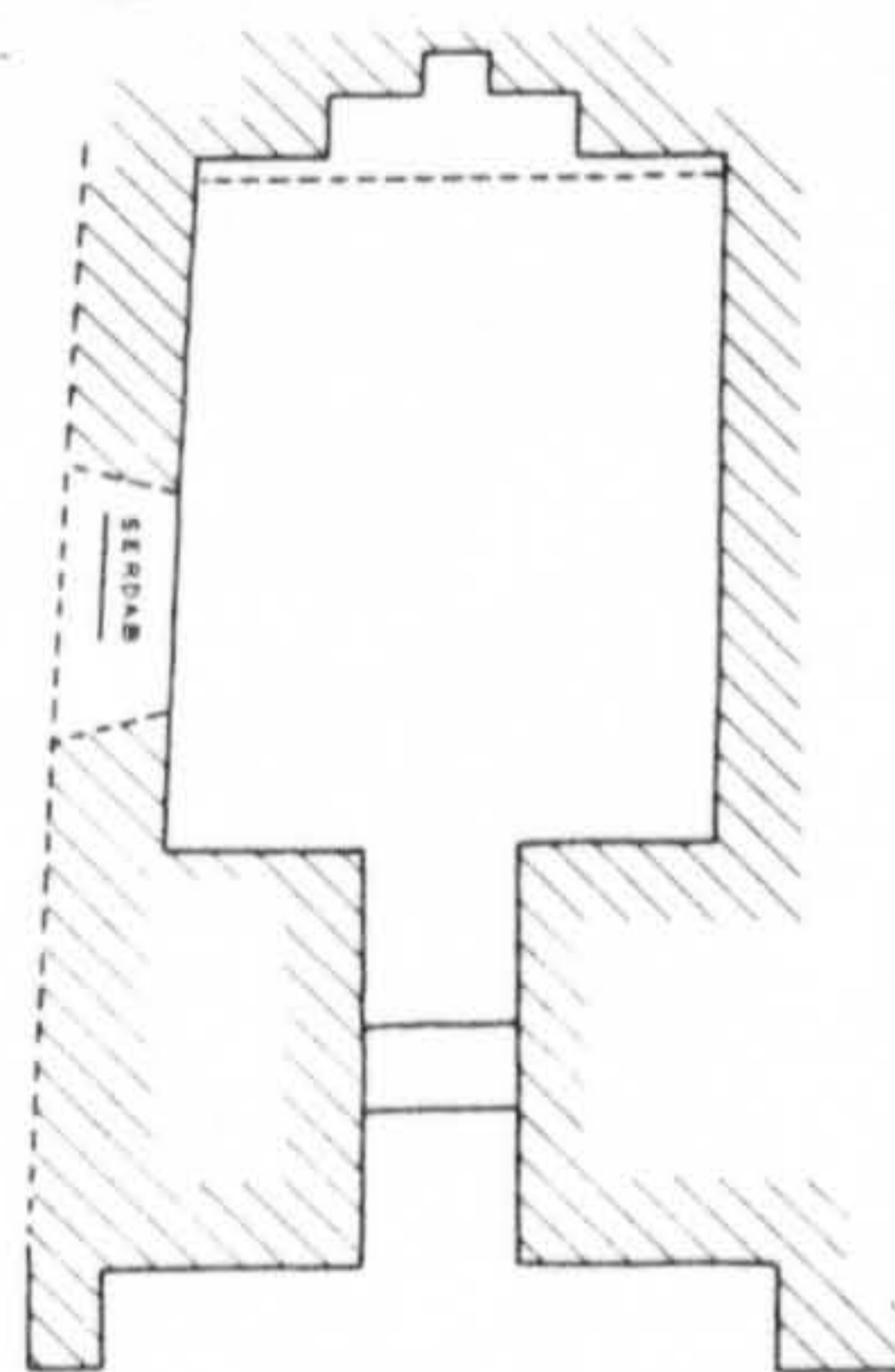


0 50 100 150 200 250  
CENTIMETRES

b. From el-Fikey, The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara, fig. 2.



c. From LD Text I, 142.



d. From Petrie-Murray, Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. XXIV.

### I. Summary of Principal Conclusions.

Torus and Cornice: This appeared in the early fifth dynasty, and is found mainly from the reign of Neweserre. Until the later fifth dynasty it is confined principally to viziers and high officials. Became the usual type in the sixth dynasty.

Jambs: One or two pairs normal in the fourth to middle fifth dynasties, usually wide and decorated with a very large figure of the deceased, often with the addition of figures of his family. There were several columns of text, the length of which varies on different jambs. After the mid-fifth dynasty, jambs became narrower and of equal length and width; the figure of the deceased became smaller. Three pairs are found with the highest officials. This type is usually, but not always, found with torus and cornice. Two or three equal width jambs were normal in the sixth dynasty. In the reign of Pepy II, jambs became very narrow, usually with only one column of text.

Panel: Squarish for most of the Old Kingdom. In the period of the reign of Teti to Pepy I, some examples are very elongated. From the middle sixth onwards they are often "T"-shaped, particularly in the reign of Pepy II. They were normally decorated



## Ch. 2.I.I: Summary

with a seated figure of the deceased at the left. The deceased's wife appeared on some fifth dynasty panels. Some middle fifth dynasty examples replaced the normal table scene with a text. Later fifth ones occasionally showed the deceased at the right side of the panel and sometimes in a standing position.

Apertures:

Wide from the middle fourth to middle fifth dynasties, in which period they were frequently decorated. Most doors with torus and cornice have narrow apertures, especially from the late fifth dynasty onwards.

Lintels:

If present, the figure of the deceased followed the alignment of that on the panel. Some standing figures are found in the later fifth dynasty. Early texts are not split into distinct lines.

Relief:

Generally raised until the middle fifth dynasty, thereafter sunk. Sunk relief became associated with torus and cornice doors.

Central Niche:

The use of a vertical column of text is a feature of false doors of the mid-fifth dynasty.

Extra Scenes:

Not common, confined to the early to middle fifth dynasty. Not found on doors with torus and cornice.

Offering Lists: The presence of these on false doors generally indicates a period before the later fifth dynasty. Not found with torus and cornice doors. Short lists on the panel of an uncanonical nature are confined to fourth to mid-fifth dynasty examples. Canonical lists may appear almost anywhere on the door and usually belong to the period of the reigns of Neferirkare to Djedkare.

Chapel Types: In the fourth dynasty, cruciform chapels with deep niches were normal. The "L"-shaped chapel appears in the early fifth dynasty. Both these chapel types usually contained the older-style false doors. The first developments in the direction of the east-west chapel appeared in the early fifth dynasty. False doors of both older and newer types are found in these chapels. The east-west chapel gradually took precedence from the middle fifth onwards, especially in the tombs of the highest officials, although the older types are still found. In the late fifth and sixth dynasties, the east-west chapel was the norm, with the torus and cornice false door; chapel plans were often very complex.

## Section II: False Doors and Other features of Tomb Design at Giza.

### A. Introduction.

The nature of the material from Giza, and the extent of its relevance to the subject of this work, necessitates a different treatment from that given to doors from Saqqara. At the latter site, the officials in question were generally of the higher ranks, and their spread is relatively consistent from the middle fifth dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. At Giza, however, the majority of relevant officials buried there date to the fourth and early fifth dynasties, after which period the number declined; the majority of burials after this time were of lower men, particularly in the sixth dynasty. As the purpose of this study is to shed more light on the dating of the highest officials of the Old Kingdom, it is apparent that the site of Giza must receive attention principally for the earlier period; examples of false doors from later times will be discussed at less length.

### B. The Offering List as a Criterion for Dating in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

At Giza, one encounters the problem that there are fewer tombs that can be independently dated than at Saqqara, and it is thus not possible to produce a list of examples of the fourth and early fifth dynasties around which to build groups of similar false doors. To obtain a possible sequence for the chapels under consideration, it is necessary to utilise other features, the most prominent of which is the offering list found in most chapels of the period under consideration.

The early development of the offering list at Giza may be seen on the slab-stelae: it would seem likely that the number of elements in these offering lists increased with time, the earliest examples, those



## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

from cemetery G1200, such as k3i-nfr (G1203)<sup>88</sup> and ini (G1235)<sup>89</sup>, having but five, while later ones had many more, such as that of wp-m-nfrt (G1201 - twenty)<sup>90</sup> and sš3t-shntyw (G2120 - thirty or more).<sup>91</sup> Common to them all is the presence of a linen list.<sup>92</sup> The tomb of the last-mentioned example has a mason's graffito of the twelfth cattle-count of an unnamed king. This is probably of the reign of Khufu, and as it applies to the main body of the mastaba, if this were built at the end of the reign of Khufu, then the decoration is unlikely to be earlier than the beginning of the reign of Khafre.<sup>93</sup>

Similar in some respects to the slab-stela of sš3t-shntyw is the panel of nfr (G2110); the major difference is that it is incorporated into a false door.<sup>94</sup> These resemblances may suggest a date for nfr shortly after that of sš3t-shntyw, perhaps in the middle of the reign of Khafre.

It must be stressed that none of the above are of the type referred to above as the 'canonical list', that is, the form which becomes the standard order in the fifth and sixth dynasties (see further above page 41). It is clear that at some point between the early fourth and the middle fifth dynasty the change from the older to the newer style of list came about. At Saqqara this is considered to have happened in about the reign of Sahure, but, as will be seen, the change is first apparent at Giza.

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88. Reisner, Giza I, pl. 17b.

89. id. ib., pl. 20b.

90. id. ib., pl. 17a.

91. id. ib., pl. 39a; more details from examination of original in Boston.

92. For a discussion of this feature, see Smith, ZAS 71 (1935), 134-49.

93. id., JNES 11 (1952), 127 (3), fig. 6.

94. Reisner, op. cit., fig. 241.

## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

The earliest examples of lists with resemblance to the canonical one come from the Eastern Cemetery, from the tombs of h'f-hwfw I (G 7130 + 7140) and mrs-'nh III (G7530). On the grounds of the former being a son of Khufu, it is unlikely that he would have decorated his tomb before the reign of Khafre. mrs-'nh perhaps married Khafre and may have died at the beginning of the reign of Shepseskaf, and so the decoration of her tomb probably dates to the reign of Menkaure.<sup>95</sup>

The lists of h'f-hwfw are found on the panel of his false door and the south wall of the chapel.<sup>96</sup> Closer examination reveals that the two are complementary; using the numbers of the canonical list of Barta,<sup>97</sup> the first fifteen elements are absent, but numbers sixteen to fifty-nine, with a few omissions, are in canonical order on the panel. The majority of elements sixty to ninety are found on the south wall, with perhaps six of them also featuring on the panel. There can be little doubt that this is a canonical list, and also that it shows signs of being very much an experiment. The conventional position of the list before this time was solely on the panel, but in this case to accommodate the number of elements required it had to be continued elsewhere. The lack of certain of these shows that the form was still very fluid. Both of these lists are arranged so that no physical divisions were placed between the individual elements, as with the older examples.

The list of mrs-'nh III shows a further development. This is

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 95. Smith, op. cit., 126 (1), fig. 4 (G7530); another possibility is that she died at the beginning of the reign of Menkaure, see Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, 8.

96. Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig. 32, 31.

97. Opferliste, 47-50.



## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

found on the south wall of Reisner's room b of her tomb,<sup>98</sup> and comprises virtually all the elements of a standard offering list. Each element is for the first time placed in a small 'compartment'.

Further late fourth dynasty examples are found in tombs in the Khafre Quarry Cemetery, notably those of *ny-k3w-r'*,<sup>99</sup> *dbhn*,<sup>100</sup> and *shm-k3-r'*,<sup>101</sup> which belong to the reigns of Menkaure to Sahure. This shows clearly that the development of the offering list in its canonical form took place in the tomb of members of the royal family. The exception to this is that of *dbhn*, but, as his biography shows,<sup>102</sup> this tomb and its site were given to him specially by Menkaure as a favour, and consequently it should be regarded as one would a royal tomb.<sup>103</sup>

The earliest canonical list that is evident from independently dated private tombs is that of *sšm-nfr* I (G4940), perhaps of the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare. There are several private non-canonical lists that seem to belong to the preceding period. Panels with offering and linen lists not dissimilar to that already noted in the tomb of *nfr* are also found in that of *mry-ib* (G2100-I-annexe). There is an

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98. Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, fig. 9.

99. LD Erg., Taf. XXIII.

100. LD II, 35; Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 122.

101. LD II, 42 c; Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 63.

102. Urk. I, 18-21.

103. Other offering lists of members of the royal family of the fourth dynasty use the older style. These are all from the Eastern Cemetery, and their owners were thus probably related to Khufu and were very likely earlier than the individuals noted in the Khafre Cemetery. Those of *htp-hrs*, the wife of *'nh-h3f* (G7510, unpublished), and *mrt-itis* (G7650, unpublished) are the only ones with linen lists. Unpublished fragments of the list of *ddf-hr* (G7210 + 7220) suggest that it may have been not unlike that of *h'f-hwfw*. For others see the list in Reisner, Giza I, 334-5. It is clear that a large degree of variation was indeed possible in the middle fourth dynasty, as one might expect given the number and pace of current developments in the list.



## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

important false door panel from cemetery G4000, that of **snfrw-snb** (G4240).<sup>104</sup> This is significant as the linen list is omitted, and the decoration of the panel consists solely of about seventy-six individual offerings. This number is far higher than any previously found in a private tomb at Giza, and was clearly the next logical step from the panels of **nfr** and **mry-ib**. This list is not in a canonical order; the content and grouping of the elements is not unlike that of the later lists, but some items appear which do not survive in the canonical list, such as the **smn** goose and the **prw** drink. Given that **snfrw-snb**'s mastaba contained a 'reserve head', it is likely that his tomb is not one of the latest ones in the cemetery, but may perhaps be of the period of the reign of Khafre to that of Menkaure, as may be **mry-ib**.

In the tomb of **dw3-n-r'** (G5110, unpublished), the only offering list appears to be that on the panel of the false door. It contains approximately twenty-three elements arranged in an uncanonical order. At the end of the first line of the offering list, there is a falcon on a perch, presumably to be read **idmy** 'red linen', thus providing a link with the old linen list which by this time had formally disappeared from the tomb.<sup>105</sup> This form of list suggests it not to be one of the older examples in the cemetery, having affinities as it does with those of **mry-ib** and **snfrw-snb**.

There are at least three further tombs from the western field at Giza, conventionally dated to the early fifth dynasty, which have offering lists that are extensive but do not fit into the canonical

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104. Reisner, *op. cit.*, pl. 57b.

105. **idmy** is discussed by Smith, *ZAS* 71 (1935), 139-41.

## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

pattern - ny-k3-nzwt I (G2155),<sup>106</sup> sš3t-htp; hti (G5150),<sup>107</sup> and whm-k3i.<sup>108</sup> The traces available of the list of ddf-hwfw (G III S) suggest that it also fitted into this group, but it is too damaged to be of direct assistance.<sup>109</sup> One feature common to all these lists is that they were all on the south wall of the offering chapel. Furthermore, the panels of the false doors contained just a few offerings such as the oils and the occasional other element, but no linen list. The following conclusions all assume that the nearer the form of the offering list to the canonical one, the later its date.

This group of lists have much in common with that of snfrw-snb, all containing at least seventy elements not in canonical order, but including very many that were to be in the canonical list, and several that were not.<sup>110</sup> It would appear that the list of ny-k3-nzwt I bears the most similarities to the canonical one in its order and selection of offerings. One important feature found for the first time in a private tomb is the noting of the number of portions of very many of the offerings, possibly also true for the list of ddf-hwfw. On such a basis it is likely that the list of sš3t-htp is earlier in date than that of ny-k3-nzwt. With the exception of whm-k3i, all the officials would seem to be of the highest rank, very frequently 'king's sons' (in fact 'titular princes'), and one is probably justified to see developments reaching their contemporaries at about the same time. If

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106. Junker, Giza II, Abb. 21.

107. LD II, 25; Junker, op. cit., Abb. 29. The offering list of nzwt-nfr (G4970; Junker, Giza III, Abb. 9b) is substantially similar to that of sš3t-htp and it is indeed likely that it was copied (id. ib., 71, 76, 170, 184-5).

108. Kayser, Die Mastaba des Uhemka, fig. after page 23.

109. id., Giza X, Abb. 25.

110. See Barta, Opferliste, 51-5.

## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

the canonical list seems to have come into use in the non-royal cemeteries in or after the reign of Sahure, then the most likely date for the tomb of  $\overset{v}{s}3t\text{-}h\text{t}p$  is the end of the fourth dynasty and for  $ny\text{-}k3\text{-}nzwt$  I the early fifth.

It was mentioned above (page 63) that the list of  $\overset{v}{s}m\text{-}nfr$  I (G4940) was perhaps one of the first in a private tomb to be based on the canonical form. This list has a total of sixty-seven elements, but omits the first fifteen elements of the canon as well as some of the final ones.<sup>111</sup> It is interesting to note that the list is not partitioned, but that the number of portions of each offering is indicated. These details emphasize that it is an early example, with still a few trappings of older lists.

Three further tombs provide possible examples of the first use of compartments in the lists of non-royal persons.  $k3i\text{-}nfr$  (G2150) has a list of twenty-four elements in compartments on the east wall of his chapel.<sup>112</sup> This is perhaps some sort of experiment with the new list, which may explain its unusual location and small size. The other examples are those of  $k3i\text{-}pw\text{-}nzwt$ ;  $k3i$  (G4651),<sup>113</sup> and  $k3i\text{-}swd3$  (G5340).<sup>114</sup> These two tombs both have full offering lists on the south wall of their chapels.

It is perhaps possible that by the reign of Neferirkare or slightly later the standard offering list form had been established in all cemeteries at Giza. The developments in private tombs seem

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111. LD II, 28.

112. Reisner, Giza I, fig. 260.

113. Junker, Giza III, Abb. 17; probably early fifth dynasty as he was responsible for the false door of  $nfrt\text{-}i3btt$  (G4650) of the fourth dynasty.

114. LD II, 85a; Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 19 (left); probably son of  $k3i\text{-}nfr$  above.



## Ch. 2.II.B: Offering Lists

clearly to have taken place during or after the first appearance of the canonical list in tombs of the royal family. It thus suggests, as one might expect in Ancient Egypt, that new developments were first used by the royal family, and were then a little later emulated by non-royal officials.

C. The Chapels and False Doors of the Early Period at Giza.

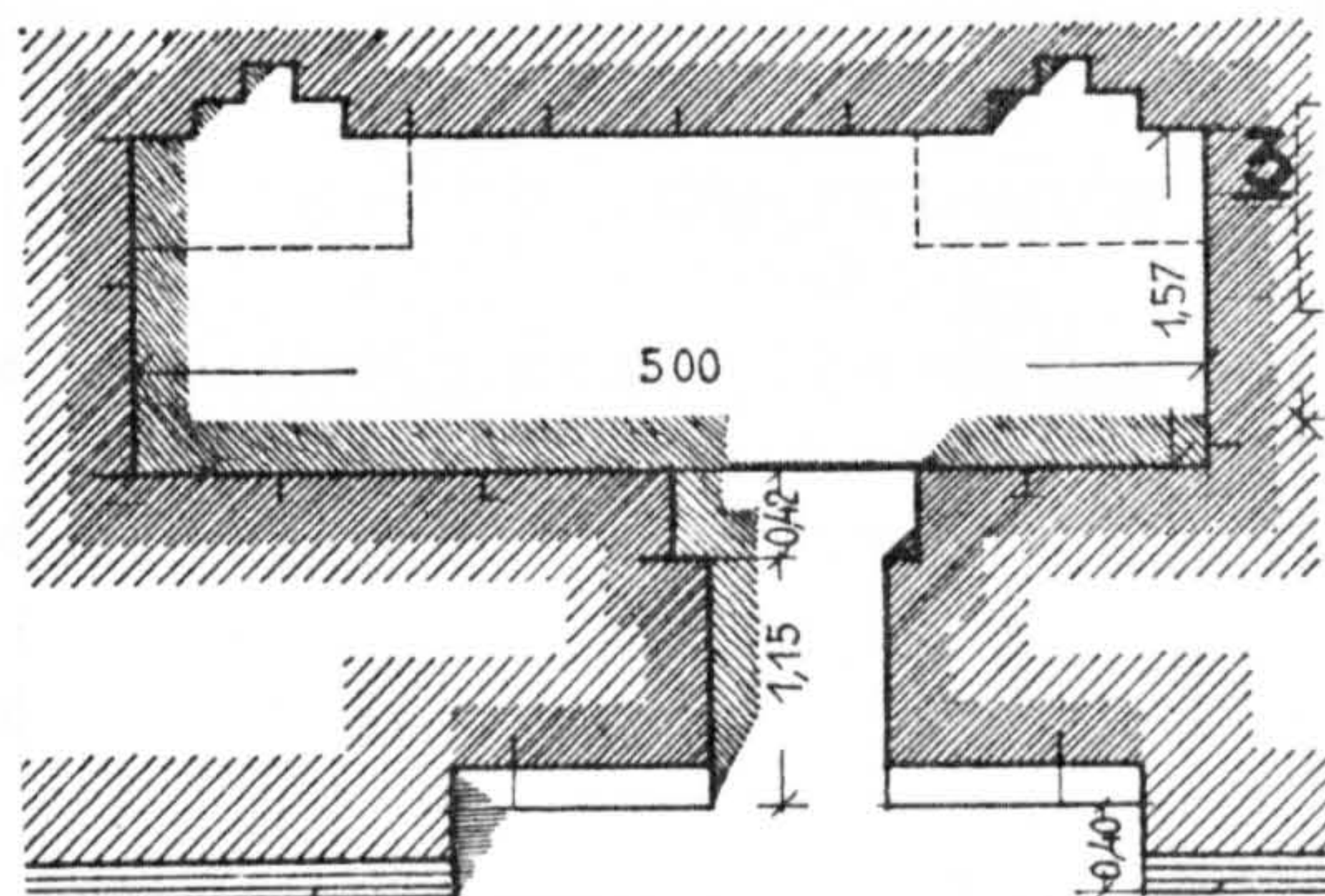
In comparison with the false doors from Saqqara of the fifth dynasty, the examples found at Giza in the early period are much more simple, with generally less features useful for the purposes of dating. Consequently, the examination of the position of the false door in the chapels and the adjoining schemes of decoration assumes more importance.

Tombs of holders of relevant titles in the early period are found in the following Giza Cemeteries: G7000, G2000, G4000, the Cemetery en Echelon and the Khafre Quarry Cemetery. Of these, only the first and last seem to have been the places of burial of true members of the royal family; the others probably contained the tombs of the most important non-royal officials. Leaving aside for the present the Khafre Cemetery, the tombs of which are almost all rock-cut and probably obey different decorative rules, the chapels in these cemeteries are of two broad types, those with one niche or false door and those with two (examples figure 6). These two chapel types will form the basis of the discussion of the tombs of this period.

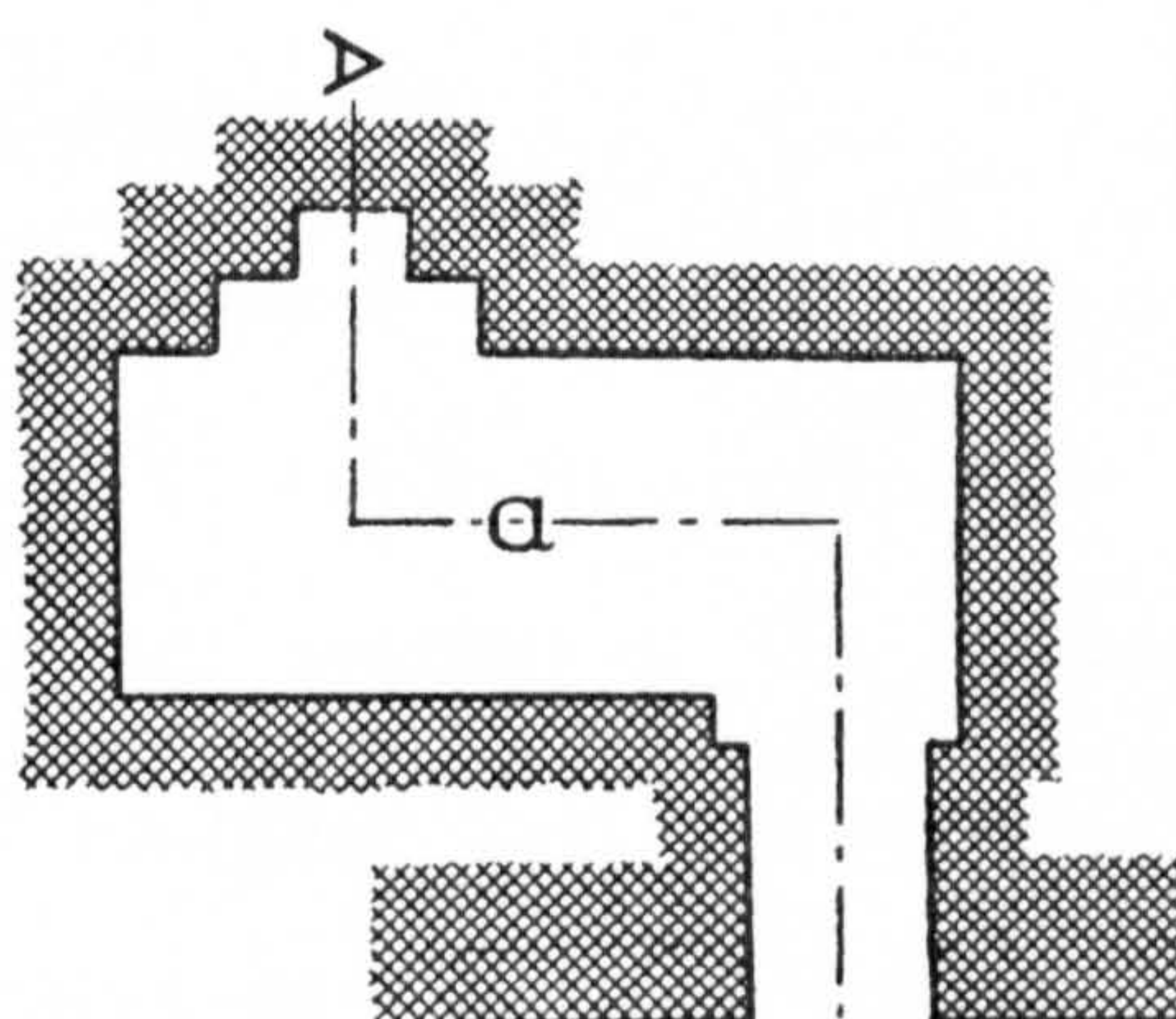
The precise details of the genesis of the false door at Giza are not relevant here. It will suffice to note that the oldest tombs were originally built with slab-stelae embedded in the outer wall of the mastaba; some of these were consequently walled-up, and chapels built



Figure 6: The Two Principal Chapel Types at Giza in the Fourth Dynasty.



a. Tomb of **ss3t-htp; hti** (G5150)  
Adapted from Junker, Giza II, Abb. 23.



b. Tomb of **h'f-hwfw I** (G7140)  
Adapted from Reisner, Giza I, fig. 114.

onto the exterior of the mastaba containing what appears to be a prototype of the false door. The mastaba of **wp-m-nfrt** (G1201) is a good illustration of this sequence of events.<sup>115</sup> None of the officials relevant to this work possessed a chapel of this type; the false doors in question all appear fully formed.

115. Reisner, Giza I, 385-89; slab-stela, pl. 17a, in situ, pl. 11c; false doors pl. 11a.



### 1. Chapels with Two False Doors.

This chapel type appears first in the early fourth dynasty, reign of Khufu; a typical example is given in figure 6a. The clearest example is the chapel of the second subsidiary pyramid of that king (G1b).<sup>116</sup> From an inscription found near to the entrance to the mortuary temple of Khufu it would seem likely that the major constructions of that reign were being erected around the year of the eighth cattle-count, perhaps about the middle of the reign.<sup>117</sup> This chapel was undecorated.

Another example may be found in the tomb of 'nh-h3f (G7510),<sup>118</sup> although the southern niche is far larger than the northern. A very elongated example is in the tomb of hm-iwnw (G4000);<sup>119</sup> another is in the unassigned mastaba G2000.<sup>120</sup>

These last three mastabas are all the largest in their respective areas of the cemetery. It would be logical for G7510 and G2000 to be the oldest mastabas in each section of the cemetery, although Reisner preferred to see G7510 as later than the others.<sup>121</sup> The position would then be that the largest mastabas at Giza were built for the most important people of the reign of Khufu, and that they used in their tombs a special chapel type otherwise found only in the tomb of one of the king's wives.

The two-niched chapel type was also used by the royal family of Khafre in their rock tombs, presumably in the reign of Menkaure and later. It made its first appearance in the tombs of non-royal indi-

116. Reisner, Giza I, 211, fig. 20.

117. Smith, JNES 11 (1952), 126-7 (1), fig. 7 ('Cheops Temple').

118. Unpublished; plan, Reisner, Giza I, fig. 8.

119. Plan, Junker, Giza I, Abb. 18.

120. Plan, Reisner, op. cit., fig. 4.

121. op. cit., 80-1, 83-4.



Table 5Chapels of Private Individuals with Two False Doors.

<u>Date/ Name</u>	<u>Tomb</u>	<u>Source for False Doors and West Wall</u>
<u>Late Dynasty 4</u>		
mry-ib	G2100-I	<u>LD II</u> , 19.
dw3-n-r'	G5110	Unpublished
<u>End Dynasty 4 - Early 5</u>		
ss <sup>v</sup> 3t-htp	G5150	<u>LD II</u> , 23; Junker, <u>Giza II</u> , Abb. 28.
ny-k3-nzwt I	G2155	Junker, <u>Giza II</u> , Abb. 18.
k3i-nfr	G2150	Reisner, <u>Giza I</u> , fig. 257.
<u>Sahure and later</u>		
ss <sup>v</sup> m-nfr I	G4940	<u>LD II</u> , 27.
nn-sdr-k3i	G2101	Junker, <u>Giza II</u> , Abb. 10.
k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i	G4651	Junker, <u>Giza III</u> , Abb. 16.
nzwt-nfr	G4970	<u>id. ib.</u> , Abb. 27.
pr-sn	LG 20	<u>LD II</u> , 83b.
snnw-k3i; kki	G2041	Unpublished, cf Smith, <u>Sculpture</u> , pl 45b.
k3i-swd3	G5340	Junker, <u>Giza VII</u> , Abb. 69.
<u>Neweserre and later</u>		
ss <sup>v</sup> m-nfr II	G5080	Unpublished
nfr-b3w-ptḥ	G6010	<u>LD II</u> , 58b.
nfr	G4761	Junker, <u>Giza VI</u> , Abb. 6-12.
<u>Djedkare</u>		
ss <sup>v</sup> m-nfr III	G5170	Brunner-Traut, <u>Die altägyptische Grabkammer Seschemnofers III aus Giza</u> , Beil. 3.

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viduals towards the end of the dynasty.

Table 5 is a list of the more important private chapels of this type, with very approximate dates, partly based on the above study of the offering lists. In all these examples, the space between the false doors is filled with some sort of offering scene, and usually the deceased is shown before a series of registers of offering bearers, butchers and the like.

The decoration of the jambs of the false doors, of which there are usually only one pair, consists either of a figure of the deceased with texts above, or one or two registers of depictions of family or dependents. In the tomb of *sš3t-ḥtp*, copied in that of *nzwt-nfr*, there is an additional figure of the deceased at the rear of the central niche.

The lintel and architrave usually contain simple decoration, with only one or two lines of text. The text on the architraves of *sš3t-ḥtp* and *k3i-nfr* is laid out in the form of short vertical columns; this is perhaps a stylistic feature of the early fifth dynasty. The earliest examples of a figure of the deceased on the architrave are in the tombs of *nn-sdr-k3i* (daughter of *mry-ib*) and *k3i-swd3* (son of *k3i-nfr*), and are thus not among the earliest examples.



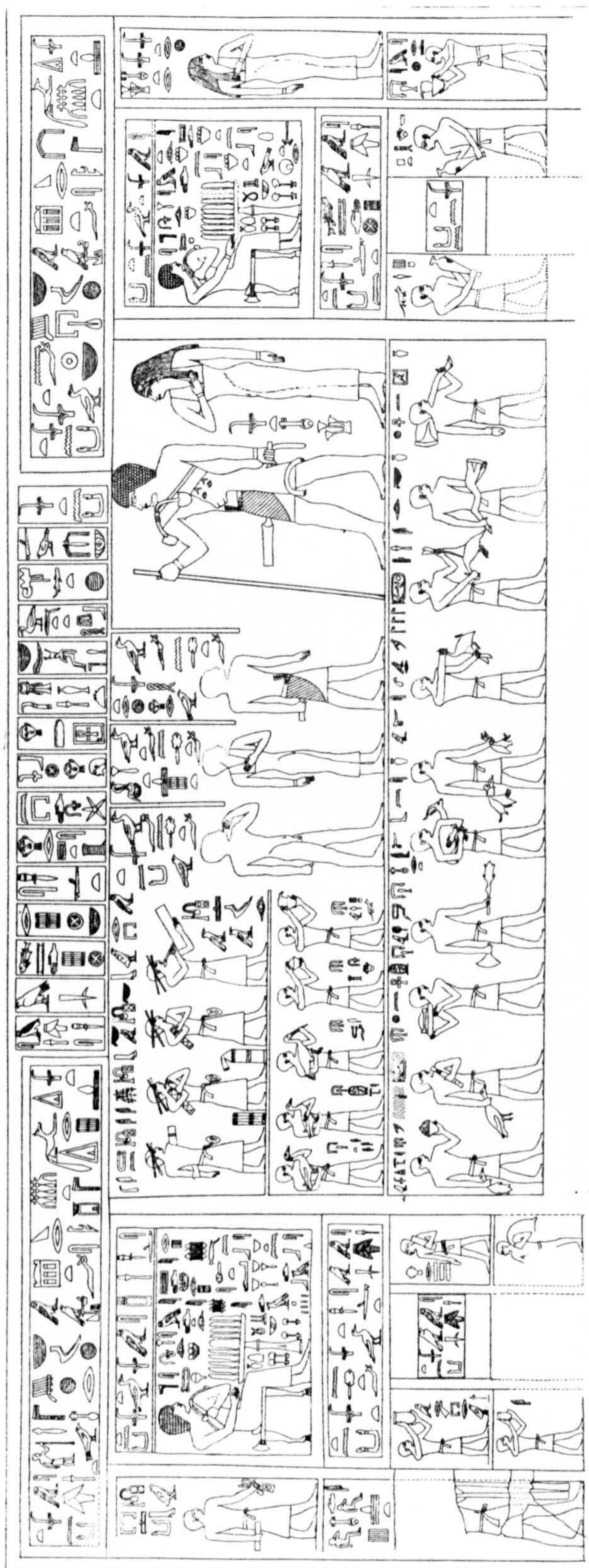
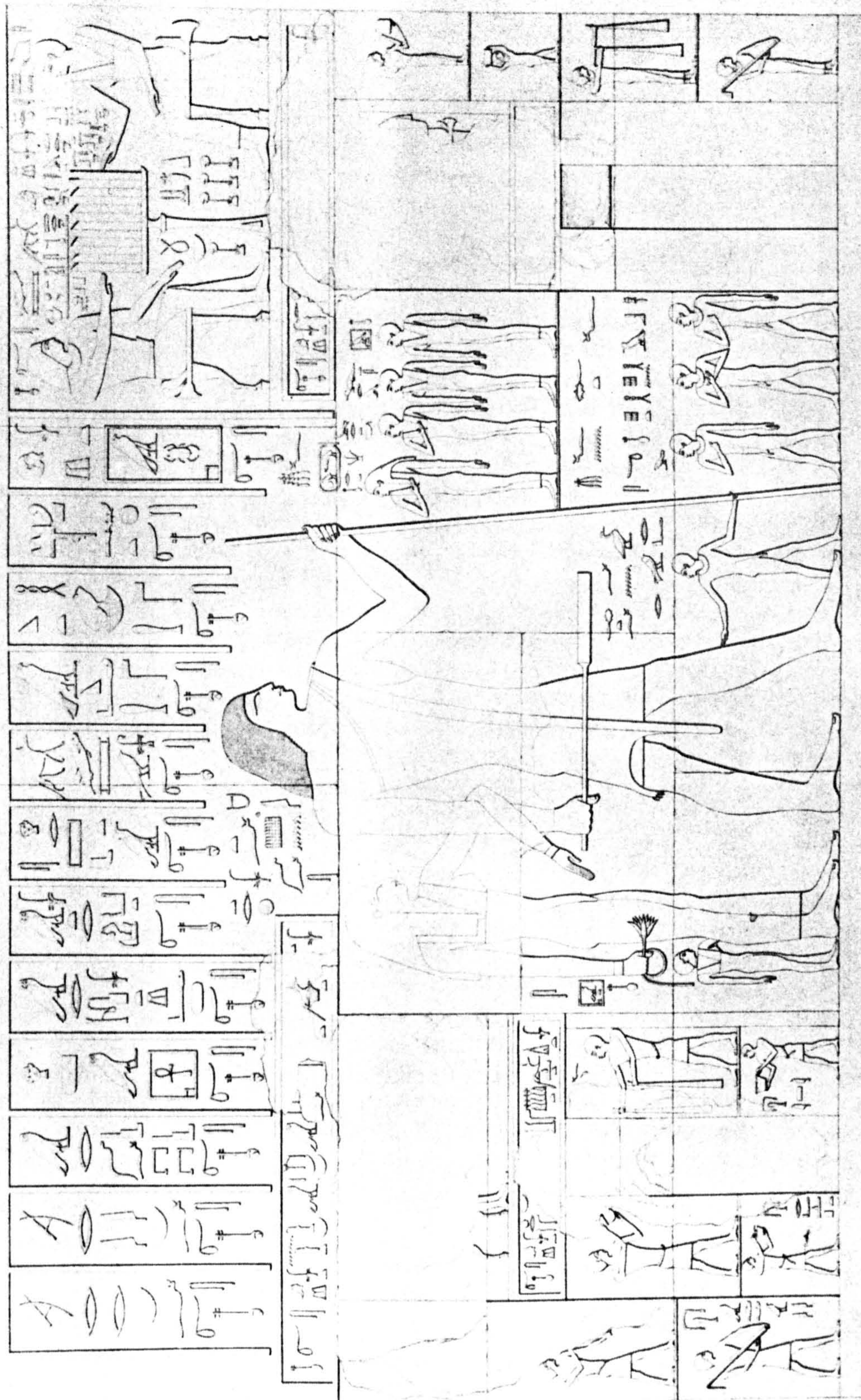
Figure 7: West Wall of the Tomb of **ny-k3-nzwt** I (G2155).Abb. 18.  
Mausolee des K3-nj-njst, Kultkammer, Westwand.



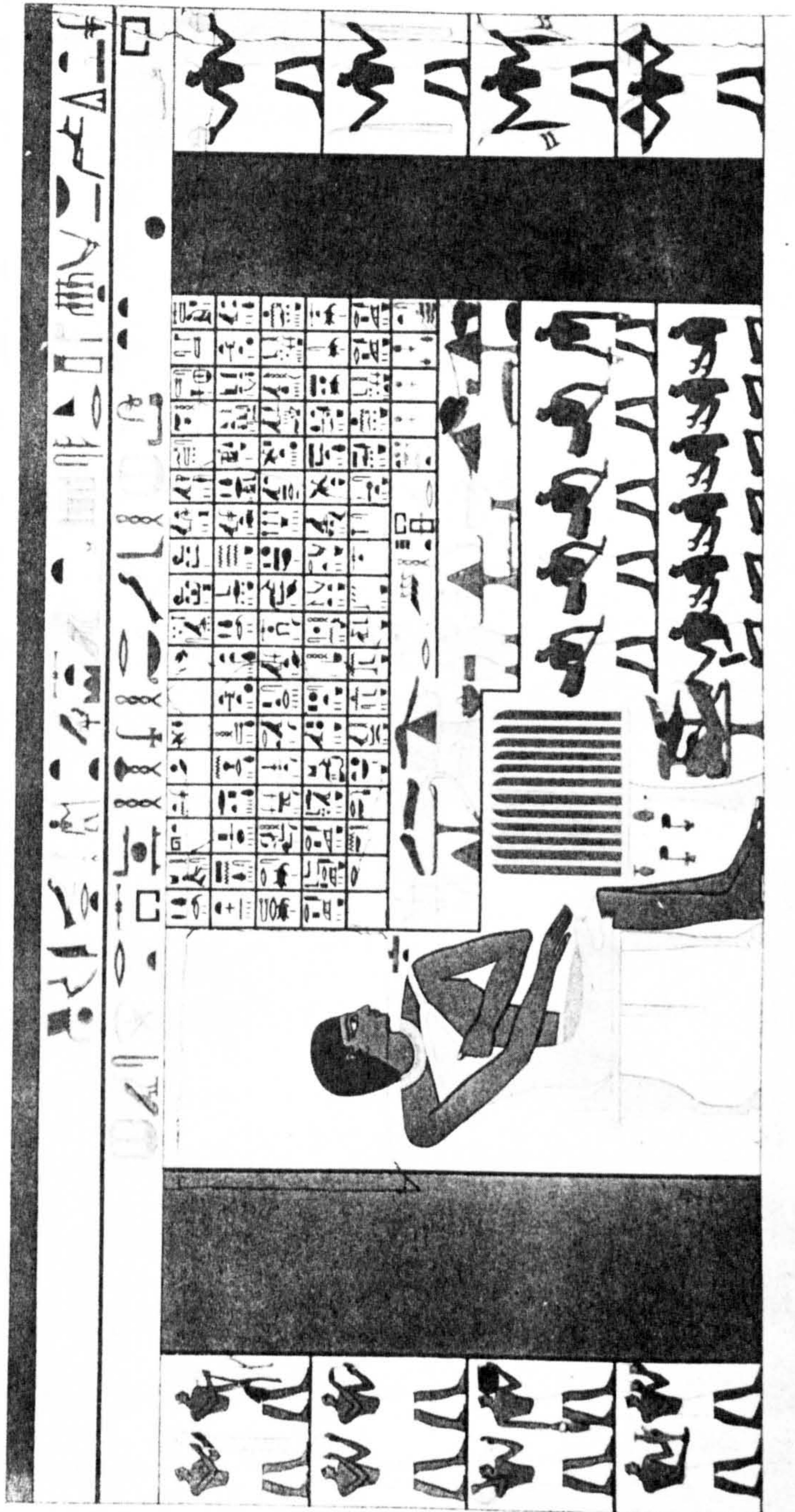
Figure 8: West Wall of the Tomb of ssm-nfr I (G4940).



