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Disertační práce

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**Complexity of Ancient Egyptian Society during the First to Sixth
Dynasty Based on Written Sources
– The case of Egyptian households**

**(Komplexita starověké egyptské společnosti během první až šesté
dynastie ve světle písemných pramenů
– Případová studie egyptských domácností)**

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Abstract

The present dissertation thesis focuses on the development of the complexity of Egyptian society in the period from the First to the Sixth Dynasty. It is traced on the grounds of the change and growing complexity of the basic unit of each society - the household – which pervades many spheres of Egyptian social life and whose patterns are encoded in the primary sources for the monitored period. The main part of the thesis devoted to the Old Kingdom deals with the development of the households as they are reflected in the tomb iconography and texts. Emphasis is placed on detecting the change in the composition of households in terms of the number of its members and the variability of recorded professions expressed by attached titles. The investigation of households in the Early Dynastic period was narrowed down to the phenomenon of the so-called subsidiary graves, where a possible connection between the type of burial equipment and the profession of the deceased was analysed. For the entire monitored period, the phases of household development were defined which clearly refer to the key periods when important political and social changes took place in Egypt.

Key words

Old Kingdom – Early Dynastic Period – household – society– complexity – iconography – subsidiary grave – chronology

Abstrakt

Předkládaná disertační práce se zaměřuje na vývoj složitosti Egyptské společnosti v období od První do Šesté dynastie. Vývoj společnosti sleduje na proměně její základní jednotky, egyptské domácnosti, jejíž vzorce prostupují mnoho sfér společenského života a propisují se primárních pramenů dochovaných pro sledované období. Hlavní část práce věnovaná Staré říši zpracovává vývoj domácností zaznamenaných v ikonografii a textech elitních hrobek. Důraz je kladen na postižení proměny ve složení domácností s ohledem na počet jejích členů a variabilitu profesí vyjádřenou tituly, kterými jsou označeni osoby mimo rodinu majitele. Zkoumání domácností v Raně dynastickém období bylo zúženo na fenomén tak zvaných vedlejších hrobů, kde byla analyzována možná spojitost mezi typem pohřební výbavy a profesí zemřelého. Pro celé sledované období pak byly definované fáze rozvoje domácností, které jasně odkazují na klíčová období, kdy docházelo v Egyptě k důležitým politickým a sociálním změnám.

Klíčová slova

Stará říše – Raně dynastická doba – domácnost – komplexita – společnost – ikonografie – vedlejší pohřeb – chronologie

To my family

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1 Introduction

Many anthropologists have dealt with the question of the evolution of human organization from small homogeneous communities ruled by local chiefs to a centrally controlled state with a hierarchically organized bureaucracy generally characterized as “complex societies” (Claessen and Skalnik 1978; Flannery 1972, Fortes and Evans-Prichard 1940; Saehlings 1940; Service 1962). Some scholars have defined different types of early states essentially on the basis of different levels of complexity of their functioning (Fried 1967, Service 1967, Web 1975). In this respect, the complexity of a given society relates “to the size of a society, the number and distinctiveness of its parts, the variety of specialized social roles that it incorporates, the number of distinct social personalities present, and the variety of mechanisms for organizing these into a coherent, functioning whole” (Tainter 1988: 23). Presumably one of the best known is the classification of societies provided by Claessen and Skalnik, who distinguished three basic types of early states, *i.e.* the inchoate, typical and transitional with the first featuring a predominance of kinship ties, personal contact between the ruler and the ruled and a low degree of occupational specialization while the last stage being its opposite, with a professional bureaucratic apparatus employing highly specialized individuals, which well corresponds with the formation of Ancient Egyptian state (Claessen and Skalnik 1978).

Ancient Egypt vividly demonstrates a gradual transformation of a society from individual local neolithic cultures ruled by local chieftains to a centrally governed and territorially organized state entity. This change initiated around the 3000 BCE, when chieftains from the southern kingdom of This began to control the entire territory from the Delta in the north to the first Nile cataract in the south (Bard 2000: 77–83). From that moment on, the archaic state had to administer a vast territory. The invention of writing and its spread at the beginning of the First Dynasty as evidenced by records on tablets, seals and vessels found at all major archaic archeological sites, *e.g.* Abydos, Hierakonpolis or Saqqara, undoubtedly belongs to one of the crucial factors that made the state administration more efficient (Baines 2007). Another significant change lies in the creation of the new capital Ineb Hedju, near today's Saqqara and Abusir necropoleis. It was a strategical place from where he could efficiently manage the entire country and at the same time it was closer to the expedition routes for rare goods to Sinai or Lebanon (Wilkinson 1999). An institution called the Royal House, *pr-nswt*, was created to ensure the needs of the king, his family as well as the every-day running of the royal palace, including execution of judicial power (Goelet 1982). Gradually, central offices for

the administration of the country's wealth were also established, among the first the treasury responsible for the evidence, collection, storage, and redistribution of non-agrarian products, while the granary was in charge of grain and livestock (Papazian 2013: 41–85). The key positions in these important institutions had been occupied at first by individuals recruited from the close circle of the king's family. The kinship ties represent the crucial phenomenon that had dominated the society for a long period and is still clearly visible in the Fourth Dynasty when each of the individuals who were appointed the vizier – the first person in the state after the king – was the son of the ruling king (Schmitz 1976). Only later, during the Old Kingdom, the dominant influence of the members of the royal family on the management of the state gradually decreased and the professional layer of impersonal bureaucracy was formed (Baer 1960: 300; Bárta 2013; Bárta 2016; Helck 1954: 58; Strudwick 1985: 321).

During the entire period from the unification of the country to the end of the Old Kingdom, *i.e.* for roughly 750 years, we may observe a gradual increase of complexity in various spheres of ancient Egypt, be it social, political, economic, religious or cultural.¹ As early as in the Naqqada II period the increasing complexity and vertical stratification of Egyptian society can be discerned from the diversity in the number and types of grave goods deposited in the tombs, which continues across the Early Dynastic Period until the end of the Old Kingdom (Bard 1992). The monumental building projects, especially related to the construction of pyramids, but even earlier the more extensive use of stone in the tomb of Khasekhemy in Abydos, must have placed enormous demands on the organization of natural resources and manpower; this clearly indicates the growth and development of Egyptian administration (Wilkinson 1999: 121). Similarly, written evidence, *e.g.* the Abusir and Gebelein papyri or papyri from Wadi el-Jarf as well as the inscriptional evidence from tombs, provide us with an insight into the complexity of running the state administration, organization of royal funerary cults and, on a micro level, also into how the household economy worked (Posener-Kriéger 1976; Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová 2006; Tallet and Lehner 2021; Vymazalová 2006; Vymazalová 2021).

Some Egyptologists have divided the state development into different phases specifying the key moments that moved the society further (Bárta 2015; Bárta 2013a). A concept called punctuated equilibrium, traditionally related to evolutionary biology (Eldredge and Gould 1972), which demonstrates that outwardly sudden changes were only the results of long-term

¹ The chronology is based on Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006.

processes that had been swelling beneath the surface, has been most recently successfully applied on the Old Kingdom society by the same author (Bárta 2015; Bárta 2017). The present thesis aims at analyzing the traits of development of Egyptian society from a slightly different point of view. It focuses on the basic component of every society – a household – with the goal to trace its change and growing complexity from the beginning of dynastic period to the end of the Old Kingdom.

1.1. Aim and structure of the study

J.A. Tainter, an American anthropologist and historian, provides the following characteristics of complex societies: “As societies increase in complexity, more networks are created among individuals, more hierarchical controls are created to regulate these networks, (and) more information is processed..” (Tainter 1988: 91). The present thesis aims at elaborating one of these aspects characteristic for complex states, namely the “networks created among individuals and associated hierarchical control”. In order to grasp this phenomenon, the present author will focus on the Egyptian household as a basic unit displaying the variety of social, economic or other types of ties centred around the key person of the household master.

The study will concentrate on earlier phases of Egyptian state covering the first six dynasties in order to trace the overall development of Egyptian household through the first formative period, subsequent blossom, and decay of the central control at the end of Old Kingdom that cover almost eight hundred years, ca. 2900–2118⁺²⁵BC (Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006: 491–492). It may appear that the chronological framework is too broad, but the aim is to capture the process in its complexity. In addition, the Early Dynastic Period is approached only selectively.

The evidence from the funerary context, namely the identified minor figures depicted in tomb iconography who once formed an “extended household” of the deceased owner, represent the main concern of the thesis, complemented by the archaeological evidence specifically targeting the so-called retainer’s graves for the Early Dynastic Period. A special attention will be laid on changes in the size and composition of this entity, reflecting both its chronological and spatial specificity. Within a broader framework, the household development will be set in the context of the growing complexity of Egyptian state, especially that reflecting major administrative reforms and significant changes in the organisation of the funerary cults.

Several research questions will be posed. First, what did the Egyptian household in the period in question look like, how many members it had and what positions they held? The study will further trace how did the household structure change during the period with regard to the number of its members and diversity of their professions. Of certain interest will be also the question whether any new titles appeared in our evidence, or other titles ceased to be used and, and if so, can we link them with any major political, administrative or social change of that period? Finally, what general conclusions can be proposed about the complexity of Old Kingdom state and the social dynamics based on monitoring the household development?

After the introductory part with the Aims and structure of the work, Methodology and State of research (Chapter 1), the structure of the present work consists of a chapter devoted to the definition of the subject which includes a wider theoretical reflexion on the terminology conventionally used by scholars to denote a “household” in order to clarify the meaning of this crucial social entity and avoid potential confusion of terms (Chapter 2). To follow the chronological framework, Chapter 3 deals with the households before their reflection in tomb iconography. This chapter accentuates primarily archaeological sources with special focus on the so-called retainers’ graves complemented only occasionally with rare textual evidence. The body of the dissertation is devoted to Old Kingdom evidence. As the settlements are largely unpreserved for this period, and the written evidence to private households is perceptibly missing, the core of the study is based on the evidence coming from funerary monuments, more precisely targeting text and iconography of elite tombs. The Third Dynasty (Chapter 4) deals with the first occurrence of the phenomenon, followed by chapters devoted to tombs of individual social layers from Fourth to Sixth Dynasty sorted in descending order according to the status of the tomb owner: households of the viziers (Chapter 5), higher (Chapter 6), middle (Chapter 7) and lower ranked officials (Chapter 8). The final part summarizes the outcomes of the study (Discussion, Conclusions) and discusses the issue in a wider historical framework. In addition, a case study on the overseer of the house is attached as an Excursus at the end of the thesis in order to provide a scrutiny of the crucial person responsible for the household management.

1.2. Methodology

The methodological approach in the present works differs for the two main analytical parts due to a significant difference in the type of sources preserved from the Early Dynastic Period on

the one hand and Old Kingdom on the other. In addition, both periods are approached only selectively. The phenomenon of so-called retainers' graves is focused with regard to its potential to capture the professions of the occupants of subsidiary graves, and reveals thus who the owners were, as proposed by W.B.Emery (Emery 1954: 133–138). In this section, four main Early Dynastic cemeteries with subsidiary burials, *i.e.* North Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Tarkhan and Giza were selected for the analysis in order to establish if the grave goods deposited in the subsidiary graves truly indicate a particular profession of the occupant. Therefore, each individual subsidiary grave from the four private necropoleis has been analysed in association with the type of grave good deposited, but also the information regarding the sex and age of the deceased was of certain importance. The monograph by G.Th.Martin (2001) in which he provided a list of all names and titles that preserved on private stelae flanking the graves served for the analysis of the subsidiary graves surrounding the royal tombs at Umm el-Qa'ab. The titles were statistically processed by the present author and based on this evaluation a comparison was made between the royal retainers and retainers buried around private tombs. Essentially, research questions for this part of the work differ from those posed for the main research. Apart from questions pointing to the number of individuals who accompanied the deceased master in the principal tomb and their profession, the purpose of the investigation is also to answer if any social group occurred exclusively in royal/private context or if any social group or type of profession was excluded from the practise of human sacrifice performed at that time.

The main bulk of the study concerns Old Kingdom households as they are reflected in tomb iconography. A selection of tombs from the whole period from Third to Sixth Dynasty was made for this part. Several prerequisites for the tombs need to be mentioned. Quite naturally there was a need to select tombs with a presence of identified minor figures outside the close family of the tomb owner. Another factor was the state of preservation of each monument – only tombs with well-preserved wall decoration could usefully serve for the research, providing evidence enough for this study. Worth mentioning is also the quality of the publications of individual tombs, specifically with regard to good photographic documentation important for the analysis of secondary inscriptions. Especially older books might be rather out of date given the then level of documentation and quality of photographs. For instance, the monograph dealing with the tombs of courtiers of Pepi II by G. Jéquier lacks illustrative photographs of tomb decoration as well as a more detailed information about the findspots of particular relief fragments (Jéquier 1929). In fact, the south Saqqara tombs, both royal and private, have not

yet been properly published. This has only recently changed, with the excavations undertaken by the Egyptian mission lead by M. Megahed working on the pyramid of king Djedkare, or French mission led by Ph. Collombert excavating the cemetery of Pepi I, who regularly publish the results of their research (e.g. Collombert *et al.* 2022; 2023; Megahed and Jánosi 2020: 90–102 or Megahed and Vymazalová 2022: 103–117). Unfortunately, their field of research encompasses mainly royal structures, which is beyond the focus of the present study.²

Together with a careful selection of well-published tombs, personal examination of certain tombs, *i.e.* the tomb of Ptahshepses, Ti, Akhethetep, Mereruka, Ankhmahor, Khufukhaef I and Senedjemib Inti was also undertaken, which was helpful in detecting the later added inscriptions.

The list of officials and their tombs published by N. Strudwick (Strudwick 1985) and N. Kanawati (1977) served as a basic source base for the selection of tombs. This has been enriched by tombs from more recent studies (*e.g.* Roeten 2016; Alexanian 2001). Particular sources are quoted in corresponding records; at this place we mention only the fundamental works and on-line platforms. Invaluable data corpus was provided by both web sites dealing with Giza cemetery, *i.e.* pages of the Harvard University (<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/>) and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (<http://www.gizapyramids.org/>), together with Giza volumes published by A. Reisner (1942), H. Junker (1929-1955) and S. Hassan (1929-1960) as well as Giza Mastabas Series. Saqqara necropoleis have not yet been digitalised; special attention was paid to North Saqqara tombs, namely to Teti pyramid cemetery (*e.g.* works by Kanawati 1996-2001) and to Unas cemetery (*e.g.* McFarlane 2000, Kanawati 2003). The South Saqqara tombs are represented mainly by the necropolis of Pepi II (Jéquier 1929). Abusir contributed to the selection specifically with tombs situated on the royal central part but also in South Abusir (Bárta 2009; 2006; Callender and Bárta 1996; Krejčí 2009; Verner 1986). The information on provincial necropoleis was drawn mainly from recent works by N. Kanawati (2012); Kanawati *et al.* (2005) and D. Vischak (2015). However, older publications of particular sites were also of a great value, for instance the monographs on tombs of Meir (Blackman 1924), Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies 1902) or Kubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008), as they could provide information that got lost during the time due to the damage, erasure of inscriptions or fading of colours.

² In neither of the so-far uncovered private tombs at the cemetery of king Djedkare, the identified dependents preserved, but elaborately decorated burial chambers. For the tomb of Khuwy, see *e.g.* Megahed and Vymazalová 2019: 50–59.

An essential tool for the research was a creation of a database of patrons (tomb owners) with their dependents in MS Excel assembled by personal data of both the patrons and dependents. Each patron is given prosopographical information (name, titles, and a list of his family members) as well as data about his tomb: tomb number and corresponding necropolis, architecture, size and dating of the tomb. In most cases, this work adopts the dating of the tombs according to the excavators, however, in a few cases, it refines the dating according to the latest findings (see Chapter 7 and 8). Each entry is also complemented with relevant bibliographical reference. Associated dependents for each patron are distinguished by their names and titles, mainly functional describing certain duty or rank, rarely also by rank ones denoting that the official belong to certain social group (Helck 1986: cols. 596–601). They An additional information about objects or attributes the figures hold or carry, their size and appearance, their place in scenes and a performed activity are supplemented as well. An information about the time of origin of the figure and/or attached label, *i.e.* whether the inscription/figure belongs to the original tomb decoration or was added later, is also recorded.

Patrons are further divided into four different social groups, namely viziers, higher, middle and lower officials. This distinction drew inspiration from N. Kanawati's work (1977) who socially stratified officials according to the size of their tombs, as well as from the recent study by N. Alexanian who clearly demonstrated on the basis of statistical analysis that the size of the tomb is a valuable criterion for tomb classification (Alexanian 2003: 88–96). She further proved that the size of the tomb reflects the rank of its owner, specifically that the highest ranked officials who held titles *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, *htmty bity* and *smr w^cty* were buried in large tombs with dimensions beyond 100m² (including several monumental tombs measuring about 1000m²), while those owners with title *iry-ht nswt* were buried in medium-sized tombs measuring between 10 to 30 m² and officials ranked with title *šps nswt* in medium or small-sized tombs ranging in size from 1 to 5 m² (Alexanian 2003: 92, and related table). To be more specific, the viziers, overseers of the main pillars of Egyptian administration, but also overseers of Upper Egypt, nomarchs and governors of the oasis in the provinces belonged to owners of the largest tombs, while the second group of owners of medium-sized tombs held scribal or specialized crafts-related titles or titles connected to expeditions and military activities. Finally, the individuals with most modest titles related to household management and property or ordinary workmen, but also their leaders could afford to build small-sized tombs (Alexanian 2003: 93).

Although the textual evidence from the tombs forms a substantial source of information, another type of evidence, such as archaeology or graffiti, is also included if relevant in the

context of the study in order to receive a comprehensive picture of a particular household. An exemplary case is the vizier Ptahshepses in whose tomb many graffiti with personal names and titles preserved (see Chapter 5).

The initial intention was to select at least six patrons for each group per a dynasty; however, it soon appeared not to be feasible for the first half of the Fourth and the second half of the Sixth Dynasty. Given the development of the tomb decoration, in the first case only a single tomb with identified non-kin dependent was detected. This concerns the whole area of Egypt. In the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty the situation in the Memphite necropoleis differs from provincial ones. While in the necropoleis around the capital the elaborate tombs with identified dependents ceased to be built, the contrary is true for provincial sites which were rich in spacious tombs of nomarchs (Martinet 2011; Willems 2013: 341–392). This strongly influenced the selection of patrons from the Sixth Dynasty so that the representatives of provincial sites were included.

After the database of patrons has been assembled, I proceeded to a descriptive and an analytical part of the study which consisted in statistical and numerical analysis of tomb owner's entourages. Although the owner's close family was an important part of his household, this work deals only marginally with it.³ Special attention has been paid to the number of non-kin dependents and diversity of recorded professions. Tables and charts have been added to better illustrate the observed trends. Social hierarchy in individual professions and the diachronic trends in the development of official households have also been traced and evaluated with regard to the overall state development and political and administrative changes.

The backbone of the study forms the concept of a household as a significant socioeconomic element that pervades all sectors of social life, which was also projected in the afterlife as attested mainly by the tomb iconography. However, as it turned out during the course of the study, the household issue is a relatively complex social phenomenon and therefore it is discussed in a separate chapter (Chapter 2).

³ The family ties of the owner of the tomb were already dealt with by J. Wen (2018) for the period of the Old Kingdom and selectively also by L. Olabarria (2020).

1.3.State of research

The subject of the thesis is interdisciplinary, touching upon several fields of the study including household studies, administration and economics of early states, but also archaeology and tomb iconography.

Household studies as a new branch of research have emerged at first among Mesoamerican scholars (Wilk and Ashmore 1988; Wilk Netting and Arnould 1984; Wilk and Rathje 1982), later on having been integrated in Near Eastern studies, in particular Levant (Yasur-Landau, Ebeling and Mazow 2011; Parker and Foster 2012; Schloen 2001). In Egyptology this innovative approach to archaeological and textual sources has been launched by a seminar held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 2013 (Müller 2013)⁴. A study by N. Picardo, who proposed a model of the administrative organisation of the mortuary foundation in the Middle Kingdom town of Wah-sut in South Abydos, can be considered an exemplary case of such type of study combining all types of available evidence (Picardo 2013). The already mentioned study by M. Nelson-Hurst published in the same volume has demonstrated the potential of using an anthropological concept of a social house to funerary texts and iconography on the case study focusing on the tomb of nomarch Khnumhetep at Beni Hassan (Nelson-Hurst 2015: 258–272). Despite some microstudies by H.-H. Münch (2013: 181–196) or J. Auenmüller (2018: 15–41) already mentioned in the introduction, the concept of a social house/household has not yet been applied to Old Kingdom material. A comprehensive study dealing with the households in the Old Kingdom is still noticeably missing.

The evidence pertaining to households from the Early Dynastic Period is rare and substantially differs from Old Kingdom sources. For the purpose of this part of the study we cite mainly works dealing with the archaeological evidence. More specifically, studies devoted to the phenomenon of the so-called retainers' graves. The issue of human sacrifice in Egypt is quite frequently dealt with among the scholars (*e.g.* Crubezy and Midant-Reynes 2000; Hendrickx 2008; Menu 2001; 2005; O'Connor 2009; van Dijk 2007; Vaudou 2008; Wilkinson 1999). The graves of royal retainers were published above all by the pioneer archaeologists W.M.F. Petrie (1900; 1901) and G.A. Reisner (1936). The private stelae associated to royal monuments from Umm el-Qa'ab have been assembled and published by G. Th. Martin (2011). The private tombs surrounded by small graves of the retainers were excavated at several

⁴ Please note that the institute was recently renamed to Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures

necropoleis: the monumental Saqqara tombs dated to the Early Dynastic Period were published by W. B. Emery (1938; 1939, 1949, 1954, 1958), C. Firth (1931) and J. E. Quibell (1923); Giza tomb V with accompanied subsidiary graves was excavated by W.M.F. Petrie (1907). Tombs at Abu Rawash were uncovered already by A. Klasens (1961) and P. Montet (1938, 1946); later re-excavated by Y. Tristant (2019; 2017; 2016a, 2016b, 2010, 2008). Finally, two tombs at Tarkhan that were surrounded by subsidiary graves were published by W. Grajetzki (2008), G.A. Reisner (1936), W.M.F. Petrie (1914) and Petrie et al. (1913).

The textual evidence from Old Kingdom tombs represents a basic source of information for the present study addressing mainly the data of prosopographical nature, including names, titles, individual careers or family background. Tomb inscriptions became a subject of a number of studies dealing with household composition, different family concepts or household hierarchy. To name the most important ones, it is the seminal work by D. Franke dealing with Egyptian social structure (1983), the study by J. Lustig (1997) or more recently the monograph by L. Olabarria (2020) with the focus on later periods (the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom). Earlier epochs covering Early Dynastic Period or Old Kingdom have received even less attention (Campagno 2009; 2000; Moreno García 2012), but they are partially reflected in further studies by J.C. Moreno García (2006a, 2006b, 2001).

Apart from the tomb inscriptions which provide information about the central person, the so called ‘Reden und Rufe’, *i.e.* accompanied inscriptions and explanatory remarks describing primarily the activities in the daily life scenes gradually began to appear from the Fifth Dynasty onwards. These texts were extensively studied by a number of scholars, first of all in the pioneer works by A. Erman (1986: 229-288, 1919), W. Guglielmi (1973), and H. Junker (1943) followed by most recent studies by H. Altenmüller (2019; 2011; 1994); S. Grunert (2002; 2000), and A. Motte (2019; 2017). Later added inscriptions, mainly names and titles, were examined by J. Hamilton (2022; 2021a; 2021b; 2016).

From the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, the biographical inscriptions extended our knowledge about the tomb owner not only by providing the data about his career path, but sometimes informing us about the household composition or about the legal acts performed to ensure the owner’s funerary cult, typically in the tomb of priest Nikaankh at Tehna (Thompson 2014) or Nebkauhor Idu of Saqqara (Goedicke 1970; Strudwick 2005: 261–262); see Chapter 5). Selected examples of biographical inscriptions were gathered in the anthology of texts from the Old Kingdom by N. Strudwick (1985); an analysis of the genre was provided by N. Kloth (2002; 2018) and J. Stauder-Porchet (2017). More recently, K.A. Kóthay has studied

autobiographical texts with regard to the social ascent of officials (2020) while H. Vymazalová concentrated on their self-presentation in private tombs (Vymazalová 2019).

The titles occurring in the inscriptional evidence of tombs represent a crucial source for studying social perspectives of tomb reliefs. The corpus of titles assembled by D. Jones (2000) is considered a prerequisite tool for their translation and classification. Another important complement is represented by the titles assembled by M. Murray (1908). Further studies dealing with particular titles will be cited in the appropriate place in the text when specific issues are raised and discussed.

Not only the tomb inscriptions themselves but also the whole pictorial framework of tomb iconography represents a significant source of information necessary for proper understanding of messages comprised in it. Especially the size of the figures displayed and expressing scene hierarchy is of great importance for the present study. There are plenty of monographs and lesser studies focusing on a variety of iconographical motives and scenes that have been published so far and it is not possible to enumerate all of them. Therefore, only the most essential ones will be listed at this place. Works focusing on tomb iconography range from seminal manuals providing a description and interpretation of tomb decoration in general, to more detailed studies devoted to a particular necropolis, individual tomb decoration or iconographical motive. The former group is represented by the extensive studies on tomb decoration by Y. Harpur (1987), R. van Walsem (2005) and A. Woods (2006; 2009; 2011; 2015), a monograph by J. Swinton (2014) dealing with the decoration of cult chapels at Giza or the study by G. Pieke with the focus on iconography of Old Kingdom tombs on Teti pyramid cemetery (Pieke 2011; 2012). Furthermore, the on-line database of scene details created, assembled and permanently updated by Y. Harpur cannot be omitted to mention.⁵

Within the group of studies concentrating on the iconography of a particular tomb, there stand out among others monographs by Y. Harpur (2017, 2015, 2010, 2008, 2006, 2001) with a large format photography accompanied by a detailed description of the scenes. G. Pieke significantly contributed to the interpretation of Mereruka's tomb iconography (Pieke 2008; 2011; 2013; 2015). A detailed analysis of individual social groups is represented for instance by the most recent publication by L. Hudáková (2019) scrutinizing the representation of women in the Middle Kingdom, or the study by A.D. Espinel (2017) dealing with the iconography of

⁵ For Harpur's on-line OEE database, see the website: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/oe_ahrc_2006/queryThemes.cfm?CFID=3f733627-802b-4095-8a49-5f130a4de63a&CFTOKEN=0; accessed on November 5, 2023.

desert hunters in Old Kingdom tombs. A focus on a particular iconographical motive represents above all an in-depth study by A. Kahlbacher (2016) who examined the funerary repast scene from Early Dynastic Period to the Middle Kingdom providing its detailed overview, or again the work by G. Pieke who dealt with specific motives in scenes of wine-making or smelling ointment (Pieke 2018; 2008).

Once scholars began to investigate the scenes displayed in the tomb iconography, their pursuits went hand in hand with an attempt to interpret and question their meaning. Some of the scholars hold the view that certain tomb scenes represent an ideal afterlife with symbolic and religious meanings, others prefer a rather contradictory interpretation considering the scenes to be ‘real’. In other words, they represent either historical events or describe daily-life activities. The recent debate on this topic is accentuated in the already mentioned study by R. van Walsem (2005: esp. 71–83) or in several articles by various authors published in the conference proceeding edited by M. Fitzenreiter and Herb (2006).

The social perspective of tomb reliefs accentuating the group of people portrayed there was studied already by H. Junker (1934: 158–169) who, apart from tomb architecture and reliefs, minutely described the dependents who formed a household of prince Kaninisut – an outstanding member of king’s entourage from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. This particular household was later a subject of an in-depth study by H.-H. Münch (2013) who further dealt in his unpublished doctoral thesis with the iconography of households in a more theoretical framework, specifically concentrating on the question of how ancient Egyptians imagined the social order in the context of their households (2010). Most recently, another microstudy of a household belonging to a significant Old Kingdom dignitary Ty was published by J. Auenmüller who, on the basis of statistical data, described in detail particular social groups recorded in Ty’s tomb, which he further supplemented with a theoretical reflection of different social criteria and iconographic categories relevant for such type of study, *e.g.* the size of figures or the meaning of attached objects and attributes (Auenmüller 2018).

Apart from these rather narrowly focused articles, the only substantial macro-study focusing on identified dependents in Old Kingdom tombs is the monograph by V. Vasiljevic (1995). She thoroughly studied certain types of Old Kingdom tomb scenes with identified dependents which she complemented by an analysis of selected professions as well as objects and attributes that the dependents featured or carried. Her work is a valuable contribution to the study of a retinue of an Old Kingdom high official, despite the fact that her focus remains on

tomb chapels, omitting other decorated chambers in the tombs, and her arguments are largely demonstrated on selective examples, not using the benefits of statistical evaluation.

Middle Kingdom studies that dealt with a household as reflected in the iconographical evidence also represent an invaluable source of inspiration for the present work. At the same time, they served as a comparative material. It was specifically the wealthy sepulchres built at the necropolis of Beni Hassan with an outstanding tomb of the nomarch Khnumhetep II. that have been extensively analysed.⁶ J. Kamrin considers the tomb to be an independent cosmos with multiple layers of meanings and functions, while the study of S. Seidelmayer is even more complex (Kamrin 1999; Seidelmayer 2007). He aimed to reconstruct a model of ancient society at Beni Hassan based on the interpretation of iconographical and archaeological data available from the elaborately decorated tombs of nomarchs on the one hand and more modest burials and shafts hollowed in the lower terrace at the same site on the other (Seidelmayer 2007). The most recent study to date devoted to the household of the nomarch Khnumhetep II is an article by M. Nelson-Hurst who applied the anthropological concept of a social house on the dependents recorded in this wealthy tomb (Nelson-Hurst 2015).⁷

Not only tomb iconography, but also written evidence represents a stimulating source of information necessary for the study, although the Old Kingdom material is not much instructive as to the household economy or its composition. The preserved archives mainly inform us about the administration of larger entities, *e.g.* individual cities (Papazian 2021 or Pillon 2021), royal funerary complexes (Vymazalová 2021) or most recently also about the management of sources necessary for the construction of Khufu's pyramid in Giza (Tallet 2019; Tallet 2021, Tallet 2022).⁸ The evidence from Balat represents an exceptional case (Pantalacci 2021). A fragmentary record on a clay tablet reports about a staff working for the funerary domain of some of Balat officials. Of a slightly later dating are the Heqanakht's papers - early Middle Kingdom administrative documents and correspondence which are worth mentioning as they provide an insight into the household economy of a well-off individual of that time.⁹

⁶ The tomb of nomarch Khnumhetep II belongs to the largest and most richly decorated private tombs in pharaonic Egypt; it is distinguished by a fine relief carving and, what is equally important, by an almost complete state of preservation (Garstang 1904; Newberry and Griffith 1893-1900).

⁷ For the concept of the social house, see Chapter 2.

⁸ For the evidence on archives from Ancient Egypt, see the most recent publication on the topic edited by P. Collombert and P. Tallet (2021).

⁹ Heqanakht's papers were most recently published by J.P. Allen (2002). For earlier volumes on this topic, see J. Cerny (1954); T. G. H. James (1962); it is partially dealt with also in the study by E. F. Wente (1990) or M. Silver (1995).