LD II, 27.



Figure 9: West Wall of the Tomb of **nfr-b3w-pt** (G6010).





## Ch. 2.II.C.1: Early Doors

Turning to the decoration of the space between the false doors, it is apparent that a variety of schemes of decoration are to be found. There are three basic types, examples of which are as follows: **ny-k3-nzwt** I stands to the left of the northern false door facing left (scheme one), while **sšm-nfr** I is to be found at the right of the southern door facing right (scheme two), and then **nfr-b3w-ptḥ** is seated at the right of the southern door facing right (scheme three).<sup>122</sup> These are illustrated in figures 7-9.

Schemes one and two are effectively reversals of one another, although the first exhibits the more complex decoration, perhaps as the owners were of higher rank. Between the staff of the deceased in these examples and the other false door are several registers, depicting a selection of scenes including offering bearers, children, butchers and personified estates. That the degree of complexity may in some way be related to rank, and consequently royal favour and financial resources, is illustrated by the wall of the lowest-ranking official in either of the first two groups, **k3i-pw-nzwt**, which also possesses the least decoration.

The difference between these two and scheme three is more marked. Apart from the fact that the deceased is seated, there is not a series of registers, but instead the deceased faces an offering table in the conventional position for such activity. This scene may be accompanied by one or two registers of priests or dependents performing fun-

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122. Scheme three in fact has its origin in a royal tomb of the fourth dynasty, that of **ny-k3w-r'** (LD Erg., Taf. XXXV (upper)). This is further evidence that such developments frequently manifested themselves in the tombs of royalty a while before being adopted by private individuals.



## Ch. 2.II.C.1: Early Doors

erary rites (nfr-b3w-ptḥ) and there may be an additional register with butchers (sšm-nfr III). In nearly all cases, above the table is an offering list, apparently transferred there from the previous location on the south wall.

Table 6

Schemes of West Wall Decoration of Officials in Table 5.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Scheme 1</u>	<u>Scheme 2</u>	<u>Scheme 3</u>
mry-ib	X		
dw3-n-r'		X	
sš3t-ḥtp	X		
ny-k3-nzwt I	X		
k3i-nfr	X		
sšm-nfr I		X	
k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i		X	
nzwt-nfr	X		
pr-sn		X	
snnw-k3i; kki			X
sšm-nfr II			X
nfr-b3w-ptḥ			X
nfr			X
sšm-nfr III			X

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## Ch. 2.II.C.1: Early Doors

If these three types are related to the list given above of chapels with two false doors, a definite pattern by date emerges (Table 6).<sup>123</sup> Some examples do not fit exactly into this pattern. The position of *nzwt-nfr* is to be explained by the copying of his scenes from the earlier mastaba of *ss3t-htp*. The surviving details of the west wall of the tomb of *dw3-n-r'* are suggestive of scheme two in a period before its more frequent use. A possible explanation of this apparent inconsistency is that, as vizier and one of the most important people in the land, he would have perhaps been in a position to use new developments in a manner akin to that of the royal family. A possible objection to this is that *ss3t-htp*, who was vizier a little later, shows the older scheme of decoration, but it should be remembered that this tomb was in fact built before his promotion to the vizierate, when he would not have been granted the same privileges. *dw3-n-r'* employed another unusual arrangement, being depicted standing on the south wall, a practice seemingly never used again.

The change between schemes one and two, which originated perhaps in the reign of Menkaure, seems to have happened by the reign of Sahure or a little later (*ssm-nfr* I). That between schemes two and three can only be dated by the tombs of *ssm-nfr* II and *nfr-b3w-ptb*: on genealogical grounds, the former must date to the reign of Neweserre (see the prosopography), and the latter to about the same time.<sup>124</sup> This last arrangement was the most durable. A development of

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 123. Omitted from this table are *nn-sdr-k3i*, whose western wall has no decoration apart from the false doors, and *k3i-swd3*, where the decoration consists of a large palace-facade design.

124. This is due to his relationship to *iy-mry* (G6020) and *'nh-špss-k3f* (G6040). For the dating of this family see Baer, Rank and Title, 54 (21), 91 (258), 135 (491), 287 (21), 291 (258), 293-4 (491).



## Ch. 2.II.C.1: Early Doors

it was to use a false door with two, as opposed to one, pairs of jambs, one example of which probably dates to the sixth dynasty.<sup>125</sup>

2. 'L'-shaped Chapels with One False Door.

This chapel type is the direct successor to those which were built following the walling-up of slab-stelae (above page 67). For an example, see above figure 6b. Those of most relevance to the subject of this work belonged to the children of Khufu buried in the Eastern Cemetery, and there is also the chapel of *nfr* (G2110) (see table 7).

These chapels all follow a similar plan except those of *nfr-m3't*, *h'f-snfrw* and *nfr*. The false door is to be found near the southern end of the wall, with the principal decoration to the north of it. The deceased is to the extreme right of this area, in most cases with his wife, watching several registers, generally comprising offering bearers, personified estates and butchers. The titles of the deceased are above his head. Those of *nfr-m3't* and *h'f-snfrw* comprise a central palace-facade false door, with representations of the deceased and his wife either side. That of *nfr* has the false door at the north end with the deceased and wife seated at the south. All the false doors (where preserved) have only one pair of jambs, and the decoration is similar to those found in two-niched chapels (above page 71).

The orientation of the scenes on the western wall in general follows that noted as scheme one above (page 75), making it clear that this was the original pattern adopted for the decoration of all private tombs from the early to later fourth dynasty.<sup>126</sup> The chapel of *nfr*

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125. *k3-hif*, Junker, Giza VI, Abb. 31-7.

126. A similar orientation of scenes may be found in further private chapels in the western cemetery, for example, that of *ztw* (G4710), LD

Table 7Principal Chapels with one False Door.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Tomb</u>	<u>Source for False Door and West Wall</u>
k3i-w'b	G7120	Simpson, <u>Giza Mastabas III</u> , fig. 14-5.
nfr-m3't	G7060	<u>LD II</u> , 17a.
ddf-hr	G7220	Unpublished
h'f-hwfw	G7140	Simpson, <u>op. cit.</u> , fig. 32-3.
dw3-n-hr	G7550	<u>LD II</u> , 82a; cf Reisner, <u>Giza I</u> , 328 (4) for description of unpublished part.
k3i-m-shm	G7660	<u>LD II</u> , 32 (left); cf Reisner, <u>op. cit.</u> , 328 (2) for description of unpublished part.
ddf-minw	G7760	<u>LD II</u> , 33b.
h'f-snfrw	G7070	<u>LD II</u> , 16 (lower).
d3ty	G7810	Unpublished
nfr	G2110	Reisner, <u>Giza I</u> , fig. 241.

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(G2110) does not fit easily into any of these types. This is difficult to explain, but may to some extent be due to its being perhaps the earliest decorated chapel of a private individual who was not a vizier.

3. Rock-cut Tombs.

The number of rock-cut tombs which belong to officials relevant to this work is small, comprising principally many of the members of the families of Khafre and Menkaure, but also some later officials. A

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II, 87.



## Ch. 2.II.C.3: Early Doors

summary of Giza rock-cut tombs is given by Reisner.<sup>127</sup>

The plan of these tombs of the royal family is very different from the mastabas described above. However, the use of a pair of false doors is quite common, and the offering lists of these tombs fit into the pattern of the development of the canonical offering list described above (page 63). The western wall of the tomb of ny-k3w-r' shows what is certainly the earliest example of the representation of the deceased seated at table between the false doors with an offering list above, only found in private tombs from about the reign of Neweserre (page 77).

The use of the false doors in these tombs for the purposes of dating is minimal, as they are rarely, if ever, decorated. The major decorated examples seem to be those of mrs-'nh III;<sup>128</sup> the extent of the decoration in this rock tomb is more in keeping with that of the western and eastern cemeteries than that in the Khafre Cemetery.

Later rock-cut tombs of relevant officials are consistent neither in plan nor false door type. It would seem that the type of door is the same as that used in mastabas and exhibits no special forms in rock-cut tombs.

D. False Door and Chapel Types at Giza which originated at Saqqara.

Saqqara false doors are generally larger than those at Giza, at least as far as the fifth dynasty is concerned; the principal type to be discussed here is that with cornice and torus moulding, which came into use in the middle of the fifth dynasty at Saqqara with the high-

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127. Giza I, 219-47.

128. Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, figs. 7, 10.

## Ch. 2.II.D: Saqqara Types

est officials and became the commonest type by the beginning of the sixth.

Several relevant officials from Giza had false doors of this type. The earliest well-dated example is that of sndm-ib; inti (G2370),<sup>129</sup> dated by his biography to the end of the reign of Djedkare. This was followed by those of his sons sndm-ib; mhi (G2378)<sup>130</sup> and hnm-nti (G2374 - unpublished). It is logical to assume that, although these men were not buried in the principal necropolis of that time, the fact that they were viziers meant that they would use the stylistic features employed by men of comparable rank at Saqqara. Their tombs are also the first well-dated examples of the use of the east-west offering room, very much associated with this type of false door, and also the complex chapel.<sup>131</sup>

Examination of the other examples of torus and cornice false doors show them to be generally similar to those from Saqqara. A good example of this is the door of the vizier idw I; nfr (G5550),<sup>132</sup> which resembles the door of mhw from Saqqara. The Giza doors of this type belonging to officials below the rank of vizier tend to be less complex than those at Saqqara; for example many have only one column of text per jamb, where two or more is normal at Saqqara. The doors of q3r<sup>133</sup> and ny-s'nh-3ht<sup>134</sup> exemplify this point.

The Saqqara development of the so-called 'T'-shaped panel is also attested at Giza, probably late in the sixth dynasty (above

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129. Mariette, Mastabas, 505-7; further evidence from excavation records in Boston.

130. LD II, 75.

131. See plans, Reisner, Giza I, figs. 162, 164, 165.

132. Junker, Giza VIII, Abb. 34.

133. Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, fig. 32.

134. Hassan, Giza III, fig. 109.



## Ch. 2.II.D: Saqqara Types

page 28), but as none of the examples are found in the tombs of relevant officials, a few examples only will suffice.<sup>135</sup> The immediate precursor of the torus and cornice false door seen at Saqqara, typified by wide jambs, large figures of the deceased and wide panel apertures, is found only once at Giza, that of 'nh-hwfw.<sup>136</sup> This tomb can be no earlier than the reign of Weserkaf, as a sealing of that king was found in the burial chamber.<sup>137</sup> From the texts on the door, it is evident that this piece was presented to 'nh-hwfw by the king (not named), and the fact of this special origin may explain the use of a form not native to Giza, as the king is very likely to have commanded the production of a door according to the most fashionable type then in use, the principal number of which were being made for tombs at Saqqara.

The overall conclusion to be drawn for this class of false doors is that its development at Giza was linked to those being made elsewhere to a greater extent than any of the other types under discussion. Its occurrences at Giza are representative of its acceptance as the principal door form all over Egypt.<sup>138</sup>

#### E. Other Types.

Only one type remains to be discussed, and it will be termed the 'Giza Door'. It is so named because it is peculiar to Giza, where it is extremely common. Its characteristics are the use of two pairs of

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 135. hnni (Junker, Giza XI, Abb.33), ssm-nfr; ifi (Hassan, Giza VI<sup>3</sup>, fig. 220), and nfr-wnt (Hassan, Giza I, fig. 125).

136. MFA 21.3081; Reisner, Giza I, pl. 65.

137. Reisner, Giza II, 52, fig. 54.

138. For example, that of ibi at Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, Deir el Gebrawi I, pl. VXII).

jamb, which most frequently bear single vertical columns of incised inscription, a wide architrave and a simple panel scheme. The examples of  $\text{hwy}$ ,<sup>139</sup>  $\text{hnw}$ ,<sup>140</sup> and  $\text{hnmw-df3i}$ <sup>141</sup> illustrate the type that is meant.

This door type seems to have evolved at some time after the development of scheme three of wall decoration outlined above (page 75). The examples quoted here date through to the middle of the fifth dynasty, and there are found others with the same wall arrangement but which employ a pair of these new doors in place of the old ones with single jambs.<sup>142</sup> It is possible that this false door type developed about the middle of the fifth dynasty at the earliest. Some of the relevant officials possess similar doors, such as  $\text{'nh-h3f}$ ;  $\text{q3r}$ , but details of their further development are almost impossible to date because of the difficulty of finding independent dates for many of the tombs in which they occur.

#### F. Conclusions on False Doors and Chapel Types at Giza.

Down to the later fifth dynasty, the development of the false door at Giza is separate from that evident at Saqqara, the other major Old Kingdom memphite necropolis. The site of Giza is most important for the original development of the offering panel and associated inscriptions into a form that may be recognised as the Old Kingdom false door; this happened in the fourth and early fifth dynasties, after

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139. Junker, Giza IX, Abb. 11.

140. Hassan, Giza II, fig. 193.

141. id. ib., fig. 48.

142. For example, the doors and west walls of  $\text{irrw}$  (Hassan, Giza III, fig. 56-8),  $\text{sm3-'nh}$  (Hassan, Giza VI<sup>3</sup>, fig. 161),  $\text{k3i-dw3}$  (id. ib., fig. 81), and  $\text{w3š-dw3w}$  (Hassan, Giza IX, fig. 21a-3).



## Ch. 2.II.F: Conclusions

which time major developments took place at Saqqara. This pattern may be correlated with the changes in the place of burial of the most important officials of the state. After the importance of Giza had declined as a result of the highest officials transferring their place of burial to Saqqara, false doors at Giza remained very much in the old style with one or two modifications until the further burial of important men caused the introduction of false door types found otherwise only at Saqqara. Acceptance of these doors by officials not of the highest rank at Giza took much longer than at Saqqara, and they only begin to appear in any number in the later sixth dynasty. This is due to the strength and persistence of the older type of false door. Other types of door are found at Giza in addition to those enumerated above, but their discussion has had to be curtailed due to a lack of relevance to the officials whose titles form the subject of this work.

**PART II**

**PROSOPOGRAPHY**



It is hoped that this section contains all the officials who held the titles *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r hwt wrt 6*, *imy-r zš ' nzwt*, *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt*, *imy-r šnwt*, *imy-r šnwty*, *imy-r pr-hd*, *imy-r prwy-hd*, *t3yty z3b t3ty* and associated forms from the beginning of the fourth dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom and in some cases the First Intermediate Period. Clear First Intermediate Period examples are included to be able to compare them with the officials who lived in earlier times.

The entry for each official is laid out in the same manner. His name is given, and a reference number is assigned to him which will be used in this part and the discussions of titles to follow; it is always placed after the name of the official thus: *3ht-htp (2)*. Any other names by which the official is known or which will be used in this work are also given. Notes on sources and bibliography follow. Wherever possible, the entries in Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography, are used, principally to avoid the need for a cumbersome number of references. The official's titles are listed, split into 'Relevant Titles', those discussed in the later chapters, and 'Other Titles', for the purposes of reference. A short account of the dating of the official in question is given next, to justify the place he occupies in the lists at the beginning of the later chapters. Other discussions of dating are only referred to where they are useful; in the case of references to Baer, Rank and Title, only the principal occurrence is given, and the reader is requested to consult Baer's List of Dated Tombs (pp. 286-95) under the given number. The entry ends with a summary of the suggested date.

References in this prosopography to chapter 2 on criteria concerned with false door and tomb design will necessarily be many, and

so a method of reference is used not adopted elsewhere in this work, which follows the numbering of the sections in the table of contents: Ch. 2.I.E.1 means 'Chapter 2, section I, subsection E, part 1'. These headings are repeated at the top of each page in chapter 2 for speed of reference.



3hi 1

Source: Mastaba in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G4750.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 137.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwwt nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.

Other Titles: [imy]-r /// tnw, imy-r zš 'prw, wr md šm'w, [r]h  
nzwt, hry-sšt3, hrp wsht, hrp nsty, z3b 'd-mr.

This mastaba has survived in very poor condition, inscriptional and representational material being in the form of fragments. The chapel is of the exterior type with an L-shaped plan and the false door at the southern end. No indications of the orientation and arrangement of this false door and the wall scenes may be gained. A similar example of an exterior chapel is that of nfr (535); that of 3hi has the false door in a more conventional position (south rather than north end of west wall), and may be consequently later in date. Parallels may be found for the architrave inscription<sup>1</sup> in the tombs of sš3t-htp and k3i-nfr at Giza (above page 71), both of which are presumably to be dated to the beginning of the fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty or slightly later.

3ht-htp 2

Son of pth-htp I (49).

Source: Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 599-600.Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, t3yty  
z3b t3ty.

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1. Junker, Giza I, Abb. 57 (1).

Other Titles: /// nbt nt nzwt, iwn knmwt, imy-r wsht, imy-r wd'-mdw  
 nb, imy-r niwt mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', imy-r niwt nfr-dd-  
 k3-r', imy-r niwt ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr, imy-r šm'w,  
 imy-r gs-pr, wr md šm'w, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr  
 m3't, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš, hrp zš iry sprw  
 ?, hrp zš nb, z3b 'd-mr, smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr  
 mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', shd hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', shd hm-ntr  
 ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr.

For the family relationships and general time-position, see below under the discussion of pth-htp I (49). Baer dates this tomb to his period VD, the succeeding one to that of his father.<sup>2</sup> There is some evidence that their tenure of the vizierate may have been separated by less than a generation (normally reckoned as twenty to twenty-five years). The shd zwnw wnn-nfr appears in the tombs of both pth-htp I and 3ht-htp.<sup>3</sup> This does not imply that they worked together as Helck assumes,<sup>4</sup> but it does suggest that the difference in time between their periods of office may have been less than a generation. On such a basis, 3ht-htp may be dated to the early reign of Wenis.

Suggested Date: Early reign of Wenis.

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 2. Later reign of Wenis to early reign of Teti, Rank and Title, 53 (13).

3. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 15; Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. 18.

4. Beamtentitel, 138.



3ht-htp; hmi 3

Source: Tomb north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, usurped at a later date by nb-k3w-hr; idw (82).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 627-629; for the separation of the titles of 3ht-htp and nb-k3w-hr, see Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 89-94.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš 'nzwt, imy-r šnwty, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz nhn, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r šwy pr-'3, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, imy-r gs-pr, iry p't, iry nfr-h3t, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, mniw nhn, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, zš md3t ntr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n mrwt, shd hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis, sd3wty bity.

The tomb of 3ht-htp is one of five tombs of viziers in the Wenis cemetery, the others being those of ihy (15), iy-nfrt; š3nf (6), ny-'nh-b3 (70) and mhwt (69). With the exception of the latter, in whose tomb Pepy I is mentioned, there is nothing to disprove the hypothesis that they may all have been viziers of Wenis buried around the pyramid of their king in the manner of the cemetery of the pyramid of Teti.

A type of tomb is found in the Wenis cemetery which does not have exact parallels elsewhere - the use of a number of rooms, possibly storerooms, and also a large pillared court of a type different from that used in the tombs of the reign of Teti. Examples are the mastabas of 3ht-htp and ny-'nh-b3, as well as those of the queens nbt and hnwt.<sup>5</sup> The general pattern of the chambers in the tomb of ihy, which

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5. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 623-5.

lacks the court and storerooms, is quite similar. *nbt* and *hnwt* were almost certainly wives of Wenis, and one would consequently expect the construction of their tombs to have begun in his reign. On the similarity of tomb plans, the viziers may also be of the same date.

The disposition of the tombs would also seem to support this theory. With the exception of the very small later mastabas on the site, the two queens' tombs are the closest to the mortuary temple, and the large tombs of the officials are in two locations: one row, including *iy-nfrt*, *ihy* and also the *imy-r šm'w 'nh-wnis*,<sup>6</sup> is between these queens' tombs and the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid, while those of *3ht-htp* and *ny-'nh-b3* are situated next to each other at the upper end of the causeway of the pyramid. It would seem possible that the tombs in each group could have been constructed simultaneously.

Only the tombs of *3ht-htp* and *ihy* lend their title sequences to a date. Baer dates *ihy* to his period VIC (mid-sixth dynasty, see below); this is probably incorrect, but his date for *3ht-htp* suggests that the tomb was built in the early to middle part of the reign of Wenis.<sup>7</sup> The similarity of the mastaba of *ny-'nh-b3* suggests that its date too may be akin to that of *3ht-htp*. *ihy* and *iy-nfrt* are less easy to date more closely. Their mastabas are separated from each other's by that of *'nh-wnis*; if this name was given to him (or changed from another) after the accession of Wenis, his tomb is unlikely to have been constructed before the later part of that reign, perhaps together with the two neighbouring viziers' tombs.

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Wenis.

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6. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 616-7.

7. Period VC, later reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis; Rank and Title, 53 (14a).

3ht-htp 4

Source: Tomb to the north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, about 150 m. south-east of the entrance to the Step Pyramid complex.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 633-4.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt, imy-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis, hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', hm-ntr hwthr nbt iwnt, hm-ntr hqt, hry-sst3 n wd'-mdw nb n hwt wrt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš, hrp zš iry sprw, z3b 'd-mr, z3b shd zš, zš n z3.

Two dates have been assigned to this tomb, the reign of Wenis or shortly afterwards, based on the presence of the name of that king's pyramid in his titles, and the later sixth dynasty.<sup>8</sup>

The false doors from this tomb are of the type with cornice and torus moulding. The standing figure of the deceased on the upper lintel of the inner door may be compared to the examples of 'nh-m'-r' and k3i-pw-r' (143), associated with Menkauhor and Djedkare, although sixth dynasty examples are sometimes found (Ch. 2.I.E.1). The chapel is of a squarish shape, and could thus be an early example of the east-west type, possibly built before the general standardisation of the form. These indications are very vague, but coupled with the location of the tomb seem to prefer the earlier of the two dates noted above.

Suggested Date: End of the fifth dynasty to early sixth.

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8. Baer, Rank and Title, 53 (14).



iy 5

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, south of the pyramid of Teti, east of that of Weserkaf, C26 (LS 20).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 565.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.*

Other Titles: *imy-r mš', hry-sst3 n h3swt nbt, shd imw, sd3wty ntr m imwy.*

This mastaba seems to be formed of a small east-west offering chapel, entered perhaps from a corridor (the plans are unclear). The false door is the only decoration. Baer's system of title sequences provides a no more precise date than the fifth dynasty or later.<sup>9</sup>

The tomb of iy is the only Old Kingdom one found so far in this area of Saqqara, the others being of Late Period date. However, it is not improbable that when built it was considered as part of the main North Saqqara cemetery, located away from the main area, as is the tomb of *k3i-m-snw*, assuming this latter to antedate the pyramid of Teti (see further below).

The east-west offering chapel would preclude an early fifth dynasty date, but rather suggests the middle of that dynasty at the earliest (Ch. 2.I.H). The closest parallels to the false door are found in the small cemetery mid-way on the Wenis causeway, for example those of *hnmw-htp*,<sup>10</sup> *nfr* and *k3h3i*<sup>11</sup> and *3ht-htp*.<sup>12</sup> In all probability these cannot be later than the reign of Djedkare, because of their relation to the Wenis Causeway, and the likelihood is of a similar date for iy.

9. Rank and Title, 54 (17).

10. Moussa-Altenmüller, Nyanchchnum, Abb. 28.

11. id., The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay, pl. 28-30.

12. Zayed, ASAE 55 (1955), 128-30, pl. II-V.

Suggested Date: Mid to later fifth dynasty, perhaps about the reign of Djedkare.

**iy-nfrrt; ṣ3nf** 6

Source: Tomb in the Wenis pyramid cemetery at Saqqara, south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 616; very largely unpublished - personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.**

Other Titles: **imy-iz, imy-iz nhn, imy-r h3swt, mniw nhn, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n mrwt.**

The relative and absolute datings of this cemetery have been discussed above in the entry for **3ht-htp; hmi (3)**. Confirmation of the general date suggested there would seem to be forthcoming from the preliminary report on the site by Hölscher and Munro.<sup>13</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Wenis.

**iwn-minw** 7

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 92.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 237.

Relevant Titles: **t3yty z3b t3ty.**

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13. SAK 3 (1977), 121.

Other Titles:    /// n iti.f, iry p't, wr 5 pr-dhwtj, hry-hb n iti.f,  
                   hry-hb hry-tp, [hry-sst3] pr-[dw3t] ?, hry-sst3 n  
                   iti.f , hrp 'h, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, zš md3t  
                   ntr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, sd3wty bity.

The parents of iwn-minw are not explicitly mentioned in his tomb, but it may be inferred from his titles with n iti.f that his father was a king, probably Khafre by analogy with the other king's sons in the area, such as ny-k3w-r' (78) and shm-k3-r' (125).

Of all the sons of Khafre buried in this cemetery, only in the case of shm-k3-r' are some details given of when he may have died, probably in the reign of Sahure. He would thus have been a minimum of thirty-five and a maximum of sixty-five years of age at death. It is unknown whether he was the last surviving member of this family; the purpose of his inscriptions may have been to stress his longevity, and such an assumption seems very likely.

Further evidence for the purposes of dating may be deduced from the tomb of dbhn. In his biography, he makes plain the beneficence of Menkaure in granting him a tomb,<sup>14</sup> and the reason for this must have been that the other burials in the same area were for true king's sons and dbhn does not seem to have been of royal descent. Such a deduction implies that these other men had already begun to cut their tombs, very likely in view of the probable date in the tomb of ny-k3w-r' (78, see below). The king's sons in this area may thus have held their highest offices between the reigns of Menkaure and Sahure. The prominent location of the tombs in the cliff face suggests also that the men buried there may have been senior to those who possessed tombs in the area in front of it.

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 14. Urk. I, 18-21.



Suggested Date: Perhaps end of the fourth dynasty.

**iwn-r'** 8

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, south of the western end of the causeway of the pyramid of Khafre.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 243.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r k3t nbt.**

Other Titles: **iry p't, wr ht, h3ty-', hm b3w nhn, hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f, hry-sšt3 n iti.f, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hrp 'h, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, zš md3t ntr n iti.f, smr w'ty n iti.f.**

The drum at the entrance of this tomb specifically states that the owner was **z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw** of Khafre; no indication of the identity of his mother is given. For other features that may help to determine the date, see under **iwn-minw (7)** above. The position of his tomb in the area in front of the cliff and the lack of the title **t3yty z3b t3ty** held by many other sons of Khafre may suggest that he was a very junior son of that king, who attained office-bearing age at the time when the royal family was gradually being removed from the administration.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

ipi-hr-ssnbf 9

Source: False door and coffin (latter from shaft HMK 69), possibly belonging to the same man, found in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: False Door: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 544; coffin: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 538.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwtj.

Other Titles: /// m swt št3t, imy-r mš', mty n z3 dd-swt-tti, rh nzwt m3', hnty-š ///, hrp 'prw n nfrw.


The shaft in which this coffin was found is one of many dating to the period later than the major monuments in the cemetery. The appearance of coffin texts suggest a date in the late Old Kingdom at the earliest. Nearby are tombs mentioning Merykare of the tenth dynasty, suggesting the First Intermediate Period as a strong possibility.

Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period.

iffi 10

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 2 (B 10).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 449.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt (  ), imy-r šnwt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r hmwt, imy-r hmwt n hkr nzwt, w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, hm-ntr pth, hm-ntr r' m nhn-r', hm-ntr zkr.

The inscriptional material from this tomb is restricted to an unfinished false door and a limestone offering basin. The title sequences from the tomb have not enabled Baer to improve on his initial fifth dynasty or later date, arrived at on the basis of the position in the

cemetery (far north-west) and the cruciform chapel.<sup>15</sup> This latter feature is indeed perhaps that of most use; as discussed above (Ch. 2.I.H), it has its roots in the early fourth dynasty, but would not seem to extend very far into the fifth. The quality of the relief of the false door is described as 'épais, les formes lourdes et trapues',<sup>16</sup> which is perhaps to be compared to the high relief found in the tombs of the later fourth dynasty at Saqqara, for example that of **mry** (58).

The titles of **iffi** make the reign of Weserkaf the earliest possible date, and it is suggested that the tomb itself was not built long after that reign.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty, shortly after the reign of Weserkaf.

**imbi** 11

Source: A lintel found in the area of the tomb of **iš<sup>v</sup>ti; tti** near the western enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 610.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r š<sup>v</sup>nwt**.

Other Titles: **iry d3wš<sup>v</sup>, mty n z3, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp š<sup>v</sup>nwt, hrp zš<sup>v</sup>, shd zš<sup>v</sup>.**

This lintel is decorated with a line of figures of the owner and (probably) his wife separated by vertical columns of text. This fea-

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15. Rank and Title, 56 (35b).

16. Mariette, Mastabas, 100.



ture is most common in the early to middle sixth dynasty. The tombs in the same broad area seem to belong to men of the reigns of Pepy I and II,<sup>17</sup> which accords well with the feature noted above.

Suggested Date: Middle sixth dynasty, or possibly later.

irw-k3-ptb 12

Source: Group of offering stands, offering tables and statues in Berlin and Brooklyn, exact provenance unknown, but possibly from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 691-2.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r šnwt*.

Other Titles: *imy-r zš šnwt*, *hm-ntr r'*, *hry-tp šnwt*, *zš '-nzwt šnwt*, *zš hryt-' nzwt*, *zš hryt-' nzwt n šnwt*, *shd zš*.

The paucity of information about this man and the nature of the material make his dating difficult. Porter and Moss assign these monuments to the late fifth dynasty. The offering tables (Berlin 1139, 1201) are not discussed by Mostafa, but are of her type (A+B)2.<sup>18</sup> These would seem to belong generally to the second half of the fifth dynasty, being rather rare in the sixth,<sup>19</sup> which supports the date noted above.

Suggested Date: Perhaps late fifth dynasty (?).

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17. For example, see PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 609-11.

18. Opfertafel, 102-3.

19. id. ib., 120.

irw-k3-pt<sub>h</sub> 13

Source: Mentioned in an unclear context in the Abusir Papyri.

Bibliography: HPBM, pl. CIV.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš 'nzwt.

Other Titles: z3b 'd-mr.

The date of most of the documents forming the Abusir Papyri is very vague; it would seem that the majority of them date to the reigns of Djedkare or Wenis.<sup>20</sup> Posener-Kriéger would group this particular document, on paleographical grounds, with others that are perhaps of the reign of Djedkare.<sup>21</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps late fifth dynasty.

ihy 14

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, close to the enclosure wall of the pyramid of Khufu, G5530 (LG 41).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 159.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt, imy-r wpt m t3 r dr.f, imy-r gs-pr m prwy, mdw rhyt, hry-tp nzwt.

No very clear plan of this mastaba has been published, but it would seem that it has a north-south corridor leading to an east-west offering chamber where the false door is to be found. This latter is of the cornice and torus moulding type, with a wide panel filled with

20. HPBM, xvi.

21. ArchAb II, 487.

offerings and thus leaving very narrow apertures. This last feature tends to be typical of the sixth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.A).

Baer has placed this tomb in his periods VIB, D-F, which leaves open a wide range of possibilities, although still agreeing with the dating criteria exhibited by the false door.<sup>22</sup>

Suggested Date: Early to middle sixth dynasty (or later ?).

ihy 15

Source: Mastaba in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara, south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid, usurped at a later date by idwt; zšzšt.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 617-9.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r zš'-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, [imy]-r /// t3-mḥw šm'w, imy-r gs-pr, iry p't, mdw rhyt, ḥ3ty-', hry-tp nzwt, smr w'ty.

The above titles of ihy come from his sarcophagus, and there is little or no evidence of his name in the chapel proper as it stands now. The dating of the major mastabas in this cemetery, with the exception of mḥw (69), to the reign of Wenis is discussed generally above under 3ḥt-ḥtp; ḥmi (3).

According to Baer, the title sequences fit into period VIC, Merenre to early Pepy II.<sup>23</sup> Kanawati however believes that they fit almost as well into period VD,<sup>24</sup> which agrees better with the date

22. Rank and Title, 59 (56).

23. Rank and Title, 59 (57).

24. Egyptian Administration, 12-3.



suggested in the above discussion.

The name of Teti appears in the decoration of the chapel,<sup>25</sup> but as it is currently impossible to distinguish between the original decoration and later additions it could well be part of the work of *idwt*. It is additionally always possible that a well-cut private name could have been inserted independently, and this need not influence the date of *ihy*.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Wenis.

*ihy-hnt* 16

Source: Depicted among the officials represented in the mortuary temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 54 and 57.

Relevant Titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*.

Other Titles: *iry p't, h3ty-', hry-hb hry-tp*.

*ihy-hnt* is not the only vizier to be represented in the mortuary temple of Pepy II: two others are named, *idi* and *hntw*, and there is one nameless depiction of a man with the title *t3yty z3b t3ty*, who may be any of these three or another individual.

*idi* is the only one attested elsewhere, on a selection of monuments primarily from Abydos.<sup>26</sup> He would seem to have the same parents, *hwi* and *nbt*,<sup>27</sup> as the vizier *d'w*, also attested from Abydos.<sup>28</sup> This

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25. Macramallah, Mastaba d'Idout, pl. V(B), XI(B), both probably the same man called *'nh-tti*.

26. Baer, Rank and Title, 61-2 (73a); Fischer, AJA 66 (1962), 65-9.

27. Cairo, CG 1575.

28. Cairo, CG 1431; Urk. I, 279.18; Goedicke, Königl. Dokumente, Abb. 7.

latter vizier is the addressee of a decree of Pepy II dated to the year after the eleventh cattle count for the temple of Koptos.<sup>29</sup>

In his discussion of the viziers of Pepy II, Kees placed the vizierate of *idi* some time between the date of this decree and the middle of the reign; his reasons for this are not totally apparent.<sup>30</sup> The closeness in time of *d'w* and *idi* is perhaps best illustrated by the links they both have with the *imy-r šm'w, h3ty-' hwi*,<sup>31</sup> although this does not necessarily allow them to be placed in order. It would seem that Kees believes that the vizierate of *idi* lasted well beyond the *sd* festival of Pepy II (perhaps year 30 ?),<sup>32</sup> because of the existence of a son of his by the name of *ny-hb-sd-ppy*.<sup>33</sup> Kees supposes this son to have been born after year 30 of Pepy II, and presumed *idi*'s tenure of the vizierate to have continued beyond that point at least until his son reached office-bearing age. However, this name could equally refer to the *sd* festival of Pepy I which is well-attested for the year of his eighteenth cattle-count;<sup>34</sup> this need not presuppose such a long tenure of the vizierate by *idi*, although there is no reason not to assume that *idi* succeeded *d'w* as vizier.<sup>35</sup> Kees wishes to identify this *ny-hb-sd-ppy* with the vizier *ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r'* (72); against this it must be recalled that the latter uses only the *nfr-k3-r'* part of the names of Pepy II in his Saqqara inscriptions.

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29. Urk. I, 280-3; Goedicke, op. cit., 87-116, Abb. 8.

30. Vezirat, 41-4.

31. Shown behind *idi* in the temple of Pepy II, Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 48; mentioned with *d'w* in the above Koptos Decree.

32. op. cit., 46-7.

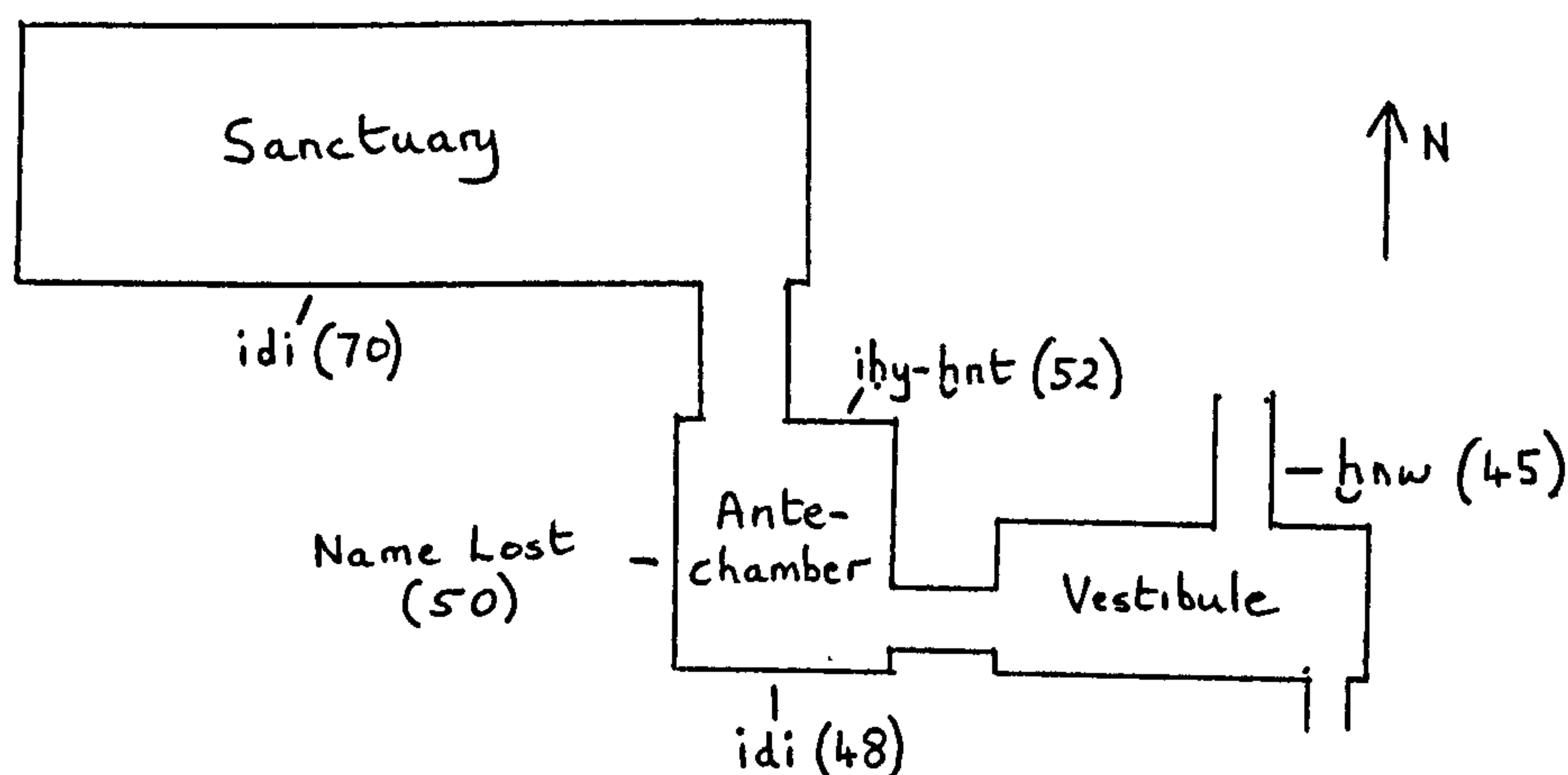
33. Shown on Cairo, CG 1575.

34. Urk. I, 93.5-6.

35. Another reason for placing *idi* after *d'w* is the administrative 'reform' discussed by Kanawati (Governmental Reforms, 75-77), by which the vizier of Upper Egypt also assumed the title of *imy-r šm'w*. *idi* and not *d'w* held this title, suggesting that he was the later.

If *idi* were vizier after the eleventh count of Pepy II, it would imply that the decoration of the sanctuary did not begin until perhaps the first quarter of the reign. This assumes the cattle-count to have been biennial at least on some occasions, as the 'year after' (*rnpt m-ht*) is mentioned in the Koptos decree discussed above. This is significantly later than attested in the fifth dynasty. For example it would seem that the decoration of the mortuary temple of Sahure was substantially complete at his death after a reign of probably twelve years. It is possible that the funerary monument of Pepy II may not have been begun so quickly, given his extreme youth at succession.

Figure 10: Location of Viziers in the Mortuary Temple of Pepy II.



Adapted from Jéquier, *Pepi II*, II, pl. 1.  
(numbers in brackets refer to plates of this publication)

Figure 10 illustrates the disposition of the different viziers in the inner chambers of the temple. It is not clear as to the order in which this temple was built; on the analogy of Ptolemaic temples, it would be built from the sanctuary outwards so that the most important rooms would be completed first. If one assumes the same for the decoration, it may be envisaged that the area in figure 10 could have been built over a relatively short period of time, and then perhaps



the vizier hnw was later than idi and ihy-hnt, who could be contemporary (see further below page 525). The desire to include hnw at a relatively late stage would account for his being the only official depicted in the vestibule. Against Jéquier, it would not seem that the decoration of the temple was a continuous process carried out through the whole reign<sup>36</sup> - a number of clearly later additions in poor style would seem to demonstrate this.<sup>37</sup>

The date of ihy-hnt would then seem to be perhaps similar to that of idi, and the date of the two of them in the second quarter of the reign of Pepy II provides a basis for a scheme of dating the decoration of the temple.

Suggested Date: Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

izi 17

Sources: 1. Panel of a false door and two wall fragments, exact provenance unknown, probably from Saqqara. Now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, AEIN 896.  
2. Shown on stela of nfrt-wnns in the Cairo Museum, CG 1394, exact provenance unknown, but probably from Saqqara.<sup>37a</sup>

Bibliography: 1. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 739. 2. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 736.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

Other Titles: 1. imy-r gs-pr, sww m sp3wt t3-mhw ?, ssm-t3 sp3wt sm'w.

36. op. cit., 38.

37. For example, the vizier sn'y, Jéquier, op. cit., pl. 73.

37a. Eight further blocks in Moscow, Hodjash-Berlev, Egyptian Reliefs ... in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 22-33 (1).

## 2. zš 'nzwt.

The panel of this false door comprises the deceased seated with an offering list before him, and a linen list to the right of that. It is thus in the tradition of the early chapels at both Saqqara and Giza (Ch. 2.I.G.1; II.B). It is a more developed example than that of, for example, mtn,<sup>38</sup> and although a precise date is impossible, the middle fourth dynasty is likely.

izi is shown on the second piece as the grandson of nfrt-wnns. Its style is reminiscent of some early examples, and the short offering list may place it among the early fourth dynasty examples.

It is not certain that these two monuments represent the same man, but the name izi is not common, and no others are attested with the title of imy-r pr-hd, and so the identification must be plausible.

Suggested Date: Middle fourth dynasty.

izi 18

Source: A false door in the Louvre, C 164 (E 3904), provenance unknown.

Bibliography: The texts are given in Pierret, Receuil des Inscriptions du Louvre II, 76; also examination of original.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r pr-šn', imy-r zš prwy-hd, imy-ht prwy-hd, imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, iry wd3 n prwy-hd, wr bzt, mty n z3 dd-swt-tti, mdw rhyt, hry-tp nzwt,

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38. LD II, 3.

zš 'h-ntr šm'w, zš w'bt<sup>y</sup>, zš tzwt nbt nt hnw, smr  
w'ty.

Although the provenance is unknown, it is probable that this piece originated in the memphite region, as it is firmly in that stylistic tradition. In addition, such pyramid titles as izi held are not found outside memphite tombs.

The use of a panel in the false door of a "T" shape suggests that the piece does not date before the reign of Pepy II (Ch. 2.I.C). The use of two vertical columns of text per jamb is not normal for doors certainly of the reign of Pepy II (Ch. 2.I.B), and it is thus possible that it is of later date, perhaps the end of the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period. As a South Saqqara origin is unlikely, either Giza or the area of the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara suggest themselves as the most likely provenances. The false doors from the latter area are the most similar in style, suggesting this as its possible origin.<sup>39</sup>

Suggested Date: End Old Kingdom or later.

išfi; twtw 19

Son of 'nh-m-'-hr; zzi (30)

Source: Chapel added to the tomb of his father in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 515.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwty.

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39. For comparable examples, see those discussed in connection with the "T"-shaped panel in Ch. 2.I.C.



Other Titles: imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r imw b3w n shmh-ib, imy-r zšwy,  
 imy-r šwy pr-'3, imy-r šn-t3 nb, imy-r sht htpw,  
 imy-r sqbbwy, imy-r sqbbwy pr-'3, imy-r sđmt nbt,  
 imy-r ddt pt qm3t t3, hry-hb, hry-sšt3 n wđt-mdw nbt  
 št3t nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 nzwt m  
 swt.f nbt, smr w'ty.

The decoration of this chapel consists only of a false door, and the whole may well be a later addition to the tomb of 'nh-m-'-hr. Given that the date of his father is probably late Teti to early Pepy I, he would be dated perhaps to the middle to late reign of Pepy I. The title sequences could fit a number of periods (VIB, C, E-F),<sup>40</sup> which include that covered by the above date.

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Pepy I.

itti 20

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, south of the third row of large double mastabas, G7391.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 193; see now, Badawy, The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza, 1-14.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r pr-'3, w'b, rh nzwt, shđ, shđ w'b wr-h'f-r',  
 shđ pr-'3, sd3wty ntr m imw '3.

Located as the tomb is away from the rest of the cemetery, it is impossible to use its position to obtain a date. The disposition of

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 40. Baer, Rank and Title, 64 (94a).

the scenes on the west wall is not unlike that of shm-'nh-ptḥ (123), perhaps mid-fifth dynasty, although the false door is of a different type. The remaining elements of the offering list on the south wall do not appear to be arranged in canonical order, but rather seem to be selective, including, for example, milk (irtt) which does not appear in the full list. This may indicate a date earlier in the fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.G.1).

itti may possibly appear in another tomb in the Eastern Cemetery, that of 'nh-h'f-r', G7948.<sup>41</sup> This tomb is probably of early to middle fifth dynasty date, and a similar date may apply to that of itti.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty.

itti; 'nh-irs 21

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, D 63, adjoining that of ptḥ-ḥtp I (49) to the south.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 598.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r 'h, imy-r wd'-mdw n wsḥt, imy-r mštt, wr md šm'w, hrp mrwy nzwt, hrp tm3, smsw izt, smsw izt m prwy.

According to Mariette, the join between this mastaba and that of ptḥ-ḥtp I (49) shows that the latter is the earlier,<sup>42</sup> thus indicating the reign of Djedkare as the earliest possible date. The location of the false door in the centre of the west wall of an 'L'-shaped north-south

41. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 207-8. For a similar conclusion and further details of this correspondence see now Harpur, JEA 67 (1981), 24-35.

42. Mastabas, 357.

chapel follows the tradition found most commonly in the fifth dynasty. This door does not have a torus and cornice, but has an offering list on the inner jambs, a further feature of the fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.G.2). This evidence suggests that it does not postdate pth-htp I by very many years.

Suggested Date: Later fifth dynasty.

idw I; nfr 22

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G5550, north of the enclosure wall of the pyramid of Khufu.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 165. There is an additional block in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, number 31693 (unpublished).

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš [i'-nzwt], imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nzwt, imy-r r-pr, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r hnw, imy-r sht nbt, imy-r gswy-pr, mdw rhyt, hry-sšt3 nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, zš 'i'-nzwt.

The chapel of this tomb has been extensively damaged, although it has been possible to restore much of the false door, which is of the type with cornice and torus moulding. This door has the small apertures typical of the sixth dynasty, which general date is supported by the tomb's location outside the main part of the Cemetery en Échelon, in use mainly during the fifth dynasty. The general appearance of the false door is not unlike those of mrri (67) and mh<sub>w</sub> (69) of Saqqara,



both belonging to the middle of the sixth dynasty.

Baer's title sequences allow any of the periods VIB-C, E-F to be possible.<sup>43</sup> It would seem that as most of the viziers of Teti and the later reign of Pepy II were buried near the respective pyramids, the period of the reign of Pepy I and early Pepy II would be the most likely for this man and the others like him.<sup>44</sup> It has been said that the tomb is rather small for the rank of its owner,<sup>45</sup> but this is also true of other tombs from the period suggested here, for example that of r'-wr at Saqqara.

Suggested Date: Mid-sixth dynasty, perhaps the later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.

idw 23

Source: Tomb north of the first row of large mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7102.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 185-6; see now Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, 19-31.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt htpw ntr, imy-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, imy-r zš mrt, wd'-mdw, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw, hry-tp nzwt, zš '-nzwt, zš '-nzwt hft-hr, sm3' wd'-mdw, shd w'b 3ht-hwfw, shd w'b wr-h'f-r'.

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43. Middle reign of Teti to middle reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 62 (78).

44. cf Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 34.

45. Baer, loc. cit., is one such example.

This man is presumably related to q3r (135), the owner of the neighbouring tomb G7101. The dates of neither can be before the reign of Pepy I as can be seen from the titles.

The relationships of these men and their dating have been discussed in several places. Baer places *idw* in period VIC,<sup>46</sup> and q3r in VID.<sup>47</sup> On the basis of tomb size, Kanawati has dated *idw* and q3r to early reign of Wenis and late Wenis respectively.<sup>48</sup> Simpson has discussed the relationships and draws attention to the *idw* who occurs in the Abusir Papyri.<sup>49</sup> This text has been dated by Posener-Kriéger to the period previous to 'an 15 d'Isési'.<sup>50</sup> The derivation of this date is tortuous in the extreme: the verso (fragment 69A) shows the date, which is in fact *rnpt zp 8* of an unspecified king, and it is presumed that the verso was written before the recto. Determining the reign is very much less simple: a *wr-'-i mn-htpw-k3k3i* is found in this document, who may perhaps be the man who held the same office on a sealing of Izezi.<sup>51</sup> This is far from convincing, and it must be stated that Posener-Kriéger is aware of the problems. Consequently, it is not necessary to regard *idw* as a very old man at death.<sup>52</sup>

With the exception of the problem of the date of the example in the Abusir Archive, Simpson's arguments for *idw* being the father of q3r are quite probable, and are supported by the results of Baer. If so, the other name of q3r (*mry-r'-nfr*) may actually be a reflection of his birth in the reign of Pepy I. *idw* may date early in the reign and

46. Reign of Merenre to early Pepy II, Rank and Title, 62 (77).

47. About twenty years later than VIC, Rank and Title, 136-7 (495).

48. Egyptian Administration, 155-6, where he attempts to reconcile these dates with the evidence of the titles with the names of Pepy I.

49. op. cit., 2 n.4; the occurrence in the Abusir Papyri will be found in HPBM, pl. LXVIII. This *idw* held the title of *zš mrt* in common with *idw* of G7102.

50. ArchAb II, 489.

51. Berlin 16300.

52. Kanawati, loc. cit.

q3r to its latter part and perhaps the reign of Merenre.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Pepy I.

'nh-ir-pth 24

Source: Tomb in the south-west corner of Cemetery G4000 at Giza, G4811 + 4812, set up by his son rdi-n-pth.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 138; additional information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r w'bt, imy-r hmwt pr-'3.

The location of this tomb in Cemetery G4000 must date its construction later than that of the nucleus mastabas. One noticeable feature of the plan is the east-west offering chapel, an orientation which does not seem to appear at Giza earlier than the tomb of sndm-ib; inti (120) in the later fifth dynasty. The false door appears to be quite complex, which type is also not found at Giza before the end of that dynasty. Additionally, the extreme left-hand column of inscription includes a title written with plural strokes, rarely found before the middle sixth dynasty.<sup>53</sup> This official is thus unlikely to be earlier than the early sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle sixth dynasty.

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 53. For example, in the inscriptions of nhbw, Urk. I, 215-9; for earlier examples and general discussion, see Edel, Altäg. Gramm., 119-20 (S276-8), and Gardiner, EG, 535-6 (Z2).



'nh-irs 25

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 15 (B 16).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 452.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r d3d3t nzwt nt wd'-mdw nb, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw  
hry-wdb, [hm-ntr] sš3t, hry-wdb hwt-'nh, hry-sš3t,  
hry-sš3t nzwt, hrp 'h, z3b 'd-mr.

Baer has dated this tomb to period VB or quite possibly earlier.<sup>54</sup> The cruciform chapel is a feature of the fourth and early fifth dynasties at Saqqara (Ch. 2.I.H). The false door, although not published with an illustration, may be reconstructed as having three columns of text on the inner jambs, and probably two at the rear of the central niche. It is perhaps not dissimilar to that of mry (58) of the later fourth dynasty. The panel would appear to have a short uncanonical offering list, which again points to the early fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.G.1). These features all support the date of Baer.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

'nh-izzi 26

Source: Tomb near the north-east corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure at Saqqara, no. 85 (D 8, S 910).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 489.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

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54. Rank and Title, 63 (88).

Other Titles: imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, imy-r mš', mniw k3w, mdw nfrw, hry-sst3 nzwt, hrp imw hr m h3t.f, z3 nzwt, smr w'ty, sd3wty ntr, sd3wty ntr m imwvy, sd3wty ntr m imwvy '3.

This tomb is dated by Baer to his period VC, which date, if correct, might suggest that his name is a reflection of birth in the reign of Djedkare.<sup>55</sup> 'nh-izzi is often discussed in the same context as k3i-m-tnnt (146), the owner of a nearby mastaba,<sup>56</sup> and there are a number of features which suggest that they might be related. Firstly, both held the following titles: imy-r mš', imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, sd3wty ntr, sd3wty ntr m imwvy '3, smr w'ty and z3 nzwt. This list incorporates the bulk of their titles, and such similarity is what one might expect of a father and son. As noted by Baer, their chapel plans are not dissimilar; both have an entrance with two pillars, and moderately complex chapels, not unlike those of their possible contemporaries at Giza, the sndm-ib 's inti and mhi. One difference from the latter chapels is that k3i-m-tnnt and 'nh-izzi placed their false doors in north-south offering rooms rather than east-west ones, although 'nh-izzi 's door was of the cornice and torus moulding type usually found in east-west chapels. Finally, the locations of their tombs are sufficiently similar so as not to prohibit a relationship.

k3i-m-tnnt may be dated by his connections with the vizier r'-špss (95). There are possible parallels between the sons of these two men, 'nh-izzi and pr-nb.<sup>57</sup> It has been observed that a block from the tomb

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55. Later reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis; Rank and Title, 60 (164).

56. For example, Schmitz, Königssohn, 31, 63, 88.

57. Almost certainly a son of r'-špss, see Baer, op. cit., 71 (142).

of 'nh-izzi was delivered in error to that of pr-nb, which points to their being under construction simultaneously.<sup>58</sup> pr-nb may be dated to the first half of the reign of Wenis on the basis of the independent date for his father, and the same is in all probability true for 'nh-izzi.

Suggested Date: First half of the reign of Wenis.

'nh-wsr-k3f 27

Source: Tomb adjacent to the mortuary temple of Neweserre at Abusir.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 344.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: /// pr n nzwt, imy-r hwt-ntr, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r ht nbt nt nzwt, imy-r sp3wt t3-mhw m gswy-pr, imy-r gswy-pr, imy-r tniw, 'd-mr dp, wr md šm'w, mdw rhyt, mdw k3-hd, nst hntt, h3t tnt iwnw ?, h3ty-', hm-ntr inpw, hm-ntr m3't m swt.s nbt, hm-ntr hr m dmit nbt, hm-ntr hz3t, hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr s3hw-r' m swt.f nbt, hm-ntr srt, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n r-3w h3swt m gswy-pr, hry-tp nzwt m prwy, ht h3, z3b 'd-mr, smsw izt ?, smsw n iwnw h3t tnw, shd w'b h'-b3w-s3hw-r'.

It is possible that the slightly off-centre plan of the mortuary temple of Neweserre is due to the previous existence of this mastaba. Consequently the tomb could be of the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare, possibly the latter as his pyramid is the nearer. A man by the name

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58. Baer, loc. cit.



of 'nh-wsr-k3f appears in the reliefs of the mortuary temple of Neweserre.<sup>59</sup> As the name is not common, it is probable that it is indeed the owner of this tomb that is represented.

Baer dates the tomb to the reign of Sahure, in the period preceding the introduction of a system of ranking titles, having initially opted for that of Neweserre on the basis of the relief in the mortuary temple.<sup>60</sup> The tomb could have been built either before the appearance of this system or in its early years, but 'nh-wsr-k3f could have easily lived on into the reign of Neweserre. If his name is a reflection of birth in the reign of Weserkaf, then he would hardly have been old enough to have held office before the reign of Neferirkare, but could have constructed his tomb prior to the building of the pyramid complex of Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Reign of Neweserre or a little earlier.

'nh-m'-r' 28

Source: Tomb at the eastern edge of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7837 + 7843.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 206; virtually unpublished. For one scene, see now Simpson, Fs Edel, 494-5, fig. 3; other information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt, imy-r šnwt swt htpw df3w.

Other Titles: imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r swt htpw df3w, w'b nzwt, nst hntt, rh nzwt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 nb.f, hry-tp šnwt, hrp zš, zš n sht htp nzwt, zš nzwt, shd

59. Borchardt, Neweserre, Abb. 50.

60. Rank and Title, 68-9 (123a).

## zš 'nzwt šnwt.

This tomb has been placed in the early part of the fifth dynasty by Smith, presumably on the basis of the existence of rock-cut statues of the deceased.<sup>61</sup> For unclear reasons Baer suggests the late fifth dynasty or later.<sup>62</sup>

The only scene published from this tomb shows the deceased being carried back from inspecting the work on his tomb.<sup>63</sup> Palanquin scenes first appear in the tomb of nfr-m3't (85) at Meydum and continue at least until the reign of Pepy II.<sup>64</sup> Late fifth and early sixth dynasty examples are particularly common, and from this period at Giza may be noted those in the tombs of sndm-ib; inti (120),<sup>65</sup> wr-hww,<sup>66</sup> iti-sn,<sup>67</sup> and ny-m3't-r'.<sup>68</sup> This latter example is the only exact parallel to the scene of 'nh-m-'-r', which gives force to a late fifth dynasty date.

There is shown on the false door of ny-k3-r' (80) a son by the name of 'nh-m-'-r' with the title of imy-r šnwt. While there is no certain way of linking the two men, the coincidence of name and title makes it possible.<sup>69</sup> The middle fifth dynasty date deduced below for ny-k3-r' would not be at odds with one in the late fifth for his son. It would naturally be preferable that the two men be buried at the same site, but this need not rule out this possibility.

Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty.

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- 61. Sculpture, 189-90.
- 62. Rank and Title, 64 (92).
- 63. Simpson, loc. cit.
- 64. See the lists in Junker, Giza XI, 249-55 and Klebs, Reliefs des alten Reiches, 27-9.
- 65. LD II, 78b (right).
- 66. LD II, 43a; Hassan, Giza V, fig. 104.
- 67. id. ib., fig. 122.
- 68. id., Giza II, fig. 240.
- 69. This suggestion is due to Dr. E. Brovarski of Boston.

'nh-m'-r' 29

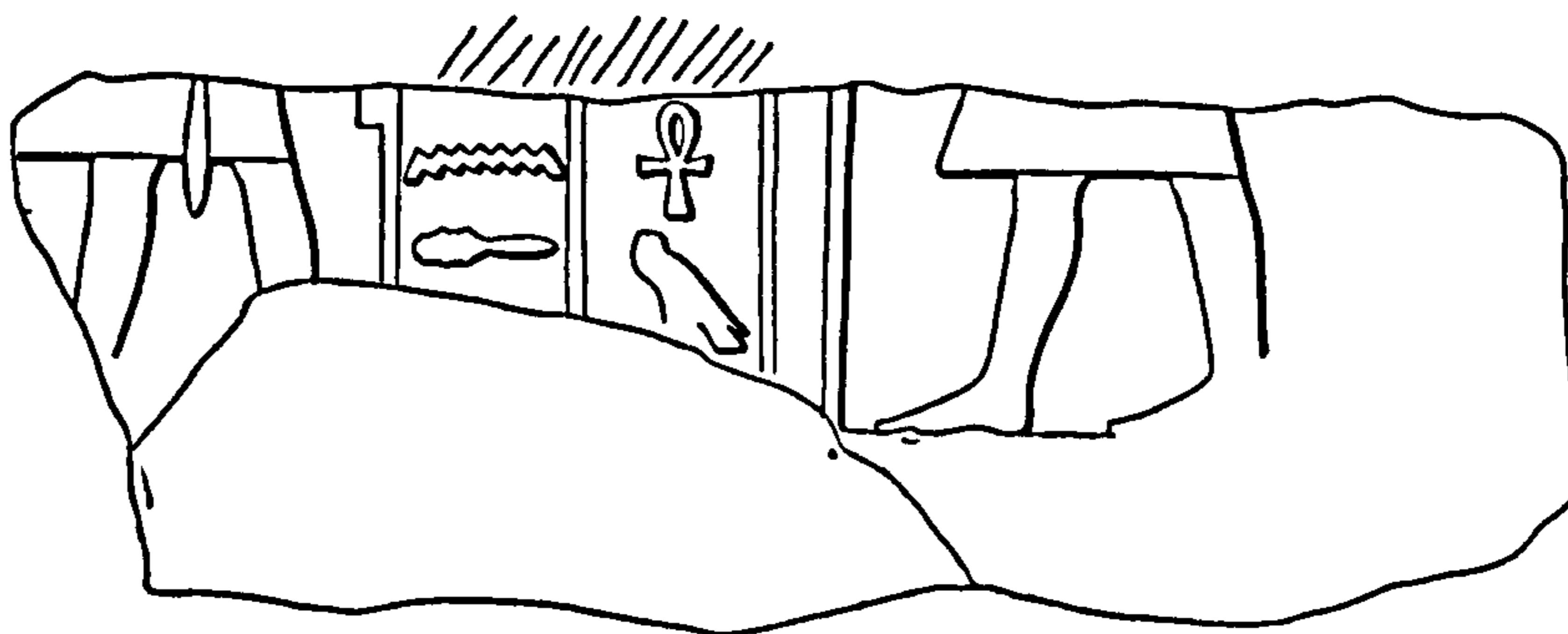
Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, south of the western end of the causeway of the pyramid of Khafre.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 246.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iry p't, h3ty-', hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, sd3wty bity n iti.f.

Figure 11: Block from the Tomb of nb-m-3ht.

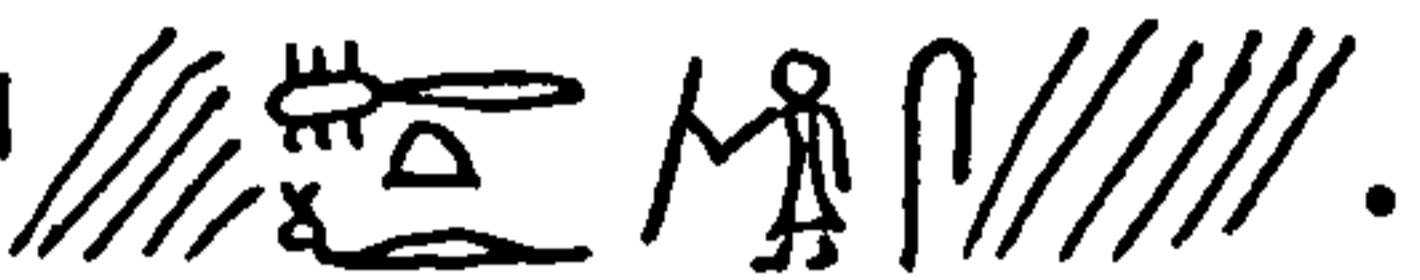


Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 86.

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An 'eldest king's son of his body', 'nh-m'-r' was doubtless a true son of one of the fourth dynasty rulers, due to the presence of titles with n iti.f. From the location of the tomb Khafre would seem to be the most likely. The identity of his mother is not revealed in the tomb, but some suggestions may be made on the basis of two little-known blocks from the tomb of nb-m-3ht (81). The text in the centre of figure 11 could be reconstructed as [z3 nzwt] n h[t.f] .... 'nh-m-[-r]'. No other men with this name and title are known. In the same tomb there is a very similar block with the name and title of ny-wsr-r', known to be his brother, and the owner of a tomb further to



the south in the same cliff.<sup>70</sup> Possibly 'nh-m'-r' was a younger brother of nb-m-3ht, although one might then expect him to be shown in the tomb of the latter's mother mrs-'nh III together with nb-m-3ht, ny-wsr-r' and dw3-r'. A further piece from the tomb of nb-m-3ht may suggest another explanation. The following inscription is found on a statue-base:<sup>71</sup> . This is presumably to be reconstructed to [z3 nzwt n] ht.f smsw plus a name, and the only holder of that title known at any period from Giza whose name would fit the traces is shm-k3-r' (125). Unless it were simply thrown away there, it would seem that shm-k3-r' had some sort of statue in this tomb. He was certainly not a true brother of nb-m-3ht, and so one may perhaps apply the analogy to the occurrence of the name of 'nh-m'-r'.

For details of other features which possibly influence the date, see the discussion of iwn-minw (8). 'nh-m'-r' could have been the youngest son of Khafre to have become vizier, as he is the only such holder of this office not to have been buried in a tomb in the cliff face.

Suggested Date: Beginning of the fifth dynasty.

70. Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 85. As brother of nb-m-3ht, see Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, 13 n. 29; tomb, PM 3<sup>c</sup>, 234.


71. Hassan, op. cit., 148 (2).

'nh-m'-hr; zzi 30

Source: Second tomb in the 'Rue de Tombeaux', Teti pyramid cemetery, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 512-5; see also, Badawy, The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara, 11-57.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt m t3 r dr.f, t3yty z3b t3ty.<sup>72</sup>

Other Titles: iwn kmwt, im3-', imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r zšwy, imy-r zšwy m3', imy-r zšwy n shmh-ib, imy-r šn-t3 nb, imy-r sdat nbt št3t, iry p't, mniw nhn, mdw rhyt, mdh zš nzwt, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hm- ntr m3't, hm- ntr hqt, hnty-š dd-swt-tti, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-tp nzwt, ht , sm, shd hm- ntr dd-swt-tti.<sup>73</sup>

In Firth's discussion of the relative dates of the great mastabas of the Teti pyramid cemetery, that of 'nh-m'-hr is not mentioned.<sup>74</sup> For general details of the dating of this group of tombs, see below under mrrw-k3i (68). The tomb of 'nh-m'-hr is dated to period VIB by Baer, which is the same as that for nfr-sšm-r' (88), the owner of the neighbouring tomb to the south.<sup>75</sup> The relative location of these two tombs

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72. t3yty z3b t3ty, imy-r prwy-hd and imy-r zš ' nzwt only appear in the innermost parts of the tomb or on the sarcophagus, suggesting that it may be possible to divide the titles into two phases of his career.

73. Due to the damage suffered by parts of the tomb, especially to the false door which has almost completely disappeared, it is almost certain that his titulary was more extensive than that given here.

74. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 15.

75. Middle reign of Teti to middle Pepy I, Rank and Title, 64 (94).

suggests that 'nh-m-'-hr 's is the later. There are no indications that the career of 'nh-m-'-hr continued into the reign of Pepy I, at least for long enough for the name of that king to appear in his tomb.

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Teti.

'nh-m-'-k3i 31

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 67 (D 16).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 481.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt nt nzwt, imy-r wsht, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r swt htpw df3w, w'b nzwt, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw št3 n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', hm-ntr r' m nhn-r', hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr s3hw-r', hry-wdb m hwt-'nh, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hry-sšt3 n ntr.f, hry-tp nzwt, hrp zš wsht, z3b 'd-mr.

Baer had dated this tomb to his period VIC;<sup>76</sup> however, the form of the false door suggests that this may be too late. It has wide jambs with larger figures of the deceased on the outer than on the inner, no cornice and torus moulding, and large panel apertures which each contain an offering list. Given the important titles of this man, if he had lived in the middle sixth dynasty, it might be expected that he would have had the newer type of false door prevalent among officials at that time, one feature of which was the presence of the torus and

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76. Later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II, Rank and Title, 64 (95).



cornice (Ch. 2.I.A). The offering list of this door and the wide jambs have several parallels in the middle of the fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.G.2 and B). The raised relief of the door is also characteristic of the fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.F.1). It is felt that this evidence is sufficiently strong to warrant the rejection of the date of Baer.<sup>77</sup>

Suggested Date: Mid-fifth dynasty, perhaps not long after the reign of Neweserre (?).

'nh-mry-r'; ny-sw-ihy 32

Source: Tomb east of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, E 13, exact position unknown.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 586.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r r-3w, imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt pr-'3, hq3 hwt, smr w'ty, smr w'ty m3'.

The only monument from this tomb is the false door in Cairo. This is dated by Baer to his period VIB, which accords with the presence of the mry-r' element in the name.<sup>78</sup> This door is a large one with cornice, torus and three jambs. In many ways it is a simpler version of the door of nfr-sšm-r'; ššī (88); there is one significant difference, a small extra 'lintel' above the panel and beneath the architrave with his name and titles. This feature is also found on the false door of

77. Some of the sequences can actually be fitted into those of the mid-fifth dynasty (VB), given the complexity and number of variations possible at that time.

78. Middle reign of Teti to middle Pepy I, Rank and Title, 80 (185).

išfi; twtw (19), and may have later been assimilated with the panel to form the 'T'-shaped panel found in the reign of Pepy II.

One further interesting feature is the employment of plural strokes in the inscriptions. These are attested in the mid-sixth dynasty in the inscriptions of nhbw (90), although most common in the later Old Kingdom. These features all suggest a date in the middle of the sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle sixth dynasty, perhaps later reign of Pepy I or Merenre.

'nh-mry-r' 33

Son of mhw (69).

Source: Chapel in the tomb of his father in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara, south of the temenos wall of the Step Pyramid.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 621-2; unpublished - personal examination of chapel.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gs-pr m3', 'd-mr dp, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hrp šndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, sd3wty bity.

The tomb of mhw will be dated below to the reign of Pepy I. On the basis of a generation of twenty to twenty-five years, one would expect him to date to the end of the reign of Pepy I or later. mhw held

priesthoods of Teti and Pepy I, while 'nh-mry-r' held only a priest-hood of the latter, which is in accordance with the later date. The chapel may have been built along with that of mhw, but was not necessarily decorated at that time.

Suggested Date: Perhaps end of the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.

'nh-h3f 34

Source: Mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7510.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 196; almost completely unpublished - information from personal examination of excavation records and material in Boston.

Relevant Titles: [imy-r] k3 [t nbt nt nzwt], [t3yty] z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r wsht, imy-r ht nbt, iry p't, '3 dw3w, wr [md sm'w], wr 5 pr-dhwt, [mniw] nhn, [mdw] hp, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hm-ntr b3 'npt, hry-hb, hry-hb [hry]-tp, [hrp] i3t [nbt ntrt], hrp 'h, hrp mrt t3-mhw [sm'w], hts inpw, [z3] nzwt [n ht.f], z3 [nzwt] n ht.f smsw, smsw izt, sd3wty bity.

The parentage of 'nh-h3f and his exact position in the royal family of the fourth dynasty are not at all clear. The assumption made by Reisner and Smith considers him a son of Sneferu by an unspecified queen, who then married a senior daughter of that king, htp-hrs, whose mother was a principal queen. This is based solely on htp-hrs 's (reconstructed) priesthood of Sneferu and the implications contained in her name; his tomb is then dated to the reign of Khafre.<sup>79</sup>

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79. Reisner, Giza II, 11, fig. 10.



A different conclusion may be reached by another method, although this involves questioning Reisner's view concerning the relative arrangement of the Giza cemeteries. He considered that the Eastern Cemetery consisted of twelve initial cores, later modified into eight, east of the queens' pyramids, followed by six further ones including G7510.<sup>80</sup> This is based on his typology of the twelve cores as type IVi and that of the others as IViii. However, it has been suggested above that the sequence of appearance of chapels with two false doors at Giza points to this tomb as dating to the reign of Khufu (page 69). For the tomb of 'nh-h3f to have been prepared in the reign of Khufu, it is perhaps likely that he was of the same generation of that king, and very possibly a son of Sneferu.

Smith puts his death at an advanced age, because of the appearance of a grandson in the tomb,<sup>81</sup> but assuming that the first children were born while their parents were young, he could have easily been a grandfather by the age of forty. The decoration of the panel of htp-hrs points to it as being one of the earliest examples from the Eastern Cemetery (Ch. 2.II.B). If 'nh-h3f is to be paralled with hm-iwnw, one might date him to the middle of the reign of Khufu.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Khufu.

80. op. cit. I, 75, 212.

81. Reisner, Giza II, 11.

'nh-h3f; q3r 35

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, north of the 'pyramid town' to the east of the tomb of hnt-k3ws, shared with son ny-s'nh-3ht; iti (73).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 257-8.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, wr bzt, hry-tp nzwt, htm df3w bity, z3b 'd-mr, smsw izt.

The title sequences of 'nh-h3f have caused Baer to place him in his period VIC.<sup>82</sup> The only feature usable for dating is the poorly preserved false door, which is a two jambed example, apparently without cornice or torus; this form is found in both the fifth and sixth dynasties at Giza. The forms of the pr-hd group from this tomb vary between that most common in the fifth dynasty and that most typical of the sixth, and it is thus possible that this tomb belongs to a period transitional between these two writings, at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth (see below page 456).

Suggested Date: Perhaps early sixth dynasty.

'nh-hwfw 36



Source: Sarcophagus found in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, possibly from tomb G7750. Now Cairo, CG 1790.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 216.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.

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82. Middle sixth dynasty (Merenre and slightly later), Rank and Title, 65 (100).

Other Titles: w' ḥz3t, mniw nḥn, mdw ḥp, mdw k3-ḥd, r p nb, ḥry-wdb  
ḥwt-'nḥ, ḥrp 'ḥ, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The attribution of this piece to G7750 is due to a suggestion of Donadoni Roveri.<sup>83</sup> She would date it to the later fourth dynasty, although Junker believed this type of sarcophagus to be later.<sup>84</sup> His titulary is typical of fourth to early fifth dynasty high officials, containing many high honorific titles. Furthermore, the writing of the title sd3wty bity as  is perhaps more typical of the fourth dynasty, after which time  is the more usual.<sup>85</sup>



Suggested Date: Perhaps late fourth or early fifth dynasty.

w3s-ptḥ; izi 37

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 24 (D 38).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 456.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b  
t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-iz, imy-iz nḥn, iry nfr-ḥ3t, '3 dw3w,  
wr idt, wr ḥt, mniw nḥn, mdw rḥyt, ḥry-tp nḥb,  
ḥ3ty-', ḥm i3qs, ḥm-ntr m3't, ḥm-ntr nḥbt, ḥm-ntr ḥr  
inpw, ḥm-ntr ḥr inpw ḥnty pr šmswt, ḥm-ntr   
šmswt, ḥry-ḥb, ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp, ḥry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t,  
ḥry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, ḥry-tp nzwt, ḥrp i3t nbt ntrt,  
ḥrp wsḥt, ḥt , ḥts inpw, zš md3t ntr, sm3 minw,

83. Sarcophagi, 114-5 (B15), no reason given. This provenance is somewhat doubtful, as one might expect the owner of G7750 to have been a king's son on the analogy of the neighbouring tombs.

84. Giza II, 23.

85. But compare Fischer, Coptite Nome Dynasties, 126-9.



sm3 hr, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, sdt nzwt.

According to the damaged biographical text in this tomb, w3s-ptḥ was apparently taken ill in the presence of Neferirkare, who afterwards commanded the events to be recorded in his tomb.<sup>86</sup> This was built by his son, perhaps as w3s-ptḥ died unexpectedly because of this illness.

Baer takes the title sequences from this tomb as the basis for the beginning of his ranking period VB, at perhaps around the reign of Neferirkare.<sup>87</sup> Presumably he was vizier in the earlier part of the reign.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Neferirkare.

wr-ir.ni 38

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 62 (D 20).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 478-9.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

Other Titles: hm-ntr r' m nḥn-r', hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', zš hkr  
nzwt.

The only elements of this tomb to have survived are a group of statues, mostly of dependents. The tomb is situated to the north of those of ty (157) and k3i (136), both of which are to be dated to about the middle of the dynasty. These are the only indications available for the purposes of dating.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty.

86. Urk. I, 40-5.

87. Rank and Title, 230.

wr-b3w-b3 39

Source: Depicted among the courtiers in the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir.

Bibliography: Borchardt, Sa3hure II, Bl. 17.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: None given.

Assuming the construction of the temple and pyramid of Sahure to have begun shortly after his accession to the throne, it is perhaps likely that the decoration of the outer parts of the temple, in which this depiction appears, would have taken place towards the end of the reign - the equivalent part of the temple of Neferirkare was unfinished at his death, suggesting that it was the last area to be built. Other parts of the same relief show Neferirkare as king, suggesting the same conclusion.<sup>88</sup>

Suggested Date: Late reign of Sahure, and possibly later.

wr-k3w-b3; \*ikw 40

Source: A small offering-room amid the tombs of the sndm-ib family at Giza, G2383.

Bibliography: False door, Brovarski, L'égyptologie en 1979 II, 119 (fig. 21).

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: smr.

The chapel was built against the southern face of the tomb of

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88. Neferirkare also appears in a nearby relief, id. ib., Bl. 32.

**sn<sub>dm</sub>-ib; m<sub>hi</sub>** (121), G2378. The location might suggest some connection between **wr-k3w-b3** and the **sn<sub>dm</sub>-ib** family, but there is no similarity in their titles - none mention building or other works.

The small size of the offering room may reflect a very late Old Kingdom date. The false door is also of very small size for a man with such a high title. One feature often found with doors of late date, the so-called 'T'-shaped panel (Ch. 2.I.D), is not evident here. These vague indications suggest the end of the Old Kingdom or later.

Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom or later.

**wr-k3-pt<sub>h</sub>** 41

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara B 15.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 491.

Relevant Titles: **im<sub>y</sub>-r š<sub>nwt</sub>**.

Other Titles: **rh<sub>y</sub> n<sub>zwt</sub>**.

This tomb chapel seems to have been of the east-west type, with a parallel serdab to the south. Inscriptions were found on the inner jambs of the false door, and offering bearers on the outer ones. Such an arrangement is typical of the mid-late fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.B and F.3). Baer also suggests the mid-fifth dynasty or later, and there is no further evidence for a more precise date.<sup>89</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps mid to late fifth dynasty.

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89. Rank and Title, 68 (119).



b3-b3f 42

Source: Mastaba in the Cemetery en Echelon in the western field at Giza, G5230.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 155-7; the statues found by the Harvard-Boston expedition are unpublished, and this information comes from examination of the originals and the expedition records.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.*

Other Titles: *imy-iz nhn, iry p't, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, wr idt, wr ht, wr 5 pr-dhwty, mniw nhn, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hm i3qs, hm hpwy, hm hr šw3, hm-ntr wnw-r hnty minw, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr dhwty, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 pr-'3, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hrp 'h, hrp [m]rt, ht ⚡, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, smsw snwt, sdt nzwt.*

Among the tombs of viziers at Giza, that of b3b3f is unique in that there does not seem to be a single decorated surface in the entire chapel; rather the effort was put into an almost unequalled number of statues (at least thirteen). Reisner regarded this man as a son of *dw3-n-r'* (161), owner of the nearby tomb G5110.<sup>90</sup> One major problem for this interpretation is the appearance of the title *smr w'ty n iti.f* on statue MFA 43.1461. The epithet *n iti.f* is taken as perhaps the clearest evidence of true royal filiation. This is however the only occurrence outside the recognised royal cemeteries at Giza - Cemetery G7000 and that in the Khafre quarry - apart from the tomb of Menkaure's son *hw-n-r'* in the quarry cemetery of that king.

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90. Reisner, Giza I, 69 n. 1.

Table 8

Titles on the Statues of b3-b3f.

<u>Statue</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Vienna 7785				X	X
MFA 21.931			X		
MFA 34.235	X	X	X		X
MFA 34.1461	X	X	X	X	
MFA 21.953	X	X			
MFA 21.955			X		
MFA 14-11-78	X	X		X	
MFA 14-11-80				X	
? ? *				X	

\* is the fragment Junker, Giza VII, Abb. 64 (right upper).

MFA - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

## Key to Columns:

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. t3yty z3b t3ty.          | 2. Titles with z3 nzwt. |
| 3. iry p't.                 | 4. h3ty-'.              |
| 5. imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt. |                         |

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It is however possible that b3b3f acquired this epithet with a promotion. Table 8 shows the distribution of several of his most important titles on these statues. It will be seen that the titles compounded with z3 nzwt only appear on the statues that also bear the title of t3yty z3b t3ty; it is on one of these that the title smr w'ty n iti.f is found. It is possible that his career could be divided into two phases: his first statues were carved when he was h3ty-' and imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt, and then he was promoted to the vizierate and to the rank of a king's son, and was apparently permitted to use the

tag n iti.f. Such a widening of the class of officials using this term suggests that b3b3f be dated to the early fifth dynasty, when true king's sons were being removed from the civil administration, and older rules for the granting of titles and epithets were breaking down.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

bb-ib; sndm-ib 43

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 11 (B 13).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 451.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t.