Egyptian administration forms another large corpus essential to the present study in order to better understand individual titles and their embedding in Old Kingdom society. In the first place, it is a fundamental work dealing with institutions, officials and titles written by W. Helck (1954) which can be considered an introduction into the study of Egyptian administration. Although published almost 70 years ago, it provides a valuable source of information about the structure and running of Egyptian state, focusing not only on individual state departments and most important offices, but capturing the topic in a more complex way. K. Baer in his study (1960) concentrates on the analysis of the sequence of title strings held by Old Kingdom officials, further proposing their standardisation and relative status. N. Kanawati is dealing with Old Kingdom administration in several monographs. His principal work centred on the state administration, both central and provincial (Kanawati 1977), while one of his further studies focused on governmental reforms (Kanawati 1980). In the former publication, Kanawati questioned the costliness of tomb construction during the Old Kingdom in order to define different categories of owners who distinguish themselves by the size of their tombs. The latter study published in 1980 describes administrative reforms implemented by particular kings from the end of the Fifth to the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The Sixth Dynasty administration is a special focus of the recent joint study of N. Kanawati and J. Swinton (2020). They pinpointed the main landmarks in the reigns of the Sixth Dynasty kings and showed the impact of their regime on the administration of provinces, further including a list of important provincial officials (Kanawati and Swinton 2020). The most cited monograph to date dealing with Old Kingdom administration is N. Strudwick's treatise (1985) that scrutinizes six highest bureaux of state administration together with a prosopographical part devoted to their holders. State institutions were already dealt with in the monograph by J. Pirenne (1932; 1934; 1935), and H. Papazian (2012) as well as in the volume edited by J.C. Moreno García that covers Egyptian administration across the Pharaonic Egypt (Moreno García 2013). Various Old Kingdom topics are discussed in the following chapters, namely central institutions (Papazian 2013: 41–85), social dynamics and interference between the king and his officials (M. Bárta 2013: 153–177), the administration of royal funerary complexes (H. Vymazalová 2024; 2021 and 2013: 13: 177–197) as well as the administration of the provincial site at Balat (L. Pantalacci 2013: 197–215). Provincial administration and economy were also the focus of the work by J.C. Moreno García (1999); specifically, the nomarchal rule was minutely studied in an essay by H. Willems (2007) and in a recent extensive monograph by E. Martinet (2011). E. Brovarski also contributed to the administration of provinces with his article on the key post of the “overseer of the Upper Egypt” introduced for more efficient management of provinces

(Brovarski 2018, 2014, 2013). Worth mentioning is also an impressive opus of the same author on the assembled material evidence from Naga ed-Deir in which he included an essay on the overall historical development of the site with a description of the administration of the 8th Upper Egyptian nome (Brovarski 2018). Individual institutions were the focus of the study for instance of S. Desplancques who dedicated her work to the institution of the treasury during the Old and Middle Kingdom (Desplancques 2006), while M. Bardoňová in her PhD thesis focused on the granary and other storage facilities in the Old and Middle Kingdom (Bardoňová *forthcoming*). Studies devoted to the analysis of individual titles are not enumerated at this place but will be quoted in corresponding references when discussed in detail.

When focusing on the household, it is also important to mention studies touching upon a more theoretical framework of a social and economic organisation of Egyptian state and its development, together with treatises on Egypt as a complex society. This concerns especially studies accentuating the importance of a household as a basic unit of social organisation for Ancient Egypt. Above all, it is the above-mentioned work by M. Lehner (2000) who employed an innovative view on Ancient Egypt in contrast to the more centralised model used earlier (Altenmüller 2005; Bleiberg 1995; Janssen 1981). The model of a social organisation largely based on informal networks and patronage ties was proposed and elaborated by J.C. Moreno García in his extensive work on this issue (Moreno García 2013b: 1029-1065) and also by Ch. Eyre (2011). The decentralised model of economy and importance of patronage links specifically in the production and distribution of pottery was discussed in an in-depth study by L.A. Warden (2014). The house-based studies are projected also in the work by B. Kemp. He focused on various aspects of life in the city of Amarna, discussing in detail especially the household activities undertaken on the settlement (Kemp and Stevenson 2010), the development in households' behaviour and composition (Kemp 2006: 219–221) or a household production (Kemp et al. 1994). A useful comparison to household economy in the Ugarit and Near Eastern is then provided by a recent study by D. Schloen (2001).

Egyptian state with a highly developed administration and hierarchically organised bureaucracy represents an illustrative example of early complex societies. Scholarly works dealing with this issue concentrated on various aspects of complex societies, including works providing a general characteristic of early states (e.g. B. Trigger (2003); H. Claessen and P. Skalník (1978), studies formulating a definition of complex societies, their running and reasons leading to their collapse (e.g. J. Baines and N. Yoffee (1998), M. Bárta (2019) or various articles

by J. Baines and N. Yoffee, D. O'Connor, or Richards, J. in the volume *Order, legitimacy, and wealth in ancient states* edited by J. E. Richards and M. Van Buren (2000).

2 Households – terminology, definition and evidence¹⁰

'Household' is considered a fundamental component of early societies in the whole Mediterranean, as attested by a seminal work by D. Schloen dealing with a patrimonial household in Ugarit and Near East (Schloen 2001). For ancient Egypt, it was, for instance, M. Lehner, who referred to D. Schloen's work and proposed an innovative view of Egyptian society in contrast to the prevailing traditional model of a highly centralised state (Lehner 2000: 275–353). In his concept, the Egyptian state can be viewed as an extension of a large royal household – the house of the pharaoh (Lehner 2000: 332–333). Other scholars also contributed to a discussion on the significant role of households in Egyptian social organization, state administration, or economy (Moreno García 2012; Moreno García 2013; Warden 2014). The study of houses/households has even recently emerged as a new branch of research addressing a wide variety of issues, primarily related to settlement archaeology with a focus on household production or various household activities of mainly economic nature (Kemp 2006; Kemp *et al.* 1994; Kemp and Stevenson 2010; Kóthay 2002).¹¹ Soon after, however, such an approach appeared to be worth applying also to the evidence from funerary monuments, *i.e.* stelae and tombs as attested by recent studies by L. Olabarria (2020), M. Nelson-Hurst (2015), or S.J. Seidlmayer (2007).

Plentiful archaeological evidence manifests this household-based model for ancient Egypt, apparently expressed not only in settlement patterns, but also in tomb clustering on necropoleis. Amarna is a characteristic example of such a pattern that shows patrimonial relations of dependency, where large houses are surrounded by various facilities, such as silos or production centres, but also by a series of smaller houses (Kemp 2013: 163–166). This suggests that the houses accommodated not only the immediate family of the owner, but also other relatives and servants. The occupants of wealthier houses (royal officials and craftsmen) were likely to share their compounds, such as wells and grain silos or workshops with their poorer neighbours, probably their dependents who were members of the extended families (Kemp 2013: 163–166; Kemp 1991: 309–310). Some necropoleis share the same pattern visible in the settlements of the main house / tomb encapsulated by a group of smaller tombs / houses or shafts belonging either to family members or members of the extended households. S.

¹⁰ The main ideas of this chapter have been elaborated by the present author into an article for the proceedings from Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference held in Jaen in 2022 with the talk “Egyptian household in the Old Kingdom tomb iconography and texts. Definition, structure & composition” *forthcoming*.

¹¹ For a detailed list of bibliographical references to individual topics related to household studies, see the introduction by M. Müller in the proceedings from a seminar held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 2013 (Müller 2015: XIII–XLIII).

Seidlmayer illustratively demonstrated on the Middle Kingdom cemetery at Beni Hassan that the occupants of smaller tombs cut in the massive rock below several large tombs served their owners, as testifies the iconographical evidence in the large monuments (Seidlmayer 2007: 351–368; Seidlmayer 1987: 175–217). Certain tomb clustering can be observed not only in provincial burial grounds but also for residential necropolises. Lisht being a typical example of the Middle Kingdom with dozens of tombs of dependents (Arnold 2008). The same can be proposed for Old Kingdom cemeteries, for instance, the cemetery of palace attendants at Giza features a similar pattern (Roth 1995). An Old Kingdom provincial example is the governor Ima-Pepi in Dachla oasis (Balat) that provides evidence of small tomb-chapels built immediately within the complex of the governor's tomb, in its large courtyard (Valloggia 1998: fig. 7, pls. 14–15, 48). The occupants of the small tombs were both family members including Ima-Pepi's wife IPepi/Igit, but also members of the governor's entourage (Valloggia 1998: 26–29, 78, fig. 16, pls. 23–26, 78B).

It seems apparent from these examples mentioned above that the concept of a household pervades many spheres of Egyptian social life. Most recently, J.G. Moreno García pointed out the importance and variability of this concept (Moreno García 2012). He mentions that the term *pr* translated as house/household encompasses a wide range of meanings used in a different context and in a variety of sources (Moreno García 2012: 1). It denotes a basic unit of social organisation (a group of people, or even a ruling family (e.g. the House of Khety), but also a territorial unit of economic significance (*pr* as a domain). J.C. Moreno García emphasizes throughout the study that the household does not consist only of individuals related by blood to the head of the household, in contrast, he provides already in the introduction to his study the following description: 'The households included not only people linked by family ties, but also serfs, clients, dependents and 'friends', sometimes encompassing hundreds of people.' At the same time, he notices that the composition of a household primarily depends on the source of use. While administrative evidence, especially legal acts, recognize primarily the nuclear family, private sources record the entire 'extended family' with non-kin members (Moreno García 2012: 1). Further in the text he specifies the nature of the relations the non-kin members were tied to a particular household. According to him, members of non-self-sufficient households were integrated into wealthier households based on patron-client relationships or

through their employment (Moreno García 2012: 4–5; Moreno García 2009; Moreno García 2007: 136).¹²

The household group was not only a kea unit for the social and economic organisation of everyday Pharaonic Egypt but touched the afterlife as well. J.G. Moreno García provides us with examples of the extended families mentioned in the Coffin Texts (Moreno García 2012: 2). He cites several spells from that pinpointing an *3bt* group as the main term used for depicting a household or extended family group (De Buck 1935: II: 151, 152, 154–155, 164, 181–183; III: 52).¹³ Its composition consisted of: ‘the deceased’s father, mother, children, siblings and serfs (*mrt*) as well as non-kin members such as citizens (*dmj*), companions (*jrj-rmnw*), friends (*hnmsw*), loved ones (*mryt*), associates (*sm3w*), and concubines (*mt-hnwt*)’ (Moreno García 2012: 2; CT II: 181–183). Apart from the *3bt* group, a variety of other terms, such as *whyt*, *mhwt*, *h3w hrw* were used to denote non-kin members of an extended household (Franke 1983: 178–301), nevertheless, their precise meaning and possible distinction is difficult to reveal (Moreno García 2012: 3).

The tomb iconography also represents an invaluable source of information about households. The tomb walls can be compared to modern Facebook or other social platforms that gather all the social contacts of the individual in question in one place. It served to the selected circle of people around the principal owner as a place where they could go and honour him with offerings, but at the same time they could gather there, recognize themselves among the minor figures on the walls, and if involved in the organisation of the funerary cult of the deceased also benefited from the provisions.

The offering bearers, priests, and other individuals recorded on tomb walls were integral part of the community that once surrounded the deceased during his/her life, and via their depiction they could symbolically accompany the master in the afterlife. Although most of these people remained anonymous, some of them were identified by their personal names and/or by one or more functional titles. The close family of the deceased was usually recognizable by attached family relation tags, other individuals can be considered on the basis of their titles tomb owner’s colleagues, subordinates, or servants linked to the key person by social ties, through employment or some other type of dependency relationship such as patronage, etc. These individuals were already identified by H. Junker as a ‘household’ of the deceased (Junker

¹² For the patronage in general, see A. Wallace-Hadrill 1990.

¹³ For term *3bt*, see M. Campagno 2004: 9.

1934). More recently, the households reflected in tomb iconography became the focus of several case studies conducted by J. Auenmüller (2018: 15–41), H.H. Münch (2013: 181–196; 2020: 96–104), M. Nelson-Hurst (2015: 257–272) or S.J. Seidlmayer (2007: 351–368). However, neither of these treatises focused on the theoretical aspect.

Despite the immense importance of households as demonstrated by the above-mentioned evidence, none of the scholars provided a clear definition of a household. It seems to be rather fluid entity without strictly specified meaning, largely depending on the context in which it is used or with the definition too general as dealt e.g. in the study by J.G. Moreno García (2012). This unsatisfactory state of knowledge forced the present author to look for inspiration in other fields of study primarily in social anthropology.

However, the *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* provides no universal definition of a household (Barnard and Spencer 2003). Similar to Egyptologists, anthropologists use different definitions in different contexts for various cultures and time periods (Barnard and Spencer 2003: 431). The traditionally used description is rather vague, telling us that the 'household' concerns a group of individuals connected by a principle of kinship or through marriage and, at the same time, a group that shares the same residential propinquity. However, already the meaning of 'residential property' became problematic, so one might ask if to include servants, apprentices, or lodgers as members of the household (Hammel and Laslett 1974: 73–109; Laslett 1972: 1–9). Some scholars use the term loosely to include also people who somehow participate in the running of the household (Yanagisako 1979: 164–165). This scholar considers a household to be a “set of individuals who not only share a living space, but also cooperate in some common activities, mainly related to food production and consumption or childrearing” (Yanagisako 1979: 164–165). Therefore, another possibility of becoming a member of a particular household, in addition to being a co-resident, might be when eating together or contributing to some 'domestic activities' primarily of economic significance.¹⁴ English social anthropologist J. Goody (1972) directly distinguishes “dwelling (sleeping) units, reproductive (eating) units, and economic units”.¹⁵ As not every household was naturally self-sufficient, especially those without large landholdings, it was the members of such poorer households who might have been involved in the organisation of production or food consumption of the wealthier households (Moreno García 2012: 4). Probably the most

¹⁴ B. Bender provides a definition of "domestic" activities as those that "are concerned with the day-to-day necessities of living, including the provision and preparation of food and the care of children" (Bender 1967: 499).

¹⁵ See also the reference by R. Sanjek 2003: 433.

significant extension of a household concept was noticed by J. Ur in ancient Mesopotamia (Ur 2014: 249–268). According to him, the household might include non-co-resident groups that incorporated individuals or other household/s, lineages or even temples and entire cities depended on the mayor household (Ur 2014: 262). In the words of I.J. Gelb the term for household covers: “social groupings ranging from a small family household living under one roof to a large socio-economic unit, which may consist of owners and/or managers, labour force, domestic animals, residential buildings, shelter for the labour force, storage bins, animal pens, as well as fields, orchards, pastures, and forests” (Gelb 1979: 3). J. Ur also pointed out another important observation regarding the Mesopotamian society, namely, that dependent households were identified more closely and had more in common with some 'elite' household whose interests they often advance than with households of a similar social standing. This clearly demonstrates the importance of a network of vertical bonds throughout the social environment.

To better understand how such a model of an 'extended' household looked like in Egypt, it will also be useful to consult written evidence. The papyri archive of Heqanakht may be instructive in providing a testimony of a household composition of a well-to-be official from early Middle Kingdom (Allen 2002). Heqanakht was a funerary priest of the vizier Ipy, whose letters and accounts were found within the tomb complex of the vizier (Allen 2012: 3–6). Through the letters, he passed instructions to his family members on household affairs that should be managed during his absence. He addresses the letters to his household (*pryw*) or to 'my people' (*rmṯ.i*) (Allen 2002: 107, Letters I and II). According to J.P. Allen, the persons recorded in the document belonged to one of four different social groups: Heqanakht's household, his neighbours and debtors, the people associated with the Thinite nome and the individuals mentioned in Letter P who are not further specified (Allen 2002: 107). J.P. Allen provides a list of household members according to the extent of their rations in the salary list of letter 2 (Allen 2002: 116–117). He enumerates at least 18 persons belonging to Heqanakht's household, including 12 kindred individuals, the most important being his widowed mother Ipy, his (second) wife Hetepet/Iutenhab (*hbswt/hbsyt*),¹⁶ a widowed or unmarried sister or aunt Hetepet, younger sister or daughter by the first wife Si(t)inut, Heqanakht's children (a son and daughters Hetepet, Neferet and Sitwerut (Allen 2002: Letter II 19–22). Other six men Snofru, Anubis, Heti's son Nakht, Merisu, Sihathor, Sinebniut probably belonged to the management of Heqanakht's household likely not affiliated with Heqanakht with the exception of the first

¹⁶ J.P. Allen points out, that 'she was not a welcome member of the household' and as such she was mistreated by other Heqanakht's family members (Allen 2002: 108).

two individuals who are proposed to be Heqanaqht's sons since they were subjects of special treatment (Allen 2002: 113–114; Letter II 17–18). The non-kin members also included two female servants (*b3kt*) and two more dependents (*hrw*), male and female, together with at least two children (Allen 2002: 107, Letter II 9–11, respectively 12–14 and 111, Account V 12). Although these individuals are not denoted by their titles, a description of their duties and responsibilities for the household is provided. Merisu seems to be a crucial person for running of Hekanaqht's household and his estates management. Whenever Merisu is mentioned in the correspondence he apparently held responsibilities that are traditionally ascribes to an “overseer of the household/estate” (*imy-r3 pr*). Allen (2002: 111) enumerates his duties and responsibilities with respect to other members of Heqanakht's household and his property: 'He (Merisu) directed their work (Letter I vo. 13–14; II 31, 35–36), paid their monthly salaries (letter I 16–17, vo. 5; II 29–32), and could send them on various missions (Letter I 3, vo. 1, vo. 7; II 40). He was also responsible for Heqanakht's property. In this capacity he negotiated the lease of land for Heqanakht even when Heqanakht was present (I 9–10: see Allen 2002: 156–58), planted his fields (Letter I vo. 10–12), managed his grain (Letter I 2–3, n, 13–14, vo. 1–4, vo. 17; Account V 1–3 and fr. A), distributed bread to Heqanakht himself (Letter V 30), made accounts to him for the grain debts collected (Letter I vo. 17), and was financially liable to him for grain (Letter I 1–3, 16–17; account V 34) and probably also for his livestock (Account V 25–28). Merisu's authority over other household members is explicitly expressed in certain passages of letters I and II (Allen 2002: 111; Letter I vo. 1; I 3, 14–15; Letter II 29) and indirectly indicated by the large amount of his salary and the presence of his own dependents.

Several other men are worth mentioning in detail. First, Allen considers Heti's son Nakht to be Merisu's deputy as he carried out similar responsibilities. Allen further considered him to be a kind of agricultural foreman and proposed for him a title *imy-r3 tz(w)t* that embodies “responsibility for the management of fields, fieldhands, and livestock” - a position to which he was probably promoted from prior title *jmj-r jhw* "overseer of cattle" (Allen 2002: 112, no. 5). This individual is also provided by his own dependents. Another man, certain Sihathor, belonged to one of Heqanakht's farmers (Allen 2002: 112, Letter I vo. 6–7, account V 13), who acted as a messenger (Letter I vo. 1–2, I vo. 14; II vo. 1, IV 3–4), and highly likely as the Hekanaqht's scribe (Allen 2002: 113). Sinebniut was a farmer and, on top of that, was in charge of Heqanakht's cattle (Allen 2002: 113, Letter I 3, Letter III 4, Account V 18–19, 25–29). All these individuals were provided by cereal delivery (Allen 2002: 123–130).

The household of Hekanaqht can be considered an extended household in the broad meaning of this word as it included, apart from family members, also non-kin individuals and even smaller households of several dependents, namely that of Mentunakht, Tjai's son Nakht, and Heti's son Nakht (Allen 2002: Letter II 12–13; also Letter I 15–16). Of a particular importance are Heqanakht's own words of how he perceived the dependency relationship to his subjects. In Letter II he says: ‘the whole household is just like my children’ (*m mjtt hrdw.j*)(Allen 2002: 116, Letter II, 25). This statement indicates that the mutual relationship between the tomb owner and his non-kin dependents was fairly personal, resembling patronage ties between the patron and his client.¹⁷ One of the letters that mentions a hairdresser and a domestic who served Heqanakht's wife brings light on a particular economic aspect of the operation of the household. It seems apparent that these two individuals were not members of Heqanakht's household since they had not been recorded on the salary list, contrary to other maids who were included (Allen 2002: 109–110, Letter II 38–39). They probably represent a type of services that was outsourced. Allen considers this to be a possible reason why the wife of Heqanakht was credited by far with the highest rations in the salary list which enabled her to pay for such services (Allen 2002: 110).

Not only are the relations within the main house of Heqanakht described in the letters, but the links to Heqanakht's well-to-do neighbors are also recorded. According to several letters, Heqanakht entered into economic relations with 28 individuals and one estate. 18 of them might be designated as his neighbours (Allen 2002: 17). The most important of them was undoubtedly a high official and Heqanakht's superior *imy-r3 t3-mḥw* “overseer of the Lower Egypt” Herunefer (Allen 2002: 117, Letter I 9, III vo. 3), other two of Heqanakht's neighbors Ip Jr.'s son Khentekhtai and Hau Jr. were wealth landowners from whom Hekanaqht leased more arouras of land (Allen 2002: 117; Letter II 33, I vo. 11, I 8; II vo. 2. The rest of the mentioned people were Heqanakht's debtors who owed him grain, one of them designated by his title *ḥk3 ḥwt* estate manager (Allen 2002: 117; Letter III 7–8, Account V 39–52, Account VI (2–18). It is important to stress at that point that even though Heqanakht himself possessed up to 55–110 aruras of land, he leased extra plots from wealthier landowners perhaps to meet the obligations to his dependents whom he delivered grain (Moreno García 2012: 6).

Altogether, the Heqanakht correspondence and accounts convincingly show that the household of an Egyptian official is composed, apart from the relatives, also of a variety of

¹⁷ For the existence of patronage in Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt, see e.g. Bardoňová and Nováková 2017.

people tied to the head of the household via relations of economic nature. Especially the master-servant relation is clearly observable. Several individuals might have been relatives or clients of the master, as can be gleaned from personal greetings in the letters (Allen 2002: 113–114). The vertical social structure within a particular household organisation is recognizable in the different rations that individual members provided. The rations indicate that some of the individuals, e.g. Merisu or Heti's son Nakht, were more important than others. The papyri also testify to a patrimonial model of a nested household composed of smaller household units, exemplified in the household of Merisu or Heti's son Nakht. The large number of officials (28) that includes members of Heqanakht's household from outside further demonstrates the complexity of economic ties in the Egyptian countryside. At least three individuals associated with Heqanakht were his superiors or wealthier neighbours, others his inferiors, or even debtors. This evidence well corresponds with a picture of an ideal household provided by Moreno García – a self-sufficient with landed estates and other property consisted of an extended family, deceased ancestors, serfs, clients and other dependents (Moreno García 2012: 3–4).

In contrast to the written evidence, the tomb inscriptions which represents the main source for this work lack detailed information about the nature of relations between the tomb owner and the minor figures depicted in the tomb. However, the titles attached to the dependents inform us about their profession or type of occupation, or about individual social status expressed either by some indicator of a higher professional degree (overseer, inspector, or supervisor) or directly by a rank title.¹⁸ The titles recorded in tomb reliefs are mainly functional, referring predominantly to one of three following professional segments: priests, scribes, and dependents apparently associated with the household management. Typically, those who stood at the head of the household, *i.e.* “overseers of the house/estate” or “estate managers”, but also simply butchers, herdsman or washermen. Apart from them, however, one can also encounter individuals whose relations with the tomb owner were less straightforward. According to their titles, these people are related to central administration, the king or the court, but also to the segment of body care, organisation of labour, or they are having craft-related titles. referring to their engagement outside the household realm. These persons are rather problematic to classify with regard to their link to the tomb owner. They may be his subordinates in some central office or employees on a one-time basis with the task of decorating the tomb, but their bond to the master's household and property is unclear. They could have been perhaps recorded because of their personal link to the tomb owner being his friends or clients. The

¹⁸ For the distinction between functional and rank titles, see W. Helck 1954.

existence of these people led the present author to search for a more appropriate term that would encompass all individuals even those with unclear relations. An invaluable source of inspiration were studies by N. Picardo (2015) and M. Nelson-Hurst (2015) who applied an anthropological concept of a 'social house' on Middle Kingdom material, namely archaeological and iconographical evidence from the settlement at South Abydos and the tomb of Khnumhetep II at Beni Hassan. The concept of a social house was introduced by C. Lévi-Strauss (1991; 1987; 1978) in contrast to preceding anthropological perceptions of a house as a mere residential building. He used the term house 'maison' to encompass not only the dwelling, but property and people with their rights and duties. Lévi-Strauss sees it as 'a specific type of social structure, similar to lineage or clan, that is distinguished through social interactions between its members and its outward identity, the so-called public face formulated and established through the relations with other houses and institutions' (Lévi-Strauss 1991: 434–436). This concept resembles the broad definition of an extended household including, apart from family and household members, also clients, subordinates/colleagues, or friends, but is not defined by the dwelling, which is typical for the traditionally used definition of a household. Similarly to the structure of nested households, a particular social house may include individuals who were at the same time members of other social houses or even leaders of them. This fits well with the evidence from the tomb reliefs. An exemplary case is the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses in which appear owners of several North Saqqara tombs, for instance, the well-known brother manicurists Nyankhkhnun and Khnumhetep (Moussa and Altenmüller 1977; see also Chapter 5).

The concept of a social house also corresponds well with one of the meanings manifested in Egyptian tombs, especially when talking about the chapel. It can be considered as a kind of public face of their owners. According to M. Nelson-Hurst, it is precisely the stress put on the immaterial aspects, *i.e.* names, titles, social status, together with the emphasis on the public reputation, that makes the study of the funerary texts and tomb iconography through the lens of a social house relevant (Nelson-Hurst 2015: 259). She included subordinates of Khnumhetep II among the members of his social house on the basis of expected close working relationship with the tomb owner, regardless of whether working outside the household domain (Nelson-Hurst 2015: 261). Their roles within the social house were probably firmly defined, but due to the limits of the tomb iconography the meaning often eludes us.

To summarize the discussion on the terminology used for a non-kin group of individuals, both concepts of the 'extended household' and the 'social house' are well applicable in the

iconographical and textual evidence of the Old Kingdom. Although the present author perceives the concept of the social house well suitable for the studied material, given that this term is not established in the Egyptological literature with the exception of the above-mentioned studies of American scholars, this author decided to use the term 'extended household' in its broadest meaning to denote the complex web of relations of the deceased. Neutral expressions such as social network, entourage or suite will also be used in the same meaning. Furthermore, for the purpose of the present study, this author included under the umbrella of ordinary 'household managers and servants' merely those individuals directly linked to the management of the household/estates.

3 Households in the Early Dynastic Period

It is necessary to emphasize right from the beginning that the available evidence to “household issue” from Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom substantially differs (see State of research).¹⁹ Despite the fact that the tombs of Egyptian kings and elite were richly furnished with burial equipment they were undecorated at that time.²⁰ Therefore, the focus of this chapter lies not on tomb iconography, but on analysis of the so-called retainers’ burials that are characteristic for main Early Dynastic cemeteries (Fig. 1).²¹ The phenomenon of retainers’ graves began to be first associated with royal sepulchres and its earliest attestation comes already from the reign of king Aha (Petrie 1900). Small subsidiary burials of king’s dependents who were highly likely intentionally killed to serve their ruler in the netherworld and buried close to the main structure of the royal tomb at Umm el-Qa‘ab were characterized by a stone stela similar to royal tombs themselves that were delimited by a pair of stelae displaying the king’s name (Petrie 1900: 6). A great benefit of the private stelae in Abydos is that they record not only individual names but sometimes also titles of the deceased representing thus crucial evidence for detecting who these people were.²² The private stelae from Umm el-Qa‘ab have been recently assembled and published by G. Th. Martin (2011) whose work represents crucial informational basis for the present study despite the fact that he did not analysed the titles in detail (Martin 2011). Other scholars mainly accentuated the retainers’ graves as a cultural phenomenon not discussing the dependents in particular (Baud and Etienne 2005; Baud and Etienne 2000; O’Connor 2009; Crubezy and Midant-Reynes 2000; van Dijk 2007; Hendrickx 2008; Kaiser 1985; Menu 2005; Menu 2001; Vaudou 2008; Vadou 2000; Wilkinson 1999). These dependents are generally described by various scholars as kinsfolk, king’s courtiers, close subordinates, priests or servants and members of the royal harem (Bestock 2009; Reisner 1936; Wilkinson 1999). This characterization resembles the group of people represented in iconography of royal mortuary temples (e.g. Borchardt 1912; Borchardt 1909; Borchardt 1907).

¹⁹ For Early Dynastic Egypt in general, see W. Helck 1987, A.J. Spencer 1993 or T. Wilkinson 1999. For a more elaborated reference list, see State of research.

²⁰ For tomb architecture of that period see, e.g. G. Dreyer 2012; Dreyer et al. 1996; W.B. Emery 1958; Emery 1954, Emery 1949, Emery 1939, Emery 1938, C. Firth 1931, J.E. Quibell 1923, W.M.F. Petrie 1901; Petrie 1900 or A. Reisner 1936.

²¹ For a general information on the main necropoleis dated to the Early Dynastic Period, see e.g. the Encyclopaedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt by K. A. Bard 1999, with further bibliographical references attached.

²² The personal names of the occupants were usually written on the stelae, but they could have been also inscribed in red paint immediately on the walls of individual graves as in the tomb complex of king Djjet (Petrie 1900:8, pl. LXIII; Wilkinson 1999: 203).

Not only royal tombs but also private sepulchres feature the phenomenon of subsidiary graves which can be observed on four main Early Dynastic cemeteries, *i.e.* North Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Tarkhan and Giza.²³ Some of the large mastabas built at these necropoleis were surrounded by a row of subsidiary graves although their numbers do not bear comparison to royal models (see below). The subsidiary graves around private mastabas were originally also flanked by stone stelae as testify examples from Abu Rawash (Montet 1938). However, the scarcity of this type of evidence does not allow to gain more detailed information about the occupants. Therefore, the attention was turned to grave goods deposited in the subsidiary burials and their potential to reveal the profession of the occupants. According to some scholars, the grave goods seem to be quite promising in this respect. It was W.B. Emery who discerned a direct link between some of the grave goods deposited in subsidiary graves and the profession of their occupants. This idea has been formulated in one of his monographs on Early Dynastic elite tombs at North Saqqara (Emery 1954: 133–138, 142–158). Another scholar who proposed possible professions of individuals buried in subsidiary graves on the grounds of uncovered grave goods was W.M.F. Petrie for Giza mastaba V (Petrie 1907: 5–6).

It is quite clear that some kind of dependency relations must have existed between the occupants of the subsidiary graves and the wealthy individual buried in the principal tomb, but whether they were household servants, administrators, musicians or craftsmen is difficult to reveal. This part of the study aims at clarifying this aspect by a detailed investigation of grave goods. All four above mentioned private burial grounds will be scrutinize one by one in order to establish if the objects deposited in graves are so specific that they enable us to identify the deceased persons or not, and at the same time if we can consider them household members

3.1 First Dynasty retainers' graves associated to private sepulchres

3.1.1 North Saqqara necropolis

The most appropriate place where to start when tracing a social network of Egyptian dignitaries is undoubtedly the well-known cemetery of Egyptian nobility at North Saqqara which features the most striking evidence of the retainers' graves.²⁴ According to P.A. Piccione, four different types of burials with regard to rank of the deceased occur at this site: huge elite mastabas with

²³ Giza cemetery with Mastaba V was also included despite the fact that it belongs to rare examples of retainers' burials on this cemetery. It contained important burial equipment that deserves to be mentioned in this work.

²⁴ Early Dynastic cemetery at Saqqara was largely excavated by W. B. Emery 1958; 1954, 1949, 1939, 1938, but also by C. Firth 1931 or J. E. Quibell 1923.

subsidiary burials of the retainers; smaller tombs of “lesser nobility” and modest commoners’ graves, with the medium-sized tombs absent (Piccione 1999: 1027–1028). The first category is characterized by tombs of imposing dimensions with niched superstructure and the substructure consisted of an open pit with a central burial chamber and side chambers (Emery 1958; 1954; 1949; 1939; 1938; Firth 1931; Quibell 1923). The earliest tomb structures S 3357 or S 2185 dated to the reign of Aha have not yet incorporated subsidiary burials in their tomb complex.²⁵ Altogether six Saqqara mastabas, *i.e.* tombs S 3504, 3503, 3506, 3111, 3505, 3500 chronologically ranging from the reign of king Djed to Qaa feature this phenomenon. Their architecture is characterized by a row/s of retainers’ graves encompassing the major tomb (Morris 2007: 178).²⁶

The list of tombs to be investigated in this study starts with Saqqara tomb S 3503 attributed to Seshemka from the reign of Merneptah. It is not the earliest tomb surrounded by subsidiary graves at the site, but it is this tomb for which Emery proposed the professions of associated retainers on the basis of deposited grave goods (Emery 1954: 133–138, 142–158). The mastaba S 3503 contained 20 subsidiary graves A–T (originally two more) placed in front of the enclosure wall in rows aligning all four sides of the. As reported by Emery the burials are “all more or less of the same size” with some nuances: those on the north side of the main superstructure are slightly smaller measuring 1.10 to 1.20m in width and 1.55 to 1.60m in length while burials to the west and south are longer but slightly narrower exceeding with the longer dimension 1.80 m (*e.g.* burial D with dimensions 1.83 × 1.03m or burial G measuring 1.85 × 0.85m and the graves situated to the south of the principal tomb are the most spacious (Emery 1954: 134–137; figs. 207–221, pls. 8 and 15). As far as the sex of the occupants is concerned, male adults clearly dominate (13 individuals), two skeletons were identified as females and the rest of the burials were uncertain or without any skeletal remains superstructure (Emery 1954: 133–138, 142–158).

More than half of the subsidiary tombs (13 sepulchres) were found intact, namely burials A, B, D, E, J–N, O–Q, T). W. B. Emery identified six of their owners on the basis of deposited grave goods (Emery 1954: 142–158, figs. 207–221, pls. 48–51). He assumed that a man interred in burial B was a potter since his grave was endowed with an unusual large amount of pottery vessels (almost 20) that were found both inside a wooden coffin and above it. In a

²⁵ Unlike the royal tomb and enclosures of Aha in Abydos which do feature a net of subsidiary burials., see *e.g.* the study by L. Bestock dealing with Early Dynastic funerary enclosures at Abydos (Bestock 2008).

²⁶ Mastaba 3507 incorporated one subsidiary burial as well, but as it accommodated a skeleton of a dog, it is not listed within the tombs surrounded by retainers’ graves, see Emery 1958: 78, pl. 91.

similar manner, the presence of painted pottery vessels in burial E with remains of the same colour shades that were used on the façade of the tomb superstructure should indicate a painter (Emery 1954: 144, 146, 147, 149, figs. 208, 210, fig. 213, pl. 49, 51). Following the same line of arguments, a craftsman manufacturing stone vessels was presumably buried in burial J deducing from burial equipment consisting of two stone vessels, one made of alabaster and the other of schist with a copper tool inside one of them. In several other burials, the profession of the owners is also indicated by the objects deposited with them, but Emery does not mention which one it is. To illustrate such an example, it is the occupant buried with several pottery models of boats in burial F (Emery 1954: 146, 147, 149, figs. 213, pl. 51, Cat. No. 3 and 4). If Emery meant that the person in question was a boatman or a carpenter who made ships is unclear. He may have been also conceived that the deceased was a potter as the models were made of pottery similar to several unidentified objects (Emery 1954: 148, pl. 52). However, Emery did not refer to any profession in particular. Other grave goods deposited in certain burials, *e.g.* in burial A also indicate, according to Emery, to the occupation of the deceased, but the precise meaning of these objects is not entirely clear. It concerns a box with a copper tool of an unknown use or a cow-horn in burial D (Emery 1954: 143, 145, 146, figs. 207 and 209, pl. 48). If we accept Emery's assumption that the objects truly refer to a particular occupation, we might suggest that the first deceased may have represented a craftsman or another specialist, whereas the cow-horn points to a herdsman or a profession of a similar type. However, I would like to argue that this supposition seems fundamentally wrong to me when studied the grave goods in detail as will be elaborated further. Let us go through all main types of objects and try to scrutinize them. If we stick to the analysis of grave goods associated to mastaba S 3503, most frequently appearing type is undoubtedly pottery. Apart from burial B, there are at least another two burials that were endowed with a high number of pottery vessels, *i.e.* burial Q with two pottery vessels found in the burial pit itself, complemented with a numerous group of pottery placed in the filling above the coffin, and a very same installation of pottery vessels deposited in disturbed burial H (Emery 1954: 157–158, fig. 220; respectively 149, fig. 212). Why Emery proposed only a single individual to be a potter, not all three is not entirely clear. To recognise a potter on a basis of large amount of pottery deposited in the tomb might be also problematic from another point of view which is more fundamental. Pottery vessels belonged to the most common grave goods found in the Early Dynastic graves in general as testify other tombs not only at North Saqqara. How could then the mere presence of many pieces of pottery refer to a profession of a potter? It seems that the objects regarded by Emery as “specific” for some professions are *de facto* those that were in the view of ancient Egyptians crucial for securing

the blessed afterlife existence. According to ancient Egyptian beliefs, the deceased should receive provisions in the form of food and drink, and he needs to be furnished with oils, ointments and fine linen to ensure his body care.²⁷ The pottery and stone vessels, wooden boxes with linen or copper tools were deposited in the burials to secure these needs. It is no coincidence that in the Old Kingdom a standard set of burial equipment consisted of these very objects, *i.e.* pottery and stone vessels, copper tools and vessels, limestone cases for meat, fabrics or stone sets for the Opening of the Mouth ritual, etc.²⁸ However, these objects deposited in burial chambers indicate rather certain status of the deceased not the affiliation to a specific professional group. In a much similar manner, in my opinion, the grave goods merely reflect different hierarchy within the group of dependents buried in subsidiary graves. Some burials were evidently wealthier than others as testifies, for instance, the evidence from an intact burial N in tomb S 3503 equipped with alabaster tubular jars, a copper blade, a wooden object of unknown use, an uninscribed jar-sealing and a leather bag with limestone gaming pieces (Emery 1954: 153–154, fig. 217, pl. L). The dead body was, on the top of that, covered with a fine linen shroud. The stone vessels in general were highly valued objects especially due to considerable demands on the extraction of raw material and the craftsmanship of the producers. As L. Vendelová Jirásková in her dissertation on miniature vessels emphasized, there was a shift of meaning of stone vessels from Predynastic to early Dynastic Period in which the mostly became symbols of the social position of the owner of the tomb” instead of serving as functional cosmetic containers (Vendelová Jirásková 2021: 12).²⁹

Copper tools were another type of grave goods occasionally deposited in burials. Apart from the just mentioned burial N, burial T also contained copper blades deposited together with two pottery jars (Emery 1954: 158, fig. 221). In these two latter cases, Emery did not mention any potential link of the objects to the profession of the occupants in contrast to burial J where according to him a copper implement placed directly in a stone vessel refers to a stone vessel maker. Why do we not rather regard all three mentioned instances as the evidence of burials built for individuals of a slightly higher rank with better equipped burials? In fact, the copper

²⁷ For ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs in general, see *e.g.* W. Grajetzki 2003, S. Ikram 2003 or R. David 2003.

²⁸ For a typical set of burial equipment of a well-off official of the Old Kingdom, see *e.g.* the intact tomb of the sun priest Neferinpu (AS 37) published by M. Bárta *et al* 2014.

²⁹ For further reading on stone vessels of Early Dynastic Period and their use in the funerary context, see *e.g.* Ch. Karlshausen and Th. De Putter 2000; Hendrickx, S. Bielen and P. Paepe 2001; diachronic development and typology is dealt in the monograph by B. Aston 1994, W.M.F. Petrie 1937; G.A. Reisner and W.S. Smith 1955; Reisner 1931, with most recent work on this topic by L. Vendelová Jirásková 2021.

represents a long-distance import and as such a kind of rare commodity.³⁰ Although the exact reason why the copper tools were deposited in graves is rather puzzling, the intention was presumably to furnish the deceased with items necessary for fabrication of various utensils. Nevertheless, possible patronage ties between the craftsman and his master may also be taken into consideration (Odler et al. 2016: 15–19). The role of stone vessels and flint implements as social markers have been already discussed above.

When analysing the grave goods from other burials surrounding tomb S 3503 in detail, more problematic aspects and ambiguous explanations revealed. For instance, the presence of a cow-horn in grave D needs not necessarily refer to a particular profession but could be perceived as a part of animal sacrifice or simply as a symbol of strength and power, which should ensure a protection to the deceased in the afterlife. Animal bones and cattle horns do occasionally appear on other Early Dynastic necropoleis. Several cattle horns were uncovered near one of the subsidiary burials in the area of mastaba M06 at Abu Rawash (Tristant 2017: 472, fig. 9, respectively fig. 26; see below) or they were also a part of a votive deposit associated with a boat placed near mastaba M06 in the same necropolis (Tristant 2017: fig. 26; Tristant *et al* 2014: 563–588).

Models of boats rarely deposited in burials represent another complex issue closely related to ancient Egyptians funerary beliefs. In my opinion, they should be considered an equivalent to the full-sized boats buried in the vicinity of large sepulchres serving to the same purpose, *i.e.* as funerary barges securing safe passage of the deceased to the hereafter or as a form of transportation in the underworld not indicators of a particular profession.³¹ Besides, it is not entirely clear which profession in Emery's view the model of a boat should represented. A sailor or rather craftsman who built the boats?

To proceed with analysing the grave goods in S 3503, the painted pottery fragments in burial E refer in Emery's view to a painter. At the first sight, it may appear relatively well-founded. However, already Emery's following remark mentioning that the same green colour shade which preserved on fragments of pottery vessels were found on the façade of the tomb superstructure may to the contrary point to simple deposition of a left-over material. Although

³⁰ For the most recent study on copper tools, see the monograph by M. Odler with further bibliographical reference on this issue (Odler 2023).

³¹ Compare with the recent study by D. Vanhulle who emphasizes the role of the boat as a symbol of wealth, power and domination (Vanhulle 2018: 173–187). For the boat burials associated to First Dynasty royal and private tombs, see *e.g.* O'Connor 1995: 3–7; O'Connor 1991: 5–17; A. Radwan 2008: 559–571; Z.Y. Saad 1951; Saad 1947; for the most recent study on boat building technology and funerary practices associated to boat-graves, see the dissertation by D. English 2020 or the study by Ch. Ward 2000.

no complete painted superstructure of any subsidiary grave preserved in Saqqara, one particular example associated with Giza mastaba V indicates that at least some of the superstructures were originally painted (Emery 1954: 144–149, figs. 208, 210, 213, pls. 49 and 51).³² When searching for Old Kingdom parallels of depositing the rest of colour pigments in the tombs, they come almost exclusively from tomb superstructures, for instance in the tomb of Shepesuptah (Arias Kytarová 2013: 40–41), while the evidence of the leftover material deposited in the burial chambers practically does not exist.³³ In the First Dynasty the stress was laid on the tomb substructure which may be the reason why the painted pottery fragments were deposited in the subterranean space. Although we can never be sure what was the original meaning of the painted pottery fragments in burial E, the proposed explanation casts certain doubts about the direct link to the profession of the deceased.

Altogether, the grave goods in the subsidiary burials around mastaba S 3503 are indisputably quite diverse in comparison to other Saqqara retainers' graves. Clear social differentiation is visible in this group which is most significant when comparing the already mentioned burial N that was richly equipped with various types of objects while other burials, for instance the female burials K and O or male burials M and P are very modest accommodating only one or two pieces of pottery (Emery 1954: 150–152, figs. 214–216, 219, pls. 50–51). Interestingly, the practise of burying the deceased in a wooden coffin is observable in all intact burials regardless the respective wealth of the burial equipment.³⁴ If we aim to answer the question whether the grave goods are so characteristic that they provide a direct link to the original profession of the deceased, there is no indication that this was actually the case, rather a number of questions has arisen.

When comparing this mastaba with other retainers' installations at North Saqqara, worth mentioning is the earliest private tomb accompanied by a group of subsidiary graves S 3504 attributed to Sekhemkasedi – an important state official who was in charge of several royal estates and domains (*e.g.* *ḥr-shntiw* “administrator of the king's domain” (Emery 1954:116, fig. 151; Wilkinson 1999: 124). The tomb included 62 subsidiary burials in rows on the western, eastern and southern part of the main burial in tranches beyond the enclosure wall

³² For the reconstruction of the original form of the superstructure belonging to the well-preserved subsidiary grave in Giza, see W.M.F. Petrie 1907: 2–7, pl.V E. The brick paving was originally painted with blue stripes on a white stucco base.

³³ The only preserved evidence comes from the burial chamber of the husband of princess Sheretnebty where remains of blue pigments were found (Arias Kytarová 2014: 16).

³⁴ The only exception represents burial T in which the body was interred without a coffin (Emery 1954: 158, fig. 221).

(Emery 1954: 13, 24–37, fig. 5, Plates VIII and XV). The sepulchres consisted of a mud-brick superstructure with rounded top and a niche in the southern part of the eastern façade. The burials were very similar in size only those in the western trench were slightly bigger, than those situated to the south and east with the differences varying between 1.55 to 1.40m in length and from 1.10 to 0.95m in width (Emery 1954: 13).

The anthropological examination of the skeletal remains revealed a prevalence of male occupants in the burials (in total 33) with only five women and two children.³⁵ It can be assumed, on the grounds of the evidence from the intact burials (nos. 8, 10, 12, 24, 34, 36, 57), that they were quite simple with bodies buried in wooden coffins with several pieces of pottery including tubular jars, large storage jars or bowls (Emery 1954: figs. 8, 9, 13, pls. 20, 21, 23–25). While the repertoire of the grave goods was rather uniform, the number of deposited vessels substantially differed. Some occupants were merely equipped with several pieces of pottery, for instance two young male adults in burials no. 24 and 34 were buried the first with one large storage jar, the other with two pottery vessels (Emery 1954: 32, 33, fig. 13, pl. 23). However, the majority of other burials were endowed with more pieces of pottery vessels, but not exceeding the total number of 20 vessels. Three burials were distinguished by more varied burial equipment than limited to pottery. First, it was a female burial no. 12 equipped apart from 18 pottery vessels with flint implements - six knives and six scrapers (Emery 1954: 29, fig. 9, pl. 21). Worth mentioning is also burial no. 19, which despite being plundered still contained six pottery and two stone vessels supplemented with lithic material – 3 knives and 9 scrapers (Emery 1954: 30, fig. 12). Finally, the excavation of burial no. 14 revealed a clay sealing with unidentifiable sign (Emery 1954: 29, figs. 10, pl. 21). No inscriptional evidence or other finds that would indicate possible occupation of the deceased servants preserved. Lithic material points more than anything else to a greater wealth of the owners. This type of grave goods was usually associated with higher status of their owners which was demonstrated in the study on flint implements by C. A. Graves Brown (2011) or in the article by E. Morris (2007) dealing with the burials at North Saqqara cemetery excavated by R. Macramallah (1940).

Different hierarchy among the occupants of particular burials surrounded S 3504 can be presumed on the basis of preserved grave goods - the last two respectively three mentioned

³⁵ The rest of the burials were either plundered without a skeletal remains (burial no. 5) or the sex of the human bones was unfeasible to ascertain (burials no. 1, 40, 59)(Emery 1954: 20–23, 43–46, 49, respectively 24, 27).

burials were evidently furnished with more luxurious objects indicating thus a higher social standing of their owners, but not particular profession.

To continue the scrutiny of North Saqqara mastabas incorporating subsidiary burials, chronologically third is tomb 3506 from the reign of Den belonging to a high state official Setka who held titles of a ruler (*ḥkꜣ*) and royal seal-bearer (*ḥtmy-bity*) (Emery 1958: pls. 82.38; 81.37). Ten subsidiary graves lined eastern and northern corridor adjacent to the main superstructure (Emery 1958: 41, 46–49, pl. 45 to 49, 71 A, B). Each burial was built separately in a distance around 4m occupying the area about 2.15 × 1.6 m. The graves were either equipped with wooden coffins or those un-coffined were lined with wooden planks on the sides and accommodated a wooden roofing. Only four graves were found intact. As far as the sex of the occupants is concerned, males were buried in half of the tombs, two burials contained a skeleton of a female, one was identified as a burial of a child. The burial equipment consisted mainly of pottery vessels deposited directly in the graves or in the filling of the pit above the roof; most frequently less than 10 pieces of pottery was found in a single burial (Emery 1958: 41-49). Two burials substantially differ from the others with respect to deposited grave goods. The female burial number 3 in the eastern corridor was equipped apart from a pottery vessel with a bowl made of schist and a jar sealing inscribed with the name of Hemaka (Emery 1958: 47, pl. 72A, sealing Insc. No. 23)³⁶. A clay sealing with now illegible inscription was uncovered yet in tomb 1 also situated in the east corridor (Emery 1958: sealing No.4 on page 47, 62, 66, pl. 78). This evidence points to social differentiation clearly recognisable not only in different tomb equipment but also in certain clustering of wealthier burials in one line and those more modest in the second. However, the grave goods are in no way indicative of possible occupations of the occupants. As far as the gender representation of the occupants is concerned, it does not much differ from two above-mentioned tombs - the majority of burials belonged to male individuals.

With tomb S 3506 the Egyptian nobility ceased to build large sepulchres surrounded by a higher number of subsidiary graves at North Saqqara. Tomb S 3111 dated to the reign of Den, as well as tombs S 3505 and S 3500, both from the reign of Qaa, incorporated only a single accompanied burial. Although any comparison between individuals serving the same master cannot be made in this case, it is still interesting to trace how the practise of incorporating the subsidiary burials within the funerary complex further developed. The owner of the tomb S 3505 Merka integrated a single subsidiary burial that differs from the earliest examples by its

³⁶ Elsewhere in the tomb 3505, there is evidence of personal names of five different officials, apart from Hemaka yet Ankhka, Medjedka, Niyka and Setka (Morris 2007: 181).

size and material used for the construction (Emery 1958: 5, pl. 39). It was paved in stone not made of brick as was usual before, moreover, placed close to the principal burial (Emery 1958: 10–11, 13, 30–31, pls. 22–23, 39). The subsidiary grave was extraordinarily large (2.73 × 1.75m in a depth of 1.83m) in contrast to earlier dated ones. Though completely plundered, several pieces of grave goods found in the burial show that the burial equipment did not differ in number or repertoire from the previously analysed tombs.³⁷ What stands out within other preserved evidence is a limestone stela bearing the name and titles of Merka who was, as recent studies have shown, and as testified by a number of important administrative, religious and courtly titles, the owner of the entire tomb not of the subsidiary one.³⁸ Merka was above all “*sm*-priest, controller of the palace” (*hwp ꜥh*) and on the top of that with title *iry-pꜥt* “hereditary prince” a member of Egyptian nobility (Wilkinson 1999: 125–126).³⁹

The subsidiary burial adjacent to the already-mentioned mastaba S 3111 of Sabu illustratively shows how relatively rich could have been an undisturbed burial from the reign of Den (Emery 1949: 98–99, fig. 57). This grave although lesser than the previous one contained an intact male burial in a wooden coffin equipped with numerous grave goods. It consisted of two alabaster cylinder jars, one alabaster and one schist bowl, five beer jars and two pottery vessels.⁴⁰

The latest evidence of subsidiary burials comes from the tomb 3500 (Emery 1958: 98, 102, 104, pls. 116 and 120). The tomb incorporated four graves that were built in the southern corridor of the main mastaba. They were of different form and construction than the subsidiary tombs built around earlier mastabas. The superstructure of the graves consisted of a leaning brick barrel vault with two false door stelae on the eastern facade. They were partly overbuilt by an enclosure wall. The dimensions were similar to the early group of subsidiary burials measuring about 1.30×0.70m. Three intact burials contained wooden coffins accommodating two men and an old female; the fourth burial have been plundered. The graves were not

³⁷ Two stone vessels and fragments of pottery were uncovered in the burial (Emery 1958: 10, 11, 13, 30, 31, pls. 22, 23, 39).

³⁸ A stela with figure, name and titles of Merka was found 3 m to the north from the subsidiary tomb (Emery 1958: 13. Emery believed that the stela originally marked the subsidiary grave and Merka was his owner (Emery 1958: 10). However, the titles recorded on this unusual piece of epigraphic evidence demonstrate that Merka belonged to the highest echelon of Egyptian society. Thus, the stela must have originally delimited the principal monument as demonstrated by recent studies by J. Baines 1995: 132–133 or D. O’Conner 2005 who compares official Merka to Sabef, one of the retainers buried around the tomb of king Qaa in Abydos who held similar titles.

³⁹ For further information about this remarkable personality see also the most recent study on Merka by G. T. Martin 2008.

⁴⁰ The subsidiary burial was found to the west of the principal mastaba, in a pit measuring 1.25 × 0.63m, it was covered with white stucco and closed with a timber roof (Emery 1949: 98–99, fig. 57).

abundant with burial equipment but two burials, no. 1 and 2, were both furnished with a wooden cylinder seal and an imported pottery vessel (Emery 1958: 104–105, Cat. No. 4, 5). Burial 3 as even more modest contained not a single piece of grave goods, while burial 4 was found empty (Emery 1958: 104, pl. 122).

Overall, when scrutinizing the subsidiary burials built around six large Saqqara mastabas, the first evident fact that attracts the attention is the gender of the occupants - male burials clearly prevails in the preserved sample of skeletons, although it is worth mentioning that around 40 % of the skeletons in two most numerous groups of dependents surrounding mastaba S 3503 and 3504 is either missing or of unclear gender determination.

The possibility to draw more general conclusions regarding the burial equipment deposited in graves is rather limited as the archaeological context was in countless cases disturbed. What can be stated with certainty is that the objects interred with the deceased consisted first and foremost of pottery vessels that represented without a doubt food and drink offerings. They belonged to most common grave goods and as such they cannot be indicative of any particular profession of the deceased. Lesser portion of burials were equipped wealthier than the rest of occupants' graves. In some instances, we may encounter stone vessels, often consisted of tubular jars and bowls made of travertine, copper implements, clay sealings, exceptionally also models of boats or gaming pieces. Neither of these objects is so specific that it may safely point to the original occupation of the dependent. Possible objections and problematic aspects were raised on individual cases. The only point to emphasise is that all the items of burial equipment were quite naturally made by craftsmen, but there is no obvious reason why they should be the ones buried here. Although we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that some of the deceased truly were craftsmen and the owner of the central tomb their patron, in my opinion, the objects rather symbolize certain segment of work that should be represented in order to secure the needs of the deceased in the hereafter. Moreover, if we take Emery's assumption to its consequences, the mere idea that a half of the occupants were craftsmen is not much probable when comparing the occupants of S3503 with royal retainers. G.T. Martin who assembled and published the stelae of royal retainers from Umm el-Qa'ab listed only a single crafts related title (Martin 2011). To sum it up, after a careful analysis of North Saqqara tombs, Emery's assumption that the grave goods directly indicate a profession of the deceased could not be proved neither for tomb S 3503 nor for other analysed tombs at North Saqqara.

3.1.2 Abu Rawash necropolis

Abu Rawash is another Early dynastic necropolis of Egyptian elite where several large mastabas are lined with a row of subsidiary burials.⁴¹ The mastabas resemble the imposing niched structures incorporating subsidiary graves at Saqqara only the overall area of the principal tombs at Abu Rawash is significantly smaller.⁴² The number and diversity of the burial equipment at Abu Rawash is also less complex, but the superior quality of the objects suggests the involvement of royal workshops demonstrating thus relatively high status of the owners of these tombs (Tristant 2008: 345–347). Tristant and Smythe assumed them to be royal administrators or local governors close to the king similar to owners of large tombs at Tarkhan (Tristant and Smythe 2011: 330).⁴³ The cemetery M which is characteristic for subsidiary graves features 14 main mastabas excavated by P. Montet (1946; 1938); further 7 uncovered by A. Klasens (1961; 1960). The group of these large mastabas all dated to the reign of king Den are situated primarily on the west and south part of the necropolis. Altogether nine of the mastabas, namely sepulchres M1–M4, M6, M7, M12, M17, M25, were surrounded by smaller servants' tombs, some of them were recently uncovered intact by Y. Tristant (2008: 144, 332).⁴⁴ Particular mastabas with the will be described according to their location on cemetery M from west to east.

The westernmost sector of cemetery M occupies mastaba M07 that contained 8 subsidiary burials. They line the eastern wall of the principal mastaba with the dimensions slightly lower than the contemporary structures at Saqqara necropolis; its length oscillates between 1.2 to 1.3 m and the width between 0.6 to 0.9m. The graves contained nothing more than wine and beer pottery jars (Tristant 2008: 140–144, figs. 17 and 18).

Further to the east of M07 lies another tomb with subsidiary graves - mastaba M06 (Montet 1938: 37, 38, pl. IV). This tomb is exceptional for a stela of the deceased owner Medjedka, which represents unique epigraphical evidence in the context of Abu Rawash necropolis (Montet 1946: 180, pl. VI).⁴⁵ Two subsidiary graves are associated with this mastaba,

⁴¹ For the detailed information about the Early Dynastic cemetery M dated to the reign of Den, see Klasens 1961, Montet 1946, 1938; Tristant 2019; 2018; 2017; 2016a; 2016b; 2010; 2008; Tristant and Smythe 2011.

⁴² Y. Tristant who has been conducted the excavation on the cemetery M at Abu Rawash under the auspices of IFAO since 2007 demonstrated the enormous differences in dimensions of the monuments on both sites. His comparison showed that even the smallest Saqqara tomb S3307 (ca 600m²) is almost twice the size of the biggest tomb at Abu Rawash M 07 (350 m2) (Tristant 2008: 345). The largest tombs at Saqqara, *e.g.* Hemaka's tomb with its dimensions of 1500m² exceeds many times the size of mastabas at Abu Rawash.

⁴³ For the tombs at Tarkhan, see Petrie 1914.

⁴⁴ M05 and M08 are modest tombs without retainers' graves, see, *e.g.* Tristant 2017: 466–495.

⁴⁵ Only one other stela of a high official buried at Abu Rawash was found. It belonged to the owner of the mastaba M20, however, this mastaba is not surrounded by any subsidiary grave (Klasens 1961: 109, 121, pl. 24, fig. 7).

both contained a female burial placed in a wooden coffin. One of the burials was equipped with two pottery vessels, faience bracelet and remains of fabric (Tristant 2016a: 473, no. S 1257). Worth mentioning find associated to M07 is yet a set of six cattle horns uncovered near the subsidiary graves of M07 (Tristant 2016a: 472, fig. 9).

Mastaba 01 represents another sepulchre surrounded by subsidiary burials at Abu Rawash. Altogether seven graves lying to the west of the mastaba in front of the enclosure wall was discovered by P. Montet (1938). This tomb is especially important due to preservation of epigraphic texts. P. Montet mentioned in his report that altogether five stelae were uncovered at cemetery M, four of which were directly associated with tomb M01 (Montet 1938:11–69). A stela with female name Khuit marked the secondary burial no. 2 (Montet 1946: 180–181, pl. VI; Montet 1938: pl. 2; Porter and Moss 1974: 6; Tristant 2008: 138, figs.1, 9–11; stela Cairo JE 44330).⁴⁶ Burial no. 5 was flanked by another stela with the name of the occupant Sekhemib and his title that could be transliterated either as *imy-r3 Nḥsiw/Stiw* or *imy-r3 mšc*.⁴⁷ P. Montet regrettably did not provide any transliteration of the title, he merely translated the title as the “overseer of archers” (Montet 1946: 181, pl. VI). According to the title, this man could have been one of the master’s guards. The grave goods themselves consisted solely of several pottery vessels that are of no help in identifying owner’s possible occupation.

Other graves built around tomb M01 seem to be equipped wealthier than burial no. 5. Stone vessels, namely schist bowls were deposited in burials 2, 4 and 6 (Montet 1938: 17, 22–26). Burial no. 4 contained apart from a schist bowl an alabaster jar and eleven pieces of pottery vessels, mainly beer jars, and on the top of that a stela with illegible signs (Montet 1938: 17–26). Grave no. 6 contained one schist bowl and one alabaster vessel, four pottery vessels and animal bones. Grave no. 7 is another burial where a stela was uncovered. According to P. Montet the stela was broken in fragments and bears an illegible text (Montet 1938: 27–28).⁴⁸ The burial itself included a female skeleton with 12 pottery vessels, a shell from a bracelet, and fragments of alabaster and pottery.

The fourth analysed tomb M02 was surrounded by seven subsidiary graves (Montet 1946: 180, pl. VI). P. Montet stated that he found nothing important in the first four subsidiary

⁴⁶ Due to almost perfect preservation of the superstructure of one of the subsidiary tombs, it is now clear, that the stela was originally placed in a niche on the easter part of the vault built above the burial (Tristant and Smyth 2011: 320, fig. 6). Similar empty niches were found by W.F.M. Petrie 1914: pl. 15.

⁴⁷ D. Jones transcribes the title as *stj/nḥsj(?)* and suggests the comparison with title *imy-r3 mšc* “expeditions leader” (Jones 2000: 984, 363, respectively 142, 551).

⁴⁸ Regrettably, no photo or illustration is case of both latter mentioned stelae (Montet 1938).

graves, while the grave no. 5 included five pottery vessels, grave no. 6 pottery and a schist bowl and grave no. 7 a schist bowl and a pot with an illegible inscription (Montet 1938: 42). The re-excavation undertaken by Y. Tristant uncovered further five intact subsidiary graves situated to the west of the mastaba (Tristant 2016a: 480–481). The occupants were four young females and one child all buried in wooden coffins. Except for the fact that all the burials contained necklaces the burial equipment does not feature any special characteristic. Burial S 1429 of a teenage girl was equipped with a necklace and four pottery vessels; burial S 1439 and S 1441 both included pottery vessels, *i.e.* three beer jars, two stone cylindrical jars and a necklace of shells. The burial S 1443 contained one beer jar and two pottery plates together with a necklace. The only grave S1427 of a child was distinguished by containing an object of rare material. It was a faience bead necklace consisted of pottery beads covered with a gold leaf.

The information provided about the subsidiary graves accompanying Mastaba M03 of high official Ankhka is very rare concentrating exclusively on the anthropological material. All six subsidiary graves that are situated to the east of the main superstructure contained bodies buried in wooden coffins (Tristant 2016: 483–484). The anthropological examination revealed very young composition of the deceased: two children, one teenager and two young adults of unspecified sex. Regrettably, no information about the burial equipment is provided.

Mastaba 04 incorporated a similar number of subsidiary burials as tomb M03, all five are oriented to the east from the main superstructure (Tristant 2016).⁴⁹ The burials contained mainly pottery vessels, only burial S 1524 accommodated apart from several beer jars yet a calcite bowl (Tristant 2016: 485–489, figs. 24, 28, 29).⁵⁰

Further four mastabas M10–M13 are situated on the western part of the cemetery, but only tomb M12 features subsidiary graves. During the excavation of this part of the cemetery, already M. P. Montet mentioned a row of subsidiary tombs associated with mastaba M12 but did not specify it (Montet 1938: 54–58, pl. 7). Y. Tristant and J. Smythe provide us with more details (Tristant and Smythe 2011: 166, fig. 6, 12). They uncovered rows of subsidiary graves to the west, south and east of the mastaba. On the top of that, yet another row was added on the west and east, the first was looted already in the antiquity, the second was never used. Only five graves placed to the south of the principal tomb partially preserved (Tristant and Smythe 2011:

⁴⁹As mentioned by Y. Tristant, the subsidiary burials escaped the attention of P. Montet (Tristant 2016a).