Other Titles: wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hq3 hwt-'3t, z3b hry-wdb.

The small amount of information supplied by the tomb does not of itself allow close dating. It is placed by Baer in his period VB, but the low number of titles present in rankable sequences is not in itself decisive.<sup>91</sup>

However, other indications tend to confirm this date. The chapel plan is cruciform, and it would not seem that this design continued much beyond the early fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.H). The false door has the distinctive features of wide apertures either side of the panel, the employment of only a single pair of jambs, and the wide niche with a figure of the owner surmounted by an inscription. The wide apertures are indicative of the late fourth to middle fifth dynasties (Ch. 2.I.D), and are not unlike those of w3š-pt<sup>h</sup>, of the reign of

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 91. Reign of Neferirkare to middle that of Djedkare, Rank and Title, 68-9 (128).



Neferirkare. This is also true of the jambs. The niche recalls those of the fourth dynasty, especially that of *mry* (58). These indications suggest the earlier fifth dynasty.

*bb-ib* may also appear in the reliefs of the mortuary temple of Neweserre.<sup>92</sup> This man holds the title of *smr*, which is not found in the Saqqara tomb. However the combination of the titles *rh nzwt* and *smr* is generally found only in titularies of the late fourth to early fifth dynasties,<sup>93</sup> and so would not be out of place in this instance. Perhaps the title of *smr* was a promotion in the early part of the reign of Neweserre, about the time that the pyramid-complex was being built, which would explain its non-appearance in the tomb which has already been constructed.

Suggested Date: Reign of Neferirkare to middle Neweserre.

*pr-sn* 44

Source: Mastaba in the far north-west corner of the Western Cemetery at Giza, LG 20.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 48-9.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt*.

Other Titles: *wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hrp hm-ntr, zš '-nzwt*.

From the arrangement and plan of the chapel of this tomb it has been placed above in a group with those of *sšm-nfr* (129) and *k3i-pw-nzwt; k3i* (Ch. 2.II.C.1). These examples would seem to date from about the reign of Sahure to that of Neweserre, at which point

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92. Borchardt, *Neweserre*, Abb. 50.

93. For example, *mry-ib* (59), *sš3t-htp* (126), and *sšm-nfr* (129).

another chapel type appeared. The title sequences are apparently typical of the period before the introduction of a ranking system,<sup>94</sup> which agrees with the other evidence for an early fifth dynasty date.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

ph-n-wi-k3i 45

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, D 70 (LS 15).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 491-2.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy mrt, imy-r izwy n pr hry-wdb, imy-r swt htpw df3w, imy-r gs-pr, mniw nhn, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, r p nb, h3ty-', hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr hqt, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš iry sprw, hq3 b3t, ht h3, z3b 'd-mr, zš wr md šm'w, shd w'b m w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, sd3wty bity.

The tomb of ph-n-wi-k3i is one of the largest at Saqqara. It is generally dated to the middle of the fifth dynasty; for example, it is placed by Baer in his period VB.<sup>95</sup> Evidence has come to light recently that enables a more precise date to be advanced. Fischer has suggested, with a fair degree of certainty, that špsi, the owner of the nearby mastaba no. 73 (D 13),<sup>96</sup> was the father of ph-n-wi-k3i, and it

94. Baer, Rank and Title, 72-3 (143).

95. Reign of Neferirkare to middle that of Djedkare, Rank and Title, 72, (146).

96. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 482.

is actually quite probable that the latter was indeed mentioned in his tomb.<sup>97</sup> The tomb of  $\check{y}$ spsi is probably to be dated to the period preceding the introduction of a title-ranking system, presumably the early fifth dynasty.<sup>98</sup> The position of his tomb on the lower slopes of the mound surmounted by the mastaba of ph-n-wi-k3i is not unlike that of ny-'nh-shmt,<sup>99</sup> which can be independently dated to the reign of Sahure or slightly later. On this basis, the tomb of spsi may date to the reign of Neferirkare and the tomb of ph-n-wi-k3i about a generation later, perhaps in the later reign of Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Neweserre, or a little later.

ph-r-nfr 46

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, exact position unknown.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 502.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r  $\check{y}$ snwt nbt nt nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r pr 'd, imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r pr- $\check{y}$ sn' 'fty hnt, imy-r pr- $\check{y}$ sn' 'fty t3-mhw, imy-r hwt m3t, imy-r hwt mhi, imy-r hwt ndt bi, imy-r hwt ndt ht3, imy-r hwt hmt, imy-r hwt  $\check{y}$ sm't, iry-ht pr-hd, 'd-mr imtt, 'd-mr zt imtt, 'd-mr tb ntrt, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, wr md  $\check{y}$ sm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, wd'-mdw, rh nzwt, h3ty-' 'ndty, hm-ntr hr ini hwthr, hm-ntr hr hnty dmit, hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr spd, hm-ntr sth hnty hry-wdb strt,

97. JEA 65 (1979), 42-4.

98. Baer, Rank and Title, 134-5 (489).

99. No. 74, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 482-3.



hm-ntr dhwtj, hry sd3wty pr-hd, hry sdm, hry-tp nzwt,  
 hrp i3rrwt, hrp bnrtw, hrp fsww, hrp rth, hrp zh, hq3  
 nzwt pr imtt, hq3 hwt-'3t bityw, hq3 hwt-'3t pr iwnw  
 phr iwnw pr-iwnw, hq3 hwt-'3t r3-wr, hq3 hwt-'3t hwt  
 ihwt, hq3 hwt-'3t hwt mrs-'nh, hq3 hwt-'3t hwt hk3,  
 hq3 hwt-'3t hwt-sn, ht h3, z3b nht-hrw ?, shd iry-ht  
 pr-hd.

There are no published copies of the reliefs in this tomb, and thus one is left to date it solely on its inscriptions and plans. In these respects it is very reminiscent of the tomb of mtn, dated to the early fourth dynasty.<sup>100</sup> Junker notes the hwt mrs-'nh in one of his titles,<sup>101</sup> and he takes this to refer to the queen mentioned in an eighteenth dynasty inscription at Meydum in connection with Sneferu, who could have been that king's wife or mother.<sup>102</sup> If this be true, ph-r-nfr was perhaps a contemporary of Sneferu or Khufu.

Suggested Date: Early fourth dynasty.

pth-htp dšr 47

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 41 (C 6).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 462-3.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hry htm md3t, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, iry p't, h3ty-', hrp wsht.

100. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 493-4.

101. ZAS 75 (1939), 63.

102. Petrie, Meydum, pl. XXIII.

This tomb seems to have been built as a unit with that of pth-htp (48). Both were constructed against the outer wall of another mastaba, about which little is known. The date of these two tombs, both of viziers, may thus be discussed together; of the two, Mariette believed that of pth-htp dšr to be the older.<sup>103</sup>

Baer dates both to his period VB.<sup>104</sup> The use of a cornice and torus on the false door of pth-htp (48) suggests that the piece is not earlier than the mid-fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.A). More importantly, the plan of these two chapels shows that between them they employed moderately complex chapels with east-west offering rooms, suggesting the middle to later fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.H).<sup>105</sup> The plan of the chapel of pth-htp dšr is in many ways like that of k3i-m-tnnt (146) of the reign of Djedkare.<sup>106</sup> These features give a range of possible dates for the two pth-htp 's between the reigns of Neweserre and Djedkare.

There is a false door set against the outer wall of the mastaba onto which these two tombs were built. It is unsure as to which of them it belongs. Alternatively, it may have been dedicated to yet another vizier by the name of pth-htp, as first suggested by Petrie.<sup>107</sup> This individual is not included in this prosopography as the suggestion is far from certain. One would then have in these tombs a family complex for perhaps two generations, suggesting that pth-htp dšr and pth-htp (48) were brothers.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Menkauhor or thereabouts.

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103. Mastabas, 123.

104. Reign of Neferirkare to middle reign of Djedkare; Rank and Title, 74 (158-9), although he does add a query to this date.

105. Both the plans of Mariette (op. cit., 124) and Murray (Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XXXV) are incomplete; they are combined in PM 3<sup>c</sup>, pl. XLVII (bottom right).

106. Mariette, op. cit., 187.

107. Murray, op. cit., 5.

## pth-ḥtp 48

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 42 (C 7).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 463.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r ḥwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r ṣnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy mrt, imy-r izwy ḥry ḥtm md3t, imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt, imy-r wsht, iry p't, ḥ3ty-'. .

For a discussion of the date of this tomb, see pth-ḥtp dšr (47) above.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early reign of Djedkare.

## pth-ḥtp 49 ('pth-ḥtp I')

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara, D 62.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 596-7.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r ṣnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy ḥry ḥtm md3t, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r ḥkr nzwt, imy-r ḥt nbt nt nzwt, iry p't, mdw rhyt, r p nb, ḥry-tp nḥb, ḥ3ty-', ḥry-ḥb, ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp, ḥry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, ḥry-sšt3 n nzwt, ḥrp wsht, zš md3t ntr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n mrwt, smsw snwt, sd3wty bity.

In the same area as this tomb is that of the vizier 3ḥt-ḥtp (2), which contains a separate chapel for pth-ḥtp; tḥi (50) (pth-ḥtp II), who are believed to be this man's son and grandson. This affiliation is not explicitly stated in the tombs, but a son 3ḥt-ḥtp appears in the tomb



of pth-htp I with titles of hry-tp nzwt and mdw rhyt.<sup>108</sup> Both titles are held by the vizier 3ht-htp; though this in itself is but slender evidence for identifying him as the son of pth-htp I, the similar location and scale of the tombs, as well as the high titles held by both, would support the deduction. The evidence for pth-htp II being the son of 3ht-htp is much stronger: apart from his chapel, the eldest son of 3ht-htp is called pth-htp and has the titles of imy-r niwt nfr-izzi, hry-tp nzwt, mdw rhyt, z3b 'd-mr and z3b imy-r zš.<sup>109</sup> With the exception of the last, these titles all appear in the chapel of pth-htp II. Common links between all three chapels are the high quality of the relief and the practice of ignoring the representation of the female members of the family.

The latest king mentioned in all three tombs is Djedkare.<sup>110</sup> That three generations of the same family should have held their offices in one reign is unlikely, and so the most probable candidate for a date in the reign of Djedkare is pth-htp I, who incidentally is the only one to possess a collection of estates of kings of the early fifth dynasty. The occurrence of royal names is not alone a safe criterion for dating, but this is the reason for Helck's date for pth-htp I.<sup>111</sup> Baer's system of title sequences place him in period VC with a leaning towards the later reign of Djedkare.<sup>112</sup> The 'Maxims of Ptahhotep', the earliest copy of which, Papyrus Prisse, dates to the twelfth dynasty, are attributed in the text to a man of that name who served Djedkare as vizier,<sup>113</sup> and it is suggested by Helck (loc. cit.) and Baer (loc.

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108. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. IX, XII.

109. Davies, Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II, pl. VI, IX, XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXVI, XXXIII.

110. pth-htp I, in estate names; other tombs in titles.

111. Beamtentitel, 138.

112. Middle reign of Djedkare to middle that of Wenis, Rank and Title, 74-5 (160).

113. In the text he is given the titles of iry p't, h3ty-', iti ntr,

cit.) that pth-htp I is the man who is supposed to have composed the original.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Djedkare.

pth-htp; t<sub>f</sub>i 50 ('pth-htp II')

Son of 3ht-htp (2).

Source: Chapel in the tomb of his father, west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r hwt wrt.

2. When Vizier: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: iwn knmwt, imy-r niwt mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', imy-r niwt nfr-dd-k3-r', imy-r niwt ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr, imy-r šm'w, imy-r gs-pr, wd-mdw, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hqt, hry-sšt3 wdt-mdw [š]t3t nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wr md šm'w, hrp wsht, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp qqw, ht h3; z3b 'd-mr, shd w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', shd hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', shd hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr.

2. When Vizier: imy-r ///.<sup>114</sup>

The details of the family relationships are discussed above under pth-htp I (49). The title sequences of pth-htp II fit Baer period VD,

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mry ntr, sdm m hwt wrt 6, imy-r niwt, t3ty (Žába, Les Maximes de Ptahhotep, 15 (2-4)). These are clearly of a Middle Kingdom nature, doubtless reflecting the titulary of a vizier of that time.

114. His vizierial titulary is clearly incomplete, and is only found on the sarcophagus, and important part of which, from the point of view of titles, has been damaged. It does however permit his titulary to be divided as above.

the same as those of his father.<sup>115</sup> That there was less than a generation separating father and son in their tenures of the vizierate is suggested by the appearance of the granary official *k3i-ḥp* in this tomb and that of his grandfather *pth-ḥtp* I, showing that these perhaps built their tombs in the lifetime of one official.<sup>116</sup> It is probable that the pre-vizierial titulary of *pth-ḥtp* II consisted of the titles he held while *3ḥt-ḥtp* was alive, and he was promoted to the vizierate at some point after his death in the later reign of Wenis.

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Wenis (as vizier).

*pth-ḥtp* 51

Source: Tomb about 200 metres south of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, LS 31.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 653-4.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r prwy-ḥd*, *imy-r ḥwt wrt 6*, *imy-r zš '-nzwt*, *imy-r šnwty*, *t3yty z3b t3ty*.

Other Titles: *imy-r w'bty*, *imy-r prwy nwb*, *imy-r ḥkr nzwt*, *ḥrp wsht*.

This tomb is the sole Old Kingdom example found to date in this area. The chapel plan is very complex, with a pillared court and rooms leading off to the west and south, most of which have been left undecorated. This plan has no close parallel, but is reminiscent of the tombs of *3ḥt-ḥtp*; *ḥmi* (3), *k3i-gmni*; *mmi* (151) and *mhw* (69), which suggest a date no earlier than the late fifth dynasty. It would seem

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115. Middle reign of Wenis to early Teti, Rank and Title, 75 (161).

116. Tomb of *pth-ḥtp* I: Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. XIV (3).

Tomb of *pth-ḥtp* II: Paget-Pirie, Ptah-hetep, pl. XXXI, XXXIV.



that the viziers of Wenis, Teti and the later reign of Pepy II were buried near the pyramids of their kings, but that the known viziers of the reigns of Pepy I and Merenre were not (compare *idw; nfr* (22) above). It is to this period that this tomb perhaps belongs. It may date early within that period, to the same time as the other large tombs, such as those of *mhw* and *hnty-k3i; ihhi* (109).<sup>117</sup>


Suggested Date: Perhaps first half of the reign of Pepy I.

*pth-špss* 52

Source: Tomb at the north-east corner of the funerary complex of Neweserre at Abusir.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 340-2; some further information, Verner, IAE Congress 1976, 138-43; Žába, Preliminary Report on the Czechoslovak Excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.*

Other Titles: *imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bt, iry nfr-h3t, '3 dw3w, mniw nhn, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hm st, hm-ntr nhbt nbt 'h-ntr šm'w, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n mdw ntr, ht , smr w'ty, z3 nzwt.*

This tomb is one of the largest known in Egypt, and its great size is possibly due to the relationship of its owner with Neweserre. He married a daughter of that king by the name of *h'-mrr-nbty*,<sup>118</sup> and sev-

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117. The date of Baer (Rank and Title, 75 (162)) leaves a wide range of periods as possible, and is consequently not of assistance.

118. Verner, op. cit., 140; her titles are given by de Morgan, RAr

eral features of the tomb may reflect such a royal connection, for example the boat pits and the design of the burial chamber.<sup>119</sup> Helck has identified  $\text{pth-}\check{\text{spss}}$  with the official of the same name who bears the title of  $\text{smr w'ty}$  in the reliefs of the mortuary temples of Sahure, Neferirkare and Neweserre at Abusir.<sup>120</sup> However, as Baer has noted, the name is common in the middle of the fifth dynasty, and it need not be the owner of the tomb at Abusir,<sup>121</sup> although this is not to say that some examples, especially the later ones, could not refer to this man.

Assuming that he married at a conventional age, one would not normally expect him to have held the vizierate until some point at the end of the reign of Neweserre. The only close parallel to the plan of the offering chapel of his tomb is that of  $\text{r'}-\check{\text{spss}}$  (95) at Saqqara, dated to the reign of Djedkare, and it is possible that the two were to some extent contemporary.<sup>122</sup>

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Neweserre to early Djedkare (?).

$\text{pth-}\check{\text{spss}}$  53

Source: Tomb north of the mastaba of  $\text{k3i-gmni}$  (151) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 518; almost completely unpublished - also personal examination of tomb.

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Ser 3 24 (1894), 32.

119. Verner, loc. cit.

120. Beamtentitel, 136, with references.

121. Rank and Title, 76 (167)

122. Baer's assignation of this tomb to his period VD is a problem (middle reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis, loc. cit.), but the above evidence is perhaps sufficient for it to be disregarded.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r prwy-hd*.

Other Titles: *imy-r šwy pr-'3, iry nfr-h3t, h3ty-', hry-hb, smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti.*

This small chapel is one of the group of situated to the north of the great mastabas in the cemetery. It is likely that this group dates to the reign of Pepy I or slightly later (see below, *mrw* (64)). The chapel of *pth-špss* differs from the others in that the decoration on the walls is painted on brick; the poorer nature of this work may place the tomb at a later date than the others.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Pepy I or later.

*m3-nfr* 54

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 26 (D 37).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 456-7.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r zš '-nzwt.*

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy pr md3t, imy-r izwy pr hry-wdb, imy-r izwy hry htm md3t, wr md šm'w, wd wd'-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n md3t nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp zš pr hry-wdb, hrp zš nb, z3b 'd-mr, zš wr md šm'w.*

This tomb seems to consist in its entirety of a false door set in a brick niche, built against an older mastaba. No information is available about this earlier construction. Baer dates the tomb of *m3-nfr*



to his period VIF.<sup>123</sup> However, there are some features of the false door which might date it to an earlier period, notably the wide apertures either side of the panel, very much a fifth dynasty characteristic; the even length of the jambs, in conjunction with the lack of cornice and torus, suggest perhaps a date in the later fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.A, B and D). It would appear that, on further investigation, although the date Baer gives on the basis of the archaeological sources is very vague, he has used the title sequences of m3-nfr for no apparent reason as the base chart for his period VIF.<sup>124</sup> It may thus be said that the attribution to period VIF is arbitrary; in fact the title sequences also fit period VC (middle reign of Djedkare to middle Wenis), closer to the date suggested by the form of the false door.

The father of this man is said to be sh<sub>m</sub>-k3i, on the basis of Louvre statue A104 (N110, E3031).<sup>125</sup> His tomb exhibits a door of not dissimilar style to that of m3-nfr and his chapel is "L"-shaped, as one might expect of an official who would date to the mid-fifth dynasty if the dating of m3-nfr is correct.

Suggested Date: Later fifth dynasty.

**minw-nfr** 55

Sources and 1. Depicted among officials in the mortuary temple of

Bibliography: Newserre at Abusir: Borchardt, Newserre, Abb. 51c, 52a, cf pp. 71 (2,2), 73 (31, 45,1), 74 (47,3).

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123. Middle reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 77 (171).

124. op. cit., 224.

125. PM 3<sup>c</sup>, 465 (tomb no. 54 (D 19)).

2. Named in a quarry-mark on the limestone wall forming the boundary of the pyramid complex of Neferirkare: id., Neferirkare, 53, Abb. 61.

3. A body of his mortuary priests is named in an unclear connection with the mortuary temple of Neferirkare in the Abusir Papyri: Posener-Kriéger, ArchAb II, 590.

4. A sarcophagus in Leiden, Rijksmuseum Inv. AMT. 106: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 764.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: hm-ntr inpw nb z3wt imy wt, hry-hb.

No tomb has yet been found for this man. Porter and Moss suggest tomb F 3 at Saqqara;<sup>126</sup> however this minw-nfr is only a smsw pr, not a title attested at all for viziers, and such an identification would seem inherently improbable.

The exact location of the reliefs in the temple of Neweserre featuring minw-nfr is not known, making it difficult to conclude in which stage of the temple's construction they were cut. In the nearby temple of Sahure, many of the depictions of officials belong to the end of that king's reign (see above, wr-b3w-b3 (39)). The problem with drawing an analogy here is that the length of the reign of Neweserre is not known; it is however unlikely that these reliefs were cut before year ten of his reign. It is also possible that minw-nfr may have been vizier near the beginning of the reign as well, when the temple of Neferirkare was being completed by Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Neweserre.

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126. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 337; for F 3 see PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 586.

mn-'nh-ppy; mni 56

Source: An alabaster offering-slab, from the so-called 'Greek Serapeum' area at Saqqara, Cairo, JdE. 38427.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 565; CG 57014; Mostafa, Opfertafel, Taf. XXXV.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r hm-ntr, hry-hb, smr w'ty.

This piece cannot be earlier than the reign of Pepy II due to the employment of part of the name of his pyramid. Comparable offering tables are found from the end of the sixth dynasty.<sup>127</sup> By comparing the sequence of titles with Baer's lists for the reign of Pepy II, the only ones that fit are VIC (early) and VIE (middle). As most of the memphite monuments of individuals contemporary with Pepy II come from South Saqqara, it is possible that this one may indeed date to the period after his death when the Teti pyramid cemetery regained the pre-eminence it held early in the sixth dynasty (compare the discussions below of šdy-ptḥ (134) and ttw (160)).

Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom or later.

mri; idw 57

Source: A false door, British Museum 1191, exact provenance unknown, but probably from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 742.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt 6.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt m3', z3b 'd-mr, zš '-nzwt.

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127. Mostafa, op. cit., 130 with examples.



Several features of this false door would suggest a date not early in the Old Kingdom. Perhaps the most important is the appearance of a pair of wd3t eyes on the rear of the central niche. No exact Old Kingdom parallels to this are to be found, but such eyes do appear on early Middle Kingdom stelae, and on the false door of ihy from Saqqara (reign of Amenemhat I).<sup>128</sup> There is also the somewhat crude style of the piece, emphasised by the elongated figures. Baer would allow all periods of the sixth dynasty as well as a late date to be possible.<sup>129</sup>

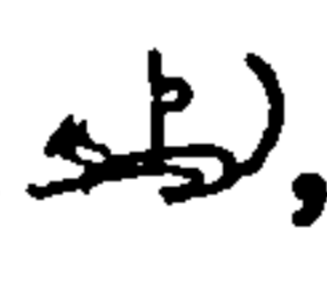
Suggested Date: Late sixth dynasty to First Intermediate Period.

mry 58

Source: Tomb probably from North Saqqara, exact position unknown. The blocks are dispersed over a number of collections.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 501-2.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r iz n hkr nzwt, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r zš md3t  
'-nzwt, mdh zš nzwt, mdh , rh nzwt, hm-ntr rnnwtt,  
hm-ntr hrwy imy-ti, hry-sšt3 pr-'3, smr, smr w'ty.

The style of the workmanship of this tomb is compared by Smith to that of šry,<sup>130</sup> and he dates both to the middle of the fourth dynasty,<sup>131</sup> which is followed by Baer.<sup>132</sup> The deep niche and probable cruciform plan of the chapel of mry continues the tradition of these examples

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 128. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 551.

129. Rank and Title, 79 (181).

130. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 490.

131. AJA 46 (1942), 515.

132. Rank and Title, 78-9 (180).

which belong to the late third to early fourth dynasties. An offering list is found on the panel but no linen list, and it is a reasonable assumption that the disappearance of the latter was a development of the later fourth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.G.1)

Suggested Date: Middle to late fourth dynasty.

**mry-ib** 59

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2100-I-annexe; chapel now in East Berlin, 1107.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 71-2.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.**

Other Titles: **imy-r mš<sup>v</sup>, 'd-mr imw, wr m3 iwnw, wr md šm'w, wty inpw, r p nb, rh nzwt, hm-ntr hwfw, hry-hb, hrp 'h, hts inpw, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr, smr w'ty, shd b3-ntrw, sd3wty ntr imw, sd3wty ntr b3-ntrw, sd3wty ntr b'-ntrw, sd3wty ntr n b3-ntrw dw3-t3wy, sd3wty ntr n nb rhyt, sd3wty ntr n dw3-t3wy.<sup>133</sup>**

The tomb of **mry-ib** is to some extent related to the neighbouring one of **nfr** (84) G2110, at least in respect of the arrangement of the panel of the false door. The tomb of **mry-ib** was one of the first to employ a two-door chapel design and also to adopt the arrangement of the deceased standing between the doors facing south (Ch. 2.II.C.1). It is thus perhaps to be dated to the reign of Menkaure or the end of the fourth dynasty.

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133. Those of **z3 nzwt** and **shd b3-ntrw** are included from the probable equation of **mry-ib** with **k3i-pw-nzwt** the father of **nn-sdr-k3i**, shown Junker, Giza II, Abb. 8b.

Suggested Date: Menkaure to end of the fourth dynasty.

**mry-ptḥ-mry-r'** 60


Source: One of the addressees of the Dahshur decree of Pepy I.

Bibliography: For the decree, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 876.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r k3t**.

Other Titles: No others given.

This decree is dated to the year of the twenty-first cattle-count of the reign of Pepy I. Due to the uncertain length of the reign, the exact time-point in the reign referred to by the decree is unknown, but it can hardly be the earlier part.

There is some dispute over the interpretation of the surviving names and titles of the leading recipients of the decree. The following remains of the first line: **/// nzwt //// t3yty z3b t3ty /// imy-r k3t mry-ptḥ-mry-r'**. Helck has reconstructed this line as **iry p't, sdt nzwt, h3ty-', imy-r niwt mr, t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r k3t mry-ptḥ-mry-r'**.<sup>134</sup> It is unlikely that the **t3ty** group was written  as Helck would believe, since this title is not written in this manner until after the Old Kingdom (see below page 496). It is more probable that a name has been erased, perhaps that of **r'-wr** (93) buried near the pyramid of Teti, leaving **mry-ptḥ-mry-r'** with the title of **imy-r k3t** only.

Suggested Date: Late reign of Pepy I.

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134. Beamtentitel, 140.



mry-r'-i3m 61

Source: Tomb east of the pyramid complex of Pepy II at South Saqqara, M. 13.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 683.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r niwt mr, iry p't, iry p't m3', h3ty-', hrp  
s<sup>v</sup>ndyt nbt, hq3 hwt.

The dating of this man is discussed by Kees, who quotes an opinion of Jéquier's (possibly from a private communication) to the effect that this tomb is the oldest of its group.<sup>135</sup> The tomb is dated by Baer to periods VIC-E, approximately the time of the construction of the pyramid temple.<sup>136</sup> A man by the name of ppy-i3m appears twice in the mortuary temple of Pepy II.<sup>137</sup> The first of these occurrences is the more important, as he is there given the titles of sd3wty bity, smr w'ty and hry-hb, and he is shown as one of the line of officials headed by the vizier idi. mry-r'-i3m does not possess all of these titles in his tomb inscriptions, although their restoration in the damaged portions need not present a problem as they are commonly found in the tombs of other high officials buried in this cemetery. Against this identification should be placed the relative frequency of this name at this period. However, if it be true, then he was vizier later than idi, and combining this with the evidence of the date of his tomb given above, it would seem that his vizierate postdates the temple by only a little, and thus dates perhaps to some time in the second quarter of the reign.

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135. Veziat, 44-5.

136. Merenre to year fifty-five of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 79-80 (184).

137. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 48, 73.

Suggested Date: Later first half of the reign of Pepy II.

mry-r'-mry-'nh-ptḥ; pth-špss; impy 62 ('impy')

Son of nhbw (90)

Source: 1. Depicted among the officials in the mortuary temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

2. Burial in shaft G2381a in the Western Cemetery at Giza; also a few blocks remaining from the chapel.

Bibliography: 1. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 48; perhaps also id. ib., III, pl. 35.

2. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 91-2; largely unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r k3t nbt.

2. When Vizier: imy-r zš'-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: mdḥ qd nzwt m prwy.

2. When Vizier: im3-', imy-r w'bty, imy-r niwt, mdḥ qd nzwt m prwy, h3ty-', hry-hb hry-tp, hrp šndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The decoration of the part of the temple in which impy appears seems to have been completed around years twenty to thirty of the reign (above, ihy-hnt (16)). He may thus have been promoted to the vizierate towards the middle of the reign, probably after he had begun his tomb, as the title of t3yty z3b t3ty is only found on blocks from the serdab. Baer's date of post Old Kingdom disagrees with this; his

discussion attempts to reconcile these two possible dates.<sup>138</sup>

The burial of **impy** is odd in that the coffin seems to be inscribed for two people, himself and **s3bw-ptḥ; ibbi** (117). **s3bw-ptḥ** is shown as a son of **nḥbw** in the latter's tomb,<sup>139</sup> while **impy** is assumed to be a son of **nḥbw** on the similarity of their names and also his appearance in one of that official's Wadi Hammamat inscriptions.<sup>140</sup> It would seem that the differences in the titularies on the coffin preclude them from referring to the same man, especially as that person would then have five names. Only one burial was effected in the tomb, but the identity is difficult to establish: the name of **impy** is the more prominent, but that of **s3bw-ptḥ** appears on the headrest. One wonders whether this is an unusual case of a man indeed having a great many names.

Suggested Date: Slightly before the middle of the reign of Pepy II.

**mry-tti** 63

Son of **mrrw-k3i; mri** (68).

Source: Chapel in the tomb of his father in the Teti pyramid cemetery, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 536; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r ḥwt wrt 6, imy-r zš 'nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.**

Other Titles: **im3-', imy-iz nḥn, imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt, imy-r 'ḥ-ntr ṣm'w, iry p't, ' nnty, ' ḥq3t, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp,**

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138. Rank and Title, 96, 292 (286a).

139. Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 58-60, fig. 2.

140. Urk. I, 93.



'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, wty inpw, mniw nhn, mdw hp, r p  
 nb, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy,  
 hm-ntr nhbt, hm-ntr hr inpw hnty pr šmswt, hm-ntr hr  
 hry-ib 'h-ntr, hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hnty-š dd-  
 swt-tti, hry wrw, hry-hb n iti.f, hry-hb hry-tp,  
 hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n m33t w', hry-sšt3 nzwt  
 m swt.f nbt, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp ibt, hrp m ntrw,  
 hrp nsty, hrp hwt nt, hrp šndyt nbt, hts inpw, z3  
 nzwt, zš md3t ntr, sm, sm3 minw, smr w'ty, smsw snwt,  
 šhd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, šhd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti,  
 sd3wty bity, sd3wty ntr m imwy '3.

Although not a formal publication of this chapel, Nims' contribution to its study is important.<sup>141</sup> He would date the chapel to the reign of Pepy I on the basis of the title with the name of that king's pyramid and also the sequence of usurpations of the inscriptions; he shows that the decoration was cut later than that of mrrw-k3i. Baer dates this chapel to his period VIC, one period later than that of mrrw-k3i, which supports the conclusions of Nims, and points to the middle of the reign as a date.<sup>142</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Pepy I.

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 141. JAOS 58 (1938), 638-47.

142. Merenre to early Pepy II, Rank and Title, 80-1 (189).

mrw; tti-snb; mry-r'-snb (ppy-snb) 64

Source: Tomb immediately to the north of that of mrrw-k3i (68) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 520; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt nbt.

Other Titles: imy-r wpt dd-swt-tti, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, imy-r hnty-š dd-swt-tti, imy-r špss nzwt, imy-r šn-t3 nb, imy-r sqbbwy pr-'3, imy-r ddt pt qm3t t3, imy-ht hm-ntr mrt tti, h3ty-', hnty-š dd-swt-tti, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hrp šndyt nbt, zš hry-tp d3t, špss nzwt, sm, smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti.

mrw, whose (presumably) original rn-nfr was tti-snb, acquired the additional name of mry-r'-snb, an alteration for which the likeliest explanation is that he lived in the reigns of both Teti and Pepy I, commencing his tomb in the former reign and completing it in the latter. He may not have lived beyond the middle of the reign of Pepy I.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Pepy I.

mrw-k3 65

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 77 (D 9).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 484.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš '-nzwt n k3t nbt nt nzwt, imy-r zš '-nzwt n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles. Apparently none.

Next to nothing is known about this tomb. It is located near both fifth (ph-n-wi-k3i (45)) and sixth dynasty (tp-m-'nhj (155)) tombs.

The fragment of the false door found by Mariette has three vertical columns of text, possibly suggesting wide jambs of the older type of false door without torus and cornice (Ch. 2.I.B). A date not late in the fifth dynasty is thus possible but not certain.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty (?).

mrri 66

Source: Tomb to the north of the mastaba of mrrw-k3i (68) in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 518-9; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'btty, imy-r wnt prw, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r hnty-š, imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, imy-r ht nbt ddt pt qm3t t3, imy-r šwy pr-'3, imy-r sqbbwy pr-'3, imy-r st hnty-š pr-'3, mniw n<sub>h</sub>n, hry-tp n<sub>h</sub>b, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt pr-'3, smr w'ty, smr pr.

Of the small mastabas in this part of the Teti pyramid cemetery, only that of mrw (64) may be given a reasonably sure date. It is however possible that, as a group, they date to a broadly similar period, perhaps the reign of Pepy I or a little later. Such a date is supported by Baer.<sup>143</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle reign of Pepy I or a little later.

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143. Periods VIB-G; later reign of Teti to later Pepy II, Rank and Title, 82 (195).



mrri 67

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, adjoining the east wall of the tomb of pth-htp I.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 607-8; also personal examination of chapel.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-r izwy n hkr nzwt, imy-r niwt mr, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, imy-r šm'w, imy-r sdmt nbt, iry p't, mdh nzwt m qd m prwy, mdh zš nzwt, h3ty-', hry-hb hry-tp, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

This tomb is not discussed by Baer, but on the basis of the title sequences it is most likely to belong to his periods VIB or D (later reign of Teti to later Pepy I, and early to middle reign of Pepy II). The arrangement of the false door has affinities with examples from the reign of Pepy I (for example, mhw (69)), and none with doors of the reign of Pepy II.

In this tomb were found several blocks reused as paving, one bearing the Horus name of Teti and another the title shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti.<sup>144</sup> Hassan suggests that these may come from the Teti pyramid temple and the associated cemetery, and he argues that such removal would not have taken place for several years after the death of Teti.<sup>145</sup> Kanawati is of the opinion that the paving stones may be 'unwanted slabs';<sup>146</sup> it would however seem unlikely that these blocks were carved and then not included in the decoration, as the common practice was for the blocks to be given their final dressing and to be carved

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144. Hassan, Saqqara III, pl. XXIII.

145. op. cit., 27.

146. Governmental Reforms, 34.

after they had been set in place.<sup>147</sup> The problem with Hassan's theory is that the funerary cult of Teti seems to have continued at least until the twelfth dynasty, and one would perhaps not expect blocks to be removed while the cult was still active.<sup>148</sup> These blocks present a serious problem, but if they were indeed removed from the Teti cemetery, this was unlikely to have happened before the end of the reign of Pepy I; as most of the tombs of officials from the middle of the reign of Pepy II are at South Saqqara, mrrī should perhaps be dated to the period preceding the establishment of that cemetery.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Merenre to early reign of Pepy II.

mrrw-k3i; mri 68

Source: Tomb in the Teti pyramid cemetery, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 525-35; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r ḥwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.<sup>149</sup>

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz, imy-iz nḥn, imy-r ipt nzwt, imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt, imy-r 'h-ntr šm'w, imy-r w'bty, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r pr phrt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r ḥkr nzwt nb, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, imy-r sḥty ḥtp, imy-r sqbbwy pr-'3, imy-r stp-z3 pr-nzwt nb, imy-r gswy imw

147. Clarke and Engelbach, Ancient Egyptian Masonry, 100.

148. Helck, MDAIK 15 (1957), 110.

149. The titles of imy-r šnwty and imy-r prwy-ḥd seem only to occur on the outer temenos wall of the mastaba, and may thus have been granted to him later than the others which are found inside the tomb itself. There are indications that further examination of the disposition of titles in this mastaba may reveal other developments in mrrw-k3i 's titulary in the course of its construction.

n zwnw pr-'3, imy-r ddt pt qm3t t3, iry p't, ' nnty,  
 ' hq3t, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, w'  
 wr hb, wr idt, wr m3, wr m3 m prwy, wr hry-hb hry-tp,  
 wr 5 m pr-dhwt, wty inpw, wd-mdw n srw, mniw nhn, mdw  
 hp, mdw hz3t, r p nb, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hw-', hm b3w  
 p, hm b3w nhn, hm-ntr hr imy šnt, hnty-š dd-swt-tti,  
 hry wpwt št3t pr-'3, hry wrw, hry nws n w3dt, hry-hb,  
 hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 ///, hry-sšt3 n  
 wd'-mdw n hwt wrt 6, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt,  
 hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n m33t w', hry-sšt3 n  
 mdw ntr, hry-sšt3 n št3w pt, hry-sšt3 nzwt m swt.f  
 nbt, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp i3ts km, hrp ibt hr, hrp m  
 ntrw, hrp nsty, hrp hwt mw, hrp hwt nt, hrp šmsw  
 hr, hrp šndyt nbt, hq3 b3t, hts inpw, zš md3t ntr, sm,  
 sm3 inpw, sm3 minw, sm3 hr, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, šd  
 hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, sd3wty bity, sdt nzwt.

The broad date of this and the other major tombs in this cemetery is well-established as principally the reign of Teti, with those of hnty-k3i (109) and nfr-sšm-pt<sup>v</sup> (87) belonging partly to the reign of Pepy I. The four tombs to be considered are therefore those of mrrw-k3i, k3i-gmni (151), nfr-sšm-r'<sup>v</sup> (88), and 'nh-m-'-hr (30).

Firth placed these tombs in the order nfr-sšm-r', k3i-gmni, mrrw-k3i, without mentioning 'nh-m-'-hr.<sup>150</sup> The reason for this order was that the amount of decoration above and below ground increases, as does the number of rooms. This view has not received the attention it deserves. k3i-gmni is often considered the oldest of the group, for example, by Baer, who places him at the beginning of the reign of

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 150. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 15.



Teti.<sup>151</sup> The rest he dates to the period beginning in the middle of the reign of Teti (VIB). *mrrw-k3i*, by virtue of the position of his tomb, is often regarded as a contemporary of *k3i-gmni*.<sup>152</sup> Although the blocks forming the outer western wall of the mastaba of *k3i-gmni* have been adapted for use in the adjoining wall of the tomb of *mrrw-k3i*, the batter applied to the former wall suggests that the two were not built, or at least originally conceived, as a unit.<sup>153</sup> That the tomb of *mrrw-k3i* was constructed separately from and later than that of *k3i-gmni* would explain the unusual location of the entrance of the former on the south side, perhaps implying that the best sites in the cemetery had already been taken. It is possible that these more favourable locations had already been used for the tombs of *nfr-ssm-r'* and *'nh-m'-hr*. The plans of their tombs are more closely related to that of *k3i-gmni* than that of *mrrw-k3i*; the plan of the latter has in fact more affinities with the tomb of *hnty-k3i*, undoubtedly built at least partly in the reign of Pepy I. Further associations between the two latter tombs may be noted in the quality of the relief: parts of the tomb of *mrrw-k3i* are cut in a rather rough manner as is most of the tomb of *hnty-k3i*, and all of the chapel of *mrrw-k3i*'s son *mry-tti* (63); indeed some small areas of that of *'nh-m'-hr* are of the same style. It would seem that this style is indicative of the very end of the reign of Teti and that of Pepy I.

One may then perhaps order these four tombs as *k3i-gmni*, *nfr-ssm-r'* (this could be reversed), *'nh-m'-hr* and *mrrw-k3i*, with the latter still being built at the end of the reign of Teti or even the very beginning of that of Pepy I.

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 151. Rank and Title, 149-50 (548).

152. For example, Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 25.

153. See the photo in Saad, ASAE 43 (1943), pl. XXXVI.

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Teti.

mhw 69

Source: Tomb in the Wenis Cemetery at Saqqara, immediately south of the Temenos Wall of the Step Pyramid.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 619-22; unpublished - personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, im3-', imy-r imw, imy-r imw gb, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r wpt m prwy, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r niwwt, imy-r niwwt m3wt, imy-r zš hry htm md3t, imy-r šm'w, imy-r sdmt nbt, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gswy-pr, imy-r gswy-pr m3', imy-r gswy-pr m3' m3', iry p't, iry nfr-h3t, mdw rhyt, mdw hp, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt n mrwt, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp m ntrw, hrp hwt nt, hrp šndyt nbt, hq3 hwt, z3b 'd-mr, sm, sm3 minw, smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, sd3wty bity.

The presence of titles with the name of the pyramid of Pepy I show that mhw can date no earlier than that reign. As he also held priest-hoods at the pyramid of Teti, it is possible, as with hnty-k3i (109), that he may well have served under that king. The location of his tomb bears no relation to the monuments of either king. One possible

explanation of the choice of the Wenis cemetery is that his wife, **z3t nzwt n ht.f nfrt-k3ws**, may have been a daughter of that king. It is further evidence for tombs of the reign of Pepy I being built in no particular special cemetery (see above **idw I; nfr (22)**). Baer dates the tomb of **mhw** to period VIE.<sup>154</sup> However, this ranking chart is constructed partly from the data supplied by this tomb, and his argument is thus somewhat circular and loses much of its validity.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle reign of Pepy I.