⁵⁰ The team by Y. Tristant also discovered a votive deposit associated with a boat that contained *hs* jars and bowls, together with ten bull horns (Tristant 2016a: fig. 26).

168, fig. 13). The elderly male bodies laid in wooden coffins. As far as the burial equipment is concerned, it consisted of pottery and jewellery formed by bracelets made of faience and carnelian beads.

The northern part of cemetery M is represented by mastaba M16 and M17, with only the latter one incorporating a row of 9 subsidiary burials to the west of the main structure. P. Montet uncovered two empty graves, the other still contained wooden coffins and some of them also burial equipment (Montet 1938: 61–62). Montet provided a summary of the burial equipment, but he did not specify in which burial were particular objects found. His list contained: a bowl of schist, an alabaster cylinder vessel, three pottery jars and two large storage jars (Montet 1938: 61–62).

The last mastaba with subsidiary graves was uncovered in the southern part of the necropolis where were altogether seven mastabas M19–M25 built (Porter and Moss 1974: 5–8). Mastaba M 25 is surrounded by two retainers' graves of a man and woman but both without any burial equipment preserved.

On the whole, 9 of 25 mastabas at the necropolis M were surrounded by a row of subsidiary burials – practically each large tomb built at the site. The number of associated burials mainly oscillates between two to nine. Only the mastaba M02 and M12 distinguish from the others by a relatively high number of retainers' graves. The first tomb was surrounded by 12 graves; mastaba M12 contained 25 graves with more specific arrangement of burials in comparison to the rest of large mastabas at the site as the subsidiary burials are lined in two rows with the second one never used.

As far as the approximate age and sex of the owners is concerned, no precise statistical evaluation can be made because the anthropological examination is often missing especially in older works by A. Klasens (1961; 1960) and P. Montet (1946, 1938). Nevertheless, the evidence from recent excavations shows that the occupants of the subsidiary graves were often women and very young individuals, with the exception of older males in graves associated to mastaba M12. An illustrative example of the predominance of female burials is tomb M06 surrounded with exclusively female occupants' graves or tomb M02 with female skeletons and one child.

The burial equipment deposited in the subsidiary burials at cemetery M mainly consisted of pottery vessels which was in some cases the only type of burial equipment as demonstrated *e.g.* by burials connected to mastaba M07 or the burial of Sekhemib (no. 5 surrounded mastaba M01). Some graves were furnished with more wealth by incorporating one or more stone

vessels. Especially schist bowls and alabaster jars occasionally occurred, typically in graves surrounding mastaba M17 or burials no. 2 and 6 associated with mastaba M01. Some differences in grave goods also occur when comparing male and female burials. The burials accommodating female skeletons relatively often disclosed their personal belongings in the form of necklaces or bracelets made of faience beads or shells (*e.g.* M02). The child burial furnished with jewellery made of pottery beads with golden leaves probably belongs to the wealthiest burial preserved at this site.

Despite visible hierarchy between some burials, none of the burial equipment suggests possible hints for identification of the original occupation of the dead person. The only clue is provided by the textual evidence carved on the stela designating the owner as the overseer of the archers, further deducing that some of the male retainers could have worked as guards. The remaining stelae found at Abu Rawash bore either illegible text or merely provided us with a name of the occupant. As far as a relatively high percentage of female burials is concerned, we cannot determine their profession on the basis of grave goods. The items of personal adornments are of no help in this regard. Some of them could have been maidservants or perhaps female relatives of the principal owner, but there is no direct evidence that would support it. The same holds true for the child burial. Taking into consideration the relative wealth of his/her grave, we cannot rule out the possibility that this was an offspring of the owner buried in the main tomb. It can be concluded that the grave goods on this cemetery are in no way indicative of the profession the persons buried adjacent to the main tomb once held.

3.1.3 Tarkhan necropolis

The cemetery at Tarkhan lies approximately 50 km south of the capital. Apart from a large Early Dynastic necropolis of simple burials of common people, W.M.F. Petrie excavated there several large mastabas with niched superstructures dated to the First Dynasty following “in design and arrangement, the better preserved and documented examples excavated at Saqqara” (Grajetzki 2008: 111). Only two of these spacious sepulchres were surrounded by subsidiary graves, *i.e.* tomb 2050 dated to the reign of Den and tomb 2038 dated to the reign of Djet (Grajetzki 2008: 103–112, fig. 6; Petrie 1914; Reisner 1936: 70–71; Wainwright et al., 1913). The latter mastaba incorporated two subsidiary graves 2039 and 2040 in the eastern corridor. Their superstructures preserved in perfect condition resembling by their construction those in Saqqara or Abu Rawash with vaulted mud bricks moulds above the burial pit and two niches at the front side. Both subsidiary burials were found intact and incorporated human skeletons placed in a wooden

coffin (Petrie 1914: 5). The grave goods in 2039 consisted of calf bones, cylindrical pottery jars, one large storage jar and an alabaster bowl; in tomb 2040 six pottery jars and an alabaster dish was deposited (Petrie 1914: 3–5, pl. XV, XVIII). Regrettably, Petrie did not provide any information about the sex of the deceased nor their age.

The largest mastaba at Tarkhan no. 2050 dated to the reign of Den incorporated slightly higher number of subsidiary graves than 2038. Three of them were built in the northern corridor, another one was situated in the southern. Worth mentioning is also a burial of a man in a basket that was placed near the western side of the mastaba (Petrie 1914: 5–8, pl. XVIII; Reisner 1936: 37–38). The graves in the northern and southern corridor were found intact. All contained wooden coffins, but only burials 2051 and 2053 accommodated human skeletons of unknown sex and age. The grave goods in all four graves consisted mainly of pottery vessels. In addition, the subsidiary burial 2051 was equipped with a “walking wooden stick”, burial 2053 contained a leg-bone of a calf, and burial 2054 revealed bones of a duck. The latter burial rather surprisingly features no human burial although found intact!⁵¹ Of certain importance is also burial 2052 in the southern corridor which did not accommodate a human burial but consisted of three skeletons of donkeys (Petrie 1914: pls. 17, 19). Petrie deduced that “these were the favourite animals buried with the master, much as the household were buried with the kings of this age” (Petrie 1914: 6). I would argue that the burial of donkeys refers in my view more to the importance of this animal as a mean of transport in a similar way that the wooden boats were buried within the complex of some royal and non-royal tombs or funerary enclosures at Abydos or elsewhere in Egypt expressing thus the need to be at the disposal to the tomb owner in the netherworld.⁵²

Overall, the insignificant number of tombs incorporating subsidiary graves together with small amount of the subsidiary burials (from two to four) surrounding both mastabas make almost impossible to draw any general conclusions with regard to prevailing sex, and age of the deceased as well as about the composition of their grave goods at this site. It can only be stated that pottery belonged to most common burial complemented less frequently with stone vessels, usually made of alabaster. The presence of animal offerings consisting either of cattle or poultry

⁵¹ Given to the fact that the wooden coffin in burial 2054 evinces roughly the same dimensions as the containers in burials 2051 and 2053, they seem to be originally intended for a burial of a male/female, but from an unknown reason nobody was interred in it.

⁵² Rare finds of donkey skeletons in the funerary context were uncovered at Early Dynastic cemetery at Abusir or Abydos (Adams 2002; Bestock 2008; Boessneck, von den Driesch and Eissa 1992; Radwan 1995; Wilford 2004). For the earliest evidence of domestic donkeys in Egypt with further bibliography on the topic, see Rossel *at al.* 2008.

deposited directly in graves to supply the deceased with food seems to be another recurrent pattern. The burials built around the mastaba 2038 seem to be more uniform both consisting of several pottery jars accomplished by a single piece of stone vessel, while the graves associated with mastaba 2050 are more diverse. One of them resembles with the grave goods the burials around tomb 2038, the other one furnished with a wooden staff probably accommodated someone of a slightly higher status.⁵³ A specific feature then represents a burial of three donkeys which has not much parallels in archaic Egypt. However, this specific burial tells us more about the status and importance of the owner of the principal mastaba rather about his retainers.

To sum it up, the grave goods uncovered in subsidiary graves at Tarkhan did not give any hints about possible professions of their occupants apart from a notion of different hierarchy among them.

3.1.4 Giza necropolis

Early Dynastic Giza is represented by only a single tomb surrounded by retainers' graves, *i.e.* mastaba V dated to the reign of Djjet. Despite the scarcity of mastabas with subsidiary graves at Giza, this tomb is worth including in this study because it features the second highest number of subsidiary graves after Saqqara tomb S 3504 and when excavating by W.M.F. Petrie it still contained several grave goods that were not found in any other retainers' grave (Petrie 1907).

Mastaba V was surrounded by 52 graves in total. Petrie pointed out that all were plundered, but bones and pieces of burial equipment still preserved in one half of them (Petrie 1907: 2). The majority of grave goods was formed of pottery vessels that were quite often complemented by stone vessels mainly made of alabaster or harder stones such as slate or basalt. Several burials exceeded the others in the wealth of preserved objects. It concerns primarily the extraordinary rich burial no. 12 (Petrie 1907: 2–7). Leaving aside a big number of stone vessels (mainly bowls and jars), it accommodated also other objects made of various materials namely copper tools, ivory cosmetic items, or even gold needles. Another burial (no. 56) is not distinguished by the wealth and variety of preserved grave goods, but by the presence of two slate scribal palettes - objects that were quite rarely found in the context of subsidiary graves (Petrie 1907: 5, pl. III, IIIa)(Fig. 2).⁵⁴ The same grave contained yet one copper chisel and an

⁵³ For an Old Kingdom parallel of a wooden staff deposited in the burial chamber, see e.g. the tomb of Neferinpu (Bárta 2014: fig. 3.35, pls. 31a, b, 3.3).

⁵⁴ Stone palettes for mixing cosmetic pigments quite regularly appeared already in the predynastic period, see e.g. the cemetery at Maadi and Wadi Digla (Rizkana and Seeher 1989: 547–549) or Armant (Bard 1999: 162–164).

inscribed object – a piece of flint on which some accounts were written.⁵⁵ Petrie assumes, in my opinion quite indisputably, that this grave accommodated a scribe.

Worth mentioning in connection with possible occupation of the death person is yet grave no. 23 which was equipped with several toilette items. Above all, it was an ivory comb, flint armllets or two ivory wands with gazelle heads (Petrie 1907: 6)(Fig. 3). Petrie did not provide any information about the sex of the dead persons, but the presence of toiletries and the comb refers in this particular case more to a female occupant.⁵⁶ Interestingly, he noticed that wands with gazelle heads were worn by both female and male dancers in scenes from Deshasha tombs (Petrie 1898: pl. XII). Taking into consideration this parallel, the deceased could have been probably a (female) dancer. Female burials of that time were often equipped with necklaces but never with such specific accessories.

In total, the subsidiary burials built around mastaba V in Giza seem to be generally better equipped than retainers' graves in Abu Rawash or Tarkhan. The burial equipment is quite diverse consisting apart from pottery and stone vessels of copper tools, ivory cosmetic items, and one of the wealthiest graves even contained gold needles. However, only two pieces of grave goods are so specific that they enable to suggest the profession of the deceased, *i.e.* the scribal palettes and ivory sticks. The proposed professions are that of a scribe, and a female dancer. Regarding the remaining occupants, no link to a particular profession can be made on the grounds of preserved grave goods.

3.2 The composition of the retainers' graves with regard to number, gender and age of the occupants

The phenomenon of subsidiary graves was studied on four Early Dynastic cemeteries, namely Abu Rawash, Tarkhan, Giza and North Saqqara, with the latter one to be the only cemetery where this type of installation could be traced for a longer period of time, *i.e.* from the reign of Djet to Kaa.⁵⁷ Three remaining non-royal necropoleis with subsidiary graves are chronologically limited to the reign of two kings: the large mastabas at Abu Rash exclusively

⁵⁵ Four different numbers were written on the flint board, see Petrie 1907: 5, pl. IIIa.

⁵⁶ W.M.F. Petrie did not provide any information about the sex of any of the skeletons in the retainers' burials surrounding mastaba V in Giza, he only stated that some bones were found in the graves despite being robbed without further specification of the skeletal remains (Petrie 1907: 5).

⁵⁷ Prior to that time the retainers' graves were solely a royal singularity (see above).

to the reign of king Den, Giza tomb V to the reign of Djet and the tombs at Tarkhan one to the reign of Den and the other to the reign of Djet. Despite the fact, that this makes the comparison of individual necropoleis more difficult, several main outputs of the research will be presented at this place. The reign of king Djet indisputably represents the peak in the total number of subsidiary burials built around the mastaba of non-royal owners following thus with a little delay the royal monuments with king Djer to be the “record-holder” by having incorporated 338 secondary burials close to his tomb (Bárta 2011: 63). Tombs S 3504 with 62 and Giza tomb V with 52 subsidiary graves both dated to the reign of Djet represent the highest number of subsidiary graves associated with a single private tomb ever found in necropoleis dated to the Early Dynastic Period. This does not necessarily mean that during the reign of this ruler all large mastabas were surrounded by a high number of additional graves, a significant difference is observable at Tarkhan. Tarkhan Tomb 2038 from the reign of Djet incorporated only two subsidiary graves reflecting perhaps lower social standing of the owner of the principal tomb compared to the elite burials at North Saqqara.⁵⁸

Diachronic development of subsidiary graves at North Saqqara apparently shows a gradual decrease in the number of these graves similar to the royal sepulchres. Saqqara tomb 3504 from the reign of Djet with the highest number of 62 graves is followed by tomb S 3503 from the reign of Merneit surrounded by 20 burials and tomb 3506 from the reign of Den associated with 10 graves. North Saqqara tomb 3111 from the reign of the same king features only one but extraordinary large grave. Finally, the most recently built tombs surrounded by retainers’ graves at Saqqara are dated to the reign of Qaa. One of them, tomb S 3505 contained only a single grave associated with the principal mastaba, while tomb S 3500 four graves.

The reign of king Den embodies important hallmark in Egyptian history as was already detected by M. Bárta (2015: 1–17). This turbulent period is also reflected in a big number of large tombs surrounded by subsidiary burials built in this period. As was already mentioned above, the reign of Den represents the only period when we have the opportunity to draw a comparison between particular necropoleis pursued in this study. Such type of diachronic data is perceptibly missing for the reigns of other kings of the First Dynasty. When comparing the individual installations at studied cemeteries, no fixed number of subsidiary burials was evidently built in the reign of Den. The number ranges between one to ten subsidiary graves

⁵⁸ Certain clues about a different social standing of individual owners provide us a comparison between the size of these tombs that speaks unequivocally in favour of Saqqara mastaba 3504 with the overall area measuring 1436.653 m² (Emery 1954: 8). In contrast to it, mastaba 2038 covers the area more than three times smaller, *i.e.* 411 m² (Grajetzki 2008: 109; Petrie 1914: 3–5).

surrounding the principal tomb: North Saqqara tomb 3506 incorporated 10 graves, tomb 3111 one extraordinary large grave and Tarkhan tomb 2050 four subsidiary graves. In Abu Rawash several tombs were attached by graves oscillating in number between 2 to 9. However, tombs M02 and M12 are exceptional in the number of associated burials. They contained 12, respectively 25 subsidiary graves although it needs to be mentioned that a negligible part of the graves surrounding the latter tomb might have played only a symbolical role as they have been never used for human interment. A high number of tombs built at Abu Rawash during the reign of Den shows that this burial ground began to be one of the main places where a high-status officials were buried replacing thus to certain extent the North Saqqara necropolis.

As far as the statistical analysis of the skeletal remains is concerned, many burials were looted and damaged, therefore, the data represents only a partial view, and we cannot avoid certain bias when evaluating them. Moreover, even when the human remains or grave goods preserved up until now, the precise archaeological context or other detailed information were not always carefully recorded or published at all. Despite the lack of a significant part of the original evidence, the available data revealed that the demographic representation of the owners of subsidiary graves differed from necropolis to necropolis. While the occupants of North Saqqara subsidiary burials were in all studied tombs predominantly males as the re-evaluation of retainers' graves conducted by R. A. Campbell within his work dealing with human sacrifice in Egypt convincingly demonstrated (Campbell 2019). Campbell concluded that the subsidiary graves at Saqqara are characterized by the uniformity in the demographic representation of their occupants who were predominantly male adults (72 %), although females (12 %), children (4 %) and older people (6 %) also occurred but in much lesser numbers (Campbell 2019: 217–218, tab. 9 on page 212–213, tab. 10 on page 214, tab. 11 on page 216). The statistical summary of the data from individual tombs is as follows: 77 % of 48 preserved human remains at tomb S 3504 were males; similarly, 68% of 19 preserved human remains at tomb S 3503 also represent males; 50 % of 10 preserved human remains at tomb 3506 were again males (with 20% females and 10% undetermined); tomb 3500 featured 50 % males and 25 % females from four preserved human skeletons.

In contrast to the prevalence of male occupants of subsidiary burials at North Saqqara, the female graves were strongly represented at Abu Rawash. Although the data for this necropolis are only partially preserved and the data about the sex are largely based on recent excavations, it is evident that female occupants prevailed at least in subsidiary burials surrounding tombs M02 and M06 (Tristant 2016a, 2016b; Montet 1938).

For Giza mastaba V, the demographic data are completely missing, which is also true for the tombs at Tarkhan. Petrie did not provide any details about the sex and age distribution of the individuals buried at these two cemeteries (Petrie 1914; 1907).

To obtain the most accurate picture of the demographic representation of the retainers, it is important not only the proportion of male to female occupants but also the age of the deceased. A clear prevalence of adult individuals in cemeteries at North Saqqara and Abu Rawash was observed, with only rare appearance of children or old individuals. In other words, the dependents in productive age clearly prevailed; only occasionally were complemented with other age spectrum.

When evaluating the composition of the deceased buried in subsidiary tombs, worth mentioning is what Emery noted about possible human sacrifice associated to private tombs. He did not observe any traces of violence on human remains that would indicate intentional killing further deducing that its absence “suggests that they were killed by poison prior to burial” (Emery 1954: 143). R.A. Campbell who reassessed the subsidiary burials around both the royal and private tombs pointed out to this issue: “If we take Emery’s assessment of no evidence for trauma at face value, and consider the implications of the architectural design of the subsidiary tombs as discussed in the previous chapter, there is really no evidence to support the occurrence of human sacrifice; on the other hand, there is no evidence that explicitly argues against this practice either. The inclusion of children, as well as older adults, may indicate that the graves were simply filled as their intended occupants died naturally, *i.e.* perhaps the children were related to the deceased in some way, as were the adults.” Given the fact that a high standing official would hardly choose small children or weak old man to serve him in the afterlife, these observations enable us to further deduce that the deceased were highly likely derived from two different groups – relatives of the tomb owners on one hand and the non-kin individuals who may or may not have been deliberately killed to serve their master in the afterlife on the other.

3.3 The interpretation and meaning of grave goods

An effort to distinguish the group of adult occupants of the subsidiary graves based on the objects deposited in the tombs appeared to be rather difficult task. The textual evidence from stelae proved to be much more fruitful, but the problematic aspect is its scarcity. When trying to answer the fundamental question whether the objects deposited in the subsidiary graves refer to a particular profession of the deceased, after a careful scrutiny of that issue I would answer

no, or at least in the majority of cases they do not. The absolute majority of burial equipment that preserved in tombs is formed of pottery vessels. They represent the most common commodity which appeared in both modest and wealthier burials. They only differ in number, type and quality of manufacture. Therefore, it is simply not possible to assume that this type of equipment directly refers to the profession of the deceased. In that case the majority of retainers would be potters!

More luxurious items such as stone vessels, copper tools or flint implements significantly less frequently appear. Of them only stone vessels belong to grave goods that were more regularly deposited in subsidiary graves but still often limited to a set of a bowl and cylindrical jar made of travertine or basalt. Copper tools preserved only in six graves, four of them associated to Saqqara tomb S 3503 (burial J, D, N, T), two other surrounding Giza mastaba V (burial no. 12 and no. 56). Flint blades occur even less frequently - only in two burials associated to Saqqara tomb S 3504 (nos. 12 and 19). Valuable material from which were the stone vessels manufactured as well as their excellent craftsmanship equal to vessels found in the principal tombs together with copper tools and flint implements – all testify to higher position of the owners in comparison to other occupants of subsidiary graves. However, no indication that would point to a specific profession was observed. On the contrary, as I have already argued above, beer jars, stone vessels, copper tools, flint implements, etc., became during the Old Kingdom a part of a standard set of burial equipment in tombs of well-off individuals regardless of their personal profession as testifies, *e.g.* the burial of judge Inti at Abusir (Bárta *et al. forthcoming*).⁵⁹ The significance of these objects deposited in burials lies in providing sustenance for the deceased in the netherworld. At the same time, they can be considered indicators of certain rank, but they do not provide any information about the profession of the deceased individual. Of course, it is necessary to take into consideration possible shift in meaning between earlier times and the Old Kingdom, but still, there is no clear proof that a copper tool or a stone vessel was intended to represent a symbol of the profession and not supply of items necessary for the afterlife. The evidence from the royal context at Umm el-Qa‘ab may be instructive in this respect. Only a single title associated to a craftsman preserved carved on stelae surrounding royal sepulchres (Martin 2011). Although it is possible that some stelae bearing this particular title have not preserved, it seems evident that artisans were not among the “chosen ones” who were buried with the king. It is difficult to reveal what

⁵⁹ The tomb of Inti of Abusir, furnished with beer jars, copper tools, miniature stone and pottery vessels, models of goose, etc. represents an illustrative example how the burial equipment of a well-off official dated to the Sixth Dynasty looked like (Bárta *et al. forthcoming*).

reasons stood behind. Craftsmen might have belonged to a group that was highly valued and as such they were perhaps not ritually killed in order to serve the new king. We can deduce by analogy that the owners of non-royal tombs followed the royal pattern. Relatively scarce presence of identified craftsmen in the textual evidence of Old Kingdom non-royal tombs would testify it (see Chapters 3 to 6).

In addition to purely functional items that were supposed to ensure the supply of food, drink, oils and ointments and other necessities, we encounter items of personal adornments in the subsidiary burials. These were above all necklaces and bracelets made of beads or shells discovered at Abu Rawash predominantly in graves with female occupants, *i.e.* in all 5 intact graves surrounding M02 as well as in one of the burials associated to M06 but also in graves of elderly men associated to M12 and in the rich child burial connected to M02. However, none of these objects are indicative of the occupation of their owners. The only exception represents various toilette accessories found in burial no. 23 surrounding Giza mastaba V. Two ivory wands with gazelle heads from this set may refer to a concrete profession, in this particular case to a female dancer.

Only two other objects are so specific that they may help to identify the deceased: a wooden staff found in burial associated to tomb 2050 at Tarkhan and two scribal palettes with a piece of accountant record found in burial connected to Giza mastaba V. Staffs or sceptres in general point to a senior position of their owners, although they do not directly indicate a concrete field of work. In contrast to it, scribal palettes quite safely identified a scribe.

Regarding Saqqara tomb 3503 in particular, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that some of the occupants of the subsidiary graves really were craftsmen, but Emery's suggestion proved to be problematic for several reasons. The presence of individual types of grave goods can be explained or interpreted differently when concentrating on the meaning of individual pieces of grave goods and evaluating them in detail. The comparison to material from other burials associated to this particular tomb but also to the evidence from other tombs at Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Giza and Tarkhan further shows that the objects according to Emery specific for some profession represent on the contrary common grave goods. Moreover, such strong representations of craftsmen among the dependents as presumed by Emery is improbable if we consider rare parallels from the royal context.

The analysed sample of 230 subsidiary burials has demonstrated that the individual grave goods are in the vast majority of cases so non-specific in nature that they do not allow us

to recognize the profession of the occupants buried in them. Consequently, we can hardly say any detailed information about the overall composition of dependents associated with private tombs based on deposited grave goods. Only a minor portion of the objects has some informative value regarding possible identity of the owners. When we connect these occasional archaeological instances together with equally rare textual evidence, it enables to propose at least several possible groups of retainers: 1) scribes/administrators recruited from educated persons who were apparently responsible for keeping the accounts of their masters; 2) master's guards; 3) musical performers/dancers. Interestingly, we encounter all these professions in higher numbers in the royal context (Martin 2011).

We can further anticipate with a certain degree of probability another two groups of dependents. The simply equipped graves without any precious objects might have belonged to ordinary servants, while the graves from the opposite side of the social structure with objects made of gold may indicate highly likely close relatives of the deceased in the main tomb, e.g. in case of the child's burial associated with the tomb M02 at Abu Rawash.

3.4 Excursus to royal retainers

The presence of textual evidence from private stelae uncovered at Umm el-Qa'ab represents a big benefit in comparison to the almost complete lack of such type of evidence for the private tombs and their associated subsidiary graves. G. Th. Martin (2011) who has assembled and published the stelae provided the reader with a list of all names and titles inscribed on the stelae (Martin 2011).⁶⁰ The first striking fact that can be observed from the statistics based on the individual entries in Martin's catalogue is a big portion of stelae memorializing women (Martin 2011). Altogether 114 of 358 stelae were created for female occupant of Abydene retainers' graves. Although the titles were only rarely attached, when scrutinizing them it is apparent that they derived from four different areas. The first group represents titles associated to priestly profession (e.g. priestesses of the goddess Seshat *hm(t) sšš3t*), the second those who did the housework (e.g. ordinary female servants (*hm(w)t*))(Martin 2011). Another group of titles is concerned with king's entertainment (e.g. female dwarves (*nmt/dngt*), or musical performer (*hnrt*)). The last area of titles represents women with close association to the king indicated by

⁶⁰ The corpus consists of 359 stelae including primary the material from the excavations undertaken by É. Amelineau and W. M. F. Petrie, further completed by a group published by P. Kaplony and finds from recent campaigns led by German archaeological Institute (Martin 2011: 1–3).

following titles, e.g. she who ornaments the Horus (*H3sty* (*nebty*-name of Den) (*htm(t) hr H3sty*), or female servant of the Horus (the King) (*h^ct Hr*).

The female occupants of subsidiary graves at Umm el-Qa‘ab were traditionally considered to be members of the royal harem (*hnrt*) in earlier studies, however, when we focus our attention to the titles themselves, the word *hnrt* preserved on a single private stela (Martin 2011: stela no. 200). Moreover, D. Bělohoubková, who recently dealt with the meaning of the word *hnrt* in the New Kingdom convincingly demonstrated that the original meaning was different designating instead of the members of the royal harem rather musical performers.⁶¹ Only the last group of female retainers mentioned above might refer to members of the royal harem, perhaps to the less important wives, but they could have also belonged to king’s more or less close relatives. Whichever possibility is true, it has to be emphasized that the number of these women do not exceed ten. Martin himself stressed to this issue that the big bulk of women without any title cannot be all automatically considered the women of the royal harem (Martin 2011: 2). One would suggest that these females could have occupied other positions such as those of musical or dance performers, maidservants or nurses, but there is no evidence how to testify it.

The stelae made for the male owners represent slightly minor part of finds. Male figures are depicted on 41 monuments; further 59 personal names probably denote male occupants (Martin 2011). The quantitative analysis of the titles belonging to male occupants of the subsidiary graves clearly shows that it was above all the priestly title *zhnw i3h* “seeker of/ he who embraces the spirit (priest) that predominantly appears.⁶² Altogether 34 individual entries of that title with further nine individuals engaged in priestly profession either related to a particular temple, god, king or funerary estate preserved within the group (Martin 2011: nos. 41, 46, 47, 48, 131, 135, 142, 168, 290). Much less frequent occurrence can be observed for the rest of recorded titles. The second in the frequency of occurrence is the group of individuals relating to court administration, namely *hrp* administrator (3 times), *hrp h* administrator of the palace (4 times), *hrp pr-nsw* administrator of the king’s palace (2 times), *sd3wty* sealers (4 times) and scribal titles (2 times). Especially the latter profession then features evidence of a hierarchical structure within that segment. One stela-owner held the post of an ordinary scribe (*zš*), while another was an inspector of scribes (*shd zšw*) (Martin 2011: n. 43, respective n. 188).

⁶¹ D. Bělohoubková also provides in her article a list of bibliographical references to earlier studies dealing with the meaning and interpretation of the word *hnrt* (Bělohoubková 2022: 1–23).

⁶² For the title *shn i3h*, see Jones (2001: 832 (3036)).

Another group of dependents represents king's guardians (Martin 2011: 2). According to Martin, it is a social group of Nubians (*nḥsy/sty*) who falls in it (altogether 5 stelae; Martin 2011: nos. 14, 45, 111, 199, 286). The third group of titles written on stelae refers to individuals closely associated to the king denoting highly likely his courtiers: hand of the Horus (^ꜥ *hr*, 2 occupants), hand of the Seth (^ꜥ *sth*, 3 occupants), and simple courtiers (*smr*) who prevailed (4 occupants). They are followed in the number of appearances with titles that express more or less the rank of the owner rather than particular profession as illustrated by titles such as *ḥsy* *hr* "one favoured of the Horus" (2x), *im3(t) hr* "one gracious to the Horus" (2x), *im3-ꜥ* "gracious of arm", ^ꜥ3 *pr-nsw* "great one of the King's palace" or *ḥry sšt3* "one privy to the secrets". These individuals could be on the grounds of preserved titles involved in the group of courtiers as well.

A completely different category of the burial owners consisted of ordinary servants who are represented by three butchers (*sšm/sftw*), one baker (*rthty*) and one hunter (*nw*). The remaining titles occur far from repeatedly, despite this, their isolated appearance is of statistical relevance. It concerns above all the craftsmen who are with the only exception absent (Martin 2011). When comparing this fact with the conclusion of Emery regarding the profession of occupants in the tomb S 3503, the high number of craftsmen encompassing a single master is quite surprising.

Altogether, after a scrutiny of titles recorded on stelae from Umm el-Qaab it becomes evident that far the most frequent profession of the royal retainers was the priestly one followed in the frequency of appearance by guards, administrators, officials with elevated status, but also ordinary servants and only exceptionally craftsmen and other occupations.

When comparing the royal retainers to individuals buried in subsidiary graves surrounding private tombs at North Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Tarkhan and Giza, it is worth mentioning that priests who represent by far the most frequent profession of royal retainers in Early Dynastic Period and who, at the same time, formed the group of dependents most frequently occurring in the iconography of Old Kingdom private tombs (see Chapters 4 to 7) are completely missing in the evidence coming from graves built around Early Dynastic private tombs. It is, of course, possible that we simply cannot identify this profession on the basis of deposited grave goods, but on the other hand it cannot be entirely excluded the possibility that the funerary cult of the deceased non-royal individuals has not yet been ensured by a professional group of priests but exclusively by family members.

As far as the female occupants buried in a private context are concerned, the grave goods are not indicative of particular profession or occupation of the owners; only relatively frequent presence of jewellery can be observed (see *e.g.* Abu Rawash). As the inscriptional evidence is almost completely missing, not a single title in contrast to their royal counterparts is at our disposal, only one personal name was disclosed. Regarding the evidence for royal female retainers, a legitimate speculation can be proposed, that these women could have been either family members of the deceased in the main tomb or female servants, probably both. However, it cannot be testified by deposited grave goods.

Finally, the question if the occupants of the subsidiary graves can be considered members of the “household” of the owner buried in the principal tomb is hardly possible to answer. It is highly probable that these individuals were economically dependent on the tomb owner. However, a more detailed description of the group than outlined above, their responsibilities and precise nature of their relations to the central person cannot be under the current state of knowledge and available evidence established. On the contrary, the titles preserved from the royal context quite accurately describe the multitude of people who could have been part of the royal household, *i.e.* scribes/administrators, courtiers, guards and ordinary household servants.