**ny-'nh-b3** 70

Source: Tomb immediately to the north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara, east of that of **3ht-htp; hmi (3)/ nb-k3w-hr; idw (82)**.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 629.

Relevant Titles: **t3yty z3b t3ty**.

Other Titles: **iry p't, '3 dw3w, hry-hb, hry-sst3, hrp m ntrw, smr w'ty.**<sup>155</sup>

The inscriptions that survive from this tomb come from the burial chamber, the decoration of which is not unlike that of **ihy (15)**, probably of the reign of Wenis. Such decoration makes perhaps one of its earliest Saqqara appearance in this area. For a general discussion of the date of the major tombs in this area, with the dating of this one to the reign of Wenis, see above under **3ht-htp; hmi (3)**.

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154. Middle of the reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 83 (202).

155. The damage to this tomb is very extensive, and **ny-'nh-b3** may well have held more titles than those that survive.



Suggested Date: Middle reign of Wenis.

ny-'nh-r' 71

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 234-5.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, wd wd'-mdw m3' n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, hry-hb, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hry-sšt3 nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, z3 nzwt, smr w'ty, smsw izt.

The parentage of ny-'nh-r' is unknown. He held the title of king's son, but was not z3 nzwt n ht.f, nor do any of his titles bear the epithet n iti.f. Schmitz links the type of titles he held with those of non-royal king's sons in the later fourth and early fifth dynasties.<sup>156</sup> The location of this tomb with those of many true king's sons suggests that ny-'nh-r' may in fact also have been one of these; it is also possible that his tomb was placed in this spot as a special favour of the king, in the manner of that of dbhn.<sup>157</sup> His title sequences, according to Baer, date him to the period before the introduction of an organised ranking system,<sup>158</sup> and these considerations together suggest a date early in the fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

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156. Königssohn, 62-3, 88-9.

157. For details, see his biography, Urk. I, 18-21.

158. Rank and Title, 85 (215).

ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' 72

Source: Secondary burial in the tomb of mry-r'-i3m, east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 683.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r niwt mr, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gswy-pr, iry p't, h3ty-', hrp šndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr mn-nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, sd3wty bity.

Kees places ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' in the second half of the reign of Pepy II,<sup>159</sup> with Baer dating him more specifically towards the end of the reign.<sup>160</sup> Kees' argument rests on the assumption that ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' was a son of the vizier idi, and reasons are given for the rejection of this affiliation above (ihy-hnt (16)). It may here be noted that the son of idi held the title imy-r šm'w, which ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' did not. The location of his burial makes it more possible that he was a relation, perhaps son, of mry-r'-i3m.

It is possible that he was born at some period not long after a sd festival of Pepy II. The exact date of neither of the attested ones is known,<sup>161</sup> but if it took place after the period of thirty years, which admittedly comes from later evidence, he may have held office in the last third of the reign, in agreement with the other facts.

Suggested Date: Last third of the reign of Pepy II.

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159. Vezirat, 45-7.

160. Rank and Title, 86-7 (229a).

161. Urk. I, 114-5; cf. Hornung-Staehelin, Studien zum Sedfest, 24-5, 62.

ny-s'nh-3ht; iti 73

Son of 'nh-h3f; q3r (35)

Source: Rock-cut tomb to the north of the 'pyramid town' to the east of the tomb of hnt-k3ws in the Central Field at Giza, shared with his father.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 258.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r prwy-hd n hnw.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr [nzwt], imy-r '-nzwt 'h3w, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, wr bzt, hry-sst3 hkr nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, zš pr-'3, smr w'ty, shd pr-'3 ?, shd zš pr-hd.

Baer has been unable to date this tomb more precisely than to the sixth dynasty.<sup>162</sup> His date for 'nh-h3f might suggest one in the reign of Pepy II for ny-s'nh-3ht. 'nh-h3f has however been dated here to the early sixth dynasty, on the basis of the paleography of the pr-hd group. This would suggest a date in the reign of Pepy I for his son, whose inscriptions show no such variations in the writing of these signs. Certain features of the tomb of ny-s'nh-3ht support such a date. The false door has three jambs and a torus and cornice, with single columns of text on the jambs. A comparable Giza example is that in the tomb of q3r (135), which can be no earlier than the reign of Pepy I.<sup>163</sup> The lintel over the entrance of the tomb bears several standing figures of the deceased separated by columns of text is of a type that appears first at the end of the fifth dynasty (above, iy-nfrrt (6)), and which is found with lesser officials from the middle sixth dynasty onwards.<sup>164</sup>

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162. Rank and Title, 87 (232).

163. Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, fig. 32.

164. For a general discussion of such types, see Fischer, Dendera, 59-62, examples in Appendix C, 216-220.



Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy I, perhaps not early.

**ny-sw-wsrt** 74

Source: A loose granite block found in the area of the tomb of nfr (LG 99), northeast of the tomb of hnt-k3ws in the Central Field at Giza.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 259.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

Other Titles: None given.

This block is almost impossible to date with any precision, being totally out of context. The only useful feature is the form of the pr-hd group, which most closely resembles that found in the second half of the fifth dynasty (see below page 456). The nearby tomb of nfr would also seem to be of the middle fifth dynasty or later.<sup>165</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle to late fifth dynasty (?).

**ny-k3i-'nh** 75

Source: Tomb to the east of the Step Pyramid enclosure at Saqqara, D 48.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 577.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: hm-ntr r' hwthr m st-ib-r', hry-sst3, hrp 'h, smr, smr w'ty, shd w'b w'b-sw-wsr-k3f, shd w'b r' m

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165. Tomb, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 258-9; dating, Baer, Rank and Title, 90 (252).

nhn-r'.

This tomb consists of a north-south corridor chapel with two false doors. The panel of one of them contains an abbreviated offering list of twenty elements in canonical order; this may indicate a date of the middle fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.G.1). Osiris is invoked in the funerary formulae, which should not mean a date earlier than about the reign of Neweserre.

Few dates can be assigned with any certainty to the neighbouring mastabas in this cemetery. Only that of pr-sn can be dated with any certainty, by its inscriptions, to the reign of Sahure; others discussed below (ztw (115), k3i-pw-inpw (141)) will be dated to the mid-later fifth dynasty, and there is also the tomb of m3-nfr,<sup>166</sup> which belongs to the very end of the dynasty. This range would allow a mid-fifth dynasty date, which is also permitted by Baer.<sup>167</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty.

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166. LS 17, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 575-7.

167. Rank and Title, 87-8 (236).

ny-k3w-izzi 76

- Sources and Bibliography:
1. Tomb north of that of k3i-gmni in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara - unpublished; for some details, Strudwick, GM 43 (1981), 69-71.
  2. Mentioned in the Abydos decree of Teti - BM Stelae I<sup>2</sup>, 32-3, pl. XXXI (BM 626).
  3. Depicted among the officials in the reliefs of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara - unpublished, but see Černý Notebook 120, no. 9.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r šm'w, iry p't, wty inpw, h3ty-', hry wrw, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hts inpw, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.<sup>168</sup>

The details of this man and his date have been discussed in detail by the present writer (loc. cit.).

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Teti to early reign of Pepy I.

ny-k3w-pt<sub>h</sub> 77

Source: Unfinished false door in Manchester, University Museum 10780, exact provenance unknown, but probably from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 744-5; also personal examination of original.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-h<sub>d</sub>.

Other Titles: imy-ht pr-h<sub>d</sub>, w'b nzwt, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr r' m nhn-r', hm-ntr s3hw-r', hkr nzwt, htm [h3]t df3w bity, zš

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168. More titles are doubtless waiting discovery in the tomb.



pr-nzwt m w'bt, zš pr-nzwt m prwy-nwb, shd zš pr-hd.

This false door does not possess a torus or cornice, and is therefore most likely of fifth dynasty date. The even length of the inscriptions on the jambs with small figures of the deceased at the bottom of each do not suggest the first half of that period.

ny-k3w-ptḥ has a son shown on this false door by the name ḥ'f-ptḥ with the title zš pr-hd. A man with the same name and title appears in the tomb of ty (157).<sup>169</sup> The date of this latter tomb is not certain, but will be dated below to the later reign of Neweserre. If these two representations are of the same man, ny-k3w-ptḥ could be dated to shortly after the middle of the fifth dynasty.


Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or slightly later.

ny-k3w-r' 78

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 232-3.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, imy-r  , iry p't, '3 dw3w , wr 5 pr-dḥwty, ḥry-tp nḥb, ḥry-tp nḥb n iti.f, ḥ3ty-', ḥm b3w p, ḥry-ḥb n iti.f, ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp, ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp n iti.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, z3 nzwt smsw, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

ny-k3w-r' was a true king's son, as may be seen from the titles with n

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169. Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. LIII.

iti.f. His precise genealogy is not so clear; the mention of estates of Khafre in the tomb coupled with its location in the Khafre quarry with those of other true sons of that king make the identity of his father reasonably certain. As for his mother, Reisner categorically states that it was queen pr-[snt], the owner of tomb LG 88.<sup>170</sup> There actually appears to be no evidence for this, and so it is presumably based on the closeness of their tombs and the fact that the owner of the other nearby tomb (LG 89, shm-k3-r' (125)) had a different mother. Like nb-m-3ht (81) and shm-k3-r', ny-k3w-r' would not have been born (presumably) before the accession of Khafre.

A will inscribed in the tomb is dated to a rnpt zp 12.<sup>171</sup> The system of cattle counts in the Old Kingdom is still imperfectly understood, and although one might initially assign this date to the reign of Khafre (twenty-three years in the Turin Canon), that it could refer to Menkaure is not impossible, as counts of ten and eleven are likely for his reign.<sup>172</sup> It would be more logical for ny-k3w-r' to be decorating his tomb at the end of the reign of Menkaure when he may have been thirty-five years old or so than at the end of that of Khafre when he could have been no older than twenty-two.

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Menkaure or a little later.

ny-k3w-r' 79

Source: Tomb at Saqqara, exact provenance unknown.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 697.

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170. Mycerinus, 242. For the tomb of this queen, see PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 233.

171. Urk. I, 16.

172. This would agree with the date of Baer, Rank and Title, 88 (241).

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: rh nzwt ?, hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'.

All that is known from this tomb is the name and titles above, the only information that may be gained from which is that this man could have been no earlier than the reign of Djedkare.


Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty or later.

ny-k3-r' 80

Source: Various elements of a tomb, exact provenance unknown, but said to come from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 696-7; many pieces unpublished, for which photographs have been consulted.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt nt hnw, imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r bityw nb, imy-r prw msu nzwt m prwy, imy-r phw nb, imy-r nw nb, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r hwt-'3t, imy-r zš md3t nt šnwt, imy-r zš n šnwt, imy-r sb/// nb, imy-r srw, imy-r  = , wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hm-ntr ny-wsr-r', hm-ntr r' m šzp-ib-r', hm-ntr r' m [st]-ib-[r'], hm-ntr hr ///w, [hm-ntr] hr st-ib-t3wy, hm-ntr [s3h]w-[r'], hry-tp šnwt, zš wr md šm'w, shd zš šnwt.

According to Scott, this tomb may have been found by Firth during his excavations in 1925-6 at the south-east corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure.<sup>173</sup> It cannot date earlier than the middle of the fifth

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173. BMMA NS 11 (1952), 118.



dynasty because of the appearance of the names of Neweserre in titles. Further indications support a similar date. The style of the statues would seem to be that of the middle fifth, and the surviving elements of the false door show a large figure of the deceased on the inner jambs, accompanied by his son. These jambs are wide, each bearing four columns of inscription. This resembles examples of early to mid-fifth date, and the inscriptions are cut in raised relief, another indicator of the same period (Ch. 2.I.F.1). *ny-k3-r'*'s titles are of a sufficiently high level that one might have expected him to have followed the trend towards the new type of false door with cornice and torus moulding if he were to date to the later part of the dynasty.


Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth dynasty, not much later than the reign of Neweserre.

*nb-m-3ht* 81

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 86.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 230-2.

Relevant Titles: *t3yty z3b t3ty*.

Other Titles: *iry p't, wr ht, [wr] 5 [pr-dhwtj] ?, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sst3 n iti.f, ht , z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f [smsw], zš md3t ntr, zš md3t ntr n iti.f, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, smsw snwt, smsw snwt n iti.f.*

The mother of *nb-m-3ht* was queen *mrs-'nh* III, and he is depicted in the reliefs of her tomb (G7530 + 7540) and included in statue

groups.<sup>174</sup> She seems to have been a wife of Khafre.<sup>175</sup> Presuming that king to have been married to h'-mrr-nbty prior to his accession to the throne (see below, shm-k3-r' (125)), it is likely that nb-m-3ht, as mrs-'nh's eldest son,<sup>176</sup> was not born until at least the early part of the reign of Khafre. Schmitz argues that his apparent lack of the title z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, although he is referred to as the eldest son of mrs-'nh, suggests that the use of smsw in such titles is more an indication of rank than of simple seniority by age.<sup>177</sup> However, this title may be restored as above in this tomb: the entrance drum has a gap between n ht.f and nb-m-3ht which could have fitted smsw.<sup>178</sup> For further details which may affect the date, see above under iwn-minw (8).

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty.

nb-k3w-hr; idw 82

Source: Mastaba usurped from 3ht-htp; hmi, north of the causeway of the pyramid of Wenis at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 627-9; for the separation of the titles of the two owners of this tomb, see Strudwick, GM 56 (1982), 89-94.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r šnwty, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r šm'w, h3ty-, hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt smsw, z3 nzwt smsw n ht.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

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174. References, Dunham-Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, 25.

175. id. ib., 7.

176. id. ib., pl. XVII e.

177. Königssohn, 97 ff.

178. Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 74 (no photo).

For the reasons for dating the usurpation of this mastaba no earlier than the reign of Pepy II, see the above article by the present writer.

Suggested Date: Early reign of Pepy II, if not later.

nfr 83

Source: Drum found out of place in tomb G1461 at Giza. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.3080.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 64; unpublished - personal examination of original.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r pr-hd*.

Other Titles: *imy-r zš 3ht-hwfw, hry-sst3 3ht-hwfw*.

This drum does not originate in the tomb in which it was found, but was reused as a roofing beam. Differences in titles and paleographical considerations make it unlikely that it was taken from the tomb of a better-known nfr at Giza (84) (G2110). The most useful feature for dating is the form of the *pr-hd* group, which is more akin to that of the early to middle fifth dynasty than that of the sixth (below page 456).

Suggested Date: Early to middle fifth dynasty.



nfr 84

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2110.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 72-4; one further fragment, Birmingham City Museum 241'57, Fischer, Varia, 31-2. Entrance drum probably that found loose in tomb G3015 (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 96), now Pennsylvania Mus. E 13531, rather than MFA 21.3080 (see above nfr (83)).

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-ḥd, imy-r prwy-ḥd.

Other Titles: imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r hkr nzwt nb, imy-r zš 'prw, imy-r zš hryt-' nzwt, imy-r sty df3w, wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hry-sst3 nzwt m swt nbt, hrp 'prw nfrw, hq3 hwt, zš '-nzwt, zš pr-'3.

The tomb of nfr was perhaps the first chapel in the western cemetery after that of hm-iwnw (96) to have been fully decorated. It is also one of very few in the same cemetery to have incorporated a linen list into the design of the panel of the false door. It is possible that these and other features of the tomb date it to the reign of Khafre or a little later (Ch. 2.II.B. and C.2).

Suggested Date: Reign of Khafre or a little later.

nfr-m3't 85

Source: Mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7060.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 183; improved readings of inscriptions from personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, iry p't, wr 5 pr-[dhwty], mniw nhn, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp 'h, z3 nzwt, z3

nzwt n ht.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The genealogy of nfr-m3't may be reconstructed from the architrave inscriptions of his false door and that of his son h'f-snfrw.<sup>179</sup> nfr-m3't is called the son of nfrt-k3w, the 'eldest daughter of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sneferu'. On the basis of this, she is assigned the uninscribed mastaba G7050, as G7070 belongs to h'f-snfrw. As her mother is unknown, her age at the death of Sneferu is impossible to calculate, and it is possible but by no means certain that nfr-m3't was alive at the accession of Khufu. nfrt-k3w cannot have married this king, as one might otherwise expect the name of Sneferu to be less prominent.

If this supposition is correct, nfr-m3't would be one of the senior members of the family at the end of the reign of Khufu, at which point he would perhaps have held his important titles and decorated his tomb. Although probably not a true king's son, it is clear from his titles that he was placed on a par with those who were; his position in the reign of Khafre may have been not unlike that of 'nh-h3f (34) in the reign of Khufu.

Suggested Date: Early to middle reign of Khafre.

nfr-m3't 86

Source: Tomb near the pyramid of Meydum.

Bibliography: PM 4, 92-4.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

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179. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 183.

Other Titles: iry p't, wr 5-pr-dhwtj, mniw nhn, r p nb, h3ty-',  
 hm-ntr b3 'npt, hm-ntr b3stt, hm-ntr šsmtt, hrp i3t  
 nbt ntrt, z3 nzwt smsw, sm3.minw, sd3wty bity.

It is generally accepted that the large mastabas at Meydum belong to the period following the construction of the pyramid, begun probably by Huni and completed after his death by Sneferu. It is likely that men of such high rank as nfr-m3't were buried at this site because of a relationship with the king, although whether nfr-m3't was a true king's son is unknown. Schmitz would prefer to see in him a son of Huni and brother of Sneferu, a theory which best suits the location of the tomb.<sup>180</sup> It is thus most likely that he would have been vizier under Sneferu. It is possible that hm-iwnw (96) at Giza may have been a son of nfr-m3't.<sup>181</sup> His tomb may be independently dated to the middle and later parts of the reign of Khufu on independent grounds, confirming this date for nfr-m3't.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the reign of Sneferu.

nfr-šsm-ptḥ 87

Source: Northernmost tomb in the 'Rue de Tombeaux' in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 515-6; the unpublished parts are noted in JEA 66 (1980), 2; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: (in earlier career only) imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: 1. Earlier career: iwn knmwt, imy-r wpt, imy-r wpt

180. Königssohn, 65-6.

181. Junker, Giza I, 151-3.



h̄tpw n̄tr, wr md̄ šm'w, mdw rhyt, h̄nty-š̄ dd-swt-tti,  
 h̄ry-s̄st3 n wdt-mdw nbt, h̄ry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr, z3b  
 shd̄ zš̄ iryw sprw, shd̄ hm-n̄tr dd-swt-tti.

2. Later career: im3-', imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy h̄kr  
 nzwt, imy-r 'h-n̄tr šm'w, imy-r w'btty, imy-r h̄nty-š̄,  
 imy-r h̄t nbt ddt pt qm3t t3, imy-r š̄wy pr-'3, imy-r  
 swt š̄pswt pr-'3, imy-r sqbbwy pr-'3, imy-h̄t hm-n̄tr  
 mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-h̄t hm-n̄tr dd-swt-tti, iry p't,  
 iry nfr-h̄3t, ' n̄nty, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, h̄ry-tp nhb,  
 h̄3ty-', h̄ry-h̄b, h̄ry-h̄b h̄ry-tp, h̄ry-s̄st3 nzwt m swt.f  
 nbt, h̄ry-tp nzwt pr-'3, h̄rp i3t nbt n̄trt, h̄rp m n̄trw,  
 h̄rp š̄ndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt.

This tomb is particularly important for the dating of the Teti pyramid cemetery. It may be divided into two parts, that published by Capart, and that recently re-excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society. In both sections, the titles connect nfr-s̄sm-pt̄h with the pyramid of Teti, but in the most recently cleared part, he is also given titles connected with the pyramid of Pepy I. This certainly suggests that he began decorating his tomb in the reign of Teti, was promoted at the accession of the new king and then completed his tomb. Few of the older titles appear in the newer part of the tomb.

Suggested Date: Reign of Teti to early Pepy I.

nfr-s̄sm-r'; š̄ši 88

Source: First tomb in the 'Rue de tombeaux' in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 511-2.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r prwy-hd*, *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r hwt wrt 6*, *imy-r zš '-nzwt*, *imy-r šnwty*, *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt*, *t3yty z3b t3ty*.

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt*, *imy-r i'-r nzwt nb*, *imy-r izwy hry htm md3t*, *imy-r izwy hkr nzwt*, *imy-r w'bty*, *imy-r wpt*, *imy-r wpt št3t*, *imy-r wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nzwt*, *imy-r prwy-nwb*, *imy-r hnw*, *imy-r zš*, *imy-r zš ( 722 )*, *imy-r šm'w*, *imy-r šn-t3 nb*, *imy-r sqbbwy pr-'3*, *imy-r gs-pr*, *imy-r ddt pt qm3t t3*, *iry p't*, *mdw rhyt*, *h3ty-'*, *hnty-š dd-swt-tti*, *hry-tp nzwt*, *smr w'ty*, *shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti*.<sup>182</sup>

Firth believed that this tomb was the first of the large ones to be built on this site, on the grounds of its simplicity and lack of decoration relative to the others.<sup>183</sup> According to Baer, the title sequences place *nfr-sšm-r'* in period VIB, later than *k3i-gmni* but the same as the owners of the other great mastabas.<sup>184</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the relative dating of the cemetery, see above under *mrrw-k3i* (68). It is almost impossible to decide whether *k3i-gmni* or *nfr-sšm-r'* was the earlier, but the possibility of them being largely contemporary should perhaps be considered.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the reign of Teti.

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182. One pillar in this tomb contains the three titles *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r gs-pr* and *imy-r šm'w*, which are found nowhere else, and conceivably belongs to a pre-vizierial phase of his career.

183. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 15.

184. Middle reign of Teti to Pepy I, Rank and Title, 93 (274).

nfr-ssm-ss3t; hnw 89

Source: Tomb east of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, exact position unknown, E 11.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 585-6.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'btty, mdw rhyt, mdh zš nzwt, h3ty-', hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The chapel of this tomb consists of two brick-built rooms, one of which contains a false door with side pieces. Although the details of the false door are not the same, the whole decorated surface resembles that of s3bw; ibbi (116). The location of the tomb is somewhere between the pyramids of Wenis and Weserkaf, whose cartouches are found in the names of two offering bearers in the chapel. Baer dates the tomb to periods VIC or VIE.<sup>185</sup> Both these dates precede the construction of the cemetery of Pepy II at South Saqqara, and the location of the tomb would then be not unlike that of others of the same period (see above mrrri (67)). Kanawati has suggested that this man may be the vizier hnw depicted in the mortuary temple of Pepy II.<sup>186</sup> This would be in agreement with the date of Baer, and would have the added advantage of reducing the number of viziers known from that period, as well as providing a further attestation for hnw (108). It is however not certain, and the separate listing below has been retained.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Merenre to early Pepy II.

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185. Later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II, or middle reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 93-4 275 .

186. Governmental Reforms, 79.



nhbw 90

Source: Tomb in the Western cemetery at Giza, G2381.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 89-91; incompletely published - personal examination of excavation records and material in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r wpt nzwt mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-r hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, imy-r qdw, '3 dw3w, nty n z3, mdh nzwt, mdh qd nzwt, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sšt3 n w'btj, hry-tp nzwt, hrp šndyt nbt, špss nzwt, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, shd qdw, qd nzwt m prwy.

The tomb of nhbw is one of the group of mastabas associated with the sndm-ib family. His relationship to them is unknown, but Reisner believed him to have been the son of hnm-nti.<sup>187</sup> Some relationship to this family is evident from his titles connected with building work. From his biography it is evident that he lived in the reign of Pepy I.<sup>188</sup> More useful for the purposes of dating are the records of expeditions bearing his name, all found in the Wadi Hammamat. One of these is dated to rnpt m-ht zp 18, being the occasion of the sd festival of Pepy I.<sup>189</sup> The exact length of the reign of Pepy I is open to dispute, but the highest count attested is the twenty-fifth,<sup>190</sup> and so the date of the expedition is probably well into the second half of the reign.<sup>191</sup> Baer's date for nhbw is based on the above evidence.<sup>192</sup>

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187. ASAE 13 (1913), 249; BMFA 11 (1913), 62.

188. Urk. I, 215-21; Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 1-8.

189. Urk. I, 93.

190. Urk. I, 95.

191. There are two further inscriptions of nhbw in the Wadi: Urk. I, 94; Goyon, Nouvelles Inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat, no. 21.

192. Rank and Title, 95-6 (286).

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Pepy I.

ntr-wsr 91

Source: Tomb north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, no. 78 (D 1).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 485.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r wsht, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw m3' n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-wdb m hwt-'nh, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp zš nb, z3b 'd-mr, smsw izt, shd wr md šm'w.

The major problem relative to the dating of this tomb is the nature of ntr-wsr's relationship to the well-dated vizier r'-špss (95), whose mastaba is nearby. It is usually accepted that the latter is the son of ntr-wsr, as a son by the name of r'-špss appears in this tomb. However, as r'-špss had a son called ntr-wsr, the relationship could be reversed. Baer's conclusions are of assistance here: both ntr-wsr and r'-špss date to his period VB;<sup>193</sup> as the latter may be dated to the reign of Djedkare on independent evidence, if ntr-wsr was indeed his son, he would probably date to the end of the reign of Djedkare or the beginning of that of Wenis, Baer period VC. In fact pr-nb, who is

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193. Reign of Neweserre to middle Djedkare, Rank and Title, 97 (294) for ntr-wsr.

almost certainly a son of  $r'-\check{s}pss$ , belongs to the latter period,<sup>194</sup> suggesting that  $ntr-wsr$  was the senior of these men, and consequently may be dated to the reigns of Neweserre to Menkauhor.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Neweserre to that of Menkauhor.

$r'-wr$  92 (' $r'-wr$  III')

Source: Tomb at Giza, west of the tomb-complex of  $hnt-k3ws$ ,  
LG 94.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 242.

Relevant Titles:  $imy-r$   $k3t$   $nt$   $nzwt$ .

Other Titles:  $iwn$   $knmwt$ ,  $imy-r$   $ms$  ['],  $wr$   $idt$ ,  $hry-hb$ ,  $z3b$  'd- $mr$ .

Two rather different dates have been suggested for this tomb. Reisner, for reasons which are not very clear, dated it to the late fourth dynasty or early fifth,<sup>195</sup> while Baer prefers the sixth dynasty, quoting the painted decoration in the burial chamber, the alignment of this chamber and its sloping shaft.<sup>196</sup> Little further material is to be found in the tomb for the purposes of dating. The false door has two narrow jambs either side of the central niche, with one column of inscription per jamb, and conforms to a pattern very common at Giza from the mid-fifth dynasty onwards (Ch. 2.II.E). Such arguments as are based on the shaft of the tomb are not strong, as they are found certainly in the late fourth dynasty.<sup>197</sup> The painted decoration is a far stronger argument, generally attested first in the

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194. Rank and Title, 71 (142); tomb, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 497.

195. Giza I, 152 (5).

196. Rank and Title, 98 (299).

197. Reisner, loc. cit.



tombs of viziers at Saqqara at the end of the fifth dynasty, and becoming more frequent in the sixth.<sup>198</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps late fifth to early sixth dynasty.

r'-wr 93

Source: Tomb west of the subsidiary pyramid in the mortuary temple of Teti, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 558; see now, Said Amer el-Fikey, The Tomb of the Vizier Rē-wer at Saqqara (Warminster 1980); also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-r šm'w, iry p't, 'd-mr dp, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hrp šndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, sd3wty bity.

el-Fikey dates this tomb to the reign of Pepy I on stylistic and positional grounds.<sup>199</sup> Although his date for hnty-k3i; ihhi (109) is in all probability too late, it is clearly earlier than the tomb of r'-wr, which, with its north-south chapel, is somewhat unusual for the sixth dynasty. Málek has suggested that r'-wr may be the vizier whose name was removed from the Dahshur decree of cattle-count 21 of Pepy I, linking this with the damage done to the name of r'-wr in this tomb.<sup>200</sup> The major objection to this is the partly visible title in this decree employing the signs  $\Delta$   $\int$ , perhaps imy-r zš' nzw, or

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198. For example, the tomb of ny-'nh-b3 (70) in the Wenis cemetery, and all the tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery.

199. op. cit., 44.

200. See el-Fikey, op. cit., 46, also Kanawati, CdE 56 (1981), 206-9.

more likely sdt nzwt, neither of which appear in the tomb of r'-wr. One would then have to assume that this title was given to r'-wr after his tomb had been decorated, a more probable theory than that of el-Fikey - it was such a common element of the titulary of a vizier that it was omitted.<sup>201</sup>

Suggested Date: Late reign of Pepy I.

r'-h<sub>u</sub>wf 94

Source: Mastaba in the group of tombs at the south-west corner of the Step Pyramid enclosure, Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 633.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: hry-tp nzwt.

The tomb itself provides only vague indications for a date, in that the statues found are probably of a sixth dynasty type. It is probably later than the original Wenis cemetery, indicating the beginning of the sixth dynasty as the earliest possible date. r'-h<sub>u</sub>wf may perhaps be a son of 3ht-h<sub>u</sub>tp (4), whose tomb is a little further to the east. A son by this name appears in the tomb of 3ht-h<sub>u</sub>tp, who there bears the title z3b sh<sub>u</sub>d z<sub>s</sub>, not attested in the tomb of r'-h<sub>u</sub>wf. The two titles given above are however part of the titulary of 3ht-h<sub>u</sub>tp, possibly also suggesting that they were father and son. Such relationship would date r'-h<sub>u</sub>wf to the early or middle sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early to middle sixth dynasty.

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201. For possible reasons for the disgrace of r'-wr, see el-Fikey and Kanawati, loc. cit.

r'-špss 95

Probably son of ntr-wsr (91)

Source: Tomb north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, LS 16 (S 902).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 494-6.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

2. When Vizier: imy-r zš '-nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy mrt, imy-r izwy hry htm [md3t], imy-r wsht, imy-r šm'w, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, mdh zš nzwt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hqt, hry-wdb m hwt-'nh, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 n hwt wrt 6, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš, hrp zš iry sprw, ht h3, z3b 'd-mr, shd wr md šm'w.

2. When Vizier: Not known.

r'-špss is one of the all too infrequent individuals who may be dated with a fair degree of precision, as two copies of a letter addressed to him as vizier from Djedkare were set up in a court south-east of the main tomb.<sup>202</sup> This letter is also important as the only place in the area of the tomb where r'-špss was given the title of t3yty z3b t3ty, showing that the greater part of the tomb had been completed before his promotion, which was thus presumably later in life. Baer has used the title sequences of r'-špss to help form the base chart for his period VB.<sup>203</sup> The vizier sndm-ib; inti (120) is perhaps one of the latest officials of this period, and may be independently dated to

202. Urk. I, 179-80.

203. Rank and Title, 101 (315), 225 (315).



the end of the reign of Djedkare, and presumably was a successor of  $r'\text{-}\check{s}pss$ , who may thus be dated to about the middle of that reign.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the reign of Djedkare.

$hm\text{-}iwnw$  96

Probably a son of  $nfr\text{-}m3't$  (86) of Meydum.

Source: Nucleus mastaba of Cemetery G4000 at Giza, west of the pyramid of Khufu.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 122-3.

Relevant Titles:  $imy\text{-}r$   $k3t$   $nbt$   $nt$   $nzwt$ ,  $t3yty$   $z3b$   $t3ty$ .<sup>204</sup>

Other Titles:  $iry$   $p't$ ,  $wr$  5  $pr\text{-}dhwtj$ ,  $mniw$   $nhn$ ,  $mdw$   $hp$ ,  $mdw$   $k3\text{-}hd$ ,  $mdh$   $z\check{s}$   $nzwt$ ,  $mdh$   $\text{ⲙ}$ ,  $r$   $p$   $nb$ ,  $h3ty\text{-}'$ ,  $hm\text{-}ntr$   $b3$   $'npt$ ,  $hm\text{-}ntr$   $b3stt$ ,  $hm\text{-}ntr$   $\check{s}smtt$ ,  $hry\text{-}hb$ ,  $hrp$   $i3t$   $nbt$   $ntrt$ ,  $hrp$   $mrt$   $t3\text{-}mhw$   $\check{s}m'w$ ,  $z3$   $nzwt$ ,  $z3$   $nzwt$   $n$   $ht.f$ ,  $smr$   $w'ty$ ,  $smsw$   $izt$ ,  $sd3wty$   $bity$ .

The possible relationship of  $hm\text{-}iwnw$  to  $nfr\text{-}m3't$  has been discussed in the entry for the latter. As one of the nucleus mastabas around the Great Pyramid, it is very probable that it was built in the reign of Khufu. Quarry-marks on the casing stones give more indication of the date at which it was built.<sup>205</sup> Dates of  $rnpt$   $zp$  8 and 10 are found thereon, although their use is limited as the total number of counts

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204. The suggestion that he may have been promoted to vizier after the completion of the decoration of his tomb (Schmitz, Königssohn, 102) is demonstrably false: all of the titles found inside the tomb (Junker, Giza I, Abb. 23, a, b) occur also on the statue Hildesheim 1962 (id. ib., Taf. XXIII) with the exception of  $hrp$   $i3t$   $nbt$   $ntrt$  and  $t3yty$   $z3b$   $t3ty$ ; the probable original presence of the latter title is suggested by the existence of the last sign of  $wr$  5  $pr\text{-}dhwtj$ , a title borne only by viziers.

205. Junker, Giza I, 157-61.

enacted by Khufu is unclear.<sup>206</sup> For most of the Old Kingdom a biennial count seems to have been the most frequent, but there were divergences from this practice.<sup>207</sup> So the marks of hm-iwnw could refer to the latter part of the twenty-three year reign of Khufu (Turin Canon), but not certainly.

Suggested Date: Middle to later reign of Khufu.

hn-k3 97

Source: Statue, Berlin (West) Mus. 7334, and statuette, in Vienna Mus., both from Meydum, exact provenance unknown.

Bibliography: PM 4, 95, 96; photograph of Berlin statue, Kaiser, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (1967), 126 (231) with pl.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r h'wy-snfrw, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, z3b 'd-mr.

It is presumed that these two monuments both belonged to the same man, although the only title common to both is wr md šm'w. The statue would appear to be of good fifth dynasty work, perhaps of the middle of the period. Baer has dated the monuments to periods VB-C, the middle to later fifth dynasty.<sup>208</sup> There appears to be only one other

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206. There is a possible twelfth count from the tomb of sš3t-shntyw, although this could equally be of the reign of Khafre (Smith, JNES 11 (1952), 127 (4)).

207. For example, Sneferu, who had sixteen (LD II, 1a) or even seventeen (Petrie et al., Meydum and Memphis III, pl. V (2), if this does not belong to Huni) counts in a reign of twenty-four years, according to the Turin Canon.

208. Rank and Title, 105 (338a).

holder of the title *imy-r h'wy-snfrw* in the Old Kingdom, *dw3-r'* (162) of Dahshur. His titulary is not dissimilar, and he dates to the middle fifth dynasty or slightly later. The similarities of these two men may be due to a reorganisation of the cult of Sneferu that seems to have taken place at that time, and it is possible that these men were among the first to be associated with the cult of the pyramids of Sneferu.<sup>209</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty.

*hzz* 98

Source: A false door found north of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, exact position unknown. Now in Cairo, CG 1413.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 506.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r prwy-hd*, *imy-r šnwtj*, *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt*.

Other Titles: *imy-r ht wdt m k3t hft-hr*, *imy-r zš* (713), *hry-sšt3 n wdt nbt*, *hry-tp nzwt*, *shd zš '-nzwt*, *shd zš '-nzwt hft-hr*.

The cornice and torus moulding of this door suggest that it is in all probability not earlier than the later fifth dynasty. The arrangement of the panel and apertures is very unusual; the panel is slightly elongated by the addition of offerings, and has very small apertures, but then, in place of the continuation of the outer jambs that is normal, one finds figures of the deceased and his son. In some respects this resembles the false door of *mrw* (64), of the reign of Teti to

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209. cf Schmitz, Königsson, 155-8.



Pepy I. There is a standing figure of the deceased on the architrave, a feature sometimes found in the late fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.E.1). The use of two jambs on the false door of an important official suggests a date not much later than the early sixth dynasty, while the panel arrangement suggests the later fifth or early sixth. Baer has declared his periods VB, VD, VIE-F to be possible, which does not conflict with the criteria from the false door.<sup>210</sup>

Suggested Date: Late fifth or early sixth dynasty.

hkni-hnmw 99

Source: Tomb in the Central Field at Giza, near the rock-cut tombs in the cliff west of the tomb of hnt-k3ws.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 238.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-irty 'prw imw, imy-r w3t hr, imy-r mš', imy-r nw h3st, imy-r zt h3swt, 'd-mr zt, wr md šm'w, mdw rhyt, rh nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp mitr, hrp zš nb, z3b 'd-mr.

There is little evidence for dating this tomb. The chapel would seem to take the form of an east-west offering room with a corridor; this type of tomb would normally contain a false door of the torus and cornice type, and so is not likely to be earlier than the sixth dynasty for a man of this rank at Giza (Ch. 2.II.D). Baer has dated the tomb to his period VIG.<sup>211</sup> Such a date does not conflict with the

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210. Mid-fifth dynasty, late fifth to early sixth, and middle of the reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 106-7 (349).

211. Late reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 107 (350).

other evidence, although it seems that many of the surrounding tombs should not be placed this late on conventional dating.<sup>212</sup> Two titles held by ḥkni-ḥnmw are found most frequently in the later part of the Old Kingdom: titles similar to imy-irty 'pr imw are held in the memphite region by k3i-ny-nbf<sup>213</sup> and ḥnti,<sup>214</sup> and at Zawayda by a man named ini-k3f;<sup>215</sup> the title imy-r nw ḥ3st is held by izt3i.<sup>216</sup> A date not early in the sixth dynasty is perhaps likely.


Suggested Date: Middle sixth dynasty or later.

ḥtp-ḥr-n-ptḥ 100

Source: A doorjamb in Cairo, JE 15048, provenance unknown.

Bibliography: Urk. I, 231; Dittman, ZAS 77 (1941), 9; Helck, Beamtentitel, 112 n.5; also personal examination of original.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-iz nḥn, imy-r izw, imy-r ph nb, imy-r ḥmwt nbt, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, wr w' špt, wr m3, wr md šm'w, mdḥ inpw ḥnty t3-dsr ?, mdḥ bity, mdḥ pr, mdḥ nwd ?, mdḥ nḥn, mdḥ šn-t3, ḥm-ntr ḥr inpw ḥnty pr šmswt, ḥry-wdb m ḥwt-'nḥ, ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp, ḥry-sšt3 nzwt, ḥrp i3t nbt ntrt, ḥrp iz zh inpw, ḥrp m ntrw, ḥrp st df3w, ḥq3 nzwt, ḥq3 ḥwt-'3t, ḥt , z3b 'd-mr, z3b wd-mdw n ḥry-wdb, zš ḥryt-' nzwt, sm3

212. cf PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 237-9.

213. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 448.

214. cf Baer, Rank and Title, 105 (339).

215. Fischer, Coptite Nome Dynasties, 30-3, pl. XI-XII (top).

216. Málek, GM 18 (1975), 29-32.

inpw, smr, smsw snwt, smk  ?, shd zš pr md3t, sdt  
nzwt.

This monument is remarkable by virtue of the large collection of archaizing titles, some of which would seem to be inventions on the part of the owner. It is consequently difficult to date, although such a tendency to employ ancient titles is a practice rarely encountered before the sixth dynasty.<sup>217</sup>

Suggested Date: Early/mid-sixth dynasty or later.

h'-inpw 101

Source: Elements of a false door, provenance uncertain but probably from Saqqara; now in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 31303.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 691; unpublished - examination of museum photographs.

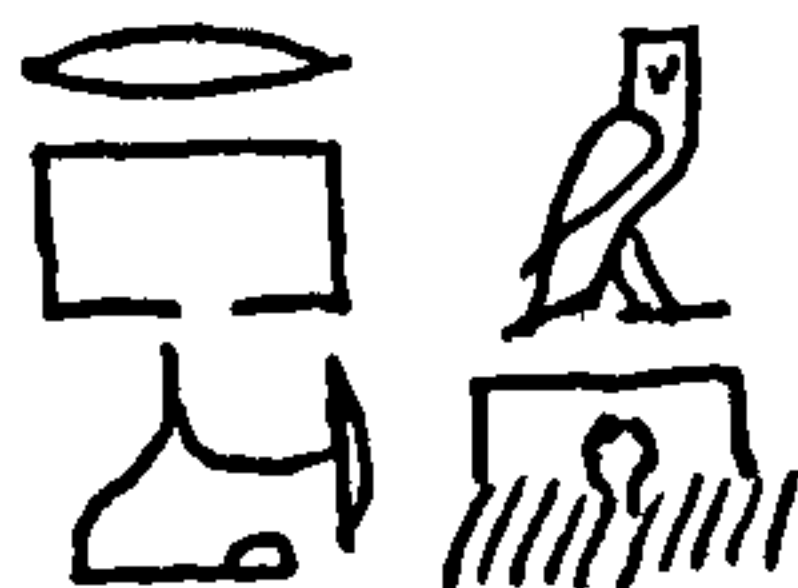
Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.<sup>218</sup>

Other Titles: [imy-r] izwy hkr nzwt nb, imy-r wd3 n nwb m prwy  
pr-'3, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r pr[wy]-nwb, imy-r hkr  
nzwt, rh nzwt, rh nzwt pr-'3, hm-ntr

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217. Helck, loc. cit.; Another tomb with a large collection of very unusual titles, that of wr-nww (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 519), is unlikely to be earlier than the middle of the sixth dynasty by virtue of its position in the Teti pyramid cemetery.