3.5 “Invisible” households in the Second Dynasty

The Second Dynasty in general is characterised by a paucity of available sources (Bard 2000; Dodson 1996; Helck 1987; Kahl 2006; Wilkinson 2014; Wilkinson 1999). By far the most extensive bulk of information that preserved up until now relates to royal funerary monuments. Rulers of the Second Dynasty moved their burial ground from Abydos to North Saqqara to the area east of Unas pyramid complex where the tombs of king Hetepsekhemwej/Nebra and Ninetjer were discovered (Dodson 1996; Lacher 2014; Lacher 2008). Only the last two kings of the second Dynasty, Peribsen and Khasekhemwy, returned to build their last resting place at Abydos (Petrie 1901) The royal tombs at Saqqara completely differed from their First Dynasty predecessors not only in their architectural layout with the subterranean rooms of the tomb considered to be a house of the deceased king, but what is important for this study, the tombs no more contained the rows of retainers’ graves (Kaiser 1992: 182). The private tombs of Egyptian elite continued to be built in North Saqqara, especially to the west of large mastabas

of the First Dynasty on so-called Archaic cemetery (e.g. Emery 1958, 1954, 1949, 1939; Firth 1931; Quibell 1923). These are, for example, tombs S 3477 or S 2302 (Ruaben), that adopted not only the innovative architectural setting from the royal models, but they feature the same absence of associated subsidiary graves. Nevertheless, the development in the architecture of private tombs has led to important changes that resulted in fully decorated tomb chapels in the Old Kingdom.⁶³ The tomb superstructure no longer consisted of storerooms for burial equipment, instead regular tomb chapels were created inside the southeast part of the superstructures at the end of the Second Dynasty. The tomb S 3043 dated to the reign of Khasekhemwy belongs to first datable examples of that type (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 140). The kea place of worship was formed by a niche embedded in the west wall of the chapels, which had not been decorated at that time yet. As a result, no available evidence relating to household issue preserved from the Second Dynasty mastabas. It concerns not only Saqqara tombs but also other cemeteries across Egypt. Helwan, for instance, represents a valuable source of information about the deceased due to so-called ceiling stelae found in the tombs (Köhler and Jones 2009; Saad 1957). The stelae do provide information about the name and profession of the owner but do not say anything about the social milieu that surrounded this individual. In a similar manner, preserved textual evidence on labels, jar sealings, pottery or stone vessels that dominate the archaeological records at that time inform us about the names and titles of their owners/donors/recipients respective about the type of commodity that was stored in or attached to them, but it does not offer any data about potential household members.⁶⁴ Such type of information cannot be revealed based on available material culture dated to the Second Dynasty.

3.6 Summary

The sources that may provide information about a household of Egyptian official in the Early Dynastic Period are very scarce and their type differs fundamentally from one dynasty to another. In the First Dynasty, it is the phenomenon of subsidiary graves whose owners were, however problematic it is to prove, very likely persons who served or were in other mutual relation to the owner of the principal tomb. In the Second Dynasty, when this phenomenon ceased to exist, these people were presumably buried at a distant place in burial grounds reserved for persons of middle or lower social status, such as Helwan (Köhler and Jones 2009).

⁶³ For the development of tomb decoration, see *e.g.* Bárta 2011: esp. 85–87; 107–108; Dodson and Ikram 2008 or Harpur 1987.

⁶⁴ Far the biggest corpus of textual evidence from the Early Dynastic Period represents thousands of inscribed vessels from the Step pyramid at North Saqqara (Lacau and Lauer 1965; 1961; 1959).

The link between these commoners and the high-ranked officials has been lost in contemporary evidence. It is an intriguing paradox that, with regard to the preserved sources, the First Dynasty is more informative regarding the household issue than the more recent Second and Third Dynasty (see this Chapter above). Even though there is evidence of a circle of anonymous people associated with the wealthy tomb owner sporadically recorded in tomb iconography in the Third Dynasty, the sources are “silent” on the exact nature of the relationship between these persons till the very end of the dynasty, when names and titles gradually appear attached to recorded figures of these dependents.

As far as the household in the First Dynasty is concerned, the original assumption, which was investigated in this chapter inspired by Emery's publication of tomb S 3503 (Emery 1954), that the objects deposited as grave goods in subsidiary tombs indicate particular profession of the deceased, could not be confirmed. On the contrary, Emery's interpretation proved to be not well-founded, e.g. many pieces of pottery vessels do not have to indicate a potter or, similarly, stone vessels with a copper tool do not necessarily refer to a vessel stone maker (see North Saqqara necropolis). Detailed analysis of the four main cemeteries with secondary burials, i.e. North Saqqara, Abu Rawash, Tarkhan and Giza, showed that although the individual types of grave goods have not yet been standardized, the difference in the number and types of objects deposited refers to a different social status of the occupants rather than expressing specific profession. Moreover, the items deposited in graves to which Emery attributes specificity with regard to identification of particular profession of the deceased (pottery, stone vessels, copper tools, models of boats, etc.) are the same ones that, a few centuries later, in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty, become the standard set of burial equipment deposited in tombs of well-off officials. After careful evaluation of grave goods deposited in 230 analysed subsidiary graves, it can be stated that only in tiny quantity of graves the objects appeared so distinctive in nature that they may express not only the social status of the deceased but refer more specifically to concrete profession. These include the discovery of two scribal palettes with an accounting record (burial no. 56 associated to Giza mastaba V), a wooden staff (burial 2051 connected to Tarkhan tomb 2050), and ivory sticks with a specific design (grave no. 23 surrounding Giza mastaba V). Yet more concrete information is provided with rare written evidence on stelae that recorded two individuals with their personal names, one of which was also identified by his title (grave no. 2 and 5 associated to tomb M01 at Abu Rawash).

These scarce pieces of evidence have partially revealed possible professional areas that appeared in the retinue of deceased buried in the main tomb. Four main groups can be identified

on the grounds of grave goods and textual evidence from stelae: 1) scribes/administrators; 2) master's guards; 3) supervisors of (work?); 4) musical performers; with further two suggested judging by the absence or poverty of grave goods (ordinary servants) and presence of rich child burials (family members). The identity of females buried in subsidiary graves is rather obscure. They might be either close relatives or female servants, but their profession cannot be on the basis of grave goods recognized, with the only exception of the female musical performer.

4 Households in the Third Dynasty tomb iconography

The Third dynasty can be considered as a transitional phase between the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom. It is conventionally included within the Old Kingdom (e.g. Beckerath 1997), however some scholars place the Third dynasty to the Early Dynastic Period including the most recent handbook of chronology (Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006). The present study adopted the traditional approach of the chronological setting with the Third Dynasty at the dawn of the Old Kingdom following the opinion by R. Wenke according to whom the monumental architecture, socio-economy, religious and political institutions of the Third Dynasty have more in common with the Old Kingdom repertoire (Wenke 2009). During the Third Dynasty Egypt undergone a well-marked development in many spheres beginning with centrally headed institutions located in newly established administrative centre at Memphis with the vizier standing at the top of this structure (Helck 1954: 132).⁶⁵ The highest posts in the department of royal works, treasury and granary were introduced with the granary only been established as an independent institution at that time (Engel 2013: 21; Helck 1954: 61); respectively Seidlmayer 1996b: pl.23). The increasing specialisation of offices at Memphis together with installation of small step pyramids in close vicinity to local administrative centres and newly appointed local administrators called *h3ty-ꜥ* “mayors” led to more efficient land management generating wealth necessary for huge building projects (Papazian 2013: 23, 35, 51–54; Dreyer and Kaiser 1980: 54–56).⁶⁶ The royal funerary architecture represents another field that undergone a turbulent change and probably the one most visible from outside. The construction of the royal tombs in the form of a pyramid embodies a growing complexity of Egyptian state marked by an enormous demand on resources and organisation of manpower (Wilkinson 1999: 121).

As far as the topic of the present thesis is concerned, the Third Dynasty represents the initial phase when newly formed chapels of wealthy private tombs began to bear wall decoration with scenes and inscriptions contextualizing the deceased within his social milieu. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the Third Dynasty there was still a long period ahead towards creation of a fully decorated tomb chapel.⁶⁷ Early in the Third Dynasty the private tombs were

⁶⁵ The appearance of the office of the vizier is usually connected to the pyramid-building and the management of manpower and resources associated with it (Wilkinson 1999: 121).

⁶⁶ The main source of information for the provincial administration represents more than 10,000 vessels found in the underground galleries of Netjerikhet’s pyramid which listed local administrators, chiefs/governors (*hk3w*) and leaders of the land (*sšm-t3*) (Moreno García 2013: 87–94; Wilkinson 1999: 120; Lacau and Lauer 1965: pl. 28.5).

⁶⁷ For the development of tomb architecture and decoration, see e.g., M. Bárta 2011; A. Dodson and S. Ikram 2008 or Y. Harpur 1987.

mainly provided with a stone stela containing depiction of offerings needed for the afterlife replacing thus in a symbolic level dozens of commodities deposited in the superstructures of Early Dynastic tombs. The private tombs only gradually began to be inscribed and decorated with scenes, as testify the well-known tombs of Egyptian noblemen Hesire and Khabausokar. The tomb of high dignitary – the controller of the royal workshops Khabausokar (S 3073) demonstrates that despite extraordinary rich decorated central niches in two cruciform chapels attributed to the tomb owner and his wife Neferhetepthor, the wall reliefs have not yet captured members of the tomb owner's entourages, they were mainly limited to the depiction of the couple (Reisner 1936: 267–269).

The tomb of the master of royal scribes and chief dentist Hesire (S 2405) dated to the reign of Netjerikhet belongs to one of the best-preserved decorated tombs of that time (Quibell 1913). The famous wooden panels with the figure and titles of the tomb owner were originally embedded in the western wall of the corridor chapel, while the east wall was white painted and bore depiction of various grave goods (Quibell 1913).⁶⁸ The outer corridor contained elaborate images of people and animals, but none of them were identified by any personal name or title.

The identified dependents began to be recorded in reliefs only at the very end of the Third Dynasty. Thus, the effort to trace a household in the Third Dynasty sources has not been much successful due to the lack of appropriate evidence. The earliest evidence recording identified dependents in wall reliefs comes to my knowledge from the tomb of Hetepi at Abusir dated to the end of the Third/beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Bárta 2011: 117–120; Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 3–56; Bárta 2006: 122–145). The last resting place of Hetepi was situated at the southern border of South Abusir, in its easternmost sector. His spacious tomb occupying more than 1000 sq.m. consisted of yet undecorated chapel (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 6).⁶⁹ The most important part of the tomb with regard to the topic of this study represents the entrance that revealed the decoration which was partly only preliminary outlined (the southern wing of the tomb's façade) partly executed in low relief (the northern wing). The northern part of the façade captures a scene of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table viewing offerings; on the opposite side of the entrance, there was a black sketch of a standing tomb owner with his sons Hekaib and Sabu. (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 18–23, figs. 2.22–2.23, pls. 18, 23–26). The inscriptions recorded on both sides

⁶⁸ The wooden panels of Hesire are deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (O'Neill *et al.* 1999: cat. Nos. 11–17)

⁶⁹ Only the west wall on the chapel which was entirely missing might have once borne reliefs (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 18, fig. 2.21, pl. 10).

primarily provide us with the evidence of Hetepi's career associated with the royal court. He was "strong of voice of the king, great one of the tens of the mansion of life and keeper of the sekheru-hall" (*nḥt ḥrw (n) z3b; wr md ḥwt-ḥnh; ḥry-sšt3 šḥrw*). He further held several priestly titles, and his high social status was defined by rank title *iry ḥt nswt* "property custodian of the king".⁷⁰ No wife of Hetepi is depicted on the tomb's façade, only his presumed sons who are recorded without a family related tag (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 5). The only other person recorded on the façade is a man who holds the hands of Hetepi's children on the southern wing, labelled there by personal name Nakhti and attached with title "overseer of the house" (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010:18–23, figs. 2.21–2.23, pls. 18, 23–26)(Fig.4a, b). The same individual is sitting under Hetepi's chair touching his feet on the opposite wing, distinguished merely by his name. The intimacy clearly visible in both scenes indicates close relations of Nakhti to the tomb owner and his family. He could be considered a loyal and trustworthy dependent of Hetepi, perhaps even a mentor of his children due to the intimate manner in which they were portrayed. However, there might be some objections against this interpretation. First one raised M. Bárta in the treatise on Hetepi's tomb (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 5).⁷¹ He argues that it is rather unusual to incorporate an individual with such (lower) rank implied by the title *imy-r3 pr* "overseer of the house" on the tomb's façade. I would add one more observation to this issue. In the study on the title "overseers of the house" that is attached in the Excursus of this work not a one of the analysed individuals who held this title during the Old Kingdom was depicted directly touching the tomb owner or his children. Even though the holders of the title were usually recorded in the close vicinity to the tomb owner they have never adopted such an intimate gesture. It is, by contrast, the family members, usually sons, daughters or wives, who are rendered with such closeness and intimacy.⁷² One should ponder whether Nakhti was not the eldest son of Hetepi or another close relative, for instance tomb owner's brother. However, the statistical evaluation made within the study of the present author on the *imy-r3 pr* holders stands against this assumption. The study did not confirm at all that the *imy-r3 pr* holders were family members, much less that they were eldest sons of the deceased. Another point that makes the interpretation of the scene yet more difficult is the fact that there is no parallel for such depiction with identified persons of the same or similar date. In this respect, we should take into consideration the possibility that scenes

⁷⁰ For the complete list of titles, see Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: 3–5.

⁷¹ The overseer of the house belonged to the leading personnel of a household of Egyptian dignitary regularly attached by lower ranking titles, see the Excursus in the present study.

⁷² For the iconography of family members in Egypt's elite tombs, see the dissertation by Jing Wen 2018: esp. 55–69 available on-line and published in 2022 (Wen 2022).

which became standardized in later times necessarily did not have to be bound by fixed rules before. In other words, at that early time, the representation of the tomb owner, his family and servants did not have to be subject to strict rules and cultural decorum.⁷³

Summing up all these considerations, in a situation where not even the children's figures are identified by any kinship terms, no parallel exists and the observations related to this issue are so contradictory, neither of suggested possibilities for Nakhti's identity, *i.e.* loyal and trustworthy dependent of non-kin origin or the eldest son or another close relative can be confirmed or disproved.

If we accept the fact that Nakhti was Hetepi's majordomus without any kinship ties to him, he then represents the earliest evidence of an identified household member ever depicted in the tomb iconography. Either one or the other assumption is valid, Nakhti is indisputably the earliest holder of *imy-r3 pr* title known to me.

Generally speaking, the evidence from the tomb of Hetepi (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010) belonged to first swallows foreshadowing the further development of the tomb decoration. The initially anonymous human figures have gradually acquired clearer contours by being identified either by their personal name or titles, in ideal case by both. Development of tomb architecture with the introduction of spacious chapels and more elaborated decoration enabled to incorporate a larger number of identified individuals outside the family realm.⁷⁴ However, these individuals began to appear in tomb scenes and inscriptions on a more regular basis much later not earlier than in the reign of king Khufu as the following chapters of this study clearly demonstrated.

⁷³ For the composition and arrangement of tomb scenes and rules involved, see *e.g.* the works by N. Staring 2015, Staring 2011; G. Robins 1997; Y. Harpur 1987.

⁷⁴ For the development of tomb architecture and decoration, see *e.g.* Bárta 2011; Dodson and Ikram 2008 or Harpur 1987.

5 Households of the viziers

Viziers are, in contrast to other social strata, a clearly defined group, which can be distinguished by the title *t3ty z3b t3yty*.⁷⁵ Almost 80 Memphite and provincial holders of the vizieral title are attested during the Old Kingdom according to Strudwick (Strudwick 1978: 300–303). The total number in the attached table (Tabs. 1, 5, 16) is however slightly higher, since during the last several decades new tombs of the viziers were uncovered, for instance the tomb of Merefnepf (Myśliwiec 2004) or Inumin (Kanawati 2006). On the other hand, some holders of the title enumerated by Strudwick were questioned, namely Seshemnefer III. Only careful textual and iconographical analysis conducted by G. Pieke aided in revealing the main protagonists in a scene with a lotus flower, which led to correct identification of the holders of the supreme administrative office, i.e. Seshemnefer II instead of Seshemnefer III (Pieke 2006: 272–274).⁷⁶

The tombs of viziers have undergone a process of careful selection primarily within the main Memphite cemeteries (Giza, Saqqara, Abusir), but the choice was also complemented by representatives of provincial necropoleis to cover the diachronic development of the extended households during the Old Kingdom in its complexity and, besides, to compare the differences between the provincial and residential households (see The method).⁷⁷ All chosen tombs meet the main requirements set in the introduction, to briefly summarize: firstly it was a proper publication of the tomb as a prerequisite for a detailed study of particular scenes with regard to appropriate reading of titles, concealed hierarchy of figures or later additions to the texts. Other essentials necessary to fulfil were the presence of non-kin individuals who were distinguished by name and/or title - the more the better. It was established that the selection ought to contain at least six tombs for each dynasty evenly represented within the main Old Kingdom necropoleis. This original intention had to be modified with respect to the different spatial distribution of vizieral tombs on Memphite necropoleis during the Old Kingdom (Roth 1993). Besides, the number of tombs that were suitable for the case study appeared to be insufficient for the Fourth Dynasty. Such limitations concerning the available sources were dealt with in

⁷⁵ For a general information on vizirate see Grajetzki 2000; Helck 1954, esp. 55–58, and 134–142; Kees 1940: 39–54; Sethe 1890: 43–49; Strudwick 1985: 300–335; van den Boorn 1988; Weil 1908. For the viziers in particular, see e.g. Altenmüller 1998; Brovarski 2005: 31–71; el-Fikey 1980; Harpur 2002. For the detailed analysis of *t3ty* component, see Dulíková 2011: 327–336.

⁷⁶ For the detailed study of the family of Seshemnefers', see also Altenmüller 2008a: 17–29.

⁷⁷ The same methodology was applied to the selection of tombs of higher, middle and lower officials.

detail in the introduction of the thesis and will be elaborated also further in the text when particular cases are concerned.

5.1 Households of the viziers dated to the Fourth Dynasty

The oldest evidence for the title of the vizier (*t3ty z3b t3yty*) comes from an inscription on a stone vessel found in the galleries under the Step pyramid in North Saqqara (Lacau and Lauer 1965: pl. I). The first known holder of the title should be an individual named Kaimen. Further attestation of the vizierial title has not preserved until Nefermaat at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Strudwick 1985: 300). Based on the available evidence, 14 viziers dated to the Fourth Dynasty are attested, all of whom were, with the exception of Nefermaat (Harpur 2001), buried in Giza (Strudwick 1985: 301; see Tab 1). The tombs of all fourteen viziers were analysed in order to select those which display firm evidence with regard to recorded viziers' dependents of non-kin relation. The choice of the viziers in the first half of the Fourth Dynasty was rather restricted, since the tombs dated to that period display scarce evidence of identified individuals others than the close kin, i.e. wives and offspring. It was Stephen Seidlmayer (1987: 211) who already noted that the tombs from the beginning of the Old Kingdom feature a small number of individuals outside the family realm; according to him the tomb owner used to be depicted mainly within the context of his family, which is perfectly suitable for the Fourth-Dynasty tombs at Giza. One of the exemplary cases is the tomb of prince Nefermaat, who records in his extraordinary tomb at Dahshur only his nuclear family (Harpur 2001). Some of the Fourth Dynasty tombs display even no family member, which is the case of Hemiunu, one of the viziers of king Khufu (Junker 1929: 132–162). At Giza the same king introduced a unified plan of the necropolis with standardized size and internal structure of the tombs especially restricting the decoration of the cult chapels (Helck 1986: 19–26; Kemp: 1989: 111–117; O'Connor 1974: 20–23; Roth 1993: 33–55). A characteristic feature of certain Giza tombs was a rather reduced space reserved for the decorative program, the so-called slab stelae usually consisting of the funerary repast scene with the figure, name and titles of the tomb owner seated at the offering table (Manuelian 2003). Nevertheless, as far as the viziers' tombs are concerned, their relief decoration was not limited to slab stelae, their tombs being usually furnished with more elaborated decoration covering originally large parts of the walls. On the other hand, slab stelae

were typical for higher officials which, as a consequence, essentially influenced the choice of tombs belonging to higher officials (see chapter Higher officials).

The situation with the scarcity of required sources slowly changed late in the reign of Khufu, presumably in connection with loosening of strict rules introduced by this king for the burials of his family and his subjects (Bárta 2011: 132, 143–146).⁷⁸ The tomb owner accompanied by his family still prevails as the main focus of the tomb iconography, nevertheless, we encounter also other individuals not related by blood, bearing mainly priestly or scribal titles, even though their occurrence is rather sporadic. From that point of view, the Fourth Dynasty tombs are not much reflective of the extended family of a particular tomb owner. This is mirrored also in the process of tomb selection. Only one vizieral tomb from the first part of the Fourth Dynasty meets in a certain respect the requirements (see the Method). It is the tomb of Kawab (G 7110-G 7120), where several dependents have been preserved on the fragments of the relief decoration. From the second part of the Fourth Dynasty the following viziers were chosen according to the presence of recorded dependents: Khufukhaf I (G 7130-G 7140) and Nebemakhet (L 86). It has to be emphasized that this provides in fact the entire list of all the vizieral tombs dated to the Fourth Dynasty, where at least one identified dependent was preserved on the walls, no “true” selection could have been made in contrast to later periods in which almost each vizier’s tomb featured identified dependents outside the family realm. A difficulty in tomb selection has been already described in detail above; it is partly due to fragmentarily preserved sources, partly liable to the development of tomb decoration, or tomb development itself.

Although it did not incorporate any identified dependent, the enormously large tomb G 7510 of the vizier Ankhaf might illustrate the potential of how the tomb iconography from the first part of the Fourth Dynasty once looked like (Reisner 1942: 46, 59, 73, Fig. 8; Strudwick 1985: 42–43; Jánosi 2005: 109–111). The preserved fragments of relief decoration capture an incomplete procession of estates and offering bearers, a cattle count scene as well as a motif of seated scribes.⁷⁹ The tomb decoration was reconstructed by E. Brovarski and W.S. Smith who paid special attention to stylistic features of minor male and female figures (Brovarski 1989: 1–3; Smith 1946: 279, 301–302, pl. 40e). However, the pieces of relief decoration were too

⁷⁸ A unified plan of the necropolis, standardizing the size and internal structure of the tombs and especially restricting the decoration of the cult chapels.

⁷⁹The unpublished fragments are accessible on the webpage <http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/sites/asitem/PeopleTombs@4754/0?t:state:flow=b6456b72-5f88-43d0-99a0-9b6a586ce120>; accessed 4 September 2023.

fragmentary to enable a reconstruction with respect to potential traces of original names or titles of the minor figures. Although the tomb does not provide any evidence of identified dependents, it testifies that tomb reliefs of that period apparently did contain not only family members (wife Hetepheres or grandson Ankhtify) but a not inconsiderable amount of non-kin minor figures, some of them perhaps originally identified.

The second half of the Fourth Dynasty is slightly more favourable with regard to minor figures in tombs identified by their name and title. Although the focus in some tombs still lies in the tomb owner (the tomb of Ankhmara or Babaef) and extended by the members of his family (the tomb of Yunmin), other tombs have more elaborate decoration with minor figures. The vizier Nikaure incorporated procession of scribes and herdsmen (Porter and Moss 1974: 232–233), while Duaenre scenes of boat building, crafts or animal slaughter (Porter and Moss 1974: 148). None of these figures are regrettably tagged by a name or title, all remained anonymous. However, a mason's mark in the latter tomb is worth mentioning. Two personal names, Perneb and Iwfni, were written in ink on a piece of limestone block found in the debris of the mastaba. Both were probably in charge of the crew responsible for the construction of the tomb as indicated by their titles “overseers of the gang of ten” (Smith 1942: 525; Smith 1952: 120, 126, fig. 8). Nevertheless, due to an unclear dating of this block, the tomb of Duenrea was not included in the selection.

In total, three tombs of the Fourth Dynasty viziers will be dealt with minutely below; namely the tomb of Kawab (G 7110–7120) dated to the reign of Khufu (Simpson 1978) is the earliest dated. Viziers Khufukhaef I (G 7130–40) and Nebemakhet (L 86) were chosen from the second part of the Fourth Dynasty.

Viziers dated to the Fourth Dynasty	Reign of
Nefermaat (M 16)	Snofru
Ankhaef (G 7510)	Khufu
Hemiuu (G 4000)	Khufu
Kawab (G 7110-7120)	Khufu
unknown (Baufre, Babaef, Khnumbaf?) (G 7310-7320)	Khufu - Khafre
Minkhaef (G 7430-7440)	Khufu - Khafre
Nefermaat II (G 7060)	Khufu - Khafre
Khufukhaef (G 7130-7140)	Khafre - Menkaure
Nikaure (L 87)	Khafre - Menkaure

Iunmin (L 92)	Khafre - Menkaure
Nebemakhmet (L 86, L 12 = QC 14)	Khafre - Menkaure
Ankhemare (G 8460)	Khafre - Menkaure
Duaenre (G 5110 = L 44)	Menkaure-beginning of dyn 5
Babaef (G 5230 = L 40)	Menkaure-beginning of dyn 5

Tab. 1 Viziers dated to the Fourth Dynasty

5.1.1 Kawab

The tomb of Kawab, its architecture and wall decoration⁸⁰

Kawab, the son by Khufu and Meretites, was buried, as the majority of Khufu's family members, at the Eastern cemetery in Giza, directly in the first north-south row of the so-called twin mastabas in the tomb G 7110-7120 (Dodson 2004: 52–53).⁸¹ The twin-mastaba dated to the late reign of Khufu or slightly later measures 83 × 19.37 m, occupying the total area of 1607.71 sq. m (Strudwick 1985: 147(140); Simpson 1978: 1). The substructure comprises four shafts originally intended for the burial of the tomb owner and his wife Hetepheres II (Jánosi 2002: 337–350; Simpson 1978).⁸² The superstructure contains two badly damaged interior chapels of type 3(a), each with a subsidiary deep niche at the west wall (reisner 1942: 72–80). In front of the main southern chapel (chamber A) was subsequently built for Kawab an external chapel consisting of a pillared portico (D) entered from the north, and two chambers: the major chamber B, where statues were originally placed and a small space C serving as an antechamber. The total area of both inner and outer southern chapels is 37.9 sq. m., the area of the decorated rooms A-C is 27.3 sq. m. (Simpson 1978: 2).⁸³ The wall decoration of both tomb chapels has been preserved in ruins, only a poor evidence of original relief decoration being preserved at present. Simpson even noticed that merely a single fragmentary block of the interior southern chapel relief remained in situ (Simpson 1978: 1).

⁸⁰ For the plan, architecture and wall decoration of the tomb, see Porter and Moss 1981: 187–188, 864; Reisner 1942: 205(8), Fig 113; Simpson 1978: 1–8.

⁸¹ In the core cemetery G 7000 twelve double-mastabas are situated arranged in three rows of four mastabas (Reisner 1942: 72–80). For the development of Giza necropolis, the architecture and iconography of particular tombs, see e.g. Flentye 2006; Jánosi 2005 or Manuelian 2003. The family background of Kawab is treated in Schmitz 1976 and Smith 1955: 1–12.

⁸² Kawab was buried in a red granite sarcophagus in the burial chamber at the bottom of Shaft G 7120 A (Donadoni-Roveri 1969: 113, No. B 12, pl. XVIII, 2; Simpson 1978: 6, figs. 7–8; pl. X; 4-12-1204; JdE 54937). Shaft G 7110 B originally planned for Hetepheres II remained unused, together with two other shafts.

⁸³ The only decoration in part D comes from the doorway between the portico and room C, where two large figures of Anubis were depicted, one on each jamb (Simpson 1978: 2, pl. V a; fig. 10 a; fragments 24-12-990c and 941, 24-12-1125).

Kawab, as the eldest royal son, must have held a prominent position at the court, which is demonstrated by the location of his tomb immediately at the foot of Khufu's pyramid. Despite this fact, traces of intentional damage to the reliefs and the statuary can be noticed in the chapel similar to the adjacent tomb of Djedefhor (G 7210–7220) and other twin-mastabas on the Eastern cemetery (Simpson 1978: 1, 5, 7, Pl. VII b, Fig. 13). In W. K. Simpson's opinion it indicates a loss of favour either of Kawab personally or even of a certain branch of Khufu's family (Simpson 1978: 5).⁸⁴

Kawab's close family and extended household

Kawab was the royal prince, whose tentative relation to king Khufu is assumed on the ground of several pieces of evidence. Smith reconstructed three fragments with inscription on the southern side of tomb's façade. They mention Kawab's mother queen Meretites and record also Khufu's cartouche (Simpson 1978: 3, VII c-e; fig. I3; MFA24-12-1000 (below); 1002 (middle); 1122 (top); Smith 1951: fig. 2 on page 114; 124, n. 16).⁸⁵ The title *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw* captured on the south side of Kawab's sarcophagus refers to its owner as the eldest king's son (Simpson 1978: 6, 8, pl. X; fig. 8). The main argument for the relationship was usually the position of his tomb at the prominent place on the Eastern necropolis close to the pyramid of Meretites (Simpson 1978: 3–4; Smith 1955: 6, fig. 8a).⁸⁶ Kawab was not only king's son, but, as attested by the inscription on a diorite statue found in Mitrahinea also the holder of the vizieral title *t3yty z3b t3ty* (Simpson 1978: 6, Gomaá 1973: No. 51, pl. IV, p. 84, fig. 19 [JdE 40431]). A poor state of preservation of the wall reliefs did not make it possible to support this evidence. The fact that the highest administrative title was even not recorded on owner's sarcophagus indicates that Kawab did not hold the title at the time when the tomb was nearly finished. Nevertheless, the fragments of wall decoration (either in Kawab's tomb or in the tomb of Meresankh III) demonstrate that Kawab held the highest rank titles *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-c* and also other important titles that were held exclusively by viziers, e.g. *wr 5 pr-dhwtj* (Simpson 1978: 8; Strudwick 1985: 146).⁸⁷

Kawab's wife was Hetepheres II, designated as *sm3wt mry Nbty*; her name and titles are attested both in the south chapel of her husband and in her own northern chapel (Simpson 1978:

⁸⁴ For the interpretation of the completely damaged statuary of Kawab see, Simpson 1978: 7.

⁸⁵ But for an alternative restoration of the text, see Smith 1955: 11, fig. 9, p. 6, n. 9.

⁸⁶ N. Strudwick (1985: 147) questions the consideration of Kawab to be the crown prince (Strudwick 1985: 147).

⁸⁷ W.K. Simpson and N. Strudwick give the complete list of Kawab's titles (Simpson 1978: 8; Strudwick 1985: 146).