218. It is presumed that this title is to be read, as the following is found at the end of the architrave:



(not a facsimile)

This is probably imy-r pr-hd, imy-r pr-'h3w (compare the similar lintel of mry (58)).



b3-nfr-[ir-k3-r'], hm-ntr ny-wsr-r', hry w3wt, hry-  
sst3, shd pr-'3.

These pieces cannot antedate the reign of Neweserre, whose name is found on the column of text at the rear of the central niche. This latter feature is very useful for the purposes of dating. It has been noted above that this is only found in the period of the reigns of Neweserre to Djedkare, which suggests a middle to late fifth dynasty date (Ch. 2.I.F.1).

Porter and Moss suggest (loc. cit) that this man is the h'-inpw shown as the son of ny-'nh-r' on statue Cairo, CG 62,<sup>219</sup> and this would seem likely as both men hold the very rare title imy-r wd3 n nwb m prwy pr-'3. The vertical column of text in the central niche also appears on the false door of ny-'nh-r'; the son did not follow his father's use of an offering list on the inner jambs of his door, which may represent the development of style of a generation, from the middle to the later fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle to late fifth dynasty.

h'-b3w-hnmw; biw 102

Source: Tomb east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara,  
M 14.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 684.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r šnwty, imy-r  
k3t nbt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

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219. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 586.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r wpt, imy-r pr nmtt nzwt, imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r r-3w, imy-r r-'3 mht, imy-r r-'3 rsy, imy-r h3swt nbt, imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, imy-r hry htm md3t, imy-r zš md3t, imy-r swt pr-'3, imy-r swt špswt, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, imy-r šm'w, imy-r šnw pr, imy-r sqbbwy, imy-r gswy-pr, iry p't, iry nfr-h3t, mniw nhn, hry-tp nhb, hry-tp d3t, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp šndyt nbt, zš md3t ntr, sm, sm3 inpw, sm3 minw, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, sd3wty bity.

This tomb is immediately to the east of that of mry-r'-i3m (61), and h'-b3w-hnmw was considered by Jéquier, presumably on archaeological grounds, to have been his successor as vizier.<sup>220</sup> He is dated by Kees to the end of the reign of Pepy II,<sup>221</sup> and by Baer to the third to fourth quarters of that reign.<sup>222</sup> The grounds for Kees' dating are not clear; he argues for a date later than mry-r'-i3m, and this may be due to Jéquier's observation noted above.

Much depends on the interpretation of the reliefs in the mortuary temple of Pepy II. It would appear that h'-b3w-hnmw erased the name of an official and replaced it with his name biw and the title im3-'.<sup>223</sup> Other men by the name biw are known from South Saqqara,<sup>224</sup> but the title of im3-' was borne mainly by viziers at that time.

220. ASAE 34 (1934), 76.

221. Veziat, 47-8.

222. Rank and Title, 109 (361).

223. Jéquier, Pepi II II, pl. 57.

224. For example, the biw of tomb N 4, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 677.

The name *biw* has also been added without titles,<sup>225</sup> and may be the same man. Such replacement of original names in the temple shows that he was later than the period in which it was decorated.

It thus seems that *h'-b3w-hnmw* was later than *mry-r'-i3m*. It is also probable that three men who became vizier after the temple was built are depicted therein - *mry-r'-i3m* (61), *sn'y* (133) and *h'-b3w-hnmw*. On surviving evidence only the latter was not incorporated in some manner into the original scheme of decoration, and it is thus logical to date him later than the others. The non-appearance of the viziers *ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r'* (72) and *tti* (156) suggests that they were the latest of all the holders of this office in the reign of Pepy II.


Suggested Date: Third quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

*h'f-minw* 103

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7430 + 7440

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 195; incompletely published - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nbt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.*

Other Titles: *iry p't, wr 5 pr-dhwtj, wty inpw ?, mniw nhn, r p nb, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sst3 n iti.f, hry-sst3 nzwt m swt.f nbt, hrp 'h, ht , z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, zš md3t ntr, smr, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, smr n iti.f.*

The identity of the mother of *h'f-minw* is uncertain, but his father

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225. id. ib., pl. 73, 80.



was presumably Khufu. Together with k3i-w'b (140) he is the only son of that King to be called z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, and could then be the eldest son of one of Khufu's chief queens. It would also imply that he was one of the elder children of Khufu. h'f-minw held the vizierate, and as one of the senior children could have been among the first in line for the office. Like the owner of tomb G7310 + 7320 he was vizier at the time his tomb was decorated, unlike h'f-hwfw (104) who was clearly promoted later in life. Features of the offering lists on his coffin, such as the presence of a linen list, suggest that it was made earlier than that of h'f-hwfw, possibly in the reign of Djedefre or early Khafre.

Suggested Date: Reign of Djedefre to early reign of Khafre.

h'f-hwfw 104 ('h'f-hwfw I')

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7130 + 7140.  
Statue of deceased found in the Temple of Isis at Giza, now Cairo, CG 46.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 188-90 (including statue); see now, Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, 9-20.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: iry p't, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, w' wrw zh, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw hp, hm b3w nhn, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr hwfw, hry-wdb m hwt-'nh, hrp 'h, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.  
2. When Vizier: iry p't, wr 5 pr-dhwty, z3 nzwt n

ht.f, sd3wty bity.<sup>226</sup>

That h'f-hwfw was a son of Khufu is almost certain, coupling the location of his tomb with the representation of a queen, whose name is lost, as his mother.<sup>227</sup> That she was hnwt-sn, the queen buried in pyramid G1c is possible, but is no means as certain as Reisner and Smith would believe (see further below, k3i-w'b (140)).

Reisner and Smith consistently date the completion of this tomb to the end of the reign of Khafre.<sup>228</sup> This is based solely on the date of rnpt zp 12 of an unnamed king found on some of the casing blocks,<sup>229</sup> interpreted by Smith as 'Year 23' of Khufu.<sup>230</sup> This example could equally be of the reign of Khafre, but, more importantly, need bear but little relation to the date of decoration of the mastaba.

The offering lists in the tomb represent what is probably the earliest attempt at ordering the elements of such a list into a regular form, and it has been argued above that a date in the reign of Khafre may be a possibility for the decoration of the chapel of h'f-hwfw (Ch. 2.II.B).

If the evidence of his name be admissible, h'f-hwfw may not have been born before the beginning of his father's reign. In view of the rarity of the element hwfw in the names of members of this family, it was perhaps given to him at birth. He would then be at most in his early twenties at the end of the reign of his father, perhaps too young to start decorating a tomb. He is never called eldest king's son, which title is found with k3i-w'b (140) and h'f-minw (103). On

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226. This is the minimum number, all that could be accommodated on the statue; is it probable that he still held many of those given in the tomb.

227. Simpson, op. cit., fig. 26.

228. For example, Giza II, 8.

229. Simpson, op. cit., fig. 35c.

230. JNES 11 (1952), 127 (8).

this basis also a date in the reign of Khafre would be suitable for the decoration of his tomb. His elevation to the vizierate happened after his tomb was complete, but was commemorated by the setting up of a statue in his chapel.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle to late reign of Khafre.

ḥ'f-ḥwfw 105 ('ḥ'f-ḥwfw II')

Source: Tomb at the south end of the first row of mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7150.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 190; see now, Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, 21-27.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r mš', imy-r zt ḥ3swt imntt, w'b nzwt, wr md šm'w, nst ḥntt, ḥm-ntr ///, ḥm-ntr m3't, ḥm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', ḥm-ntr ḥwfw, ḥry-sšt3, ḥry-sšt3 n nb.f, z3 nzwt.

This tomb is next to that of ḥ'f-ḥwfw I (104), and it is not impossible that some sort of relationship existed between the two. However, the tomb is not part of the original cemetery. Texts on a pillar of the offering chapel are crucial to the dating of the tomb. Three columns of text describe ḥ'f-ḥwfw as im3ḥw ḥr three kings: Neweserre, Sahure and the third is unclear.<sup>231</sup> Simpson initially reads it as im3ḥw ḥr ḥwfw, but points out that, as this expression tends to refer to a living king in the fourth and fifth dynasties, it would be unlikely that ḥ'f-ḥwfw lived for almost one hundred years, and so it

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231. Simpson, op. cit., fig. 42.



may be that the name is that of Menkaure.<sup>232</sup> One has then only to assume that these three kings are mentioned because they granted special favours to the tomb-owner.

The period from the beginning of the reign of Menkaure to that of Neweserre is probably about sixty years. Given that he would have had to have reached office-bearing age to be *im3hw*, he would have been quite old at the beginning of the reign of Neweserre and perhaps did not live long into it.

Suggested Date: Neferirkare to early reign of Neweserre.

*h'-mrr-ptḥ* 106

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 68 (C 4).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 481; also examination of false door in Cairo.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r hwt wrt*, *imy-r zš 'nzwt*, *imy-r k3t nbt*, *imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt*.

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt*, *imy-r phw*, *imy-r gs-pr*, *mdw rhyt*, *nst hntt*, *hry-tp nzwt*, *z3b 'd-mr*.

The chapel of this tomb consists only of a niche, dated to the middle of the fifth dynasty or slightly later (period VB) by Baer.<sup>233</sup> This false door, which does not have a cornice or torus moulding, has several interesting features. The panel depicts the deceased seated on the right, and is flanked by wide apertures. The lower lintel contains an offering list, and there are three narrow jambs with figures of *h'-mrr-ptḥ* at the bottom. Osiris is invoked in the funerary formu-

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232. op. cit., 24; compare Baer, Rank and Title, 44-5.

233. Rank and Title, 109 (363).

lae. The even lengths of the jambs suggest a stage intermediate between older and newer false door types in which some features of the new type were used and others, such as the cornice and torus, omitted (Ch. 2.I.B). The offering list on the false door suggests a date in the second half of the fifth dynasty, as does the orientation of the figure on the panel (Ch. 2.I.G.2).

ḥ'-mrr-ptḥ may be related to spdw-ḥtp of the nearby tomb 69 at Saqqara.<sup>234</sup> A son of this name appears on the above false door, but the door in the tomb of spdw-ḥtp would seem to be of an earlier type than that of ḥ'-mrr-ptḥ in its design and the types of offerings included on the panel (Ch. 2.I.G.1). It is possible that this spdw-ḥtp may in fact be the father of ḥ'-mrr-ptḥ.

Suggested Date: Later fifth dynasty, probably no later than the reign of Djedkare.

ḥwfw-ḥtp 107

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the cliff to the east of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, LG 76.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 212; some improvements in readings from expedition records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: shḏ w'b, shḏ dngw.

As Baer has pointed out, this tomb cannot belong to one of the original or early phases of the cemetery.<sup>235</sup> The evidence for dating the

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234. Mariette D 15 - PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 481-2. For the possible relationships, see Grdseloff, ASAE 39 (1939), 389-92.

235. Rank and Title, 112 (374).

tomb is somewhat meagre. The titles sequences do not give a useful date; it is possible that the tomb may be of a date not dissimilar to that of the nearby one of 'nh-h'fr' (G7948), of the middle fifth dynasty.<sup>236</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps mid-fifth dynasty or later.

hnw 108

Source: Depicted in the Mortuary Temple of Pepy II at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 45.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: No further titles known.

This vizier's depiction is located away from the other reliefs of officials in the temple, and may consequently be an addition during a later phase of the decoration of the temple. For a discussion of the dating, see below under ihy-hnt (16).

Suggested Date: Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

hnty-k3i; ihhi 109

Source: Tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, to the north-east of the pyramid.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 508-11.

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236. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 207-8.



Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš<sup>v</sup> '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r  
k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty, t3yty z3b t3ty m3'.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r  
pr-nzwt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r niwt mr, imy-r hnty-š,  
imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, imy-r zš ( 77 ), imy-r zšwy,  
imy-r šwy pr-'3, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, imy-r sšr,  
imy-r [stp-z3] pr-nzwt nb, imy-r sd3wty, imy-ht hm-  
ntr dd-sw-tti, iry p't, w'b 200 mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy,  
wr idt, wty inpw, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', hm-ntr pr  
dhwty, hry wrw, hry-hb, hry-hb m3', hry-hb hry-tp,  
[hry-sšt3] n wdt-mdw nbt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-  
sšt3 n m33t w', hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr, hry-sšt3 nzwt m  
swt.f nbt, hry-tp nzwt pr-'3, hrp i3ts km, hrp nsty,  
hrp šndyt nbt, hts inpw, zš md3t ntr, zs n z3  
mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, sm, sm3 inpw, smr w'ty, smr w'ty  
m3', shd pr-nzwt, shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, s[hd]  
hm-ntr hwt-k3-3h[t], shd hm-ntr dd-sw-tti, shd db3t,  
sd3wty bity.

As one of the largest tombs around the pyramid of Teti, and also because of its proximity to the pyramid, it is likely that at least part of this man's career was spent under that king. The existence of the title shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-ppy shows that his career extended into the reign of Pepy I as well. It is possible that he may have been vizier at the end of the reign of Teti, and continued to hold this title in the following reign, when he probably expanded his tomb.<sup>237</sup>

Suggested Date: Late reign of Teti to early/middle reign of Pepy I.

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237. James, Khentika, 16-9.

hnty-k3w-hr 110

Source: False door found near the mastaba of ny-'nh-b3 (70)  
in the Wenis cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 629-30; unpublished - personal examination of  
original and Gunn Mss.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, mdw rhyt, hry-hb, hry-tp nzwt, z3 nzwt,  
smsw izt, smsw izt m prwy.

This false door has no features which are particularly useful for dating. The oldest tombs in the area were not built before the reign of Wenis (see 3ht-htp; hmi (3), to which reign belongs the tomb of ny-'nh-b3). The smaller tombs are almost certainly later in date, when this cemetery had lost its special position as the burial place of the highest officials of the reign of Wenis. In view of this, the dates of Baer are very probable.<sup>238</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle to late sixth dynasty.

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238. Periods VID or F (middle reign of Pepy II or later), Rank and Title, 116 (294).

hnmw; hnm-nti 111

Source: Tomb west of the pyramid of Pepy II, South Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 686-7.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš 'nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r hnty-š pr-'3, h3ty-' , hry-hb hry-tp, hrp šndyt  
nbt, sm, smr w'ty, t3ty-sktt.

The material from this tomb is very slight indeed, comprising a jamb of the false door (not illustrated), part of the head of a statue, and fragments of painted decoration from the burial chamber. None of this is particularly usable for dating purposes. The best criterion is the location near the pyramid of Pepy II, dating it to that reign, which accords with the painted burial chamber. A more precise date is currently impossible.

Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy II.

hnmw-htp 112

Source: False door found west of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara, between tombs M.13 and M.14.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 684.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r zš[wy], imy-r swt špswt  
pr-'3, iry p't m3', iry nfr-h3t, wty inpw, h3ty-' ,  
h3ty-' m3', hrp i3ts km, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

That this piece belongs to the reign of Pepy II is certain, to judge from the provenance and the arrangement of the panel and the torus moulding and cornice. It is difficult to date by comparison with



other doors in the cemetery as the relative chronology of most of the officials has not yet been established. That a great deal of variation is possible may be seen from the two other doors found with it.<sup>239</sup>

There are however two occurrences of a hnmw-htp in the pyramid temple. One is in the decoration of the antechamber, among the line of officials following ihy-hnt (16),<sup>240</sup> and the other is on a fragment from the north wall of the sanctuary.<sup>241</sup> The former holds the titles of h3ty-', sd3wty bity, smr w'ty and hry-hb, the latter just iry p't.

The name hnmw-htp is rather common at South Saqqara,<sup>242</sup> and it is quite possible that the temple may represent two different men. The titles therein, however, do fit the hnmw-htp under discussion best of all, as he is the only one to bear iry p't and h3ty-'. Jéquier has noted that in the temple reliefs hnmw-htp is preceded by a nhri,<sup>243</sup> and the false door of a nhri was found together with that of hnmw-htp, perhaps adding force to this identification. If so, these two men might well date to the period of, and that following, the construction of the temple.

Suggested Date: Second quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

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239. Jéquier, Pepi II, III, figs. 62-3.

240. id. ib., II, pl. 57.

241. id. ib., pl. 87.

242. Two further and presumably different hnmw-htp 's are known from South Saqqara, PM 3<sup>c</sup>, 678, 687.

243. Jéquier, Pepi II, III, 60-2.

hnmw-nti 113

Son of sndm-ib; inti (120).

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2374.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 87; unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy-nwb, iry p't, mdw rhyt, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, h3ty-', hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr dd-swt-tti.

hnmw-nti is depicted as a son of sndm-ib; inti in the latter's tomb.<sup>244</sup> He would thus be a younger brother of sndm-ib; mhi (121). He was active in the reigns of Wenis and Teti, whose cartouches appear in the estate-names, and the name of Teti's pyramid is also found. Considering his relationship to the other members of the sndm-ib family and his probable age, it is perhaps unlikely that he lived long into the reign of Teti, possibly serving both kings as vizier.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Wenis to early reign of Teti.

zzi 114

Source: Tomb at South Saqqara, exact position unknown, probably between the pyramids of Pepy I and Pepy II, E 16.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 689.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

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244. LD II, 77.

Other Titles: imy-r hnty-ṣ̌ pr-'3, wr 5 [pr-dhwṭy ?], hry-tp nḥb,  
 h3ty-', hnty-ṣ̌ mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hry wrw, hry-ḥb,  
 hry-ṣst3 n pr-dw3t, [hry-ṣst3 nzwt ?] m swt.f nbt,  
 hrp i3t nbt ṇrt, hrp ṣ̌ndyt nbt, zṣ̌ md3t ṇr, sm, smr  
 w'ty, sḥd hm-ṇr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, sḥd hm-ṇr mrt  
 mry-r' ppy.

No plan of this tomb has been published, and the only surviving monument is part of the false door. From the titles above, it will be seen that the tomb can be no earlier than the reign of Pepy I, and it has been dated to periods VIC to VIF by Baer.<sup>245</sup>

Mariette's illustration of the door provides some evidence for dating it.<sup>246</sup> Unusually for a sixth dynasty piece, it has wide panel apertures; there would seem to be no trace of a 'T'-shaped panel which would render it comparable to the examples found around the pyramid of Pepy II. The employment of two jambs for the false door of a vizier is not usual in the sixth dynasty, but is nevertheless found (tomb of r'-wr (93)). The use of three columns of text per jamb is not attested for the viziers of Pepy II from South Saqqara, but is common among the examples from the first years of his reign (such as the doors of mri (67) and 'nḥ-mry-r' (33)), and mḥw (69) from a slightly earlier period. The tombs of these three viziers, probably of the period reign of Pepy I to Pepy II, do not seem to be located in particular areas.<sup>247</sup> From all these features one may tentatively assign zzi to a period before the second half of the reign of Pepy II.

Suggested Date: Reign of Pepy I to early reign of Pepy II.

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245. Merenre to middle reign of Pepy II, Rank and Title, 120 (414).

246. Mariette, Mastabas, 420.

247. cf Kanawati, Governmental Reforms, 34.



z<sub>tw</sub> 115

Source: Tomb at Saqqara, east of the Step Pyramid and south of the pyramid of Weserkaf, D 46.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 577; some additional information, Spencer, JEA 68 (1982), 20-22; also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r zš<sup>v</sup> '-nzwt.*

Other Titles: *imy-[iz] nhn, mniw nhn, mdh zš<sup>v</sup> nzwt, mdh (𓄿) m prwy, r p nb, h3ty-', hm-ntr nhbt, hry-[h]b, hry-sšt3 n ///, hry-sšt3 n pr-[dw3t], z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.*

This tomb consists of an L-shaped chapel with a large false door in the western wall. The door has been badly damaged by fire, probably in modern times, and apart from the remains of texts, there are registers of offering bearers and butchers on the outer jambs. This latter feature is generally found on doors of the middle to later fifth dynasty, but certainly not in the sixth. Spencer (loc. cit.) supports this date.

It has been dated by Baer to periods VIB-E or VIG.<sup>248</sup> It is however very difficult to draw conclusions on the basis of the damaged titulary, and so these dates should not be taken too literally. The criteria available certainly point to the fifth rather than the sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle to later fifth dynasty.

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248. Late Teti to middle Pepy II; later Pepy II, Rank and Title, 121 (419).

s3bw; ibbi 116

Source: Tomb complex with pth-šps (probably his son) at North Saqqara, nos. 37-8 (E 1-2; H 3).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 460-1.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r w'bt, imy-r pr zkr, imy-r hwt zkr m swt nbt, imy-ht hm-ntr nfr-swt-wnis, imy-ht hm-ntr dd-swt-tti, w'b pth, wr hrp hmwt, wr hrp hmwt m prwy, wr hrp hmwt m prwy n hrw hb, wr hrp hmwt n hrw hb, wr hrp hmwt db3t, mhnk nzwt, hm-ntr pth, hm-ntr m3't m swt pt n hry-b3qf, hm-ntr r' m 3ht-r', hm-ntr r' m nhn-r', hm-ntr r' m šzp-ib-r', hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', hm-ntr hwthr m swt nbt, hm-ntr hnty-i3t.f, hm-ntr hnty-tnnt, hm-ntr hr m hnt wr, hm-ntr hr hnty-mdf, hm-ntr zkr, hm-ntr zkr m swt.f nbt, hm-ntr dd-šps, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-sšt3 n ntr.f, hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt, hrp mhnk nzwt, hrp hmwt nbt, hrp sm, zš qd št3 n wdt-mdw, šps nzwt.

The fortunate survival of the deceased's biography enables the tomb to be dated, beginning as it does with the phrase min hr tti. Furthermore, the texts at the entrance relate that he was wr hrp hmwt in the reign of Wenis, and so he perhaps received the title of imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt under Teti. Baer places him in his period VIB which begins in the reign of Teti, making the second half of the reign the most likely date.<sup>249</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle to late reign of Teti.

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249. Rank and Title, 121 (421).

s3bw-ptḥ; ibbi 117

Son of nḥbw (90).

Source: Burial in shaft G2381a in the Western Cemetery at Giza; also a few blocks remaining from chapel.

Bibliography: cf. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 91-2; almost totally unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt, imy-r w'ḃty, imy-r niwt mr ?, imy-r zšwy, mdḥ qd nzwt m prwy, ḥ3ty-', ḥry-ḥb, ḥry-tp nzwt, ḥrp šndyt nbt, sm, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

For the arguments concerning the date of this tomb, see above under mry-r'-mry-'nḥ-ptḥ; pḥ-špss; impy (62). The only independent attestation for s3bw-ptḥ is in the tomb of nḥbw.<sup>250</sup> On current evidence it is impossible to decide which of the two sons of nḥbw was buried in G2381a.

Baer's date does not agree with that derived here; however, see his own discussion of the problem.<sup>251</sup>

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Pepy II.

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250. Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 58-60, fig. 2.

251. Rank and Title, 96, 292 (286B).



s'nh-n-pt<sub>h</sub> 118

Source: Mastaba in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, immediately to the south of the complex of the sndm-ib family, G5520 (formerly G2342; LG 28).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 164; unpublished - personal examination of expedition records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t.

Other Titles: imy-r d3d3t, wr md šm'w, nst hntt, rh nzwt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-sšt3, hrp zš, z3b imy-r zš, z3b 'd-mr, z3b shd zš.

The key to providing an adequate date for this tomb may lie in its position relative to that of the sndm-ib family complex.<sup>252</sup> According to Reisner,<sup>253</sup> this mastaba consists of an original chapel of his type 5 with a north-south offering room and an addition to the east comprising a chapel of his type 7 with an east-west offering room. It is unclear when the original mastaba was built, but it is possible that the inspiration for the plan of the newer parts of the chapel may have come from the mastaba of sndm-ib; inti (120) which, as shown above, is most likely to have been the first use of this new offering room type in the Giza Necropolis (Ch. 2.II.D).

Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty to early sixth.

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252. An attempt to conflate the titles and apply Baer's charts of title sequences with a view to obtaining a date has been unsuccessful.  
253. Reisner, Giza I, 264.

snnw-k3i; kki 119

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2041.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 68; not fully published - further information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r niwt 3ht-hwfw, 'd-mr grgt, rh nzwt, hrp w'b nzwt, zš<sup>v</sup> '-nzwt.

Baer has noted that this tomb is earlier than most of the smaller ones in the same area, and also that snnw-k3i may appear in the reliefs in the tomb of nfr (84).<sup>254</sup> These and stylistic features caused Baer to assign the tomb to the early or middle fifth dynasty.<sup>255</sup> On the basis of the date suggested above for nfr, the early fifth dynasty would be the more likely. The chapel has been noted above among the group distinguished by having two false doors (Ch. 2.II.C.1). The decoration of the west wall shows the deceased seated below an offering list. This is an example of one of the later types of layout of this wall appearing in the early fifth dynasty. snnw-k3i may be one of the first such examples, as the elements of his offering list are not separated into small compartments as in the later fashion. This criterion again favours the early fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

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254. Reisner, Giza I, pl. 30a.

255. Rank and Title, 126 (452a).

sndm-ib; inti 120


Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2370 (LG 27).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 85-7; for estates, Málek, GM 13 (1974), 21-4; also additional information from excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r iz nzwt, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r prw msu nzwt, imy-r hkr nzwt, imy-r st nbt nt hnw, iry p't, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', hry-hb, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp zš, z3b 'd-mr, smr w'ty.

From his biography it is clear that sndm-ib lived most of his life in the reign of Djedkare Izezi - he speaks of carrying out works for the king, and of receiving favours from him. Furthermore there are two letters from this king to sndm-ib, one of which is dated to rnpt zp 16.<sup>256</sup> At one point the phrase min hr izzi is found which indicates that this part of the texts was composed in the reign of that king.<sup>257</sup>

The same line has the signs  ; this is not the date it has been taken to be but refers rather to a period of five years, four months and three days.<sup>258</sup> The exact significance of this is not clear from the context - perhaps it may mean that he had been serving in his official capacity with the accompanying titles for this period of time.

The tomb was built after his death by his son sndm-ib; mhi (121),

256. Urk. I, 62-3.

257. Urk. I, 59.12.

258. Grdseloff, ASAE 42 (1943), 59.



in a period of fifteen months.<sup>259</sup> mhi obtained several agreements and pieces of tomb equipment from the king, who however is not named.<sup>260</sup>

There is some evidence that this king may have been Wenis. Recent work by the Museum of Fine Arts expedition at Giza has revealed the presence of a cartouche of this king in the gap left by Lepsius above the head of a figure of mhi.<sup>261</sup> This must imply that sndm-ib; inti died at the earliest at the very end of the reign of Izezi. Consequently, he must have reached his highest offices in the last part of the reign of that king. This is important for chronology, as sndm-ib; inti is normally dated to the middle of the reign;<sup>262</sup> it also raises the possibility that the date of rnpt zp 16 may be near the end of the reign.

Suggested Date: Later reign of Djedkare.

sndm-ib; mhi 121

Son of sndm-ib; inti (120).

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, G2378 (LG 26); one block in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 31705.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 87-9; also additional information from excavation records in Boston.

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259. Urk. I, 64; the mention of the time taken must surely be stressing the speed with which it was built.

260. For example, a sarcophagus, Urk. I, 65-6.

261. Ergänzungsband, pl. XVIII; I am indebted to Dr. E. Brovarski for permission to mention this.

262. For example, Baer, Rank and Title, 126 (455), which incidentally puts doubt on his division between periods VB and VC.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r zš 'nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.*

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r prwy 'h3w, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r hkr nzwt nb, imy-r sšr nzwt, iry p't, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, h3ty-', h3ty-' m3', hry-sšt3 nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-tp nzwt, smr w'ty.*

*sndm-ib; mhi* appears in the reliefs of his father's tomb, and is recorded in the biography as having built the tomb after his father's death. As has been seen above, this was in the reign of Wenis, probably at the beginning. According to Dr. E. Brovarski of the MFA expedition to Giza, *mhi* has placed his name over that of another son in the tomb of his father. The identity of this person is unknown, but is presumably an elder brother. This would consequently date *mhi* later in the reign of Wenis.

On the false door in his own tomb, he relates that he was *im3hw hr* both Djedkare Izezi and Wenis. The varying juxtaposition of these two royal names with *mhi*'s titles makes it unclear whether his highest offices were held in both reigns; on the preceding evidence it would seem unlikely that he did, although he may well have attained the rank of *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nzwt* (held by all members of the family) before his father's death in the reign of Djedkare.

A date for the building of his tomb and the holding of his highest offices in the reign of Wenis would be in accord with Baer, who places him in his period VC,<sup>263</sup> although doubts have been cast on the exact division between this period and the preceding VB, for which see the discussion of *sndm-ib; inti*.

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263. Rank and Title, 126-7 (456) - middle reign of Djedkare to middle that of Wenis.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Wenis.

shtpw 122

Source: Chapel in tomb of son k3i-m-snw (144) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 541.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt, imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r swt htpw df3w, w'b h'-b3w-s3hw-r', hm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r', hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'.

This chapel was constructed for shtpw by his sons k3i-m-snw and w3š-ptḥ, and so it is reasonable to assume that the architectural and stylistic features as well as the title sequences represent the period of the sons' careers. Consequently, the major arguments for dating will be found below under k3i-m-snw.<sup>264</sup>

On the principle of generations, one may date the career of shtpw to a period of twenty to twenty-five years before that of k3i-m-snw, who is most likely of the end of the fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or later, perhaps reign of Djedkare.

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264. cf. Baer, Rank and Title, 128 (462).



shm-'nh-ptḥ 123

Source: Tomb at the south-west edge of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7152.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 191; see now Badawy, The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza, 15-24.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r w'bt, imy-r w'bt pr-'3, mdw rhyt, r p nb, h3ty-', hry-sšt3, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, zš '-nzwt pr-'3, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

This tomb is not part of the original layout of the Cemetery, and so must be of later date. However, its location is not dissimilar to that of h'f-hwfw II (105) (probably reign of Neweserre), nor is the method of construction, both tombs employing massive stone blocks in a manner akin to that of the nucleus cemeteries. Thus it is not impossible that the two mastabas were constructed at about the same time, that of h'f-hwfw perhaps being the earlier as it is nearer the original mastabas of the cemetery.

The false door is of the torus and cornice type, in many ways more similar to those at Saqqara than Giza, but the 'L'-shaped chapel is not the customary form for such a door - the east-west chapel is more frequently to be found. The vertical column of inscription at the rear of the central niche is a feature normally associated with doors of the middle to late fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.F.2). The use of raised relief for the door is also a fifth dynasty feature (Ch. 2.I.F.1), and the width of the apertures either side of the panel would suggest a date before the later fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.D). Finally, viziers from the middle of the fifth dynasty at Saqqara with this type of false door tend to have examples with three jambs (for example, ph-n-

wi-k3i (45) and pth-htp I (49)); perhaps this is an early example (like that of ty (157) at Saqqara) which is a transitional form between the earlier doors without torus and cornice (for example, w3š-ptḥ (37)) and the above more developed pieces.

Baer's date is not precise, periods VB-C, VIF,<sup>265</sup> but the earliest of these three would agree with the indications of date given above.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle reign of Neweserre.

shḥm-'nh-ptḥ 124

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 20 (D 41); offering chapel now in Boston, MFA 04.1760.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 454-5.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty.<sup>266</sup>

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw m3' n hry-wdb, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hr-3hty, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš, hrp zš nb, z3b 'd-mr, zš wr md šm'w.

This tomb has an east-west offering room, approached from a north-south corridor. This type of plan would seem to develop in the middle fifth dynasty and exists concurrently with the older types as well as with the complex chapel, the latter of which is only found in the earliest instances with the very highest officials (Ch. 2.I.H). The

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265. Reign of Neferirkare to middle reign of Wenis, or middle reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 128 (463).

266. Those of imy-r šnwty and imy-r zš ' nzwt appear only on the south wall of this tomb, and imy-r hwt wrt only on the north; they may possibly belong to two different parts of his career.

false door does not seem to have a cornice or torus moulding, although with its use of narrower panel apertures and even length inscriptions on the jambs it certainly resembles the new type of door; this particular form seems to belong to the later fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.B).

Baer dates the tomb to periods VB-C or VIF.<sup>267</sup> It has been suggested above (under m3-nfr (54)) that the basis of period VIF is incorrect, leaving the two earlier periods possible. The indications from the false door suggest VC (middle reign of Djedkare to middle reign of Wenis) to be the more likely.

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Djedkare or Wenis.

shm-k3-r' 125

Source: Rock-cut tomb in the Central Field at Giza, in the cliff south-east of the pyramid of Khafre, LG 89.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 233-4.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, iry p't, '3 dw3w, wty inpw, h3ty-', hm [b3w] nhn, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-hb hry-tp n iti.f, hry-sst3 n iti.f, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, hrp 'h, hrp [h n iti].f ?, hrp zs n iti.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n iti.f, sd3wty bity.

The dating of this tomb and the genealogy of shm-k3-r' are relatively secure. He is called an eldest king's son, and gives a list in his tomb of the kings before whom he was im3hw: Khafre, Menkaure,

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267. Reign of Neferirkare to middle reign of Wenis, or middle reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 128-9 (465).



Shepseskaf, Weserkaf and Sahure.<sup>268</sup> This suggests that he was born in the reign of Khafre, and as his mother was a queen hdt-hknw,<sup>269</sup> that king was probably his father. Likewise his tomb was built in the reign of Sahure, in which period he presumably died.

Suggested Date: Reign of Sahure and a little before.

sš3t-htp; hti 126

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5150.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 149-50.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r k3t nbt nzwt.

2. When Vizier: imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt , t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: ['d-mr] imw, wr md šm'w, wty inpw, rh nzwt, hry-hb, hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt nzwt, hrp 'h, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr, sd3wty ntr imw.

2. When Vizier: iry p't, '3 dw3w, w' m wrw hb, wr m3 iwnw, wr [md šm'w], [wty] inpw, hm-ntr wnw-r hnty minw, hm-ntr b3 'npt, hm-ntr b3stt, hm-ntr hr sth, hm-ntr šsmatt, hrp mrt t3-mhw šm'w, hrp tis bity, [hts] inpw, z3 nzwt n ht.f smsw, zš md3t ntr, smsw snwt.

sš3t-htp is not given the titles of vizier on the walls of his tomb, his highest thereon being imy-r k3t nbt nzwt. The vizierial titles come from a nameless pair statue found in the serdab, and the differ-

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268. Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 64.

269. id. ib., fig. 62.

ence between the two groups of titles has given rise to Junker's suggestion that the statue represents  $\check{s}\check{s}3t\text{-}h\check{t}p$ 's parents.<sup>270</sup> However there is no reason why this statue should not belong to  $\check{s}\check{s}3t\text{-}h\check{t}p$ , it having been placed in his tomb after the completion of the rest of the decoration.<sup>271</sup>

His tomb must however be dated to the period before he became vizier, and on stylistic grounds it may be grouped with tombs from the early fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.II.C.1). This date is in agreement with that of Baer, who places both the tomb and the statue in the early fifth dynasty, before the introduction of an organised system of ranking titles.<sup>272</sup>

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

$\check{s}\check{s}m\check{w}$  127

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, LS 5.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 492.

Relevant Titles:  $imy\text{-}r \check{s}n\check{w}ty$ ,  $imy\text{-}r k3t nbt nt nzwt$ ,  $imy\text{-}r k3t nt nzwt$ .

Other Titles:  $imy\text{-}r izty ntr$ ,  $imy\text{-}r 'prwy n imw\check{w}y '3$ ,  $imy\text{-}r pr 'h3w$ ,  $imy\text{-}r m\check{s}'$ ,  $imy\text{-}r hrpw n nfrw$ ,  $w'b nzwt$ ,  $hm\text{-}ntr r' m st\text{-}ib\text{-}r'$ ,  $hry\text{-}s\check{s}t3$ ,  $hry\text{-}s\check{s}t3 n wdt\text{-}mdw nt nzwt$ ,  $hry\text{-}s\check{s}t3 n ntr.f$ ,  $hrp izwt ntr$ ,  $shd w'b nzwt$ ,  $shd hm\text{-}ntr$ ,  $sd3wty ntr$ ,  $sd3wty ntr m imw\check{w}y$ ,  $sd3wty ntr m$

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270. Vienna Mus, Inv. 7788; Junker, Giza II, 188-93, abb. 34, taf. XXVa.

271. cf. Schmitz, Königssohn, 73-4.

272. Rank and Title, 130-1 (473 and 473A).

imwy '3.<sup>273</sup>

This chapel has a small east-west offering room with a false door at the end of a corridor. The small size of the chapel may represent an early stage in the development of a chapel type, the earliest examples of which belong to the middle of the fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.H). Such a date is also supported by the arrangement of the doorjambs, as there is a larger figure of the deceased on the outer ones than on the inner, a feature not found in the later part of the dynasty (Ch. 2.I.B). His titles make a date before the reign of Neferirkare impossible, and his proximity to such tombs as that of pth-šps, <sup>274</sup> might suggest he was no earlier than the reign of Neweserre.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty, perhaps reign of Neweserre.

ssmw 128

Source: Seated statue in the Cairo Museum, provenance unknown, but presumably (on stylistic grounds) from the Memphite region.

Bibliography: CG 202.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd.

Other Titles. None given.

The quality of the carving of this statue is excellent, and is typical of many famous pieces of fifth dynasty date, for example, the statue

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273. It may be possible to split the titulary of ssmw so as to represent two separate stages of his career (see further below, page 379).  
274. PM 3<sup>c</sup>, 464, securely dated to the reign of Neweserre.



of ty (157).<sup>275</sup> Without further evidence it is not possible to date the statue more precisely.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or later (?).

ssm-nfr 129 ('ssm-nfr I')

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G4940 (LG 45).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 142-3; publications checked with excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r zš hryt-' nzwt, imy-r sty df3w, wr md šm'w, [ny] hwt hr-hpr, rh nzwt, hm-ntr inpw, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr hqt, hry-wdb m hwt-nh, hry-sšt3, hry-tp nzwt, hrp 'h, ht h3, z3b 'd-mr, smr.

The title sequences of this man, according to Baer, violate the standard ones brought into use in the reign of Neferirkare, and in all probability the tomb was built before that reign.<sup>276</sup> The scheme of decoration discussed above (Ch. 2.II.C.1) adds support to the date from the title sequences. There it was suggested that this tomb is one of a group that show a reversal of the previous orientation of the principal figure of the deceased on the west wall, which in itself was a prelude to the alteration of the same figure from a standing to a sitting position but retaining the same orientation. Such a feature

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275. Cairo, CG 20.

276. Rank and Title, 131 (476). This accords with Baer's independent dating, which should however be disregarded, based as it is on an erroneous argument about the date of ssm-nfr III (131).

would seem to date to the early fifth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

**sšm-nfr** 130 ('sšm-nfr II')

Source: Tomb in the cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5080 (old 2200).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 146-7; chapel almost completely unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.**

Other Titles: **imy-r pr 'h3w m prwy, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n hryt-' nzwt, zš '-nzwt, zš '-nzwt n sb3yt nzwt, zš hryt-' nzwt.**

In reconstructing the **sšm-nfr** family tree, perhaps the greatest problem is the identity of the father of **sšm-nfr II**. It is unlikely that it was **sšm-nfr I** (129) as the name of his wife (**imn-df3s**) is different from that of the mother of **sšm-nfr II** (**mrt-itis**). It is reasonably certain that **sšm-nfr II** was the father of **sšm-nfr III**, and from this may be dated approximately to the reign of Neweserre.

Junker believed that a scene from this tomb was copied from that of **iy-mry**,<sup>277</sup> and that there was some connection between the two may be shown by the presence of the estate **grgt-iy-mry** in the tomb of **sšm-nfr II**.<sup>278</sup> **iy-mry** is probably to be dated to the reign of Neweserre, supporting the independent date for **sšm-nfr**.

Suggested Date: Early in the reign of Neweserre.

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277. Junker, Giza III, 71.

278. See Baer, Rank and Title, 131-2 (477).

$\check{s}sm-nfr$  131 (' $\check{s}sm-nfr$  III')

Son of  $\check{s}sm-nfr$  II (130).

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5170.  
Chapel now in Tübingen, Äg. Inst. der Universität,  
Inv. 3.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 153-4; for the chapel see now, Brunner-Traut,  
Die altägyptische Grabkapelle Seschemnofers III aus  
Gisa.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate:  $imy-r$   $z\check{s}$  '-nzwt.

2. When Vizier:  $imy-r$   $k3t$   $nbt$   $nt$   $nzwt$ ,  $t3yty$   $z3b$   
 $t3ty$ .

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate:  $imy-r$   $prwy$  ' $h3w$ ,  $nst$   $hntt$ ,  $hry-$   
 $s\check{s}t3$   $n$   $w\check{d}t-mdw$   $nbt$   $nt$   $nzwt$ ,  $hry-s\check{s}t3$   $n$   $nzwt$ ,  $z3b$   
 $'d-mr$ .

2. When Vizier:  $imy-iz$ ,  $imy-r$   $prwy$  ' $h3w$ ,  $h3ty-$ ',  
 $hry-hb$ ,  $hry-s\check{s}t3$   $n$   $w\check{d}t-mdw$   $nbt$   $nt$   $nzwt$ ,  $hry-s\check{s}t3$   $n$   
 $pr-dw3t$ ,  $ht$   $minw$ ,  $z3$   $nzwt$   $n$   $ht.f$ ,  $smr$   $w'ty$ .

Baer has dated this tomb to the early part of the reign of Djedkare.<sup>279</sup> He quotes the arguments of Grdseloff, who has however made an error in reading  $rnpt$   $zp$  5 for  $rnpt$  5 in the biography of  $sndm-ib$ ;  $inti$  (120), and consequently his succeeding argument loses much of its validity.<sup>280</sup>

Junker's argument for a date, based on his reconstruction of the genealogy of various members of the family, is perhaps more sound.<sup>281</sup> His starting point is the mastaba of  $d3ty$  (164) (G5370) which will be independently dated below to the reign of Neferirkare or a little

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279. Rank and Title, 132 (478).

280. ASAE 42 (1943), 59.

281. Junker, Giza III, 13-4.



later. Against the rear wall of this was built the tomb of r'-wr I,<sup>282</sup> and sšm-nfr III used r'-wr 's rear wall for his tomb. Allowing for a degree of separation in date, this places sšm-nfr in about the reign of Menkauhor. Furthermore, in the tomb of r'-wr II<sup>283</sup> was found a sealing of Djedkare. If this were a little later than the tomb of his brother, the reign of Djedkare would be a possible date for sšm-nfr III (as advanced by Grdseloff, but on erroneous grounds).

sšm-nfr received his promotion to the vizierate after most of the decoration of his tomb had been completed, perhaps placing his vizierate in the later of the two reigns mentioned above.

Suggested Date: Reign of Menkauhor to early/middle reign of Djedkare.

sšm-nfr; hb3 132

Source: Tomb west of the Step Pyramid complex at Saqqara, south of the group of tombs of the family of pth-htp I, E 8.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 595; for some blocks see Aubert, Or. 44 (1975), 1-11.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r', hm-ntr ntr-swt-mn-k3w-hr, hm-ntr hqt, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw, [hry-sšt3] n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp wsht, hrp zš hwt wrt, ht h3, z3b 'd-mr, zš n z3 nfr-dd-k3-r'.

282. Probably a son of sšm-nfr I, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 158.

283. Probably a son of sšm-nfr II, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 162-3.

Relatively little is known about this tomb except for the false door and some estates, and no plan of it has ever been published. Baer has dated it to period VB, in the reign of Djedkare.<sup>284</sup> It is interesting that ~~ssm~~-nfr may have usurped the tomb, but the extent of this is unclear from the published material.<sup>285</sup> The false door has a torus moulding and three jambs with figures of the deceased at the bottom. A very interesting feature is the representation of the deceased standing on the panel. A comparable example of this is found on the false door of m3-nfr.<sup>286</sup> This latter door has two jambs and a column of text in the central recess, a feature found in the middle to later fifth dynasty, and the tomb plan includes an east-west offering chamber. Baer's date for this tomb of period VIB is perhaps too late, and the turn of the sixth dynasty is more likely.<sup>287</sup>

The title sequences of ~~ssm~~-nfr would it seems fit period VD (end of the fifth dynasty and beginning of the sixth) as well as VB, making a similar date possible for both men who exhibit this unusual feature on their false doors. The probable area of the tomb of ~~ssm~~-nfr does not seem to have been used before the time of the family of pth-htp I (reign of Djedkare and after), supporting a late fifth dynasty date.

Suggested Date: Late fifth dynasty.

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 284. Rank and Title, 133 (482).

285. Aubert, op. cit., 3-4.

286. LD II, 65.

287. Rank and Title, 77 (170).

šn'y 133

Source: Tomb north-east of the pyramid complex of Pepy II at South Saqqara, N.5.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 678.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r šm'w, iry p't, h3ty-', sd3wty bity.<sup>288</sup>

This is the only tomb of a vizier in the north-east sector of this cemetery, those of the others being east of the pyramid. His dating is discussed by Kees, who places him after mry-r'-i3m (61) in the second half of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>289</sup>

A man of the same name appears twice in the decoration of the mortuary temple. In the first occurrence he is smr w'ty and hry-hb,<sup>290</sup> while in the second he is smr w'ty, with t3yty z3b t3ty added at a later date.<sup>291</sup> As Jéquier has noted,<sup>292</sup> the name is rather rare, and consequently it would seem almost certain that this is the same man as the tomb owner, who was of the rank smr w'ty when the temple was built, and was later promoted to the office of vizier.

His position in the temple is thus similar to that of mry-r'-i3m. If, as Jéquier believed, the latter had the oldest tomb in the cemetery, it is likely that šn'y was perhaps his contemporary and immediate successor as vizier.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Pepy II.

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288. Some are doubtless lost due to the damaged state of the tomb.

289. Vezirat, 60-1.

290. Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 59.

291. id. ib., pl. 73.

292. op. cit., 50.



ṽsdy-ptḥ; ṽsdw 134

Source: A false door and architrave from the Teti pyramid cemetery, exact position unknown. Architrave now in Rosacruzian Museum, RC 1737.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 545; architrave is unpublished - photograph of original from Rosacruzian Museum.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-ḥd.

Other Titles: imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt, imy-r wpt mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, w'b 200 mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, mty n z3, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, shd pr-'3, shd pr-nzwt, shd db3t.

One of the titles born by ṽsdy-ptḥ mentions the pyramid of Pepy II, and is thus later sixth dynasty at the earliest. On a general survey, it would seem that most Old Kingdom monuments from the above site date either from the beginning of the sixth dynasty through to some time in the middle of the dynasty or so (including all the large mastabas), or from the end of the Old Kingdom and first Intermediate Period, monuments of the intervening period at Saqqara coming largely from the area around the pyramids of Merenre and Pepy II. Mention of the pyramid of Pepy II in the Teti pyramid cemetery is very rare, and it is perhaps likely that this monument is of the end of the sixth dynasty or later.<sup>293</sup>

Suggested Date: End of Old Kingdom, possibly even First Intermediate Period.

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293. Attempts to use Baer's system of title sequence have been unproductive.

q3r; mry-r'-nfr 135

Probably son of idw (23).

Source: Tomb north of the first row of mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7101.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 184; see now, Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, 11-18.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nbt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, iwn knmwt m3', [imy]-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy, imy-r niwt 3ht-hwfw, imy-r niwt ntr-mn-k3w-r', imy-r hnw, imy-r zš n 'prw m pr[wy], mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hry-sšt3 n wdt nbt, hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt, hry-tp nzwt, z3b imy-r zš, z3b imy-r zš n k3t nbt, z3b zš, [zš] '-nzwt, zš '-nzwt hft-hr, zš '-nzwt hft-hr m3', smr w'ty, shd w'b wr-h'f-r'.<sup>294</sup>

The question of q3r 's relationships and possible date will be found above in the discussion of his father idw.

Suggested Date: Reign of Merenre to early Pepy II.

k31 136

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 63 (D 19).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 479.

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294. z3b zš comes from the tomb of idw.

Relevant Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r hwt wrt, imy-r zš 'nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

2. When Vizier: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš 'nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: iwn knmwt, imy-r izwy nw pr md3t, imy-r izwy nw pr hry-wdb, imy-r izwy nw mrt, imy-r izwy nw hry htm md3t 'nzwt, imy-r wpt nt nzwt, imy-r wsht, imy-r swt htpw df3w, wr md šm'w, wd-mdw n hry-wdb, mdw rhyt, mdh zš nzwt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hr qm3-', hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr sd (?) hnty wsht.f, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hrp zš iry sprw, ht h3, z3b 'd-mr, shd hm-ntr.

2. When Vizier: iwn knmwt, imy-r iz n 3ms, imy-r pr 'h3w, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r hrp zš 'nzwt, imy-r hrp zš nb m pr hry-wdb, imy-r hrp zš nb m mrt, imy-r hrp zš nb m rhyt, imy-r hrt, imy-r hkr nzwt m izwy, imy-r zš ( z3t ), imy-r swt nbt nt i'-r nzwt, imy-r swt htpw df3w, imy-r šm'w, imy-r sty df3w, mdw rhyt, hm-ntr m3't, hm-ntr hr mhyt, hm-ntr hr hry-ib 'h, hm-ntr hqt, hm-ntr sd, hry-wdb rhyt, hry-wdb hwt-'nh, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt m prwy, hrp wsht, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp zš md3t, hrp zš nb, ht h3, zš wr md šm'w, shd wr md šm'w.

The plan of this tomb is somewhat unusual in that there are two separate sets of rooms; the smaller, with its entrance to the east, contains one room with two false doors in the midst of the western wall, only the northernmost of which is inscribed, and the larger, having an entrance to the south, contains an uninscribed antechamber and a pillared room. This latter room has a false door in the centre of the



northern wall, which is flanked by two palace-facade ones. From the titles in these two sets of rooms, it is likely that they reflect the chapel built before k3i was promoted to the vizierate (the first above), and another, possibly in an extension to the mastaba, made after his promotion. Such a deduction may be made from the overall higher nature of the titles in the second set of rooms (compare the lists above).

Baer has dated this tomb on the basis of its title sequences to period VC.<sup>295</sup> There are however reasons for preferring an earlier date. If one were to follow Baer's date, then k3i would be the only vizier of Djedkare to be buried in the northern cemetery at Saqqara, most of the others having tombs closer to the Step Pyramid.<sup>296</sup> There is also the matter of the arrangement of the false doors; neither of the two inscribed examples in the tomb show the arrangement of features found in other viziers' tombs of Baer's period VC, which are of the newer pattern with a cornice and torus moulding, set in the west wall of a west-east offering chapel (Ch. 2.I.A and H)<sup>297</sup>. The door illustrated by Mariette exhibits some features which liken it to much earlier examples.<sup>298</sup> The use of only two jambs either side of the central niche is unlike the above ones, as is the number of columns of inscription on them (four to five per jamb). Neither does there appear to be a torus moulding, although this is often not made clear in Mariette's publication. These features, imperfectly published as they are, recall doors such as those of ny-'nh-shmt of the reign of

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 295. Middle reign of Djedkare to middle reign of Wenis; Rank and Title, 138-9 (505).

296. For example, r'-špss (95) and pth-htp I (49).

297. cf. doors of pth-htp I (49), ph-n-wi-k3i (45), and sndm-ib; inti (120).

298. Mastabas, 228.

Sahure,<sup>299</sup> and w3s<sup>v</sup>-pth; izi (37) of the reign of Neferirkare. The invocation of Osiris in the funerary formulae suggests that k3i is not as early as these two examples.

On the basis of these criteria, a date in the middle of the fifth dynasty before the introduction for viziers of the newer type of false door would seem very likely.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty, perhaps early in the reign of Neweserre.

k3i 137

Source: An offering stand in the Cairo Museum, perhaps from Saqqara.

Bibliography: Cairo, CG 57048.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-iz nhn, iti minw, wd-mdw hry-wdb, hry-wdb m hwt-nh, hry-hb, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sst3 n mdw ntr, hrp 'h, smr, smr w'ty n mrwt.

The difference in titles suggests that this piece did not belong to the above k3i (136). It presents few useful dating criteria; most helpful is the form of the pr-hd group employed in the title imy-r prwy-hd, which is that most commonly found in the middle of the fifth dynasty (see below page 456).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle of the fifth dynasty.

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299. Cairo, CG 1482.

k3i-'pr 138

Source: Tomb in the cliff to the east of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7814.

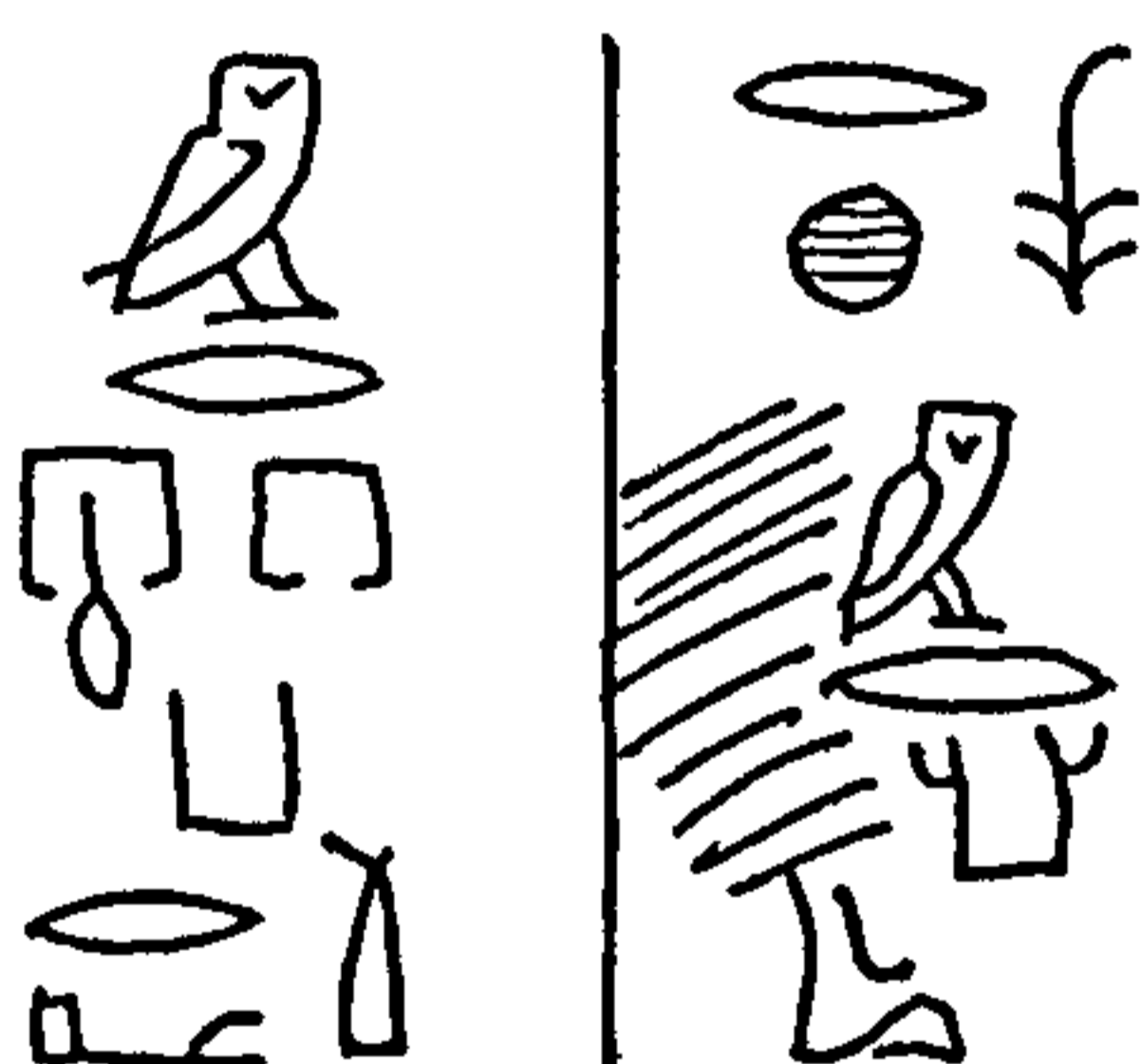
Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 205; virtually unpublished - personal examination of expedition records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t.

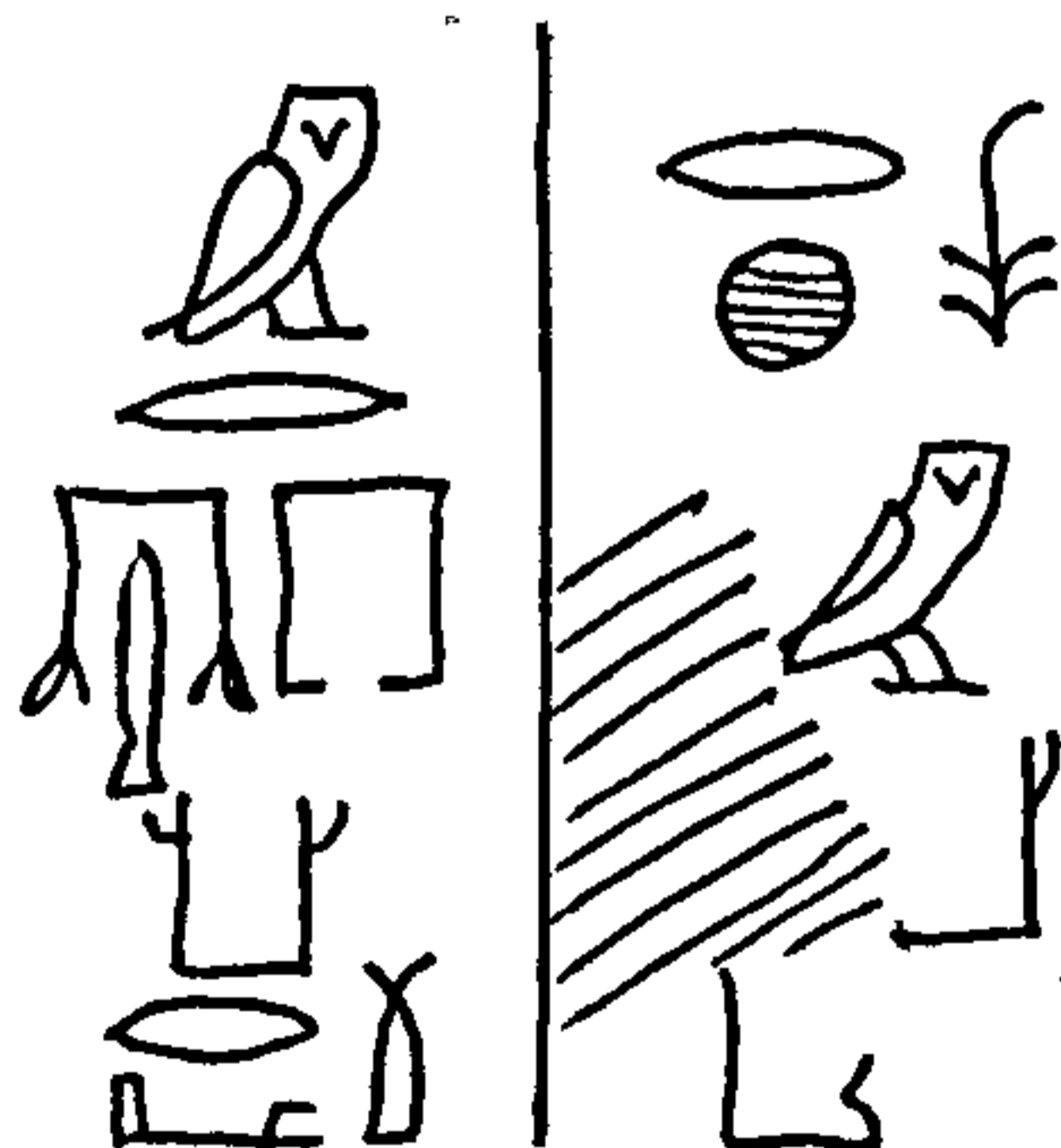
Other Titles: imy-r pr hm-k3, rh nzwt.

The only inscription in this tomb is the poorly preserved drum over the entrance, and consequently there is little material usable for dating purposes. Many of the tombs in the vicinity seem to be of the fifth to early sixth dynasties, which may also apply to k3i-'pr.

Porter and Moss give as one of the titles of k3i-'pr that of 'Overseer of the Two Treasuries'. This seems to derive from Petrie's copy in the Sayce Manuscripts:



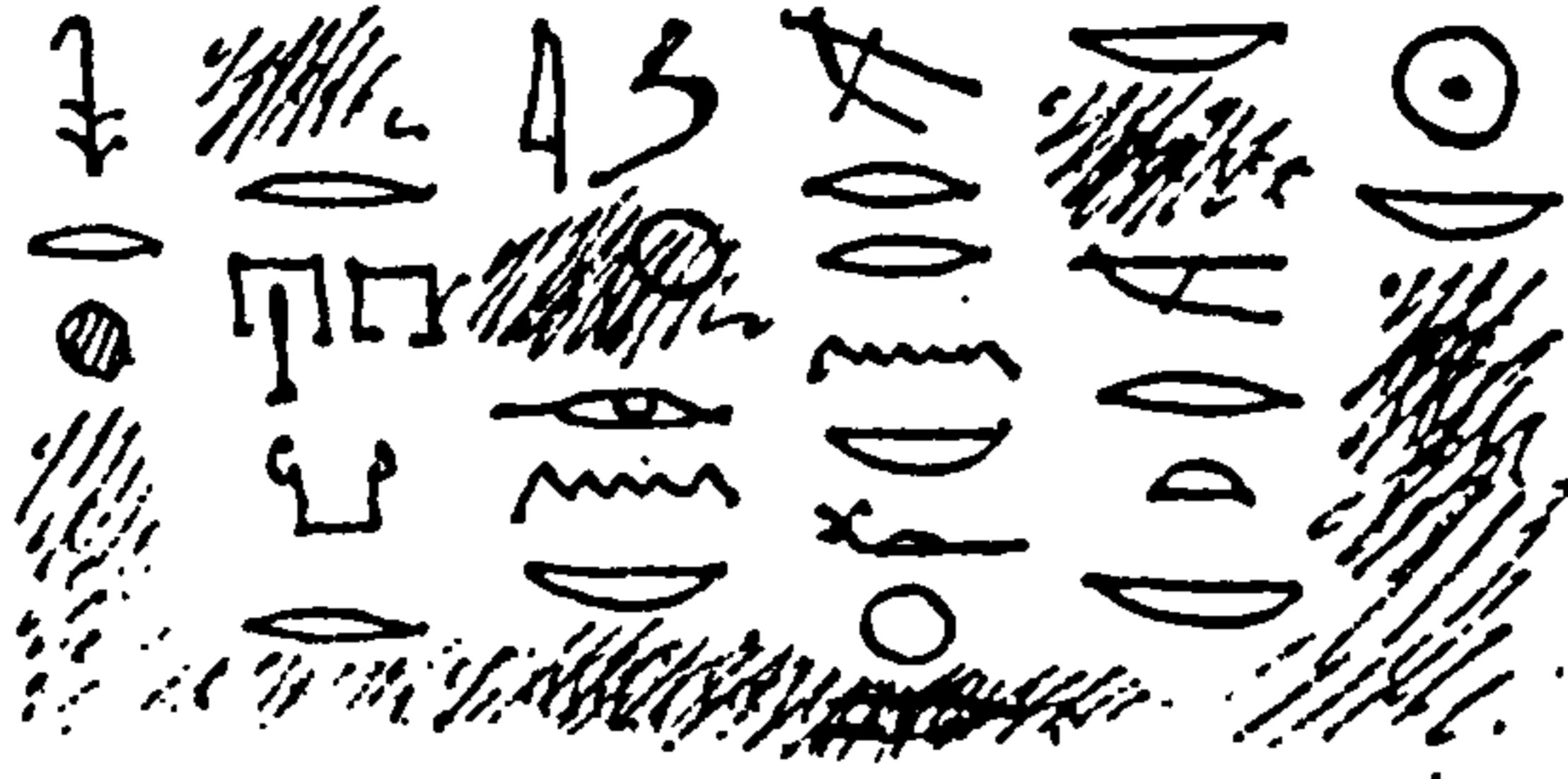
Examination of a photograph of the text in Boston (Expedition number B 8644) shows the following (not a facsimile):



The signs in question are to be read imy-r pr hmw-k3, or imy-r pr, hm-k3. The reading of this as a treasury title would postulate an arrangement of the signs unparalleled in the Old Kingdom.



It is further probable that this tomb is the one at Giza noted by Mariette, in which the following text is found:<sup>300</sup>



Comparing the Boston photograph and the above text, one finds a very similar disposition of signs, in an identical number of columns. Mariette may however have reversed the text in his copy to read from left to right, and presumably this would account for the slight differences in arrangement. The two tombs are both in the same part of the Eastern Cemetery, and as the precise location of that of Mariette is not certain, they could easily be the same.

Suggested Date: Uncertain, perhaps middle fifth to early sixth dynasty.

**k31-'pr** 139

Source: Tomb from Saqqara, exact provenance unknown, but probably from the Northern Cemetery.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 501.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nzwt*.

Other Titles: *iwn knmwt, imy-r mš', wr md šm'w, wd-mdw [n hry-wdb], mniw s3bwt, nfr, hry-sšt3, hrp pr-hd, hrp st df3w, hrp tm3, z3b 'd-mr, z3b zš, z3b zš md3t, z3b shd zš, zš pr md3t, zš mrw s3bwt, zš mš' nzwt m id3, zš mš'*

300. Mastabas, 540-1; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 212.

nzwt m wnt, zš mš' nzwt m h3swt imntt i3btt, zš mš'  
 nzwt m htyw fk3t, zš mš' nzwt m srr, zš mš' nzwt m  
 tp3.

This tomb is the subject of a lengthy article by Fischer.<sup>301</sup> The date is discussed rather briefly,<sup>302</sup> and his main point is its similarity to several tombs at Giza of early fifth dynasty date. Perhaps the most persuasive argument is that the form and content of the offering list exhibit features which probably antedate the widespread adoption of the canonical offering list (Ch. 2.I.G.1).

Fischer discusses the possible relationships of k3i-'pr to other known officials;<sup>303</sup> the least likely, as he admits, is that k3i-'pr may be the son of iy (5). This latter man has been dated above to the second half of the fifth dynasty, which renders this identification rather improbable. None of Fischer's possible relationships are in fact definite enough to be used as firm criteria for dating.

Suggested Date: Early fifth dynasty.

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 301. JNES 18 (1959), 233-72.

302. id. ib., 234.

303. op. cit., 254-5.

k3i-w'b 140

Son of Khufu.

Source: Mastaba in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7110+7120;  
Statue, Cairo Museum JE 40431, found at Memphis,  
reinscribed by h'-m-w3st in the 19th dynasty.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 187; see now Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, 1-8.  
Statue: Gomaà, Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses II und  
Hoherpriester von Memphis, 84 (51), fig. 19, pl. IV.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, iry p't, '3 dw3w, wr md šm'w, [w]r 5  
[pr-dhwtj], h3ty-', hm-ntr srqt, hry-hb hry-tp, hrp  
i3t nbt ntrt, hts inpw, z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, z3  
nzwt n ht.f smsw, smr w'ty n mrwt.<sup>304</sup>

The title of vizier has not been found in the tomb, and so it is unclear whether he held the title while it was being constructed, although traces exist which may be the title wr 5 pr-dhwtj, only held by viziers. That k3i-w'b and the other individuals buried in the eight double mastabas between that of 'nh-h3f (34) (G7510) and the pyramids of the Queens are children of Khufu is not doubted, either because of mentions of the parent(s) in the tombs, or because of the presence of titles with the tag n iti.f.

k3i-w'b is said to be the son of Queen mrt-itis, a wife of Khufu;<sup>305</sup> her relationships may be established from the now lost stela discovered by Mariette.<sup>306</sup> It is usually assumed that she was the principal wife of Khufu and k3i-w'b the crown prince.<sup>307</sup> This is based

304. These are taken from the list of titles as reconstructed by Simpson (op. cit., 8).

305. Simpson, op. cit., fig. 15.

306. Reisner, Giza II, fig. 8a.

307. Simpson, op. cit., passim; Reisner and Smith, op. cit., passim.



solely on the location of the latter's tomb in the Eastern Cemetery, close to what is supposed to be the pyramid of the chief queen, who in turn is assumed to have been *mrt-it*.<sup>308</sup> Consequently *k3i-w'b* is presumed to have died before his father, which is by no means certain but is a logical conclusion if the previous assumptions are believed.

If the oldest burial in this group of mastabas is indeed that of *k3i-w'b*, then it somewhat contradicts the practice seen in the Western Cemetery that the earliest burials (in cemetery G4000 in particular) are usually those nearest to the nucleus mastaba. However it is also possible that the order of building in the Eastern Cemetery is different from that normally assumed (see above, *'nh-h3f* (34)). Further problems arise from the arguments of Reisner and Smith, who believe the unnamed queen, the mother of *h'f-hwfw* (104), to be *hnwt-sn*, the owner of the third queen's pyramid (G1c).<sup>309</sup> This is based on the proximity of the tomb of *h'f-hwfw* to this pyramid.<sup>310</sup> However this makes no allowance for the children of the queen (name lost) buried in pyramid G1b; Smith speaks of *h'f-minw* as being a son of *hnwt-sn*,<sup>311</sup> and *ddf-hr* and the owner of G7310+7320 as being sons of *mrt-it* by extension of the arguments given above.<sup>312</sup>

Consequently, one must be somewhat sceptical of these assumptions of family relationships based solely on tomb position. On grounds of age it is unlikely that *k3i-w'b* would have been vizier much before the end of the reign of Khufu, and if he were indeed crown prince, then the interesting possibility is raised that many kings may have been vizier before their accession. This practice is otherwise unattested

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308. Smith, *op. cit.*, 6.

309. Simpson, *op. cit.*, fig. 26.

310. *Giza II*, 6-7.

311. *op. cit.*, 8.

312. *op. cit.*, 7.

in the Old Kingdom, and would certainly add many viziers to those already known. If as seems likely, he was promoted to the vizierate after the completion of the decoration of his tomb, the possibility of his being crown prince must surely be reduced, as he would not have prepared a tomb when he would have to build a pyramid as king.

Suggested Date: Perhaps late reign of Khufu or slightly later.

**k3i-pw-inpw** 141

Source: Tomb east of the southern end of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, D 57.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 579-80.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r zš [']-nzwt.**

Other Titles: **iwn knmwt, wr md šm'w, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, hry-tp nzwt, hry-tp nzwt wsht ?, hrp wsht, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp zš wsht, z3b 'd-mr.**

This tomb seems to have consisted of two cruciform chapels with a niche between them. The only decorated (and published) false door was in the southern chapel, the only relief decoration in the northern. Somewhere in the tomb (location unclear from the publications) was a painting of a palace-facade false door.

Baer has dated this tomb to period VIF.<sup>313</sup> However, it has been seen above under **m3-nfr** (54) that his ranking chart for this period is highly suspect, and it should not preclude an earlier date. It is noteworthy that **m3-nfr** and **k3i-pw-inpw** have not dissimilar titularies. The false door panel is inscribed with sixty-three elements of the

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313. Middle of the reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 140-1 (515).

canonical offering list. Such a feature seems to be found around the middle of the fifth dynasty and a little later (Ch. 2.I.G.2); other examples of such lists in cruciform chapels may be found in the tombs of shm-k3i<sup>314</sup> and hnmw-htp.<sup>315</sup> As published, the false door has only one pair of jambs, and the panel is flanked with wide apertures. The relief (except for that of the offering list) would seem to be raised. These features point to a fifth dynasty date, supported also by the other tombs in the same area east of the Step Pyramid.

Suggested Date: Middle to later fifth dynasty.

**k3i-pw-inpw** 142

Source: Tomb from the area east of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, exact position unknown, E 12.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 586.

Relevant Titles: imy-r hwt wrt.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, mdw rhyt, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hry-tp nzw, hrp wsht, z3b 'd-mr.

All that is known of this tomb is its plan and the titles from the false door. The plan has been compared to that of the vizier nfr-ssm-ss3t (89), probably from the same area.<sup>316</sup> This is the only comparison to be made on the evidence currently available: nfr-ssm-ss3t probably dates to the middle of the sixth dynasty. Some relationship may have existed to the k3i-pw-inpw above (141) especially as a number of titles are common to both titularies. It would

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314. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. VII.

315. Cairo, CG 1423.

316. Baer, Rank and Title, 141 (516).



appear that plural strokes are found in this tomb, suggesting a date not early in the sixth dynasty.<sup>317</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle sixth dynasty.

**k3i-pw-r'** 143

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 22 (D 39). Chapel now in Philadelphia Mus., E. 15729.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 455-6.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r pr-hd**, **imy-r pr-hd n hnw**.

Other Titles: **imy-ht pr-hd**, **wr bzt**, **ny z3 'prw nzwt ?**, **hm-ntr nfr-dd-k3-r'**, **hry-sst3**, **zš 'prw nzwt**, **zš hkr nzwt**, **shd zš pr-hd**.

The chapel is of the north-south type with, unusually, the entrance in the north wall. It is fully decorated, and there is a false door at the southern end of the west wall. It can date no earlier than the reign of Djedkare, whose name appears in the tomb. This door is one of a small group which have the deceased facing left on the panel and lintels. It is possible that they may all be of similar date (Ch. 2.I.C and E.1). The tombs of two of these men, '**nh-m'-r**' and **shm-'nh-pt** (124) are situated quite near that of **k3i-pw-r'**. The latter's false door does not appear to have a cornice or torus, and yet has three pairs of jambs with inscriptions of even length, and figures of the deceased at the bottom of each. Such features are perhaps to be considered as indicative of a transitional style between the older and newer false door types, evident in the later fifth dynasty

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317. Mariette, Mastabas, 416.

(Ch. 2.I.B).

Suggested Date: Reign of Djedkare to end of the fifth dynasty.

k3i-m-snw 144

Son of shtpw (122).

Source: Brick-built tomb in the western part of the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 541.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt.

Other Titles: /// b3-nfr-ir-k3-r', imy-r bh't nbt nt nzwt, imy-r bh't nt nzwt, w'b mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', w'b s3hw-r', rh nzwt, hm-ntr mn-swt-ny-wsr-r', hm-ntr nfr-ir-k3-r', hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', hm-ntr r' hwthr m st-ib-r', hry-tp šnwt.<sup>318</sup>

This tomb was in fact built for at least three individuals: k3i-m-snw, shtpw, and wr-dd-ptḥ, whose relationship to the other two is unclear. The question of the dating has been very much linked with that of the neighbouring tomb of the family of k3i-m-hzt,<sup>319</sup> due to the similar location, plan and construction.

When found, the tomb of k3i-m-snw was dated by its excavators to the period immediately preceding the construction of the tombs of k3i-gmni (151) and mrrw-k3i (68), although the reasons for this are not clear.<sup>320</sup> Such a date has been rejected by Kees, principally for

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318. Those of hry-tp šnwt and imy-r bh't nbt nt nzwt come from the dedication inscription in the tomb of his father; they may perhaps belong to an earlier stage of his career.

319. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 542-3.

320. Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, 31.

k3i-m-hzt, but also for k3i-m-snw.<sup>321</sup> He compares particularly the similar position of the smaller mastabas north of the main group on this site, which are probably of the late reign of Pepy I. In his discussion Baer points out the evidence in favour of a late fifth dynasty date, but on the basis of the title sequences assigns it to period VID (early to middle reign of Pepy II).<sup>322</sup>

Thus the main problem is whether this tomb antedates or postdates the construction of the major tombs in the cemetery. Firstly, although at first sight the location would seem to parallel that of the above mentioned small brick mastabas behind the major tombs, in fact those of k3i-m-snw and k3i-m-hzt are away to the south-west and west of them at a distance. These two tombs are also much larger than the other group. As it is built of brick, the mastaba of k3i-m-snw is unlikely to be a companion of the great tombs; its owner is also of lower rank, as the majority of the occupants of these large tombs were viziers. There is thus no reason not to see this particular area as a fringe of the main fifth dynasty cemetery at North Saqqara.

The discovery of a cylinder seal of Pepy I in the debris over the tomb of k3i-m-hzt cannot be used to prove a sixth dynasty date, as such a small object could have found its way there very easily over a long period of time.<sup>323</sup> Perhaps more significant is the discovery of a sealing of Djedkare in one of the burials in the tomb of k3i-m-snw;<sup>324</sup> while this cannot definitely prove a late fifth dynasty date, it is perhaps more likely that a proper burial incorporating such a sealing would not have been made very long after the reign of the king in question.

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321. WZKM 54 (1957), 97-100.

322. Rank and Title, 143-4 (528).

323. Quibell-Hayter, Teti Pyramid, 19.

324. Firth-Gunn, op. cit., 36, 169.



The design of the chapel and false doors give further indications which point to the earlier date. The chapels of both the mastabas have a hall leading to a cruciform offering room. Such a design is far more typical of the fifth than the sixth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.H), and it would appear that none of the other mastabas in the cemetery employ such a design, but use rather the east-west offering room with the false door occupying the whole western wall. All these latter tombs also have false doors of the cornice and torus moulding type, which features are absent in the tomb of **k3i-m-snw** (no doors have survived in the tomb of **k3i-m-hzt**). On the west wall of the main chapel of **k3i-m-snw** is found an offering list between the two false doors. This feature is more or less unknown in sixth dynasty tombs at Saqqara, whereas the offering list of **wr-ir-n-ptḥ** may be noted as a parallel in the fifth dynasty.<sup>325</sup>

Suggested Date: Perhaps end of the fifth dynasty.

**k3i-m-qdi** 145

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, LS 14.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 494.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r pr-hd**.

Other Titles: **imy-r sšr nzwt, w'b nzwt, ḥm-ntr r' m st-ib-r', hry-sšt3**.

The only surviving decoration in the north-south offering room of this tomb is a false door. The chapel itself is unusual in that the entrance is from the south. Salient features of the false door are

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325. BM Stelae I<sup>2</sup>, pl. XXVIII.

the panel apertures decorated with figures, and the abbreviated list of oils on the panel itself. The two features are indicative of the fifth dynasty, and the brief oil list is generally found about the middle of the period (Ch. 2.I.G.1).

Suggested Date: Perhaps early to middle fifth dynasty.

**k3i-m-tnnt** 146

Source: Tomb north of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, no. 84 (D 7; S 919).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 489; also Schott, Fs Otto, 443-62.

Relevant Titles: **imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.**

Other Titles: **[imy-irty] 'prwy imw, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt, imy-r mš', imy-r sb3yt msw nzwt, z3 nzwt, smr w'ty, sd3wty ntr, sd3wty ntr m imwwy '3, dd nrw hr m h3swt.**

The most important remains from this tomb are the damaged parts of a biographical inscription, in which there is a mention of a vizier r'-špss.<sup>326</sup> From the context it appears that r'-špss was active at the same time as **k3i-m-tnnt**, and is presumably the man of that name buried not far from the tomb in question (r'-špss (95)). That **k3i-m-tnnt** was the younger of the two is suggested by the relative lack of titles in his biography, a fact noted by Schott.<sup>327</sup> In general however, fifth dynasty biographies do not enumerate many titles, and so one should not base too many conclusions on the above observation. Support is however given to this suggestion by Baer, who places **k3i-m-tnnt** in

326. Urk. I, 183.12 and 17; Schott, op. cit., 461c, Abb. 5.

327. op. cit., 452.

period VC (middle reign of Djedkare to middle reign of Wenis)<sup>328</sup> and r'-šps in period VB (Neferirkare to Djedkare).

Suggested Date: Perhaps later reign of Djedkare.

k3i-ny-nbfwi; hnw 147

Source: A small tomb within the Temenos Wall of the mastaba of mrrw-k3i in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 537.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r šm'w, hry-tp nzwt.

There is a son of mrrw-k3i (68) by the name of hnw mentioned in the former's tomb, but there are reasons for doubting whether this man is the same as k3i-ny-nbfwi; hnw.<sup>329</sup> Baer dates k3i-ny-nbfwi to the First Intermediate Period,<sup>330</sup> admittedly on the evidence of very few titles.

The only elements to survive from this tomb are the false door and offering table. The door seems to be a typical late Old Kingdom product with a torus and cornice. The late date is suggested by the elongation of the figures of the deceased. It is perhaps possible that the arguments concerning the location of the tomb of ttw (160) apply here, that in the Intermediate Period tombs may have been set up in close proximity to the great mastabas of the earlier period. Such a suggestion would explain the location of the tomb, and clarify Baer's date.

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328. Rank and Title, 144 (530).

329. Baer, op. cit., 115-6 (389a).

330. op. cit., 145 (533).



Suggested Date: Late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period.

k3i-nfr 148

Source: Tomb at Dahshur, east of the northern pyramid of Sneferu, no. 28.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 893; for Louvre E11268 see now, Ziegler, RdE 31 (1979), 120-34.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: iwn knmwt, imy-iz nhn, imy-r wpt, imy-r h'-snfrw, iry p't, [w'] wrw hb, wr m3 iwnw, wr npt, wr 5 pr-dhwt, wd-mdw n [h]ry-wdb, mniw nhn, mdw rhyt, r p nb, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', h3ty-' n iti.f, hm b3w p, hm b3w nhn, hm-ntr wnw nzw, hm-ntr b3stt m swt nbt, hm-ntr hr mhyt, hm-ntr hr nb msn, hm-ntr hr nb-m3't, hm-ntr sbk mhyt ?, hm-ntr snfrw, hry-hb, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sst3 hr nb-m3't, hry-tp nzw, hrp 'h, hrp w'b, hrp hm-ntr snfrw, ht minw, ht hr, hts inpw, z3 nzw, z3 nzw n ht.f, z3 nzw n ht.f smsw, z3b 'd-mr, sm3 minw, sm3 hr, smr, smr w'ty, smr n iti.f, smsw izt, sd3wty bity, sd3wty ntr imw.