2-4, 8; 24-12-859 and 861).⁸⁸ If the names and figures of Kawab's offspring Kaemsekhem (G 7660), Mindjedef (G 7760), Meresankh III (G 7530–7540) and probably also Duaenhor (G 7550) were originally recorded in the wall decoration of his tomb cannot be claimed for sure, but no evidence of their names is attested in the preserved relief fragments.⁸⁹

Concerning the minor figures of Kawab's dependents recorded once in the iconography, it was in the first place W.S. Smith who identified some respective fragments of the decoration (Smith 1942: 509–531, fig. 1 and 1946: 30, 155, 161, 167, 249, 251, 304, 360, pl. 10 a, b.). His reconstruction was in some cases slightly altered and later published by W.K. Simpson (1978). On the basis of his reconstruction a variety of scenes are clearly visible, i.e. the scene depicting offering bearers (Simpson 1978: 4, pl. VI c, fig. 11 b, VII c-e; fig. 13 (fragment 24-12-1112); fig. 14 (fragments 24-12-852, 853, 860, 946), the scene of pulling the papyrus cords (Simpson 1978: pl. VI b, fig. 11 f (fragments 24-12-989a, 1109c, and 1126; 24-12-1184 and 1183; fig. 11 d, pl. VI a); animal slaughtering scene (Simpson 1978: figs. 11–12 (fragments 24-12-993, 987, 997, 857, and 25-5-52)); the scene capturing oxen led by hunters, or several boat scenes (Simpson 1978: fig. 12 (fragments 24-12-991 b, 24-12-1112; 24-12-852)).

With respect to individuals tagged with a name/title, rare evidence concerns the fragment 24-12-946 that contains upper parts of human bodies, probably offering bearers, with a *hm-k3* title in front of one of them (Simpson 1978: fig. 14)(Fig. 5). This example indicates that at least the east wall of the inner chapel originally included identified individuals, perhaps originally more than one. Furthermore, another preserved fragment (Simpson 1978: fig 11A) (Fig. 6), coming probably from the chamber B of the outer chapel, testifies to the presence of identified individuals also for the outer chapel. On this fragment, a not clearly obvious title is recorded that, according to the preserved signs, can be interpreted as *hk3(w) pr-dt* “chief of the funerary estate” (Jones 2000: 666, 2440)⁹⁰ There are no traces indicating possible name tags on the fragments, however the fragments are so small that this aspect can be hardly revealed.⁹¹

Unfortunately, the tomb of Kawab has been largely damaged and no other fragments of titles that can be assigned to the dependents of Kawab - not to Kawab himself - can be detected

⁸⁸ Since remarried to Khafre (perhaps also Djedefre) after Kawab's death, Hetepheres was not buried in the tomb of her first husband, but eventually in the tomb (G 7350) (Smith 1946: pl. 45a, Simpson 1978: 5, see also Jánosi 2002: 337-350.

⁸⁹ The genealogical tree of the Fourth Dynasty is treated in Dodson 2004: 52–53, 56–61.

⁹⁰ The title *hk3(w) pr-dt* is attested already by Metjen, see Peperelkin 1986: 183. But, for a different interpretation, see W.K. Simpson who suggests the reading *pr* (?) and *hk3 df*, unfortunately without a translation or further explanation of the title (Simpson 1978: 3).

⁹¹ For the fragments, see Simpson 1978: figs. 11 and 14.

(Simpson 1978: 5).⁹² Despite this fact, the preserved fragments of relief decoration clearly demonstrate that identified members of Kawab’s entourage did appear in both inner and outer chapel, even though the evidence is limited to a priest and a chief of the funerary estate. Both men participated in the funerary realm of prince Kawab; the former by maintaining the funerary cult of the deceased, the latter one by administering the estates singled out to support Kawab’s afterlife existence. In both cases merely the titles have been preserved. As the *k3*-priest is concerned, it is evident that he was anonymous; the relief containing the latter title is damaged directly at the place where a name would have been recorded, therefore its presence is uncertain.

Kawab	Titles	No. of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -servant”	1
Household and estate management	<i>hk3(w) pr-dt</i> “chief(s) of the funerary estate”	1

Tab. 2 The extended household of Kawab

5.1.2 Khufukhaef I

The tomb of Khufukhaef I, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Khufukhaef dated by most scholars to the end of Khufu’s reign or the reign of Khafre is, with his wife Neferetkau, the owner of the large double mastaba G7130–7140 situated in the first north-south row on the Eastern cemetery in Giza necropolis to the south of the tomb of Kawab.⁹³ The mastaba dimensions are 68.50 × 20.05 m., with the total area of 1373.42 sq. m. (Simpson 1978: 9).⁹⁴ The architecture of the mastaba resembles that of prince Kawab, with a large figure of Anup that decorates the entrance jambs.⁹⁵ The main offering room consists of an interior and an exterior southern chapel of Reisner type 3a measuring in total 18.66 m.² Both well-preserved southern chapels were decorated in fine relief,⁹⁶ in contrast to the damaged

⁹² Reliefs were intentionally erased for instance in the tomb of Djedefhor (G 7210–7220), see Porter and Moss 1974: 191.

⁹³ W.K. Simpson dates the vizier to the reign of Rakhef (Simpson 1978), Strudwick from middle to late Rakhef’s reign (Strudwick 1985: 122–123); K. Baer mid to end Fourth Dynasty (Baer 1980); R. Porter and B. Moss between Khufu to end Fourth dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 188–190); both Reisner and Smith to the end of Khufu’s reign (Reisner and Smith 1946: 31, 161, 167, 249, 292, 299–302, 304, 360, pl. 42 c, 43, 44 b).

⁹⁴ The tomb is treated in a number of studies, the basic ones are Mariette 1889; Porter and Moss 1981; Reisner 1942; W.K.Simpson 1978; but cf. G.Daressy 1916; G.A. Reisner 1934 or W. Smith 1946.

⁹⁵ The same feature decorates the entrance jambs of the tomb of Meresankh III (Simpson 1974: pl. II; figs. 3 a, b). For the analysis of the specific feature, see Fischer 1976: 35, n. 32, fig. I.

⁹⁶ For instance, A. Mariette extolled the quality of relief execution (Mariette 1889: 562).

northern chapel for Khufukhaef's wife with not a single relief fragment preserved in situ (Simpson 1978: 11). All four walls of the southern inner chapel with the west wall of the outer chapel were richly decorated with several unique scenes, i.e. the scene depicting the tomb owner following his mother or the scene of the deceased couple who is viewing the presentation of offerings from *pr-dt* "House of Eternity" (Bárta 2011: 147; Junker 1953: 172–175; Simpson 1978: fig. 26, pl. XVc, XVIa; respective fig. 30, pl. XVIII). The decorated surface covered altogether the area of 6,84 m² (the inner chapel) with further 4 m (west wall of the outer chapel).

Although the main focus was laid on presenting Khufukhaef, his wife (or mother) together with their children accompanying registers of scribes, procession of estates or procession of offering bearers are also present (Simpson 1978: 10–19).

Khufukhaef's close family and extended household

Khufukhaef, as an individual who was buried on the Eastern Cemetery in Giza, must have belonged to a close circle of the royal family. He is generally considered to be the son of Khufu, with the title *s3 nswt n ht.f* preserved several times in the wall decoration (Simpson 1978: 11, 12, 20). However, he is nowhere depicted as the eldest son. As the title *t3yty z3b t3ty* was not preserved in his tomb, he was appointed vizier probably after completion of the wall decoration, similar to Kawab. The respective title is known only from a record on a statue (Catalogue General 46; Simpson 1978: 20, fig. 69).

Khufukhaef's mother is tentatively regarded to be queen Henutsen on the grounds of the immediate vicinity of queen's pyramid G I c (Lepsius 6) (Simpson 1978: 11). Even though her figure does appear in the tomb, her name was cut off from the reliefs (Simpson 1978: 11, pls. XV c, XVI a; fig. 26).

Based on the relief decoration of the tomb, several members of the close family of the prince can be identified. It consisted of his wife Nefertkau (designated as Nefertkau B, see Brovarski 2005: 61), two sons Wetka and Iunka (depicted on tomb's façade with labels *z3.f* and also *z3 nswt* elsewhere in the tomb, and probably a daughter named [Neferet]-ka[u] (Simpson 1978: 12, 20, pl. XVII, figs. 28, 29, pl. XXIX, fig. 23)). Yet, Khufukhaef II who is not depicted in the wall decoration, is sometimes denoted as a potential son of Khufukhaef I on the basis of a close vicinity of the two tombs – tomb G 7140 and G 7150 (Dodson 2004: 52–53, 56–61; but see also Strudwick 1985: 123).

Within the iconography of the tomb we encounter also other identified people, this time not related by blood to the tomb owner or at least not designated with family-relation tag. In

total eleven individuals are depicted some of them are recorded on the façade; scarce evidence is preserved on outer chapel's west wall, but most of them were captured on the walls of the inner chapel (Simpson 1878: 9–21). Concerning the structure of their professions, two people are designated as funerary priests, even though almost all other dependents held scribal titles or titles related to property administration.

Scribal titles that appear in relief decoration are quite diverse; they comprise ordinary scribes, but also scribes related to land administration (see Tab. 3). Most important with respect to the scribes depicted in iconography of Khufukhaef's tomb is the scene of the tomb owner and his wife viewing the presenting of offerings on the west wall north of the false door (Simpson 1978: 17, pl. XXII, fig. 33). Five registers have been preserved, the first upper one is reserved for the procession of funerary estates while the three lowermost registers depict only anonymous offering bearers. In contrast, all five figures recorded in the second upper register are identified either by name or by a title. At the head of the register stands an official with the title *imy-r3 d3d3t* “the Steward of the tribunal” who is followed by three scribes mentioned by their names Kaimeni, Kainebi and Khaa (see Fig. 7). Their scribal title is not explicitly mentioned, however their accessories in the form of reed pens and palettes quite obviously distinguish their profession. The steward at the front is according to accompanied text “counting offerings brought from the estates” (Simpson 1978: pl. XXIIa, b, fig. 33). The register is closed by a figure of *jry md3(w)t* “scribe's assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of documents, archivist” Beby who is exchanging the papyrus roll with scribe Khaa sitting in front of him. The title or at least the name Beby can be considered a repair or a later addition to the scene. In comparison to recorded scribes' names, the name Beby, even though also carved in raised relief, is cut more flat and in a brief manner. All five officials were apparently involved in administering incomes from Khufukhaef's funerary estates.

Other scribes who appear in wall reliefs seem to carry out a different function. It concerns two scribes *zš n niwwt* “scribe of the towns/settlements” (Jones 2000: 860, 3143)” and a *zš smi(w)t* “scribe of the desert region” (Jones 2000: 871, 3186),⁹⁷ both on the basis of their titles related to land administration of the state (Simpson 1978: 17, pl. XXII, fig. 27)(see Fig. 8).The title *zš sm(i)t* is preserved only partially; furthermore, it seems to be have been added later. It is recorded in a smaller scale and rather roughly carved, not reaching the high quality of modelling of hieroglyphic signs used for recording e.g. the title *zš n niwwt* in a register above in the same scene (Simpson 1978: pl. XVIb). Worth noting is also the orientation of *zš* sign,

⁹⁷ W.K. Simpson incorrectly transcribed the title as “scribe of the necropolis” (Simpson 1978: 20).

written in a direction inverse to that of the other titles even though the figure of the dependent is oriented in the same direction (see Fig. 8).

Of certain interest with regard to identified individuals is also the already mentioned scene presenting Khufukhaef's mother, where three other members of prince's retinue are recorded (Simpson 1978: 11, fig. 26). Three partially preserved registers of two standing dependents in each of them are recorded behind the central motive of the tomb owner standing hand in hand with his mother. Apart from the three anonymous individuals, officials tagged with the title *ḥkꜣ* "chief", *ḥkꜣ [ḥwt]* "estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/district" and, in addition, one *kꜣ*-priest named Tjenty are preserved (Simpson 1978: fig. 26). The latter professional and name tag appears to have been recorded after the completion of the original wall decoration, as they were carved in sunken relief in contrast to the depiction of the whole scene. Worth noting is that the name Tjenty appears once more in the tomb – it was the only inscription that was preserved on the north wall of the outer offering chapel (Simpson 1978: 11). This piece of evidence is unfortunately not captured in the plates in Simpson publication, however, it seems to belong to the original wall decoration (personal examination).

Yet another *kꜣ*-priest is present in the tomb. It is Seshemuka, who is similarly to Tjenty recorded twice in the reliefs, at first in the scene of presenting offerings from the estates on the east wall of the inner chapel and, for the second time he stands immediately behind the tomb owner as his personal attendant (holding a bag and a sandal) on the northern façade of the inner chapel (Simpson 1978: pl. XVIII, figs. 27, 30)(see Fig. 7). In both cases the inscriptions seem to be somehow adjusted after the original layout had been prepared; in the first instance the inscription was roughly carved in a slightly reduced height, seemingly being only later inserted in front of the figure of an offering bearer. In the latter case the inscription differs from the original layout and execution of reliefs, unlike the figure of the dependent itself. The signs were incised in a very small scale, placed directly at the top of a staff that the figure of the dependent holds in his hand.

Altogether it has to be admitted that some of the identified individuals were originally intended to form the vizier's entourage, in other words were in the first plan, while others were added to the original plan later. To what extent the inscriptions were created by the approval of the tomb owner still during his life is difficult to reveal. Since the later additions concern *kꜣ*-priests, both Seshemuka and Tjenty could have been able as Khufukhaef's priests to write down their names due to their free access to the tomb, perhaps with the intention to secure their

presence by multiple records.⁹⁸ There might be yet another possibility, i.e. that these two priests served to Khufukhaef's wife or to some of other individual/s who were buried in the secondarily hewn burial installations in Khufukhaef's burial chamber, and were therefore added later. However, this suggestion is difficult to confirm and in my opinion their depiction in the close proximity to the tomb owner as his personal attendants makes the former possibility more likely. To sum up, the vizier Khufukhaef is depicted in the iconography of his tomb first of all within the close circle of his family – his wife, sons, a daughter and, last but not least, his mother (Simpson 1978: XVI b; figs. 27–29 and pl. XVII). Other identified individuals provide us with the picture of a rather limited group of dependents who once formed Khufukhaef's personal suite, but still more numerous than that of prince Kawab (as preserved). Scribes and other selected officials (e.g. *hk3 hwt*) were in charge of Khufukhaef's estates and household. Regarding other administrative titles, such as *zš n niwwt* “scribe of the towns/settlements” and a *zš smi(w)t* “scribe of the desert region” they refer more to entire state administration. In a similar manner, the title *imy-r3 pr d3d3t* “overseer of the tribunal” can be considered an advisory body of the king. As is generally accepted for the Fourth Dynasty, to the head of the high state offices of the land including that of the primary importance – the vizier's office was appointed to the royal princes, i.e. members of the royal family like Khufukhaef (Helek 1954: 18–22; Bárta 2013: 270).⁹⁹ The royal support of Khufukhaef's cult is clearly expressed in the scene where the tomb owner is viewing the offerings which are brought directly from the house of the king, or from the king's house in his towns of the funerary estates, respectively (Simpson 1978: 12, pl. XVII a; fig. 28 or pl. XVII b; fig. 29).

Regarding household servants, such as butchers or bakers, they do not figure on the walls. This can be assigned to the absence of daily-life scenes that had so far not been developed in the tomb iconography.¹⁰⁰ The absence of specialists, such as physicians or dentists, who appear quite often in the vizieral tombs of the Fifth Dynasty, can in my opinion be explained in a different way. Since Khufukhaef I was the royal son, it seems natural that in case of some occasional illness he could have been naturally treated by court physicians or even by personal doctors of the king. In a similar manner, king's sons could have used the services of court specialists who took care of his body, e.g. manicurists or barbers of the palace (*pr-ʿ3*).

⁹⁸ For a later parallel, see the house(hold) of Ty in the present work, where there are several pieces of evidence that some of *k3*-priests, who clearly belonged to the original plan of the tomb, added their names for several times elsewhere in the tomb. For this evidence, see also J. Auenmüller 2019: 21.

⁹⁹ For the term *pr-ʿ3*, see Goelet 1982: 536–651.

¹⁰⁰ For the origins and employing of daily-life scenes within the repertoire of scene in elite tombs, see Harpur 1987: 81ff.

Concerning the presence of *k3*-priests there might have been some reasons to change particular persons according to Khufukhaef's favour and highly likely with his consent. *K3*-priests were essential for maintaining the funerary cult of any deceased as is attested by the iconography of tombs from late Khufu's reign onwards, and we might expect the same also for the afterlife retinue of this prince. Instructive at this point can be also the tomb of Kawab (see above). Therefore, they were included into Khufukhaef's entourage as well.

Khufukhaef I	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš n niwt</i> "scribe of the towns/settlements"	1
	<i>zš smi(w)t</i> "scribe of the desert region"	1
	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	3
	<i>iry(w)-md3(w)t</i> "scribe's assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of documents, archivist "	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> " <i>k3</i> -servant"	3
Household management	<i>hk3</i> "chief, ruler"	1
	<i>hk3</i> [<i>hwt</i>] "estate manager/property administrator, chief of the estate/district"	1
Titles connected to state administration/king/palace	<i>imy-r3 pr d3d3t</i> "overseer of the tribunal"	1

Tab. 3 The extended household of Khufukhaef

5.1.3 Nebemakhet

The tomb of Nebemakhet, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Nebemakhet (dated to the reign of Menkaure built his rock-cut tomb G 8172=LG 86 in the Central Field to the south-east of Khafra's pyramid where the family members of Khafra family were interred (Hassan 1943: 125–150, fig. 72).¹⁰¹ It consists of outer and inner chapels, both cut in the bedrock and containing several niches each for accommodating the statues. The entrance to the tomb that was accessible by a short passage, together with all walls in both chapels, was originally decorated in painted relief that already Hassan found in a bad state of preservation during the excavation (Hassan 1943: 127–128). Despite this fact, he reconstructed

¹⁰¹ For the detailed information about the tomb, see S. Hassan 1943: 125–150; R. Porter and B. Moss 1981: 3, 230–232. For the dating of the tomb, see N. Strudwick who dates the vizier Nebemakhet to the end of the Fourth Dynasty (Strudwick 1985: 108 (81)). For a different opinion, see H. Junker who suggests that Nebemakhet may have been the son of Menkaure (Junker 1934: 38).

large parts of the original wall decoration by assembling many relief fragments found in the chapels. Especially western and southern walls of the outer chapel were decorated by a wide spectrum of scenes, depicting, e.g., animal farming, spear-fishing in a papyrus thicket, fowling with a clap net, building of a papyrus boat, procession of offering-bearers and funerary estates, animal slaughter, herdsmen leading oryxes and gazelles (Hassan 1943: 133–137, 138, figs. 76, 77, 79). Other interesting scenes and motives are also recorded in the inner chapel apart from the scene presenting the tomb owner with his family, for instance rows of butchers or dancers on the eastern wall (Hassan 1943: 140, fig. 81, Pl. XXXVIII) or pressing of wine grapes and presenting products of various workshops (necklaces, metal, linen, stone vessels) on the southern wall (Hassan 1943: 143–144, fig. 82). The overall chapel area with decorated surface consisted of 58 m² (Kanawati 1977: 101–102).

Nebemakhet's close family and extended household

Several members of Nebemakhet's family could have been revealed on the basis of the wall reconstruction. It is primarily the vizier's mother queen Meresankh III, his sister Shepseskau, three brothers Ankhmara, Duaenra and Niuserre and his wife Nebhetep (Hassan 1943: 133, 140, 144–145, figs. 76, 77, 81, 84–86, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII).¹⁰² As indicated by two relief fragments No. 5 and No. 13 Nebemakhet did have offspring, probably at least a son and a daughter (Hassan 1943: 145, 147, Figs. 87, 95).¹⁰³ Unlike Kawab and Khaefkhufu, Nebemakhet's vizieral title is attested directly in the tomb, e.g. immediately at the lintel and the drum of the tomb entrance (Hassan 1943: 131–132). As N. Strudwick argues he could probably hold also the title *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw* as the eldest royal son (Strudwick 1985: 108).¹⁰⁴

Apart of Nebemakhet's close family, a large number of anonymous figures are recorded in various scenes starting from an offering scene, a representation of a clap-net, ploughing activities, oarsmen in boat, a spear-fishing scene, animal slaughter or ending with procession of offering bearers (Hassan 1943: 132–149). Interestingly, the only identified figures in the iconography come from an unusual inscription on the right outer thickness of the entrance to the inner chapel (Hassan 1943:136–137, fig. 78) (Fig. 9). There is a short text with two figures

¹⁰² Nebemakhet is considered to be the eldest son of King Khafre (Dunham and Simpson 1974: 7, pl. XVII; Hassan 1943: 133, Fig. 76; Strudwick 1985: 108;).

¹⁰³ The first fragment depicts a part of child figure standing behind the figure of the tomb owner, on the other a part of the male figure with a leopard skin (probably the tomb owner) is accompanied by a woman figure with a lotus flower, as Hassan suggests a daughter and from the other side he deduces once stood also a son (Hassan 1943:145, 147, Figs. 87, 95). Nevertheless, it is not clear whether the woman cannot represent another family member, e.g. the sister or wife of the tomb owner.

¹⁰⁴ For the absence/presence of title *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw*, see also Schmitz 1976: 97–102.

of painters/sculptors of the tomb: *zš-kdt* sculptor/painter Semerka, and another individual named Inkaef.¹⁰⁵ According to the text, which was recorded above their figures, both artists were responsible for building and decorating the tomb.¹⁰⁶

The only other identified man in the tomb was a *k3*-priest. In this case, the preserved evidence does not come from the iconography of the tomb but is provided by an inscribed group-statue found in the inner chapel (Hassan 1943: 148). It comprises partially preserved three seated men portrayed with crossed arms, unfortunately headless. The name and title *k3*-priest Ishka was inscribed upon the lap of the central figure (Hassan 1943: pl. 39A). As S. Hassan stated, also the figure on the left bore a text, only visible being the word *pry*, possibly a part of the name?¹⁰⁷ Although Hassan was not accurate in stating the specific place of the find in the inner chapel, he suggested the original position of the statue to be an angular niche in the eastern wall of the outer chapel. It seems probable to find the statue of a non-family member in the outer chapel, since the inner chapel was assigned for the close circle of tomb owner's family. Still, Ishka must have been a significant person of Nebemakhet's suite, probably in charge of Nebemakhet's funerary cult since he was privileged to be captured in a group-statue with his master.¹⁰⁸

The main focus of the iconography in Nebemakhet's tomb is to evoke the memory of the tomb owner and his family and to ensure their afterlife existence. Therefore, it is the figure of the tomb owner accompanied by his family who is the key person within each scene (if preserved). Nevertheless, the extended wall area of both chapels provided an extra space for recording not only the close circle of Nebemakhet's relatives, but made it possible to display also a large amount of non-kin dependents who once formed Nebemakhet's entourage. None of these dependents were distinguished by their names or titles. The only inscriptions of identified individuals are far from typical. One of the records belongs to a few examples of artisans who were recorded and identified in a piece of their work known from the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁹ The other evidence comes from the statue found in the chapel which refers to a trustworthy man –

¹⁰⁵ The title of Inkaef has unfortunately not been preserved, but both individuals were designated as *mḥnk* rewarded (Hassan 1943: 137–138). According to Hassan (1950: 125), Inkaef is likely to be identified with the owner of the G8510 who held titles *gnwty* sculptor, *gnwty w^cbt pr* sculptor of the wabet house and *ḥkr nswt* adorer of the King.

¹⁰⁶ Hidden inscriptions of craftsmen in Old Kingdom tombs are dealt with in the study of T. Rzepka 1998: 101–109.

¹⁰⁷ The photograph published by S. Hassan is not clear enough to distinguish particular signs (Hassan 1943: pl. XXXIX, A).

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps Nebemakhet's children were too small to secure the funerary services for their father (the only depiction of Nebemakhet's potential son portrayed him as a boy, see Hassan 1943: 145, Fig. 87 and the whole responsibility could have come into the hands of *k3*-priest Ishka.

¹⁰⁹ For the artists of the Old Kingdom, see Drenkhahn 1995: 331–343; Wilson 1947: 231–247.

a *k3*-priest who was privileged to deposit his statue in the chapel. Thus, only representatives of priests and craftsmen were personified within the tomb. A possible link to another tomb might be made in the case of the “sculptor” Inkaef; a sculptor of the same name was buried in the tomb made for Inkaef and his father Rudjka (G 8510).¹¹⁰ Given the fact that the title of Inkaef was damaged in Nebemakhet’s tomb, both men can be identified only tentatively.

In fact, the only preserved priest and craftsmen cannot reflect Nebemakhet’s social network in its complexity, since the vizierial entourage must have been formed by a group of dignitaries and high officials on the one hand and managers and servants involved in the property management on the other. In contrast to this asymmetry and lack of further evidence concerning Nebemakhet’s dependents, the web of family relations of Nebemakhet can be clearly traced in archaeology – tombs of his immediate family were safely identified: Meresankh III (G 7530–7540), Duaenra (G 5110) and Niuserre (G 8140).

Nebemakhet	Titles	No. of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -servant”	1
Craftsmen	<i>zš kdt</i> “sculptor/painter”	2

Tab. 4 The extended household of Nebemakhet

5.1.4 Summary

Based on the iconography of three viziers’ tombs, it is quite difficult or almost impossible to postulate a characteristic composition of the retinue of the Fourth Dynasty viziers. Although the wall decoration is no longer limited to the tomb owner and his family, there was apparently no need to personify also non-kin members of the vizier’s entourage or, if so, only few had the privilege to be recorded in the tomb of their master and thus participate in his afterlife. The depiction of the tomb owner within his close family (usually his wife, mother and sons/daughters) still remains the main focus of the decoration, as the tombs of Nefermaat or Iunmin confirm. Nevertheless, a few observations can be put forth at this place. The clearly detectable scarce evidence (or almost absence) of identified non-kin dependents clearly contrasts with the number of anonymous dependents that were captured in the reliefs of

¹¹⁰ Recorded titles of Inkaef are: *gnwty*, *gnwty n w^cbt pr*, *hkr nswt* sculptor, sculptor of the *w^cbt* house, adorer of the king (Hassan 1950: 125–132).

particular tombs. Their number gradually increased in time; 19 dependents are present (at least partially preserved) in case of Kawab, in case of Khufukhaef there are already 82 dependents and Nebemakhet recorded even more than 150 non-kin dependents. It is also worth mentioning that the labelled dependents are still the minority; occasionally complemented by rather unusual records representing an autograph of craftsmen who painted the tomb, a mason mark or an inscription on a statue, as evidenced by the tomb of Nebemakhet or Duaenre.

What can be considered as a hint of certain regularity is an emphasis on the role of funerary priests. Among the identified dependents recorded in the tombs, it is the name and/or the title of a funerary priest that stand out among others. This is natural in the cultic context. He was, together with a selected member of the family (mainly the oldest son), or instead of him (if missing), a crucial person for maintaining the funerary cult of the deceased and as such privileged to take part in reversion of offerings. Rather questionable in case of several preserved priests is the original dating of their records. It is evident that some of the inscriptions were added later probably during the service of these priests for their master. Although the dating of these additions was in none of the preserved cases critically questioned, it can be stated that the priests probably inscribed these multiple records during their service because the later inscribed names are identical with the originally inscribed ones.

When taking the tomb of Khufukhaef I as an exemplary case, there appear apart from funerary priests also other professions (mainly scribal) that are either related to the management of Khufukhaef's I household or to the management of central/local state affairs. The latter titles refer to the subordinates of the prince in his role of a high state official.

Concerning the number of identified individuals in total, they hardly reached ten. It has to be noted again that the occurrence the individuals connected to the tomb owner by other than family-relation was rather sporadic. From that point of view, the Fourth-Dynasty tombs are not much reflective of the "extended family" of the particular vizier. The fragmentary preservation of sources provides us with a rather biased picture of the original vizier's suite. Only one vizieral tomb of Khufukhaef I from the Fourth Dynasty revealed a more numerous suite (Simpson 1978)(see Chart 1). The identified individuals show how the potential network around the prince may have looked like. It was mainly formed by educated persons, scribes or other subordinates of the prince. In other professional areas, these viziers, as the royal sons, probably used the service provided by the royal court. Although little evidence has preserved, as the

subsequent analysis of the Fifth-Dynasty tombs will demonstrate, the trends which were outlined seem to be basically sound.

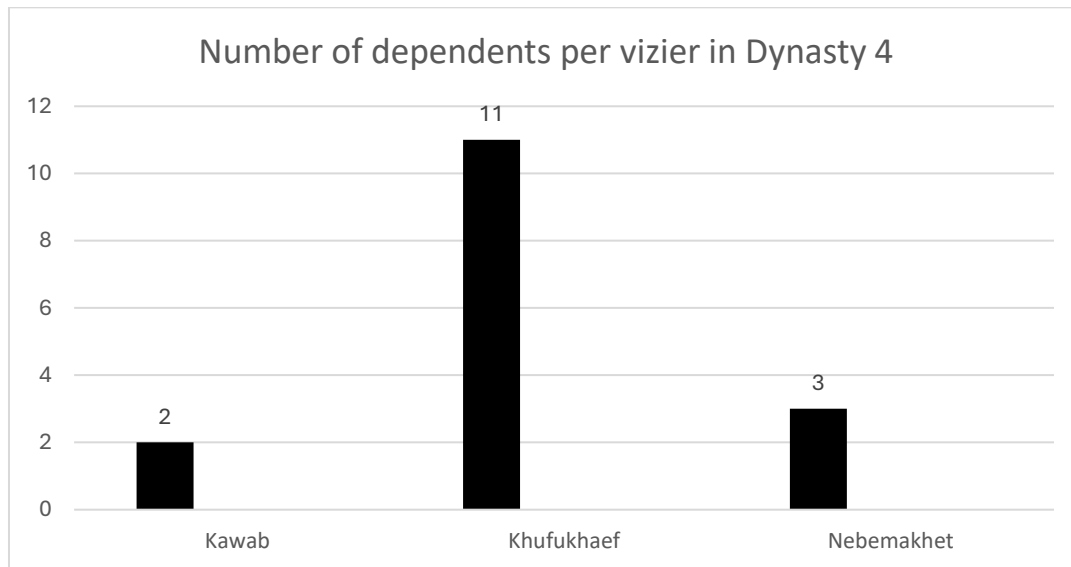


Chart 1. Number of dependents per vizier in the Fourth Dynasty

5.2 Households of the viziers dated to the Fifth Dynasty

The turn of the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty represents a period of political and social changes as proved by studies of many scholars (Helck 1954; Moreno Garcia 2013: 185–217; Bárta 2017: 1–17). High offices of the state administration, including the post of the vizier, were no more in the hands of members of the royal family; instead capable individuals of non-royal origin gradually began to occupy these positions (Bárta 2013: 85–151; Baer 1960: 300; Helck 1954: 58; Strudwick 1985: 321). The king maintained their loyalty by a system of various gifts and rewards; the biographical inscriptions in tombs provide evidence of donations of tomb's equipment, precious jewellery, gold of reward, or even the whole tomb for successful fulfilment of duties (Kloth 2002: 239–248; Strudwick 1985: 261). Assigning of prominent place on the necropolis near the king's tomb or gaining profit from royal funerary domains could function as another kind of benefit (Khaled 2016: 169–85). In consequence, the importance and self-confidence of high officials have increased, which was expressed in the architecture, repertoire of scenes and statuary of private tombs (Bárta 2005: 105–130; Harpur 1987; Jánosi 1999: 27–39). The enlargement of chapel's wall areas had an impact on the growth of relief volume and the development of new types of scenes and motives (Reisner 1942: 361; Harpur 1987). This

transformation also influenced the number and diversity of identified individuals depicted on the walls. Their rare occurrence during the Fourth Dynasty when the decorative programme of the tombs was often limited has gradually changed;¹¹¹ the identified individuals depicted in the wall decoration became much more frequent, they were especially strongly represented in the multi-chambered tombs from the reign of Niuserre to the beginning of Sixth Dynasty. Courtiers followed their king in the afterlife (Roth 1993); therefore, the tombs of that time were in contrast to the previous period mostly built in the Saqqara-Abusir necropoleis.¹¹² From 25 holders of the title during the Fifth Dynasty, 17 were buried in Saqqara-Abusir necropoleis (one of which in Abusir), and only eight in Giza (Tab. 5).¹¹³

The present author's intention was to reflect all stages of the above-mentioned development; therefore, a wider choice of tombs was put forth for the analysis. First of all, it contains the first non-royal vizier Seshathetep Heti (G 5150=LG 36).¹¹⁴ Since the reign of king Niuserre is considered a turning point in the development of state administration (*e.g.* Bárta and Dulíková 2015: 31–47), two viziers (Ptahshepses from Abusir and Seshemnefer II from Giza) were chosen from the number of Niuserre's viziers to cover this turbulent period.¹¹⁵ Another two representatives of Fifth-dynasty viziers Ptahhetep and Akhethetep embody a new typical feature in the character of the vizieral office – at least from the reign of Djedkara the supreme administrative office became hereditary.¹¹⁶ Similarly important is the family of Senedjemibs', in which as many as five family members were appointed the vizier (Strudwick 1985: 300–335; Brovarski 2001). Senedjemib Inti as a founder of the clan naturally appears in the selection. Finally, the tomb of Akhethetep Hemi represents quite frequent phenomenon of late Sixth Dynasty. His tomb was later reused by Nebkauhor Idu (see also The viziers dated to the Sixth Dynasty).

Viziers dated to the Fifth Dynasty	Reign of
Sekhemkare (G 8154=L89)	Early Fifth Dynasty
Werbauba (unknown)	Sahure-Nefereirkare

¹¹¹ For the tomb decoration, its development and restrictions, see Y. Harpur 1987; N. Staring 2011: 132–137; S. Seidlmayer 1987.

¹¹² Only the high officials of Pepi I and those employed in the first part of Pepi II's reign are not buried in the vicinity of the king.

¹¹³ The exact location of three tombs has not yet been revealed. It concerns the viziers Werbauba, Seshemnefer, and the vizier Minnefer, whose name is known only from his sarcophagus (Porter and Moss 1974: 337, 764).

¹¹⁴ For the tomb of the vizier see, Junker 1934: 172–195; Kanawati 2002: 11–30, pls. 3–10, 39–48.

¹¹⁵ Viziers Minnefer, Sekhemankhtah (Badawy 1976: 15–24, figs. 18–24, pls. 14–23), Kai (Mariette 1889: 226–231), Pehenuika (Lepsius 1900: 45–48), Ptahshepses (Verner 1986; Krejčí 2009) and Seshemnefer II (Junker 1938; Kanawati 2001; Altenmüller 2008) all are dated to the reign of king Niuserre.

¹¹⁶ For the inheritance of offices, see Bárta 2013: 269.

Seshemnefer (unknown)	Sahure-Neferirkare
Seshathetep Heti (G 5150=L36)	Early Fifth Dynasty
Washptah Isi (Saqqara No.24=D38)	Sahure-early Niuserre
Minnefer (unknown)	Sahure-early Niuserre
Sekhemankhptah (G 7150)	Sahure-early Niuserre (podle Veru), Str. Mid Fifth
Seshemnefer II (G 5080)	Mid Fifth Dynasty
Kai (Saqqara No.63=D19)	Mid Fifth Dynasty
Pehenuika (Saqqara No. 72=L15)	Mid Fifth Dynasty
Ptahshepses (AC 8)	Mid Fifth Dynasty
Ptahhetep Desher (Saqqara No. 41=C6)	Menkauhor – Djedkare Isesi
Ptahhetep (Saqqara No. 42=C7)	Menkauhor – Djedkare Isesi
Rashepses (Saqqara LS 16=S902)	Early to middle Djedkare Isesi
Ptahhetep I (Saqqara D62)	Later Djedkare Isesi
Senedjemib Inti (G 2374)	Later Djedkare Isesi
Akhethetep (Saqqara D64)	Early Unas
Akhethetep Hemi (Saqqara, Unas cemetery)	Early to middle Unas
Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378=L26)	Early Unas
Ihy (Saqqara, Unas cemetery)	Later Unas
Niankhba (Saqqara, Unas cemetery)	Later Unas
Iyneferet Šanef (Saqqara, Unas cemetery)	Later Unas
Ptahhetep Tjefi (Saqqara D64a)	End Fifth Dynasty
Khnumenty (G 2374)	End Fifth Dynasty

Tab. 5 Viziers dated to the Fifth Dynasty¹¹⁷

5.2.1 Seshathetep Heti

The tomb of Seshathetep Heti, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Seshathetep Heti was buried in tomb G 5150=L 36 at the Western cemetery in Giza.¹¹⁸ The choice of his burial place in the cemetery en echelon is unclear, but it indicates that already his ancestors were buried there. Unfortunately, the absence of evidence on his family background does not provide any reliable clues. On the other hand, it is evident that the tradition of building the tombs of this family at Giza continued as testify the tombs of some of his descendants covering the overall area of 7.65 sq. m (Junker 1953: 142–143, fig. 55).

¹¹⁷ The list of viziers provided by N.Strudwick 1985: 301, tab. 28 was adopted with slight modification with regard to works by V. Dulíková 2008; Dulíková 2016).

¹¹⁸ For the architecture and iconography of the tomb, see Porter and Moss 1974: 149–150; Junker 1934: 172–196; Kanawati 2002. The vizier Seshathetep is dated by most scholars to early Fifth Dynasty (Junker 1934: 172–174; Baer 1960: 130–131 [473]; Strudwick 1985: 136–137 [126]; Harpur 1987: 270 [230]).

Seshathetep's afterlife dwelling is a stone-built mastaba G 5150 (LG 36) with dimensions ca. 24 × 14 m; the decoration covers all four walls of L-shaped chapel of A. Reisner's type 4a with two false doors (Reisner 1942: 215).¹¹⁹ The chapel measures 5 × 1, 57m with the length of decorated surface according to Kanawati around 25 m (Junker 1934: 173, abb. 23; Kanawati 2002: 18, 118).

A group statue of a couple (Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 7788) was uncovered in a serdab behind the southern false door – a crucial find since it is the only evidence of Seshathetep's vizierial title *t3yty z3b t3ty* (Strudwick 1985: 137 [126]; Schmitz 1976: 73-5; Kanawati 2002: 11–12).¹²⁰ Seshathetep probably achieved the title of the vizier after the decoration of the tomb was finished, as in the case of prince Kawab and Khaefkhufu.¹²¹ Other important titles recorded on the statue indicate his elevated status, especially the high rank title *iry p't* “hereditary prince” or title *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw* “king's son of his body”. The latter title, however, does not necessarily indicate that Seshathetep was the real king's son (Junker 1934: 31, 32, 189; Schmitz 1976: 73–84) On the contrary, he is considered to be the first vizier of non-royal descend.¹²²

The walls of Seshathetep's chapel were decorated in raised painted relief, some parts badly weathered (Junker 1934: 172–195). They comprise a wide range of scenes, above others a typical offering table scene a scene depicting procession of the funerary estates and procession of offering bearers together with officials reporting about the offerings brought from estates, but also a scene of animal slaughter, or a boat trip (Junker 1934: 184, figs. 28–32). Furthermore, one nice family scene illustratively depicts female members of Seshathetep's family (Junker 1934: 184–185, fig. 30).

Seshathetep's close family and extended household

When analysing the tomb scenes in Seshathetep's mastaba, it is apparent that he was once a head of a large nucleus family, and married probably two wives Hetepka and Meretites with whom he had altogether ten children (Junker 1934: 172–195; Kanawati 2002: 11–30, pls.

¹¹⁹ The chapel measures 5x1, 57m (Junker 1934: 173, abb. 23; Kanawati 2002: 18).

¹²⁰ For a different opinion, see Junker 1934: 188–193, abb. 34, Taf. XXVa; Junker thinks of Seshathetep's father to be the owner of the statue with the vizierial title.

¹²¹ In a similar manner in the Fifth Dynasty, for instance Rashepses was appointed vizier after the relief decoration of the chapel was completed (Baer 1960: 101 [315]; Strudwick 1985: 94–95 [95]).

¹²² For a detailed information about particular titles of the vizier, see Junker 1934: 172–195; Kanawati 2002: 11–12; Schmidt 1976: 73 ff, 84, Strudwick 1985: 137 (126), 312. For the period from which onwards the non-royal officials have attained vizirate, see Strudwick 1985: 321.

3–10, 39–48).¹²³ A crucial scene with Seshathotep’s family is pictured on the west wall of the chapel, where both his wives are depicted, each on a different of two false doors, five children by Meretites figure there as well, among them sons Sekhentyuka, Seshathetep and Hety together with two daughters Nisedjerkay and Meretites.¹²⁴ While Hety and Sekhentyuka were recorded as children, Seshathetep was already involved in the management of his father’s property portrayed as an official with long skirt and scribal equipment while reporting to his father about the incomes from the funerary estates. The scene on the east wall of the chapel is important in a similar manner. The seated couple of Seshathetep and his wife (probably Hetepka) are accompanied with five daughters named Henutsen, Hetepibes, Awetib, Nesunesut and Mesat (Junker 1934: 184, fig. 30).¹²⁵

According to the preserved evidence, the ‘extended household’ of the vizier was approximately twice as big as his core family. The majority of Seshathotep’s dependents are portrayed on the west wall, especially on the outer jambs of the southern false door (in total 10 individuals, including five priests; Junker 1934; Kanawati 2002: pls. 6–8, 45, 48a–b). The whole group of non-kin members of Sestathetep’s house comprises 24 identified dependents of ten different professions (Tab. 6).¹²⁶ It encompasses primarily individuals engaged in priestly services (10 individuals) who were indispensable for maintaining the funerary cult. The main group formed *k3*-priests (seven), together with other persons who regularly appear performing a ritual of consecration of food offerings for the deceased *wdn ht*,¹²⁷ in front of the tomb owner in the offering table scene: *hry wdb* “he who is in charge of reversions of offerings”, *wdpw hntj wr* “butler of the great cellar” and also *wty* “embalmer” (Junker 1934: 184, figs. 25, 33; Kanawati 2002: pls. 5, 46).¹²⁸ The three latter individuals were not identified by their names; they are anonymous representatives of professions that are essential for performing the funerary ceremony. The same set of priests appear in the same offering table scene in its mirrored image on the chapel’s south wall (Junker 1934: 187, abb. 33). In contrast to them, all the *k3*-priests are distinguished by their names. One of them, certain Ankhemka, can be considered their superior

¹²³ For a different opinion, that Hetepka is not Seshathotep’s wife, but mother see, Junker 1934: 193.

¹²⁴ They are three boys Hety, Seshathetep and Sekhentiukai and two daughters Meretites and Nisedjerkai (Junker 1934: 184, fig. 30). Only three of the offspring are denoted as his children: Hety, Seshathetep and Meretites were labelled by family relating tag *s3(.t.)f n ht.f*. Of certain importance might be the fact that none of the sons is designated as the eldest son of the tomb owner. It is also questionable whether sons named Hety and Seshathetep are only one identical person holding both names as does their father, but since the son Hety is depicted naked as a small boy and Seshathetep with a long triangular kilt as an important official reporting to the tomb owner (Junker 1934: 184, fig. 28) I am inclined to consider them as two individual persons.

¹²⁵ Kanawati ascribes this group of children to be the older group of Hetepka’s children (Kanawati 2002: 13).

¹²⁶ Three individuals are distinguished only by their names, their titles are missing, see Kanawati (2002: 15–16).

¹²⁷ For *wdn ht* ritual, see Barta 1968: 68, 86, 96.

¹²⁸ For an analogous scene, see e.g. Davies 1901: pls. XXXI, XXXIV.

even though his title is not hierarchically distinguished from other ordinary priests. First, he appears two times in the tomb iconography, which emphasises his importance (Junker 1934: figs. 28, 29). Second, he occupies a prominent place in both occurrences, either standing immediately behind the figure of the tomb owner or as the first in the row of offering-bearers directly below the seated tomb owner (see Fig. 10). His designation as *ms.f dt* “his children/offspring of the funerary estate” in the latter depiction on the southern jamb of Seshathetep’s southern false door demonstrates a special type of a relationship of the tomb owner to Ankhemka (Junker 1934: 194–195; Kanawati 2002, 28, pl. 45).¹²⁹ A title of a similar meaning *sn-dt.f* brother of the funerary estate was a subject of some recent studies. J. Wen in a PhD study demonstrated that the *sn-dt.f* individuals were associated with funerary cult of the deceased, being either family members of the tomb owner or dependents not related by blood to the tomb owner (Wen 2018: 289–316). J. Wen stressed the role of integrating non-family members or remote relatives into the familial realm so that they could also take on the funerary responsibilities assigned to family members. However, so could those appointed *k3*-priests as well. Unfortunately, J. Wen did not discuss possible differences in the responsibilities between the brothers/children of the funerary estates and *k3*-priests. J. C. Moreno García considers these individuals being not in master-servant relationships, but suggests a more intimate relations of a patron and a client (Moreno García 2007: 117–136). Both scholars agreed on particular tasks of *sn-dt.f* individuals; the main one was to provide offerings for the deceased. The preserved evidence shows that in some cases they were in return even granted the land (e.g. in the case of Penmeru and Kaemhezet, see Goedicke 1970: 122). A priest Ankhemka designated as *ms.f dt* “his children/offspring of the funerary estate” might or might not be the son of the tomb owner. This cannot be revealed based on the available evidence. If not, he was chosen as a trusted man and favourite of his master to ensure his funerary cult.

Household managers formed another numerous group of dependents appearing in the reliefs of Seshathetep’s tomb. They are represented by the “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward” Ipy, “elder of the house/domain” Meny and “overseer of the linen” Rehy. Individuals who took care specifically of the food supply and beverages for the household are also displayed, it was *hrp zh* “director of the dining hall” Akhy and an ordinary *wdpw* “butler” Tiwy (Junker 1934: figs. 28, 29, 31). The growing diversity of professions is testified by two *šmsw* “retainers” Nemutef and Zeššen and two *hk3* “rulers” Weha and Iufny (Junker 1934: fig. 28). All these mentioned household servants and managers were portrayed bringing offerings or

¹²⁹ For the title, see D. Jones 2000: 451 [1690], for the study of *pr-dt* see also J.J. Perepelkin 1960: 26ff., 62ff.

leading animals, while the overseer of the house Ipy is included in the group of Seshathetep's most important attendants – the scribe Hetepka and dentist Neferites who are making reports to tomb owner (Junker 1934: fig. 29)(see Fig. 10).

The person who stands out among other already enumerated dependents was apparently the scribe Hetepka. He appears two times in the tomb, similar to Ankhemka, holding the foremost position, either in the row of offering-bearers or in the close proximity to the tomb owner. In both cases he is recorded with a papyrus scroll while reporting the reversion of offerings to the tomb owner or counting offerings from the funerary estates (Junker 1934: figs. 28, 29; Kanawati 2002: 28 pls. 6–9, 45, 47, 48a–b) (see Fig. 10). He wears a long triangular kilt, and a short wig with two pens tucked behind his ear visible apparently on the western wall (Junker: 1934: pl. XVIa; Kanawati 2002: pl. 9a, 7b).¹³⁰ This was a customary dress of important officials/scribes which distinguishes him from other dependents wearing plain short skirt without any wig. It was only the eldest son of Seshathetep who was portrayed in the same manner as Hetepka.

A triad of significant officials is formed by Hetepka, the steward Ipy and the dentist Nefertes. The presence of a dentist among Seshathetep's closest cooperates may indicate that Seshathetep suffered from repetitive toothaches; however, the burial chamber of the main shaft has been plundered already in the antiquity as mentioned by H. Junker (1934: 178, fig. 23), therefore the skeletal remains which would enable us to confirm such assumption no more exist.

The retinue of Seshathetep has to be complemented also by persons who are distinguished only by their names. It concerns an individual named Hezy who appears twice on the walls of the tomb. In contrast to the scribe Hetepka, he does not hold an important position within the scenes, and in both the scenes he is without any title attached (Junker 1934: pls. XVb, XVIa; Kanawati 2002: pls. 7b, 9a). The writing of his name is identical (Ranke 1952: 254:28), however, due to the absence of his title the identification is uncertain.¹³¹ If the depictions really refer to the same person one can ask why other persons clearly of a higher position do not repeatedly appear in the mastaba, for instance the overseer of the house Ipy or the dentist Nefertes? Still, certain selection and a personal choice of the tomb owner must be anticipated (Bardoňová and Nováková 2017: 74–89). Another possibility can also be taken into consideration – a later added inscription. An example from Khufukhaef's retinue illustrates that especially funerary priests with free access to the tomb could have recorded themselves for

¹³⁰ Only a drawing of the central part of the west wall was published by Junker (1934: Fig. 29), no photo was enclosed, nor Kanawati's plate is clear enough to distinguish the type of the wig (Kanawati 2002: pl. 9a).

¹³¹We might assume that if Hezy was a holder of an important title, it would have been recorded.

several times to stress their importance (see chapter The vizier Khufukhaef). Nevertheless, it does not seem to be the case of Hesy. A careful examination of accompanying captions in Seshathetep's tomb demonstrates that the inscription of Hesy's name highly likely belonged to the original reliefs which in fact appeared to be almost certain for all other name and profession tags in the tomb.¹³²

The detailed examination of Seshathetep's entourage depicted on the tomb walls demonstrates a significant increase in the number of identified dependents in contrast to Fourth Dynasty. Especially the group of priests shows a gradual increase although the evidence of a hierarchical structure in their organisation is not yet manifested in the titles. Apart from persons employed in scribal and priestly professions, Seshathetep's suite consists also of dependents of other professional spheres that have hardly occurred earlier: household managers, attendants and servants together with a group of specialists and land administrators. Persons involved in running the household (*e.g.* overseer of the house, overseer of the linen, director of the dining room) and their assistants (older of the house) or ordinary servants, especially those responsible for food provisions (butlers) were newly included within the vizier's entourage. Individuals designated with such professions began to regularly appear in the tombs at least from the reign of Niuserre onwards (see the whole corpus of tombs under consideration further in the thesis).

Even so the hierarchical differentiation in titles, *i.e.* the stratification in the level of overseers, inspectors, supervisors and ordinary workers is not yet noticeable in the tomb, we can distinguish three most important dependents according to the visible hierarchy in scenes and a distinctive dress: scribe Hetepka, steward Ipy and dentist Neferites. Worth mentioning is also the fact that all dependents identified by a title, with the exception of priests consecrating food offerings for the deceased, are distinguished also by their names.

One can assume that the modified picture of the vizier's extended household (more numerous and diverse) in a certain respect reflects the above-mentioned political and social-economic development expressed in architecture and decoration of the tombs at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. It seems to be clear that the retinue of a vizier – a royal son and the retinue of a vizier of a non-royal origin must substantially differ in their nature. The royal son was a member of the royal family – the ruling elite layer of the society. What reason would force him

¹³² In case of two names/titles that N. Kanawati reconstructed as Katjenet and [...r] that are written in the same third register on the north wall of the chapel, this cannot be stated for sure, but these inscriptions more likely reflect the worn-out state of the relief (Kanawati 2002: 16, Pl. 47). From the photograph published by N. Kanawati it seems that smoothed surface is in front of respective figures, but the particular signs are hardly visible (Kanawati 2002: pl. 9b). The same is valid for Junker's faksimile (Junker 1934: Taf. XVIa). A personal examination of the scene would be needed to give an exact answer.

to distinguish himself from the most powerful family in the land whose inherent part he was? The newly established officials of non-royal origin, on the contrary, endeavoured to demonstrate their wealth and independency, but also their special relation to the king and his court. The example of Seshathetep's vizieral suite represents a unique opportunity to trace such an effort expressed in the decoration of his chapel. It encompasses a large amount of minor figures (both anonymous and identified) who embodied his affluent earthly existence. The case of Seshathetep is even more symptomatic when we realize that the relief decoration was accomplished prior to his appointment to the vizierate, therefore it *de facto* reflects an entourage of a very high official.¹³³ As a result, one has to search for a typical vizier's entourage of a non-royal origin in the following decades when the iconographical program became to be fully developed and supplemented with emerging biographical evidence.¹³⁴

Seshathetep Heti	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	7
	<i>wty</i> "embalmer"	2
	<i>wdpw hnty-wr</i> "attendant/steward of the great celler"	1
	<i>hry wdb(w)</i> "master of largess/he who is in charge of reversions (of offerings)"	2
Specialists	<i>ir(w) ibh</i> "dentist"	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house/estate, the Steward"	1
	<i>smsw pr</i> "elder of the house/domain"	1
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> "overseer of the linen"	1
	<i>hrp zh</i> "director of the dining hall"	1
Land administration	<i>hk3</i> "chief"	2
Household servants (food supply)	<i>wdpw</i> "butler, attendant, steward, cup-bear"	1
Additional household servants and attendants	<i>šmsw</i> "retainer"	2
	<i>nhs(y)</i> "Nubian"	1

Tab. 6 The extended household of Seshathetep Heti

¹³³ A comparison with the suite of high official Nefer G 2150 (Junker No: IX 3; Reisner 1942: 422–425, pls. 30–33) or Kaninisut (G 2155; Junker 1934: 135–172, figs. 12–22, pls. 1, 5–10) is of a certain importance (see Chapter Higher officials).

¹³⁴ Biographical inscriptions from Old Kingdom tombs were published, for instance by N. Strudwick (1985) or N. Kloth (2002). Most recently, H. Vymazalová dealt with the biographical inscriptions in the Old Kingdom tombs in association with the self-presentation of high officials (Vymazalová 2019: 67–88).

5.2.2 Ptahshepses

The tomb of Ptahshepses, its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses belongs to great, multi-chambered tombs of the elite that emerged during the Fifth Dynasty as a result of the changes in society (see, e.g., Jánosi 2000: 445–466) and is considered by some scholars even one of the largest and architecturally most elaborated non-royal tombs dated to the Old Kingdom (Krejčí 2009; Krejčí 2011: 253–276). It is situated in the most prominent place in the cemetery of Nobles near the pyramid complexes of Niuserre and Sahure (Bárta 2005: 105–130; Bárta 2011: 175–179; Krejčí 2009; Verner 1986), constructed in three building phases, probably reflecting the growth of Ptahshepses' position within the state administration.¹³⁵ At the end of the construction works, it consisted of forty rooms and acquired dimensions of 42.24 × 56.24 m (Krejčí 2006: 150–51).

The original relief decoration of the mastaba is preserved fragmentarily; according to M. Verner only about one-sixth has survived up to the present (Verner 1992: 187).¹³⁶ It covers the walls of six rooms of the mastaba: especially Room 3 (served as the entrance to the tomb before the first great enlargement), Room 4 (chapel with three niches), Room 10 (junction of the three building stages of the mastaba), Room 11 (adjacent to the pillared courtyard), Rooms 13–15 (walls in the pillared courtyard) and Room 16 (the only decorated store room of the mastaba) (see Verner 1986); overall, the decorated area is 181.33 sq.m. The length of decorated surface is proposed by Kanawati to be around 555 m (Kanawati 1977: 94). The walls accommodate a large scale of scenes minutely described in Verner's monograph with large-scale drawings (Verner 1986). They range from scenes depicting food and craft offerings necessary for the afterlife, e.g. scenes of cargo-ships transporting products from funerary estates ((Verner 1986 14-20, pls. 3-8), scene of animal slaughter (Verner 1986: 28–32, Pls. 12–13) or bringing living animals (Verner 1986: 80–84, 41–42) and poultry (Verner 1986: 75–79, pls. 38–40), scene depicting workshop activities with presentation of products (Verner 1986: 46-47, pls. 26–28) to scenes containing depiction of marshland activities (Verner 1986: 85–88, pls. 43, 44), bringing produce or gardening (Verner 1986: 64–75, 80–83, pls. 31–37, 41–42). Representation of the deceased carried in a palanquin (Verner 1986: 98–104, pls. 53–55) or the dragging the

¹³⁵ For a detailed analysis of the architecture of the mastaba, see Krejčí (2009) and most recently Krejčí (2017). Ptahshepses's career in comparison with his contemporaries is dealt with in an article by V. Dulíková (2017: 64–71).

¹³⁶ The estimations with regard to the portion of preserved decoration slightly vary between one fifth (Bárta 2011: 175) and one sixth (Verner 1992: 187), which he in his later study modified to 10% of the original reliefs that are preserved up until now (Verner 1994: 173–194).

statues of the tomb owner (Verner 1986: 104–113, pls. 56–59, 60) are also included. Furthermore, many fragments (over 500) of the original wall decoration assembled and published by B. Vachala are wealthy reservoir of other scenes and motives that have not been preserved on the walls (Vachala 2004).

Ptahshepses' close family and extended household

The tomb reliefs primarily inform us of the nuclear family of Ptahshepses. Unfortunately, his family background is not recorded in the decoration of the tomb. This is unknown to us, as is similar to other high officials, for instance Ti of Saqqara (Épron – Daumas 1939). Although we do not know the rank and position that the father of Ptahshepses probably held at the royal court, Ptahshepses must have come from a trustworthy family, which is supported by the fact of his later marriage to the king's daughter, Khamerernebty.¹³⁷ The depictions show Ptahshepses' wife and his offspring: seven sons and two daughters (Verner 1986). The situation among his sons is rather ambiguous. Three different sequences of Ptahshepses' sons are recorded in three different places in the mastaba, probably reflecting Ptahshepses' second marriage to Niuserre's daughter Khamerernebty, her sons were given preference to sons born to the supposed first of Ptahshepses' wives, who was of non-royal origin (Verner 1986: 103).¹³⁸ Moreover, in all three cases, the figure, name, and titles of the first born son, Khafini, were thoroughly erased; nevertheless, there is no doubt of the original inscription. As Verner stated, it is even more startling because erasing his name also meant completely removing the name of the king (Niuserre) Ini, but there are no clues to explain this situation. One can only surmise that Khafini fell into disgrace (Verner 1986: 103).¹³⁹

Apart from family members, a great number of other minor figures (priests, scribes, craftsmen, household servants, *etc.*) appear in the decoration of the tomb. The majority of them are anonymous, nevertheless, there are about 80 different persons not linked with family ties to Ptahshepses who are distinguished by their names and/or titles who preserved on the walls in situ and another ca 30 individuals preserved in relief fragments (Vachala 2004; Verner

¹³⁷ The first attested non-royal official who married into the royal family was the priest, Ptahshepses, buried in tomb C1 in Saqqara (Dorman 2002). A royal marriage policy is analysed in detail in the article of Miroslav Bárta and V. Dulíková (Bárta – Dulíková 2015: 31–47).

¹³⁸ For the most recent article focusing on the situation in Ptahshepses family, see M. Verner (2017: 42–51).

¹³⁹ In her article, V. G. Callender offers new insight into the chronology of Ptahshepses' mastaba and the family relations. She considers Khamerernebty to have been more likely Niuserre's sister rather than his daughter and speculates on the possibility of bringing together the two halves of Ptahshepses' family by giving Khamerernebty's daughters in marriages to Ptahshepses' sons from the first marriage. She assumes that Khafini was disgraced, died early or his name was removed as a consequence of the jealousy of his sibling (Callender 2011: 101–119).

1986).¹⁴⁰ They provide a distinct picture of the vizierial household. It contains both a significantly high number of dependents and a considerably great diversity among their titles (32 different titles are evidenced). The titles range from priestly, scribal, craft, and the administrative/managerial sphere to titles of various household servants, servants engaged in the sphere of body care, *etc.* (see the tab. Structure of the household of vizier Ptahshepses).

A crucial scene in identifying the most important persons of Ptahshepses extended household is the scene of the seated tomb owner accompanied by family, personal attendants, and subordinate officials on the east wall of Room 10 (Verner 1986: pls. 51, 52). Two registers of dependents below the seated tomb owner are headed by four of his sons.¹⁴¹ Holding a prominent position, the physician Kaiwedja sits immediately behind the sons of Ptahshepses (first from the right in the first register) (see Fig. 11). In fact, we do not know whether Ptahshepses suffered from any diseases and to what extent he needed the care of a physician,¹⁴² but the position of the physician in the scene indicates closeness and a special relationship with the tomb owner, presumably reflecting the intimate character of his profession.

Scribes, a large group of individuals regularly depicted in the tombs, constitute an essential part of an entourage of a high-ranking person. We encounter “scribes”, “inspector of scribes” and “seal-bearers” as well as “juridical scribes” in the above-mentioned scene in the mastaba of Ptahshepses. These were probably in charge of operations of household income and legal matters. They were highly likely to be members of Ptahshepses’ household because each of these persons simultaneously took care of the funerary cult of the deceased as “*k3*-priest”/“inspector of *k3*-priest”, indicating a personal relationship with the tomb owner.

On the other hand, scribes with slightly different titles occur in the same scene, *e.g.* “scribe of the Treasury” (see Fig. 11). This person could be, contrary to those scribes who were members of Ptahshepses’ household, Ptahshepses’ direct subordinate in his function of a vizier, or “overseer of the two Treasuries”, respectively.

¹⁴⁰ In relief fragments much more than 30 almost 60 various title and/or names of Ptahshepses dependents were recorded, nevertheless some of them are highly likely identical with the individuals preserved in situ which is further elaborated in the text, in cases where only title or name alone without any context preserved, we cannot be sure to what individuals it is related to and this is considered as another occurrence.

¹⁴¹ The first of the sons is carefully erased though the name is visible – it is one of the places in the tomb where the first-born son, Khafni, was damaged.

¹⁴² The anthropological remains of Ptahshepses have not been identified with certainty during the excavations (Strouhal and Bareš 1993).

In the overall decoration of the tomb, there are other potential direct subordinates of Ptahshepses. They are persons employed in the field of organization of works under the supervision of Ptahshepses, such as “inspector of all royal works” (see Tab. 8). These officials are pictured in the scenes of the procession carrying the deceased in a palanquin or dragging the statues of the tomb owner – portrayed viewing or accompanying the tomb owner (Verner 1986: Pl. 54, Insc. No. 155; Pl. 55, Insc. No. 144; Pl. 60, Insc. No. 169; Pl. 82, Insc. No. 184) (see Fig. 12). There are several other persons who held titles connected to the central institution, state, or the king himself in the above-mentioned scene on the east wall of Room 10 as well as on other places of the tomb (see Fig. 11 and Tab. 8). They are, for instance, individuals with the titles “overseer of the two Treasuries” and “inspector of the Great House”; or two “scribes of the granary” preserved in the scene of bringing offerings are presumably transporting fruits from a state granary (see Verner 1986: Pl. 9, Insc. Nos. 19, 20).¹⁴³ Two of the individuals mentioned above, the “inspector of the Great House” Iziankh and the “overseer of the two Treasuries” Iymeri are present not only in the iconography of the vizier’s tomb (Verner 1986: Pl. 52, Inscr. Nos. 135, 139), but they are also recorded on the royal monuments, thus highlighting their connection to the royal court.¹⁴⁴ An official named Isiankh with the title *shd pr-ḥ3* was portrayed among court officials in the mortuary temple of Niuserre, together with other significant officials such as Userkafankh (owner of mastaba AC 5 in Abusir), vizier Minnefer or Rawer ((Borchardt 1907: 72: pl. 50).¹⁴⁵ Iymery’s name with title [*imy*]-*ht pr-ḥd* was written on an isolated fragment of a table - an administrative hieratic document found in the mortuary temple of Raneferef (Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová 2006: 302, Pl. 78 E).

However, it is essential to say that the situation in the case of a vizierial household in contrast to households of other high officials is rather peculiar. In fact, all Egyptian officials were direct or indirect subordinates of the vizier. Thus, officials with given titles were most likely both executive court officials and at the same time loyal subordinates of their master. Of certain importance is then the fact that minor figures in the iconography who held titles connected with central administrations do quite often occur in the tombs of the viziers, contrary

¹⁴³ For the role of state/private granaries during the Old Kingdom, see M. Bardoňová (2018: 15–43).