The mid-fourth dynasty date given to this tomb by Baer among others is somewhat problematical.<sup>331</sup> Firstly, it is later than one would expect if k3i-nfr were a son of Sneferu as suggested by the inscriptions; secondly, the false door has more in common with those of the middle fifth dynasty (wide jambs with many columns of text and also a large

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331. Rank and Title, 145 (534).

figure of the deceased),<sup>332</sup> than those of members of the royal family of the fourth dynasty.

Recently Schmitz has proposed that, due to all the unusual features of the tomb, it should be dated to the late Old Kingdom, and that k3i-nfr 's tenure of the vizierate was wholly honorific.<sup>333</sup> The main objections to this dating are the size of the tomb, which is more in keeping with those of the fourth or fifth dynasties, and the design of the false door (see above). As the titles do not fit into any of the sequences of Baer, the tomb could postdate, as well as antedate, his principal periods, and so be of the late Old Kingdom, as is, for example, the tomb of ttw (160).

Suggested Date: Unclear; perhaps either late Old Kingdom or early to middle fifth dynasty.

k3i-htp 149

Son of 'nh-mry-r' (33)

Source: False door and reliefs in the courtyard of the tomb of mhw (69) in the Wenis Cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 622; unpublished, but some titles in Martin, Hetepka, 5 (7); also personal examination of tomb.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r gs-pr, h3ty-', smr w'ty, shd hm-ntr mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, sd3wty bity.

Unlike those of his father, the reliefs of k3i-htp are clearly not

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332. The part now exhibited in the British Museum (BM 1324) is dated in the display to the fifth dynasty.

333. Königsson, 145-9, supported by Mostafa, Opfertafel, 54.

part of the original scheme of the tomb of mhw. Assuming the above genealogy to be correct, he may be dated approximately one generation later than 'nh-mry-r', that is, about the middle of the reign of Pepy II.

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Pepy II.

k3i-hr-pt<sub>h</sub>; ftk-t3 150

Source: Tomb in the Western Cemetery at Giza, near the temenos wall of the pyramid of Khufu, G5560. Also a lintel fragment found reused in tomb G7652 in the Eastern Cemetery.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 166-7; G7652, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 201.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty ?.<sup>334</sup>

Other Titles: [i]my-r inbw-hd and the nome of Letopolis, [imy-r] niw<sub>w</sub>t m3wt nt nfr-dd-k3-r', wr md šm'w, nst hntt, hm-ntr m3't, hrp zš iry sprw, z3b imy-r zš, z3b 'd-mr, shd w'b 3ht-hwfw .

The greater part of this mastaba has been badly damaged, and only the lower parts of the false doors have survived with also a few blocks. The tomb has a west-east offering room, although it would seem that false doors were used in another north-south room as well. In the burial chamber, on the east wall, is a depiction of the deceased seated before an offering list. Junker says that the introduction of the figure of the deceased into the burial chamber should be an indi-

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334. It is by no means certain that this title is present in the tomb, especially as no drawing or photograph of it is published.



cation of a late date.<sup>335</sup> However, there are virtually no examples with which to compare it, and so it should not be accepted without question. It can equally be argued that the decoration of one wall is an example of the progression from the simple list in the burial chamber of sndm-ib; inti (120) to the fully decorated chamber of k3i-m-'nh.<sup>336</sup>

Baer dates this tomb to period VI<sup>1</sup>G,<sup>337</sup> but the sequences are broken and are not all in agreement. From the lintel in G7652 (not given by Baer), the title sequences would fit period VI<sup>1</sup>C (mid sixth dynasty), more in accordance with the above argument concerning the burial chamber. Furthermore, the tomb is also located next to that of idw I; nfr (22), also probably to be dated to the middle of the sixth dynasty.

Suggested Date: Early to middle sixth dynasty.

k3i-gmni; mmi 151

Source: Tomb north of the temenos wall of the Pyramid of Teti at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 521-5.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r zš<sup>v</sup> '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty, t3yty z3b t3ty m3'.

Other Titles: /// št3t nt nzwt, im3-', imy-iz, imy-iz nhn, imy-r izwy hry htm md3t, imy-r izwy hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bty,

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335. Giza VIII, 3-4.

336. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 131-3.

337. End of the reign of Pepy II; Rank and Title, 148 (544).

imy-r wpt, imy-r wdt nbt, imy-r wdt-mdw nbt nt nzwt,  
 imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r n t3 r dr.f prwy, imy-r niwt  
 dd-swt-tti, imy-r zš (772), imy-r šm'w, imy-r sđmt  
 nbt, imy-r gswy-pr, imy-r t3 r dr.f šm'w t3-mhw,  
 imy-r t3-mhw šm'w, iry p't, iry nfr-h3t, 'd-mr  
 dw3-hr-hnty-pt, wr m3 iwnw, wty inpw, mniw nhn, r p  
 nb, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-  
 sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wpt št3t, hry-sšt3 n m33t w', hry-  
 sšt3 n mdw ntr, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp m ntrw, hrp  
 hwt nzwt, hrp hwt nt, hrp hwt nt hdt-nt, hrp šndyt  
 nbt, zš md3t ntr, sm, sm3 minw ?, smr w'ty, šđ hm-  
 ntr dd-swt-tti, šđ dd-swt-tti, sd3wty bity.

For a fuller discussion of the date of this tomb relative to the others in this cemetery see above under **mrrw-k3i** (68) and **nfr-sšm-r'** (88). There is the fortunate survival in this tomb of a biography,<sup>338</sup> from which it would appear that he began his career under Djedkare, was a z3b 'd-mr in the reign of Wenis, and then continued to serve under Teti, in which reign he must have received the vizierate. The evidence discussed above under **mrrw-k3i** suggests that this latter promotion may have taken place in the early part of the reign.

Suggested Date: Early reign of Teti.

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 338. Urk. I, 194-6; reconstruction, Edel, MIO 1 (1953), 210-26, Taf. I-II.

k3i-tp 152

Source: Various parts of a tomb chapel, from either Saqqara or Giza, now in London and Chicago.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 693-4.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t nzwt.*

Other Titles: '*d-mr grgt*, '*d-mr grgt mht*, *w'b nzwt*, *rh nzwt*, *hm-ntr hfw*, *hrp w'b nzwt*, *hrp m z3*, *shd w'b nzwt.*

The provenance of these monuments is not certain, James says that Giza is perhaps the more likely,<sup>339</sup> which would be strengthened by Fischer's suggestion of a relationship to another k3i-tp at Giza.<sup>340</sup> On the basis of the titles, Kees has suggested a late fifth dynasty date.<sup>341</sup>

The simple form of the false door suggests that it may date to the fifth dynasty, supported by the appearance of offerings on the panel and the line of inscription in the central niche (Ch. 2.I.F.1). Such a simple form would be rather unusual for Saqqara, making Giza the more likely provenance.

Baer suggests that the style of the pieces in Chicago show a relatively early date; the title sequences fit the periods VB-D, VIB-D, VIF,<sup>342</sup> which cover the greater part of the fifth and sixth dynasties, due to the relatively low number of rankable titles. The earlier limit of these dates is possibly to be preferred on stylistic grounds.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty (?).

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339. BM Stelae I<sup>2</sup>, 5.

340. Varia, 35-7. For the tomb, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 52.

341. OLZ 57 (1962), 341-7.

342. Rank and Title, 150 (549).



k3i-dbh<sub>n</sub> 153

Source: Tomb in the middle of the Central Field at Giza.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 276-7.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-h<sub>d</sub> (could also be imy-r pr-h<sub>d</sub> n 'prwy imw).

Other Titles: imy-ht n pr-h<sub>d</sub>, ny 'prwy imw ?, rh nzwt, htm h3t df3w  
bity, zš hbs nzwt, zš hkr nzwt, shd zs pr-h<sub>d</sub>.

The offering chapel of k3i-dbh<sub>n</sub> has a false door in the centre of the western wall with the deceased and his wife to the right and funerary priests to the left. The false door is of the simple narrow type with two pairs of jambs, typical at Giza for much of the fifth and sixth dynasties (Ch. 2.II.E).

For unclear reasons Baer has assigned this tomb to the sixth dynasty.<sup>343</sup> Again, indications for a date are vague, with a range of possible periods.

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle fifth to early sixth dynasty.

gmni-m-h3t; gmni 154

Source: Tomb immediately to the north of the temenos wall of the Pyramid of Teti at Saqqara, HMK 30.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 538-9.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwt<sub>y</sub>.

Other Titles: imy-r pr, mty n z3 w3d-swt-mry-k3-r', mty n z3 dd-swt-tti, rh nzwt m3', smr w'ty, sd3wt<sub>y</sub> bity.

As the name of king Merykare of the tenth dynasty is found in this

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343. Rank and Title, 150 (551).

tomb, the late First Intermediate Period or later is a certainty.

Suggested Date: Late tenth dynasty or later.

tp-m-'nh 155

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 35 (D 10, H 11).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 483.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: 1. Before Vizierate: imy-r wpt m3', h3ty-', hm-ntr  
nfr-swt-wnis, hry-hb, hry-sst3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sst3  
nzwt m swt.f nbt, hry-tp nzwt, z3b 'd-mr m3', z3b zš  
m3', z3b shd zš m3', smr w'ty, smr w'ty m3', smr w'ty  
n mrwt m3', shd hm-ntr hwthr mrt wnis.  
2. When Vizier: h3ty-', smr w'ty.

The chapel of this tomb exhibits the unusual combination of a north-south offering room with a false door of the cornice and torus type. These two features are normally mutually exclusive (Ch. 2.I.H), especially for a tomb that cannot antedate the reign of Wenis, as the titles show. Baer has dated the mastaba to his period VIE, the middle of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>344</sup>

Further problems arise with the association of the owner of this false door with that of the elements of another false door found outside the tomb.<sup>345</sup> The problem is that the panel of the latter door has wide apertures, which are not found after approximately the reign of Djedkare (Ch. 2.I.D). One would not expect tp-m-'nh to have used the

344. Rank and Title, 151 (558).

345. Cairo, CG 1509-10.

current form of false door with narrow apertures before he became vizier and then revert to an older form after his promotion. However, it does not seem possible to disassociate these two sets of monuments according to the account of Mariette, their excavator,<sup>346</sup> even though the stylistic features of Cairo, CG 1510 would be more in keeping with the nearby tomb of another tp-m-'nh, who was not however a vizier.<sup>347</sup> One should perhaps regard the identification of these two groups of monuments as belonging to the same man with suspicion.<sup>348</sup> For present purposes, if tp-m-'nh was vizier in the sixth dynasty, it is perhaps most likely that he held office in the period of the reigns of Pepy I to early Pepy II, when viziers were buried in no one particular area of the Saqqara cemeteries (cf mrri (67)).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle sixth dynasty ?

tti 156

Source: Tomb east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara,  
M 15.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 684.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r šnwty, t3yty  
z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-r niwt mn-'nh-nfr-k3-r' ppy, imy-r niwt mn-nfr-  
mry-r' ppy, imy-r zš, imy-r gs-pr, imy-r gswy-pr, iry

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346. Mastabas, 194.

347. Tomb no. 76 (D 11, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 483-4).

348. To anticipate conclusions reached below about the titles of viziers, the highest rank reached by tp-m-'nh was h3ty-, whereas one would expect him to have been iry p't in the sixth dynasty; h3ty- was however the highest rank of mid-fifth dynasty viziers (see page 504 ff).



p't, iti ntr, '3 dw3w, wty inpw, h3ty-', hw-',  
 hry-hb, hry-hb hry-tp, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp m ntrw,  
 hrp šndyt nbt, hq3 b3t, hq3 hwt, hts inpw ?, z3 nzwt,  
 z3 nzwt smsw, zš md3t ntr, sm, smr w'ty, smsw snwt,  
 sd3wty bity, sdt nzwt.

This man is dated by Kees<sup>349</sup> and Baer<sup>350</sup> to the end of the reign of Pepy II. Kees's argument is based on the similarity of elements of his titulary to those of the viziers šm3i and idi of Koptos, who are known to have served under Pepy II and some of the kings of the eighth dynasty respectively. Although Baer places him in the same period (VIG - late reign of Pepy II) as ny-hb-sd-nfr-k3-r' (72), Kees's considerations suggest tti to be the later of the two.

Suggested Date: End of the reign of Pepy II.

ty 157

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 60 (D 22).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 468-78.

Relevant Titles: imy-r zš '-nzwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt.

Other Titles: /// w't nt nzwt, /// m hnw 'h-ntr šm'w, imy-r i'-r nb  
 nzwt, imy-r i'-r nzwt, imy-r 'b nb, imy-r  
 b3-nfr-ir-k3-r', imy-r phw, imy-r mn-swt-ny-wsr-r',  
 imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r hm-ntr, imy-r hm-ntr  
 b3-nfr-ir-k3-r', imy-r hrt, imy-r hkr nzwt, imy-r hkr  
 nzwt nb, imy-r htp-r', imy-r zš (799), imy-r šn-t3

349. Vezirat, 48-9.

350. Rank and Title, 152 (560).

nb, imy-r sht-r', imy-r šzp-ib-r', imy-r st-ib-r',  
 iry nfr-h3t, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, wr idt, hry-tp  
 nhb, hm st, hm-ntr hr inpw hnty pr šmswt, hm-ntr hr  
 qm3-', hry-wdb m hwt-'nh, hry-hb, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3  
 n wdt-mdw nt nzwt, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hry-sšt3 n mdw  
 ntr, hry-sšt3 n mdw št3 nw mdw ntr, hry-sšt3 n nzwt  
 m swt pr-'3, hry-sšt3 n nzwt m swt.f nbt, hrp iri šn  
 pr-'3, hrp iri šn nzwt, hrp 'h, hrp mhnk nzwt, zš  
 md3t ntr, zš n hryt-' nt nzwt, smr w'ty, smr w'ty n  
 mrwt, shd hm-ntr r' m st-ib-r'.

Size and magnificence of tomb and ease of dating do not always go together, as this example will show. The range of dates proposed may be indicated by that given by Porter and Moss, 'Neuserre to end of Dyn. V'. The lower limit is from Baer, who places him in period VC,<sup>351</sup> the upper because Neweserre is the latest king to be mentioned.

The plan of the offering rooms is a variant of the type with long north-south corridor and an east-west offering chapel. This design would seem to exist from the mid-fifth dynasty onwards (Ch. 2.I.H). The principal false doors are of the torus and cornice type, employing two jambs. They are in raised relief, with decorated apertures, and display a list of oils on the panel, all of which do not point to a date late in the fifth dynasty, but more towards the middle (Ch. 2.I.G.1). Such a mixture of old and new elements is seemingly unique, and as the false doors of his son and wife are of the older form without torus or cornice,<sup>352</sup> it is likely that ty 's door precedes the development of a completely standardised version of the door

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 351. Middle reign of Djedkare to middle that of Wenis, Rank and Title, 152 (564).

352. Epron-Wild, Tombeau de Ti I, pl. XVIII-XX, XXXIX.

with torus and cornice.

ty may appear in the decoration of the mortuary temple of Neweserre at Abusir. Borchardt lists a smr w'ty who may be this ty,<sup>353</sup> as he is most frequently represented in his tomb with the title of smr w'ty.

The names of kings must be used with care, but it is tempting to see in ty's titles continuous service for several successive kings. He held the title of imy-r of the sun temples of Sahure, Neferirkare, Neferefre and Neweserre. Only two of the known sun temples are not included here, that of Weserkaf (the earliest) and that of Menkauhor (the latest). Additionally, ty is the only person to have held any of these titles, and this uniqueness coupled with the continuous service (perhaps covering a period of only 30 years) suggests that he may have been contemporary with these rulers, and died before the establishment of the sun temple of Menkauhor. It should be remembered however, that this unique position could be equally explained by a sudden promotion to all four offices at once as a mark of favour, although the argument concerning Menkauhor would still be true.

Suggested Date: Perhaps late reign of Neweserre.

tnti 158

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 72 (C 18).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 482.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

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353. Neuserre, 71 (1,2).



Other Titles: iry p't, wr m3, h3ty-', hry-hb hry-tp, hry-sst3 n pt  
 m33 st3 pt, hrp šndyt [nbt], zš md3t ntr, sm, smr  
 w'ty.

The inscriptional material from this tomb is confined to the lintel of the doorway, and on that basis Baer gives periods VIB-D as possible dates.<sup>354</sup>

The majority of tombs in the North Saqqara Cemetery are of fifth dynasty date. The principal examples which would seem to belong to the end of the dynasty and later are those of tp-m-'nh (155) and s3bw; ibbi (116). The former has a north-south chapel, as does tnti, combined with a torus and cornice false door. On the basis of such a comparison, tnti could date at least to the early sixth dynasty. The door lintel in his tomb has the unusual feature of a vertical column of text which interrupts the horizontal lines of the principal texts. A similar example may be found in the small tomb of 'nh-ppy in the Wenis Cemetery at Saqqara which is clearly later than the great mastabas there.<sup>355</sup> If the tomb is of the sixth dynasty, the most probable period is perhaps the reigns of Pepy I or Merenre, when the tombs of viziers were not built in any one particular area of the Saqqara Cemetery (compare mrrri (67)).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle sixth dynasty.

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 354. Early to middle sixth dynasty; Rank and Title, 153-4 (571).

355. Hassan, Saqqara II, fig. 3.

ttti (159). 159

Source: Tomb, exact location unknown, near the pyramid of Teti at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 566-7; largely unpublished; much information from the Gunn Mss.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: imy-r 3ht, imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r hry htm md3t, imy-r zš hry htm md3t, zš '-nzwt hft-hr, smr w'ty, sd3wty bity.

The material from this tomb comprises a false door, lintel and numerous statues. The false door has many similarities in shape and design with late Old Kingdom pieces from the same cemetery - it has a cornice and torus with an outer 'frame', although it does not have the 'T' shaped panel of many other doors from this area and also South Saqqara. As most of the material from the reign of Pepy II is to be found at the latter location ttti may perhaps date from the end of this reign at the earliest.

Suggested Date: Late sixth dynasty or later.

ttw 160

Source: Tomb in the angle between the mastabas of mrrw-k3i (68) and k3i-gmni (151) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 537.

Relevant Titles: imy-r prwy-hd, imy-r hwt wrt 6, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt nt nzwt, t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: im3-', imy-iz, imy-r 3ht m t3-mhw šm'w, imy-r izwy  
 hkr nzwt, imy-r w'bty, imy-r wpt htpw ntr m prwy,  
 imy-r pr hry-wdb, imy-r hwt nwb, imy-r hnw, imy-r hry  
 htm md3t, imy-r zšwy, imy-r swt špswt pr-'3, iry p't,  
 ' nnty, ' hq3t, '3 dw3w, 'd-mr dp, wr 5 pr-dhwt, wty  
 inpw, mniw nbn, hry-tp nbn, h3ty-', hw-', hm-ntr  
 m3't, hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, hry-hb, hry-hb  
 hry-tp, hry-sšt3 n wd'-mdw, hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t,  
 hry-tp nzwt, hrp i3t nbt ntrt, hrp i3ts km, hrp m  
 ntrw, hrp nsty, hrp hwt nt, hrp zš iry sprw, hrp  
 šndyt nbt, hq3 b3t, hts inpw, zš '-nzwt, zš md3t ntr,  
 sm, sm3 minw, sm3 hr, smr w'ty, smsw snwt, shd hm-ntr  
 mn-nfr-mry-r' ppy, sd3wty bity.

Two dates are frequently proposed for this tomb, namely the reign of Pepy I or later, and the First Intermediate Period. The former is suggested by the presence of the title shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-ppy, and by the discovery of a jar lid of the same king in the burial chamber. The later date is from Baer.<sup>356</sup> The title is the main argument in favour of the earlier date, as such a small object as a jar lid could have come into his possession at any time. Most of the holders of this title would seem to date to the reigns of Pepy I or II.<sup>357</sup>

There are however a number of features which contradict this date. It would appear that many of the smaller mastabas to the north of the principal ones date to the reign of Pepy I, and if ttw built his tomb in that reign, one wonders why he did not site it there. The actual position of his tomb is similar to that of the very many small tombs

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356. Rank and Title, 154 (576).

357. For example, mhw (69) at Saqqara, and several provincial officials.



of the First Intermediate Period in the area between the great mastabas and the temenos wall of the pyramid complex, and indeed its location is not unlike that of the tombs of htp and ihy, both of Middle Kingdom date.<sup>358</sup> Perhaps because of ttw's importance in the First Intermediate Period, he was able to choose (or was granted) one of the prime sites for his tomb. The false door also argues against the earlier date. It has the 'T' shaped panel, which seems to have come into common use in the reign of Pepy II, although the earliest examples are from the reign of Pepy I, and continued at least to the tenth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.C).

It would appear that ttw has inflated his titulary using as a model the titles in the tomb of mrrw-k3i: to quote perhaps the best example, the title wr diw pr dhwtj appears only four times after the fourth dynasty, twice here and twice at South Saqqara.<sup>359</sup> Such borrowing is arguably a sign of a period that is looking back to former greatness, more true of the First Intermediate Period than the reign of Pepy I. Finally, although there is a lack of material for the title shd hmw-ntr mn-nfr-ppy in the First Intermediate Period, the cult would certainly seem to have continued for the period in question.<sup>360</sup>

Suggested Date: Seventh to tenth dynasties.

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358. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 550-1.

359. In the tombs of zzi (114) and hrd-ni, PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 678.


360. Helck, MDAIK 15 (1957), 110.


dw3-n-r' 161

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5110.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 148; almost completely unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: t3yty z3b t3ty.

Other Titles: imy-iz, iry p't, '3 dw3w, [d-mr] imw, wr idt, [w]r 5  
 pr-[dhwtj], wty inpw, mniw nhn, mdh zš nzwt, mdh ,  
 r p nb, hry-tp nhb, h3ty-', hw-', hm-ntr hr inpw hnty  
 pr šmswt, hry-wdb m hwt-'nh, hry-hb hry-tp, hry-tp  
 nzwt m prwy, hrp i3ts km, hrp tis bity, z3 nzwt n  
 ht.f, zš md3t ntr, sm3 ///.

Since the excavations of Reisner, it has been usual to identify dw3-n-r' with the son of Queen mrs-'nh III by the name of dw3-r'.<sup>361</sup> Nowhere is it even mentioned in these accounts that there is a difference in the writing of the names. This is an important objection, particularly given the seemingly clear differentiation of royal and non-royal cemeteries in the fourth dynasty. There is however one unpublished piece of evidence in Reisner's favour: in G5110 the name of the owner is written everywhere dw3-n-r' with one exception. This is on the panel of the false door, where (although broken) it seems to be written . Given the consistency of the writing of the name

elsewhere, it is possible to see this as an error. It may actually be so for reasons of space; the name is fitted into a relatively confined area above the head of the deceased and the signs are closer together than normal. The n may have been omitted due to the impossi-

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361. For dw3-r', Dunham/Simpson, Giza Mastabas I, fig. 6; for Reisner's opinion, Mycerinus, 242; Giza I, 218, 247, 248; II, 11.

bility of finding space for it.

Porter and Moss refer to the son of *mrs-'nh* as 'Dua(en)re',<sup>362</sup> although assigning him to tomb G5110 without comment. More recently, Schmitz has raised the important point that the other known children of *mrs-'nh* (*nb-m-3ht* (81) and *ny-wsr-r'*<sup>363</sup>) are buried in the Khafre quarry cemetery.<sup>364</sup> If *dw3-n-r'* is to be identified with *dw3-r'* one would expect, on the analogy of *nb-m-3ht* and *ny-wsr-r'*, to find titles with *n iti.f*, none of which are forthcoming.

In his reconstruction of the inscriptions of *ny-hmt*, Smith proposed to add the name of *dw3-n-r'* to those of *k3i-w'b* (140), *htp-hrs* II and *mrs-'nh* III.<sup>365</sup> Examination of the original gives no support for the restoration.

If Reisner's theory about the parentage of *dw3-n-r'* is to be rejected, so also must his date in the reign of Menkaure. Other indications may be derived however from the stylistic features of the western wall of the chapel (Ch. 2.I.C.2), and it is suggested that his status as vizier may have caused him to have used new and unique features in his tomb, along with older established ones. Such criteria are only approximate, but suggest a date in the late fourth dynasty.

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty.

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362. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 198.

363. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 234.

364. Königssohn, 75-6.

365. Giza II, 11.



dw3-r' 162

Source: 1. Tomb east of the Southern Pyramid of Sneferu at Dahshur.

2. Statues found in the temple of the same pyramid.

Bibliography: 1. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 894. 2. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 878.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: imy-r imntt, imy-r nzwtw, imy-r h'-snfrw, imy-r h'wy-snfrw, imy-r hwt ihwt, imy-r z3w šm'w, 'd-mr dw3-hr-hnty-pt, w'b w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, wr md šm'w, rh nzwt, hm-ntr r' m nhn-r', hm-ntr snfrw, hnty-š, hnty-š w'b-swt-wsr-k3f, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n nb.f, hrp w'b, hq3 hwt-'3t.

It would seem likely that this tomb was built, or at least completed, by dw3-r' 's son 'nh-m-'-r'. From the general arrangement of chapels at Dahshur, it would appear that this tomb is among the earlier ones. Particular features of the false door give an indication of the date: on the panel appear most of the first twenty elements of the canonical offering list, which suggests the middle of the fifth dynasty. This list is not unlike that of ty, probably of the reign of Sahure or slightly later.<sup>366</sup> The inner jambs are wider than the outer ones, and bear a large figure of the deceased, another feature of the first half of the fifth dynasty (Ch. 2.I.B). The use of sunk relief is generally uncommon on doors of this period, but it is quite possible however that this was used by 'nh-m-'-r' to speed up the completion of the tomb.

Baer's title sequences do not give a precise date in this case however the only fifth dynasty period he lists as possible is VB,

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366. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 450.

which agrees with the above estimates.<sup>367</sup>

These all point to the middle of the fifth dynasty. As the tomb was completed by dw3-r''s son, it is possible that these criteria apply to him rather than to his father, who should therefore be placed a little earlier.

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or slightly earlier.

d3-mrw 163

Source: Depicted amongst the courtiers of Pepy II in the antechamber and sanctuary of his mortuary temple at South Saqqara.

Bibliography: Jéquier, Pepi II, II, pl. 59, 72.

Relevant Titles: imy-r šnwty.

Other Titles: iry p't, h3ty-' , smr w'ty.

The name and titles of d3-mrw did not figure among the original decoration of the temple. In both cases his name has been added later: on the east wall of the antechamber (pl. 59), his name and the titles iry p't, h3ty-' and imy-r šnwty have replaced earlier ones (perhaps just smr w'ty ?), while on the south wall of the sanctuary just the name has been changed (pl. 72), leaving the original smr w'ty intact. Consequently it is not certain whether this title really belonged to him.

The discussions of the viziers mry-r'-i3m (61), šn'y (133) and h'-b3w-hnmw (102) must be compared to arrive at a date. The situation of d3-mrw is most like that of the last of these three, that is, not

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367. Rank and Title, 154 (581).

originally included in the scheme of decoration, and so his date could well be similar.

Suggested Date: Third quarter of the reign of Pepy II.

d3ty 164

Source: Tomb in the Cemetery en Echelon at Giza, G5370 (LG 31).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 161; The false door of d3ty mentioned here as coming from G2337X is of a totally different man, see Simpson, Fs Edel, 489-90.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzwt.

Other Titles: wr md šm'w.

The most important find in this mastaba was a wooden chest bearing sealings of lector priests of Sahure and Neferirkare. This does not necessarily mean that the burial was effected in the latter reign, but it is likely that the chest would have been placed in the tomb not long after the sealings were made. The serdab of r'-wr I was built against this tomb.<sup>368</sup> If he were a son of sšm-nfr I (129), then the date of his tomb would perhaps be the reign of Neferirkare to Neweserre; the tomb of d3ty is a little earlier than this.

It is to be wondered whether he is the same man as the similarly-named son of d3ty (165) depicted in tomb G7810 at Giza. This man held the almost identical titles of imy-r k3t (nt) nzwt and wr md šm'w, and the date to be suggested below on independent evidence would be in agreement with that noted above for a possible identification.

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368. Tomb G5270; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 158.



Suggested Date: Perhaps the reign of Neferirkare, or a little later.

d3ty 165

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7810.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 204-5; almost completely unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: [imy-r] k3t nbt nt [nzwt].

Other Titles: imy-r mš', z3 nzwt, z3 nzwt n ht.f, smr ?.

The parents of d3ty are completely unknown, although as a z3 nzwt n ht.f buried in the eastern cemetery there is a possibility that his parents were at the least the offspring of a king.<sup>369</sup> Tomb G7810 is part of the addition to the original cores of the cemetery, which consisted of the cores to the south and north of the mastaba of 'nh-h3f (34). One suspects that the southern group of tombs is the earlier, as it consists of more mastabas, construction moving to the area north of G7510 when space ran out.

The mastabas to the south of G7510 consist firstly of those of two queens, htp-hrs II<sup>370</sup> and mrs-'nh III.<sup>371</sup> These probably date to the reigns of Khafre or Menkaure. htp-hrs was the wife of k3i-w'b (140) and later probably of Djedefre; mrs-'nh was her daughter by her first marriage, and she married (probably) Khafre. The other tombs in which the owners' names have survived are those of dw3-n-hr,<sup>372</sup> 3ht-htp and

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369. Reisner suggests mrs-'nh II as his mother for no clear reasons; Giza I, 209.

370. G7350; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 193.

371. G7530 + 7540; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 197-9.

372. G7550; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 200.

mrt-it<sup>is</sup>,<sup>373</sup> k3i-m-shm<sup>374</sup> and ddf-minw.<sup>375</sup> Of these people, dw3-n-hr, k3i-m-shm and ddf-minw were almost certainly king's sons, as they bear titles with the tag n iti.f. It is thus unlikely that they were sons of k3i-w'b as Reisner suggested.<sup>376</sup> The king is not specified, but it must be Khufu.<sup>377</sup> It is likely that mrt-it<sup>is</sup> was a daughter of Khufu who married a non-royal official. It is tempting to see d3ty as another of these children of Khufu.<sup>378</sup>

Stylistically, this group of mastabas is firmly in the tradition of the earlier mastabas of the cemetery (Ch. 2.II.C.2). If they all belonged to children of Khufu, it would be logical that they were very junior offspring, and so extra tombs had to be added to the original layout of the cemetery. None of these men is a vizier, although the evidence for any conclusions from these tombs is slight, and it is possible that by the time they attained a suitable age for such an office, the sons of Khafre had already established their claims. Such offering lists as survive from these tombs show mrt-it<sup>is</sup> having one of the old pattern with a linen-list, while those of dw3-n-hr and d3ty represent a stage between that and the new form using the canonical list type (Ch. 2.II.B). As these people were not senior members of the family, they were perhaps less likely than viziers (h'f-hwfw (104)) and queens (mrs-'nh III) to use the newest developments in tomb design, but stayed with the current ones for a time. The tomb of d3ty shows the deceased and wife seated opposite each other on the

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373. G7650; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 200-1.

374. G7660; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 201-2.

375. G7760; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 203-4.

376. For example, Giza I, 208-9; his reasoning is uncertain, but it may be due to their proximity to the tomb of mrs-'nh III, certainly a daughter of his.

377. The sons of Khafre are buried in the quarry cemetery east of the second pyramid, and the one certain son of Menkaure in the Menkaure Quarry cemetery.

378. A similar argument may be applied to iy-nfr of tomb G7820; PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 205.

panel of the false door, an arrangement not previously encountered in the Eastern Cemetery, and perhaps indicating a later example.

On this basis, assuming d3ty to have been born in the later part of the reign of Khufu, his tomb and period of office-holding may be dated to the end of the fourth dynasty.

Suggested Date: End of the fourth dynasty.

d3ty 166

Son of d3ty (165).

Source: Represented in the tomb of his father in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7810.

Bibliography: Unpublished material in excavation records at Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nt nzwt.

Other Titles: wr md šm'w.

On the basis of the date decided above for his father, d3ty presumably dates to the early part of the fifth dynasty, perhaps the reign of Neferirkare. For a possible connection between this man and the similarly-named owner of tomb G5370 at Giza, see d3ty (164).

Suggested Date: Perhaps reign of Neferirkare.

df3wi 167

Source: Tomb at North Saqqara, no. 55 (D 25).

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 466.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd, imy-r pr-hd n hnw, imy-r prwy-hd.



Other Titles: imy-r iz hkr nzwt, imy-r prwy-nwb, imy-r swt df3w,  
 imy-r sšr nzwt, wr bzt, hm-ntr [ny-ws]r [-r'], hm-ntr  
 rnnwtt, hry-sšt3, zš n hryt-' nt nzwt.

This tomb has a small squarish offering room, the only decoration of which is on the false door. This decoration includes butchers and offering bearers as well as the usual inscriptions.

Baer can give no more precise date than the middle fifth dynasty or later,<sup>379</sup> based on df3wi's priesthood of Neweserre, and thus this false door is left as the main item usable for dating. There is only one example which is quite similar, that of shm-k3i.<sup>380</sup> The jambs of the latter door are larger, and there are more items in the offering list on the panel. Such wide jambs are a feature of fifth dynasty doors (Ch. 2.I.B), and panel offering lists also indicate the same date. The inscriptions of shm-k3i invoke Osiris and those of df3wi do not, although this need not make df3wi the earlier.

The owner of this tomb should thus be dated to the period between the reign of Neweserre and the later fifth dynasty, when the torus and cornice false door became the rule.

Suggested Date: Mid-late fifth dynasty.

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 379. Rank and Title, 157 (594).

380. PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 596.

ddf-hr 168

Possibly son of Khufu.

Source: Tomb in the eastern cemetery at Giza, G7210+7220.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 191; incompletely published - personal examination of excavation records in Boston.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t [nbt nt nzwt].

Other Titles: imy-iz, 'd-mr imw, mniw nhn, h3ty-', z3 nzwt n ht.f, s[mr] w' [ty].

ddf-hr was presumably a son of Khufu, on the analogy of the neighbouring tombs. That his mother was the queen buried in subsidiary pyramid G1a is a speculation of Reisner's, and is perhaps best disregarded (see above under k3i-w'b (140)).

Reisner and Smith have argued that ddf-hr may have been dead by the beginning of the reign of Khafre, based on the assumption that the damage done to the tombs in the northernmost row of nucleus cemetery G7000 - those of k3i-w'b, ddf-hr and the unnamed owner of G7310+7320 (170), but particularly to that of ddf-hr - was as a result of a persecution by Djedefre, who may have executed some of these men.<sup>381</sup> There is no support for this romantic speculation; Junker has suggested that the damage done to the tomb of ddf-hr occurred after the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>382</sup> A further possibility arises from the association between Djedefre and ddf-hr proposed by Altenmüller,<sup>383</sup> namely that his tomb was defaced together with the pyramid of that king,<sup>384</sup> perhaps in the reign of Khafre. One would have to assume that ddf-hr was dead by that time.

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381. Giza II, 8.

382. Giza VI, 26; Fs Rosellini, Studi II, 137 ff.

383. CdE 45 (1970), 232 ff.

384. cf. Müller, ZAS 91 (1964), 130 ff.

Two problems arise from this: firstly, Junker argues that if the tomb were destroyed in the fourth dynasty, the likelihood of the existence of his cult in the sixth dynasty is reduced,<sup>385</sup> and secondly, it is stated in the Book of the Dead (Chapters 30, 64, 148) that ddf-hr was alive in the time of Menkaure. The first argument may be overcome by seeing a restitution of the cult of ddf-hr in the fifth dynasty (a time perhaps better predisposed to him), and the second by treating the funerary literature with the customary caution as to their historical accuracy.

Stylistically, the remains of the false door of ddf-hr, with its carved representations of offering stands on the jambs, resembles that of h'f-hwfw (104), probably to be dated to the reign of Khafre. His tomb should then be dated no earlier than the reign of Khafre.

Suggested Date: Middle reign of Khafre or later, perhaps even early reign of Menkaure.

ddf-hnmw 169

Source: Rock-cut tomb to the east of the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7711a.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 202.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t nzw.

Other Titles: wr md šm'w, rh nzw, z3 nzw.

The evidence for dating this tomb is very slight. Baer has pointed out that ddf-hnmw can hardly have been a son of one of the fourth

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 385. loc. cit., For a further monument connected with the cult of ddf-hr see now van de Walle, JNES 36 (1977), 17-24.



dynasty kings, and suggests dates that cover both the fifth and sixth dynasties.<sup>386</sup> The other tombs of important administrative officials which were also not part of the original cemetery are of fifth dynasty date, including notably another king's son, h'f-hwfw II (105), which suggests a possible date for ddf-hnmw.

Suggested Date: Early to middle fifth dynasty ?

Name Lost 170

Probably son of Khufu.

Source: Tomb in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza, G7310+7320.

Bibliography: Unpublished - personal examination of excavation records in Boston. See also Simpson, Fs Edel, 492-3.

Relevant Titles: imy-r k3t [nbt nt] nzwt, t3yty [z3b t3ty].

Other Titles: imy-[iz], imy-r wsht, iry p't, '3 dw3w, wr 5 [pr-dhwty], mniw nhn, [r p] nb, h3ty-', [hm-ntr] wnw-r [hnty minw], hm-ntr b3 'npt, hm-ntr b3stt, hm-ntr spdw, hrp 'h.

The only reasonably certain fact about this man is that he was a son of Khufu; as discussed above under k3i-w'b (140), the identity of his mother is very uncertain. Reisner was inclined to assign this tomb to the b3wf-r' mentioned in the Westcar Papyrus.<sup>387</sup> Simpson has suggested that this mastaba belonged to a b3-b3f or hnmw-b3f. The only trace that survives which could have formed part of a name is a ram (b3 or hnmw), but this sign could also form part of a title such as hm-ntr b3

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386. Rank and Title, 158 (596).

387. cf. Smith, Reisner, Giza II, 7.

'npt which is attested elsewhere in the tomb, or it could belong to an entirely separate person - the proximity of the title hm-k3 to one occurrence of the sign may suggest this.<sup>388</sup> Along with h'f-minw he is the only man in this group of tombs to be called vizier in the inscriptions of the tomb itself. Assuming no vast difference in the age of these tomb-owners and that the tombs were all built at an approximately similar time, his may be one of the earlier tombs, conceivably dating to the reign of Khafre.

Suggested Date: Perhaps early reign of Khafre.


Name Lost 171

Source: A seated statue from Saqqara, exact provenance unknown.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 724.

Relevant Titles: imy-r pr-hd n hnw.

Other Titles: wr bzt, hm-ntr ///.

The publications suggest that this piece is of fifth dynasty date. It is unlikely to have been early in that dynasty, when few tombs were built at Saqqara. The traces visible of the pr-hd group suggest the form  in use before the later part of the fifth dynasty (see below page 455 ff).

Suggested Date: Middle fifth dynasty or later.

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388. This is unlikely to be the title hm-k3 (name of tomb-owner), as priests do not seem to be so named on wall scenes in Old Kingdom tombs.


Name Lost 172

Source: Three blocks in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, MMA 04.2.4-6, possibly from Saqqara.

Bibliography: PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 760; unpublished - examination of photographs supplied by the Metropolitan Museum.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r pr-hd n hfw*, *imy-r pr-hd n snfrw*, *imy-r pr-hd ddf-r'*.

Other Titles: *imy-r iz ///*, *zš '-nzwt*.

The variety of kings mentioned on these blocks raises the possibility that they may not have come from Saqqara. The criterion most useful for dating is again the form of the *pr-hd* group (  ), suggesting a date no later than the later fifth dynasty (see below page 455 ff).

Suggested Date: Perhaps middle to late fifth dynasty ?

Name Lost 173

Brother of *nhbw* (90)

Source: Mentioned in the biography of his brother.

Bibliography: Urk. I, 216-7.

Relevant Titles: *imy-r k3t*.

Other Titles: *imy-r qd, mdh qd nzwt, mdh qd nzwt m prwy, smr w'ty, shd qd*.

In his biography, *nhbw* describes himself as serving alongside his brother as the latter proceeded through the above offices. The only possible indication of his identity is a relief from the tomb of *nhbw* with the relief of a brother named *ppy-mry-ptḥ-'nh*, although it is



unknown whether this is the same brother as in the biography.<sup>389</sup> This brother was clearly senior to, and thus probably older than, nhbw; on the date given above for the latter, this brother would have held office in the middle of the reign of Pepy I.

Suggested Date: Middle of the reign of Pepy I.

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389. Dunham, JEA 24 (1938), 7; a brother, whose name is lost, is shown in a marsh scene in this tomb - Smith, BMFA 56 (1958), 59.