¹⁴⁴ Iziankh is portrayed among court officials in the mortuary temple of Niuserre (Borchardt 1907: 72); the name of Iymeri is recorded in a fragment of Raneferef’s papyrus archive (Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová 2006: 302, Pl. 78 E). In addition, the inscription bearing name/title of “inspector of the Great House” Iziankh preserved once or perhaps twice within the fragments of relief decoration (Vachala 2004: 60, 61 frg. B 99; 66, 67 frg. C 905 (1473)).

¹⁴⁵ According to L. Borchardt on the adjacent block vizier Ptahshepses and a high official Ti appears, see Borchardt 1907: 72.

to tombs of other strata of society where they are almost missing (see the chapter Higher officials).

Within the group of scribes depicted in the tomb, at least two scribes Duahep and Nimenekhinepu are worth mentioning. Duahep is depicted as the first in the row of subordinate officials (mainly scribes and *k3*-priests) behind the sledge in the scene of dragging of statues of the vizier Ptahshepses (Verner 1986: 110, pl. 60, Insc. No. 166)(Fig. 12). His figure is tagged with four titles (*z3b zš, ḥry sšt3, w3b nswt, šḥd ḥm-k3*), which is far from typical for an ordinary dependent. He is displayed only once on the walls in situ, but his name appears five times in relief fragments (Vachala 2004: 56–57 frg. A 620 (1047), 60–61 frg. C 22 (1144), 76–77 frg. J 687 (2596), 78–79 frg. J 1342, 188–190 frg. A 1145 (1647)). Moreover, his name and title *zš n z3b* are also exhibited in hieratic inscriptions on the core masonry of the mastaba (Verner 1992: 71, 76, 92, pls. IV, 28, 43, XVI, 120, graffito n. 28, 43, 120)(see Tab. 7). According to his depiction on a relief fragment, he was involved in keeping accounts of products from brewery and bakery, and he also participated in the third building phase of the construction works of Ptahshepses mastaba. This individual is identified with the owner of Saqqara mastaba D 59 (Mariette 1889: 335–339). According to titles preserved in the mastaba, he headed the state department of justice (*imy-r3 zš n z3b*) and was not only a wab priest of the king, but held a whole range of other priestly titles of the kings Neferirkare and Niuserre (respectively, their pyramids and sun temples). In addition, he must have been a trusted official of his ruler, as indicates his title *ḥry sšt^c n ntr.f.*¹⁴⁶ From this example it is evident how complex duties and responsibilities of a high functionary could have been including service for the king (both at the court and in institutions maintaining his afterlife existence), occupation of the highest position in the kea department of state administration and at the same time involvement in the management of the vizierial household and possible participation in the construction of his tomb?

The second individual mentioned above who was employed in the department of justice is Nimenekhinepu. Similar to official Duahep, he is also attested in situ in the relief decoration (Verner 1986: pl. 60 Inscr. No. 168)(see Fig. 12) and in several fragments of the original decoration (Vachala 2004: 60, 74, 190, fragments A 1144; A 1145; H 113), together with the evidence coming from the hieratic inscriptions (Verner 1992: 73, pl. V, 34 graffito n. 34, 78, pl.

¹⁴⁶ For the detailed description of the position and titles of Duahep, see Dulíková 2016: 34-44.

VII, 52 graffito n. 52, 84, pl. XI, 81 graffito n. 81). He was a scribe and juridical scribe, inspector of *k3*-priests and wab priest of the king (*zs, z3b zš, šḥd ḥm-k3* and *w^cb nswt*).

An interesting finding concerning not only the above-mentioned individuals, but also of a large portion of all depicted dependents is the number of attached titles. While in the tombs of earlier date the dependents were regularly identified by only one particular title, in the tomb of Ptahshepses, it is not rare to find two, but sometimes also three or rarely four recorded titles (see Tab Dependents in Ptahshepses tomb with multiple titles). This cumulation of titles is not common even in the funerary monuments of the kings. When high-court officials are recorded, they are usually tagged by a single title, often the ranking one (Borchardt 1984). In contrast, attendants of the tomb owner in private tombs are primarily tagged by functional titles, denoting their tasks within the particular household (e.g., management of everyday running, administering of accounts) or their function that is expected to be performed in the afterlife, most importantly priests. In the Fifth-dynasty tombs under discussion not a single dependent who would be designated by a rank title could be detected. But it should be noted that in the tombs of the Sixth dynasty the situation differs, especially in the provincial tombs, namely that of the viziers and nomarchs at the necropolis of Meir, where the recording of rank titles became quite a common practice, which denotes the most important officials (see respective chapter).¹⁴⁷ It might be ascribed to the impact of administrative reforms introduced by most rulers of the Sixth Dynasty and the devaluation of certain titles, but it deserves a deeper analysis, which is beyond the scope of the present study.¹⁴⁸

Priests represent by far the most numerous group of identified dependents in the wall decoration of Ptahshepses' mastaba. Most of them form funerary priests (42 individuals), complemented by several "wab-priests of the king" (4 individuals). For the first time in the corpus under review, hierarchical structure in priesthoods can be revealed. Not only are the ordinary "*k3*-priests" (26 individuals) attested, but also "inspectors of *k3*-priests" (16 individuals). Not in situ, but in relief fragments there preserved one "under-supervisor of *k3*-priests" yet (Vachala 2004: 70, 71 frg. E 691 (2058)) together with other 27 "*k3*-priests" (either inspectors of ordinary *k3*-priests; Vachala 2004: 34, 56, 62, 70,72, 78, 80, 82, 100, 168, 214, 216, 222, 268, 272, frgs. A 285; A 508; A 589; C 37; C 235; C 803+ 810+D 53+82+85; E 937;

¹⁴⁷ In Sixth-dynasty Memphite tombs individuals labelled by a rank title occur only occasionally as e.g. in the case of the lector-priests in the tomb of Mereruka (Duell 1938: pls. 138, 154; Kanawati 2010: pl. 73) or Inumin (Kanawati 2007: 15, 32, pls. 6, 44).

¹⁴⁸ For the reforms of Sixth-dynasty kings, see Kanawati 1980. For the extended rank system to the end of the Old Kingdom and a rapid loss of value regarding some titles, see Baer 1980.

E 1078+1079; E 1177; E 1245; E 1278; E 2373; E 2429+2442+2674; E 2437+2438+2450+2461; E 2483+2522; J 1299; J 1531+1680; PT-18/82; 114; 372; 705).

The already mentioned accumulation of titles recorded within the figures of important dependents provides us with the unique opportunity to define the group of priests in Ptahshepses's funerary cult more specifically. This list of titles quite obviously shows who was established to perform funerary duties for the vizier and who could benefit from the reversion of offerings presented in the tomb.¹⁴⁹ 16 individuals designated as inspectors of *k3*-priests were according to the accompanying titles mainly officials employed in scribal department (9), those engaged in the body care of the king (4) or administrators of some central institution/court (2) (Verner 1986: Ins. Nos. 18, 73, 75, 76, 88, 121, 130, 131, 135, 136, 139, 140, 153, 155, 160, 166, 168).¹⁵⁰ Concerning ordinary *k3*-priests (in total 27), their titles are more diverse, it encompasses not only scribal professions (10; three of them connected to the central institution, such as granary of treasury) and body care services (4 of them personal attendants of the tomb owner and two with *pr-ꜥ3* attribute), but Ptahshepses incorporated in his funerary cult also the household managers and servants (5), one overseer of workmen, and even a sculptor (Verner 1986: Inscr. Nos. 2, 4, 5, 17, 25, 35, 70, 71, 81, 87, 91, 112, 122–124, 132–134, 137, 138, 141, 142, 161, 167, 169, 170).¹⁵¹ It nicely corresponds with the outlined overall structure of Ptahshepses suite - individuals from all main segments were represented although certain selection must have been applied in terms of qualification, loyalty, or friendship.

One more aspect is worth noting when describing *k3*-priests in the tomb. It is just this group of titles that is most frequently found within the later added inscriptions in the tomb (7

¹⁴⁹ In this particular issue only individuals who preserved on the walls in situ are taken into consideration, since the relief fragments published by B. Vachala (1992) are too fragmental to provide firm evidence.

¹⁵⁰ Only two individuals, certain Memy and Nyankhptah held exclusively the title inspector of Ka-priests, but these two cases are rather specific. The inscription recording individual Nyankhptah is carved across the original not entirely erased text (Verner 1986: 24, Inscr. No. 18). Regarding the writing of Memy's name and title the situation seems analogous. It is probably also written additionally, since the original inscription was erased (Verner 1986: Inscr. No. 86) and the new one was only sketched in ink (Verner 1986: 70, 72, Inscr. No. 87). The inscription looks incomplete, beginning presumably with another title, from which the *ain* sign preserved at the time of Verner's publication (Verner 1986: note 28). Quite peculiar is also the following inscription again written in red ink that recording the same name Memy for this time attached with the title inspector of *k3*-priests (Verner 1986: Inscr. No. 87). It appears highly improbable that two different persons of the same name and profession would have been written at the same time, if they perhaps were not father and son, but still a potential error in the inscription or a kind of intentional emphasis of the record is most likely explanation. Despite the fact of the possible later adding of the inscription, this individual still could have been a member of Ptahshepses household and a contemporary of the vizier, since certain Memy is also written in hieratic on the core walls of the mastaba (Verner 1992: 186), which supports the assumption of the same dating of both individuals.

¹⁵¹ Only a small portion of the *k3*-priests were recorded without other accompanying title, moreover in majority of cases the part of the respective inscription was lost, see e.g. (Verner 1986: No. 112 and No. 123), so we cannot exclude the possibility that even there could have been originally, yet another title written.

of 12).¹⁵² It is clearly visible especially on the south wall of room III (and exceptionally also on the east wall of the same room), where several names and titles of recorded offering bearers were roughly carved in an inferior quality and not captured in a raised relief, as were the accompanied inscriptions recorded above or around (Verner 1986: pl. 1, Insc. No. 2; pl. 9, Insc. No. 17) or the new inscriptions were placed in spaces where apparently the original text was erased (Verner 1986: Pls. 10 Inscr. Nos. 18–20). A similar situation appears on the north wall of room IV where the scene of pairs carrying offering tables with fruit and vegetables contains possible later additions to the original text again in the form of rather crudely in raised relief written names and/titles (Verner 1986: pls. 35, 36 Insc. Nos. 83–88). On the basis of this evidence, we can presume that some of the priests who had free access to the tomb completed the original iconography with records consisting of their personal data sometime when carrying out their duties. *K3*-priest Nyankhmin appears to have been recorded already in the original decoration on the east wall of room III (Verner 1986: pl. 1 Insc. No. 5) and again later added (Verner 1986: pl. 9, Insc. No. 17).¹⁵³ Other additionally recorded priests occur among other dependents for the first time, but we cannot exclude the possibility that they were depicted in the large part of original decoration that has not been preserved.

Concerning the priesthood in the tomb worth noting is also the fact that Roth assigns it among the earliest attestations of the system of private phyle organization (Roth 1985: 93–94).¹⁵⁴ However, it is not demonstrated directly by the titles associated with a particular phyle recorded in the tomb,¹⁵⁵ but by the number of storerooms and based on circumstantial evidence that links the Berlin relief fragment 14105 that mentions “Bringing two *st3t* boxes of the two divisions of the *w3t* phyle, inspector of *k3*-priests Khnumhetep” with the tomb of Ptahshepses (Roth 1985: 93; Schäffer 1913: 24). If this assumption is correct, then the mastaba of Ptahshepses counts among few tombs (together with the tomb of the vizier Mereruka and queen Iput) that had their phyle of priests separated yet into divisions “implying a large, well-endowed mortuary cult” (Roth 1985: 94).

¹⁵² The later added inscriptions, especially the question of the precise time of their origins is a complex issue that cannot be dealt in detail in the present thesis, see the chapter The aim and structure of the thesis.

¹⁵³ Similar case of reoccurrence of priests that were part of the original layout of tomb decoration in apparently later additions is documented *e.g.* in the tomb of Ty (Auenmüller 2019: 21).

¹⁵⁴ The first in the list of enumerated officials is given official Nykhefetka dated the reing of Neferirkarea-Niuserre (Marriette 1885: 305–306; mastaba D 47; Roth 1985: 92).

¹⁵⁵ Phyle signs do occur within the hieratic inscriptions on the core walls of the mastaba, but they are connected to names of individual crews that were involved in the construction works of the mastaba (Verner 1992).

To proceed with describing the structure of Ptahshepses' vizieral court, another important group of dependents that appear in the tomb are individuals employed in the field of body care. Eight people are shown holding the titles of ordinary "manicurists" or "barbers", who, without a doubt, practiced their profession within the household of Ptahshepses. Another ten persons are labelled with the titles of "hairdresser or barber of the Great House". They were more likely employed in the sphere of body care of the king, as indicates the attribute *pr-ḥ* rather than the vizier. It is possible that the king provided services in the form of these specialists to the vizier or other high officials, as is attested within the craftsmen specialists with an epithet *pr-ḥ* or *nswt* (Eyre 1987: 5–47). But it seems that this is not the case, as the situation within Ptahshepses' household is more complex. Firstly, there is a large group of people employed in the sphere of body care depicted in the mastaba of Ptahshepses (14 individuals), which was not usual in the tombs of other officials.¹⁵⁶ It could be put down to the fact that this is the same professional sphere in which Ptahshepses began his career as a royal hairdresser (Verner 1994: 173–192).¹⁵⁷ Moreover, almost every dependent employed in the sphere of body care was endowed also with *k3*-priest title (either ordinary or a title of an inspector of priests), which indicates more intimate relation to the tomb owner. It seems likely that these persons were loyal favourite colleagues of the vizier. Within the same group of people, we can find the well-known brother manicurists of the Great House, Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep (Moussa – Altenmüller 1977). It can be presumed that there was a friendship or similar special relationship between them and the vizier for several reasons. Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep occupy prominent places in iconography in the vicinity of the tomb owner. They occur in several places in the tomb and both appear several times even in the hieratic inscriptions collected on the core masonry of the mastaba (Verner 1992). Moreover, the household of the vizier and these brother manicurists are linked together with the official named Ankhhaf.¹⁵⁸ And possibly three other persons with identical names appear in the iconography of both the tombs of Ptahshepses and

¹⁵⁶ An indirect evidence revealed that another two officials Niankhre and Nefer who were tagged with different titles (*shd pr-ḥ* and *smr*) in hieratic inscriptions of Ptahshepses mastaba (Verner 1992: Inscr. Nos. 3, 15, 60, 139, 89, 91, 93, 116, 200, 201, 299, 305, 404, 408), were highly likely also connected with the body care of the king/royal palace as attests the evidence from their own tombs (Nováková and Dulíková *forthcoming*).

¹⁵⁷ Although no title of the royal hairdresser preserved on the walls in the mastaba in situ, the evidence from the fragments of the original relief decoration of Ptahshepses' mastaba, the title *hꜣp ir(w)-šnꜥ* "director of hairdressers" or the partially preserved title *hꜣp ir(w)-[šnꜥ] pr-ḥ* "director of hairdressers of the Great House" indicates that the vizier Ptahshepses was apparently engaged in the sphere of body care of the king's entourage. Moreover, it supports also the evidence of other titles related to the sphere of the king's privacy: important title *iry nfr hꜣt* keeper of the headdress (Verner 1986: Inscr. Nos. 30, 41, 47, 51, 116, 117, 157, 162, 163, 181; Verner 1992: 184, 190), title *imy-rꜣ izwy n hꜣkrt nswt* overseer of the two chambers of the king's ornament (Verner 1986: Insc. No. 30;) or *hꜣy sꜣtꜣ n pr dwꜣt* (Vachala 2004: 34).

¹⁵⁸ A manicurist *ir-ḥnt* Ankhaf occurs twice in the tomb of Ptahshepses (Verner 1986: Pl. 31, Inscr. No. 70, Pl. 82, Inscr. No. 186) and in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep (Moussa and Altenmüller 1977: 32, 36).

Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep (Nováková and Dulková *forthcoming*).¹⁵⁹ In addition, the name of one of Khnumhetep's sons was Ptahshepses, which can be further evidence of close relationships and possible patron-client bonds between both families.

This remarkable bulk of individuals has to be enlarged by dependents of the same profession that are preserved in fragments. Ten titles connected to the sphere of body care can be detected that cover most of all titles denoting manicurists, hairdressers and barbers (Vachala 1992: 72 frg, E 1765, 82 frg. 305, 70, 72, 80, 216 frgs. E 1078+1079; E 1278; E 2483+2522; 74 frg. 138; 62, 204 frgs. C 244; 57 (A)+701; 16, frg. A 286; 56, 78, 204, frgs. A 508; J 1765; 57 (A)+701; 22, 70 frgs. C 560; E 673; E 691; 198 C 803+810+D 53+82+85).

The segment of organisation of labour is in the tomb represented by several individuals whose depictions show some of the tasks they carried out. First, it was the supervision of the workmen transporting the statues of the owner of the tomb. Two directors of the gang of workmen Weser and Ifu were depicted actively participating in the dragging by pouring water in front of the statue in a similar scene on the north and west walls of room 10 (Verner 1986: 107, 108, Inscr. Nos. 158, 165)(see Fig. 12). Another labour-related title was recorded in room 16 where an overseer of the crew Hetepi figured as a captain steering a boat (Verner 1986: 120, Inscr. No. 188).¹⁶⁰ Finally, two overseers of the workmen were portrayed among the already mentioned pairs who were carrying offering tables (Verner 1986: 69, 70, Inscr. Nos. 81, 83). Dependents employed in the department of labour are also represented in fragments coming from the original tomb decoration, namely in a fragment J 1841, PT-43/82 ab that accommodates a scene of a boat journey (Vachala 2004: 150–153). Thus, the “overseers and directors of the crews” depicted on the walls in situ are supplemented by an “inspector of the gang of the workmen” – a hierarchical level missing in the inscriptions recorded in situ. Furthermore, a “scribe of the crew” can be included in the same group (Vachala 2004: 114–145, frg. C 778 (1403)).

Another important group of dependents crucial for the running of the household were the household managers, namely the “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward” who stood at the head of the household servants.¹⁶¹ A total of four (alternatively seven) different “overseers

¹⁵⁹ The data is based on the information on Maatbase – a database created and assembled by Veronika Dulíková.

¹⁶⁰ Room 15 was the only storeroom in the southwest corner of the mastaba that was originally decorated, see Verner 1986: 102.

¹⁶¹ For the title “steward/overseer of the house/estate” see the case study in present thesis and also Novakova 2019: 100–103.

of the house” are identified in the iconography.¹⁶² One of them named Wetka is recorded among the important officials on the east wall of Room 10 (Verner 1986: pls. 51 and 52, Insc. No. 142)(see Fig. 11). He is presumably the chief “overseer of the house”, sitting in the close vicinity of the tomb owner and at the same time being involved in the funerary cult of the vizier since he held a *k3*-priest title. Moreover, an individual with the same name and title occurs on a relief fragment found in room 21 (Vachala 2004: 82, 83 frg. 120).¹⁶³ The other three “overseers of the house” that preserved in situ are depicted as commanders, each portrayed on one of three ships transporting various products from estates into the tomb (Verner 1986: pls. 3 and 4) (Fig. 13). They appear in the same register, which can indicate that they performed their function in parallel rather than succeeding each other in chronological order. They were probably administrators of the Ptahshepses’ estates, responsible for providing food from the estates to the vizieral household, because the title *hk3 hwt* “estate manager” is simultaneously attached to each of these three persons. Their number probably reflects the size of the vizieral household.

To compare the repertoire of scenes in the mastaba of Ptahshepses that are preserved in situ with tombs of some high officials from the second part of the Fifth Dynasty, *e.g.* the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (Brovarski 2001) or the tomb of Akhethetep (Davies 1901), we markedly lack the ‘daily-life’ scenes which make the picture of the household members more complex. There are only a few scenes with gardeners on the north wall of the chapel and scenes with fishermen, herdsman milking cows, that have survived in situ up to the present (Verner 1986: Pls. 31–36, Nos. 77–79; Pl. 39, ins. No. 101). As a result, some common professions absent are as follows: washers, farmers, or people who had to tend to the needs of Ptahshepses in the area of food and drink, *e.g.* “*wdpw*-servants”. Household servants in Ptahshepses’ household represented by several “butchers”, and the managerial functions by an “overseer of the linen” and an “overseer of the poultry” (Verner 1986: Pl. 12, ins. Nos. 23, 25; Pl. 1, ins. No. 5; Pl. 39, ins. No. 101; see also Tab. 8). However, the relief fragments assembled in and outside the mastaba clearly demonstrate that the original decoration was much more complex embracing fragments of scene in the papyrus thicket, animal slaughter, a boat trip, a transport of a statue, procession of officials, offering bearers and domains, a depiction of playing *snt*-game or exactly

¹⁶² Based on two fragments assembled and published by B. Vachala (2004: 64, 65 frg. C 444 (1283), 68, 69 frg. D 224 (1800), 74, 75, frg. H 110 (2577)), it is possible that Ptahshepses’s household consisted of another three overseers of the house, but due to the incomplete inscriptions on respective fragments, we cannot be sure, if they are identical with the four overseers of the house that preserved on the walls in situ.

¹⁶³ Another relief fragment E 1152 (2151 records the name Wetka, this time with title *zš* scribe and perhaps another unpreserved title in the front) (Vachala 2004: 72, 73). Since the title *imy-r3 pr* is quite frequently accompanied by a scribal title, he might be identical with the overseer of the house Wetka (Nováková 2019: 103).

pieces of the daily-life scenes consisting of agriculture, farming, harvest, fishing, or animal husbandry (Vachala 1995: 105–108; Vachala 2004: 188–190 frg. A 1145 (1647)). Worth noticing among other scenes is the depiction of a brewery and bakery (Vachala 1992: 109–112; Vachala and Faltings 1995: 281–286) or market scenes with such a detail concerning, for instance, the price of an oxen (Vachala 1987: 91–95 and Vachala 2004: 75–79). These depictions make an important complement to the overall picture of the Ptahshepses household. Due to it, the group of household servants is enlarged by potters of the endowment, ordinary brewers, and an inspector of the brewery together with an overseer of fowlers; an overseer of the storehouse and a director of the dining hall. Finally, among servants also a feminine element presents - a woman labelled as a wet nurse (*mm^ct*) preserved in a relief fragment A 974 (1582) (Verner 1986: 130–131, frg. 19 (1191b); Vachala 2004: 96–97).

The last group of individuals depicted in the tomb decoration to scrutinize can reflect the patron-client relationship. M. Campagno states that the large households depicted in some Old Kingdom tombs, such as those of Ti, or Niankhkhnun and Khnumhetep, probably included not only a kinship group, but also friends or dependents of different types likely related to the tomb owner through patronage ties (Campagno 2014: 13). In this category, Christopher Eyre includes craftsmen with titles related to the royal court (designated with “*pr-^c3*” or “*nswt*”) (Eyre 1987: 5–46).¹⁶⁴ Eyre stressed that they had higher status than ordinary workmen. He also pointed out that they were only available by allowance of the state. However, such a title is not attested in the iconography of Ptahshepses’ tomb, but we can ascribe it to the fragmentary preservation of the wall reliefs. Within the group of ordinary craftsmen, R. Drenkhahn ascribes a slightly higher status to sculptors, who are represented in the tomb of Ptahshepses (see tab. Structure of the household of vizier Ptahshepses) (Drenkhahn 1995: 331–343). According to her study, sculptors made up a distinct group among craftsmen, which she deduced from details in scenes of craft work, such as their designation as *mḥnk* “rewarded” and because their work was produced exclusively to furnish tombs. As such, they were employed only for the duration of their commission, not being permanent members of an official’s estate. The group of craftsmen can be found in the tomb of Ptahshepses in the scene depicting workshop activities on the east wall of room 4 (Verner 1986: 46–50) (Fig. 14). There are captured various craft professions starting from the above mentioned sculptors manufacturing and polishing the statue of the tomb owner headed by an “inspector of sculptors” together with an “inspectors of craftsmen”, then an ordinary “metal-worker” together with “metal workers of the funerary

¹⁶⁴ For instance, in the tomb of Akhethetep a craftsman is depicted with the title *mdh whrt 3t pr-^c3* “carpenter of the great shipyard/workshop of the Great House” (Davies 1901: 28–30).

estate” (*pr-dt*) and an overseer of the metal-workers working on an anvil to forge stone vessels (Verner 1986: 48–50, 52–54, Inscr. Nos. 52, 57, 58, 59, 64). Fragment of vessel manufacturing preserved also in fragments (Vachala 2004: 180–181, frg. 701). Worth mentioning is yet the fragment D 5+58+97 (1713+1729+1753) on which an accompanying line of inscription describes “craftsmen/stoneworkers of the palace” (*hm(w)t(y) h3styw (nw) stp-z3*) (Vachala (2004: 170–171)).¹⁶⁵ Vachala pointed out that such term (*hmwty h3swt*) appeared already on stone blocks in the pyramid complex of Mycerinus, but A. Reisner reads it as 'desert workshop' (Reisner 1931: 277, plan XII). B. Vachala interprets the fragment coming from Ptahshepses tomb as an evidence of the existence of a group of foreign craftsmen according to the depiction of individuals probably of Asiatic origins who worked at the court of king Niuserre (Vachala 2004: 170).

Hieratic inscriptions on the core masonry of Ptahshepses' mastaba

For reconstruction of the social network around Vizier Ptahshepses, we have a great opportunity to use another source preserved from the vizier's mastaba – the hieratic inscriptions recorded as builders' or masons' marks on its core walls (see Verner 1992). The core masonry of Ptahshepses mastaba bears more than 400 hieratic inscriptions, which can serve as complementary material for the study of the Ptahshepses' household. Such a high number of graffiti is unique even in the royal mortuary complexes (see, e.g., Borchardt 1909: 46–46, 53–54; Borchardt 1910: 90; Perring – Vyse 1842: 22–37; Verner *et al.* 2006: 187–204). It is the largest corpus of hieratic inscriptions that has so far been assembled in the Abusir necropolis (Vymazalová 2018: 185–216). This corpus contains a great variety of inscriptions: not only building and phyle signs, quarry marks, dates, and geometric marks, but also about 30 different personal names (Verner 1992: 186, tab. 5). In this type of inscription, a name alone, a name and a title, a name and a date, or all three – a name, a title, and a date, is recorded.

There are several possible interpretations of graffiti with a personal name/s. Some scholars consider graffiti with a name to be a donation the subordinate voluntarily provided or was obliged to provide to his master, in particular with regard to graffiti recorded on the walls of royal monuments, while personal names recorded in a non-royal tomb were regarded to be the designation of the tomb owner or persons closely associated with him (Borchardt 1907: 146;

¹⁶⁵ For the term *stp-z3* in the Old Kingdom, see Goelet 1986: 8–98.

Borchardt 1909: 46).¹⁶⁶ P. Andrásy suggests that the blocks of stones inscribed with personal names could have been leftover material collected from the Abusir necropolis and then used for the construction of the Ptahshepses' tomb (Andrásy 2009: 6–8). As the holder of the title “overseer of all works of the king”,¹⁶⁷ Ptahshepses could have used material originally intended to build tombs for his subordinates; or contrarily, these persons might have given the blocks of material as a sign of their respect for their master which seems to be most probable for the present author as it was usual also in a royal context (Vymazalová 2014: 278). In contrast, M. Verner stressed the connection of personal names with the supervision, inspection, and control mechanism of the construction works, in cases where several persons and a date are recorded (see Tab. 3) (Verner 1992: 185).

An important role in the interpretation of graffiti is played by the orientation of an inscription. In the collection of given graffiti, we find inscriptions on blocks in situ oriented upside-down indicating that the record was created before the block was installed in its place (see, for instance, Verner 1992: No. 43, 106 or 163). But we can only speculate whether the inscription was inscribed on the stone in a quarry, in a storeroom directly on the necropolis, or on some other occasion.

Ten persons appear in both the iconography and graffiti of the mastaba (see Tab. 7) Hieratic inscriptions from the mastaba of Ptahshepses recording personal names of individuals appearing in both sources – iconography and graffiti).¹⁶⁸ Similarly to reliefs, the frequency of titles connected with the sphere of body care is quite startling. Persons with such titles occur altogether on 53 blocks from a total of 141 graffiti bearing a personal name and a title.¹⁶⁹ In the rest of the collection, we encounter other functional titles, most of which also appear in the iconography of the tomb. But we do not find many titles related to the organisation of labour, as one would expect, provided that the graffiti should reflect the control mechanism during construction works (only two persons named Khenu and Hetepi, both with the title *imy-r3 izwt*

¹⁶⁶ G. Haeny noticed another aspect of graffiti. For the Fifth Dynasty onwards, he sees graffiti written in the royal mortuary complexes as a type of reciprocal relation – *quid pro quo* – the official expects as his gift compensation in the form of various privileges (Haeny 1969: 39).

¹⁶⁷ For the title “overseer of works”, see Krejčí 2000.

¹⁶⁸ With regard to the fragmentarily preserved wall decoration, we cannot exclude the possibility that the other 20 names recorded in the hieratic inscriptions once appeared in the original wall decoration.

¹⁶⁹ Neither in Ptahshepses mastaba nor in their tomb at Saqqara are the figures of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep attached with titles connected with the organisation of labour, which would support the interpretation of graffiti as a gift. But their father, Khabaukhufu, was employed as “director of crews” (Dulíková 2016b: ID number 2455). Taking into account the non-existence of formal education in Egyptian society, it is highly likely that his sons were experienced in their father’s work, and it makes both interpretations possible.

– “overseer of the crews” occur in graffiti).¹⁷⁰ Moreover, ranking titles such as *iry iht nswt* “property custodian of the king” and *smr wꜣty* “sole companion” are recorded, which is common within the royal complexes and tombs of members of the royal family (Borchardt 1909: 27, 46–47; Krejčí – Callender – Verner 2008: 145, 228; Verner 1992: 185), but are quite unusual in the context of non-royal tombs.

Given the high number of mentioned personal names, the few titles connected to the organisation of the works, and the quite large number of identical persons appearing in both the iconography and hieratic inscriptions, it makes the interpretation of graffiti as a token of respect of the loyal dependents for their master more plausible from above enumerated possibilities.

To conclude, the relief decoration of the mastaba, though only fragmentarily preserved, provides evidence of the nucleous family of Ptahshepses, the career of the vizier, and the chronology, outlining the pictorial map of the social web of relations of the vizier, altogether giving an insight in the size, importance, and structure of the vizieral court dated to the reign of Niuserre. Almost 80 persons identified with name and/or title were recorded in the iconography of the mastaba in situ together with other ca. 30 individuals preserved in fragments. In addition, 20 other different persons were inscribed in hieratic – more than a hundred people (around 130), who formed the social network of Ptahshepses. Unfortunately, the type of relations these persons were linked to the tomb owner is never expressed explicitly, and in both the iconography of the tomb and the hieratic inscriptions, such information is missing. Certain images show visible hierarchy within portrayed people, e.g. the position of physician Kaiwedja in the close vicinity to the tomb owner, following immediately his sons (Verner 1986, pls. 51, 52)(see Fig. 11), but more often the information is hidden. Besides, the problematic identification of individuals with same names and varying titles makes the situation more difficult (see Tab. Individuals occurring several times).

However, based on preserved titles, it can be stated that the identified persons in the wall decoration of the Ptahshepses’ mastaba form highly likely a mixture of different groups of individuals – they were the tomb owner’s servants (e.g. “overseer of the house”, “estate manager”, “butcher”, etc.), direct Ptahshepses’ subordinates (persons employed in the sphere of “organization of works” and “administration of the Treasury” or “justice and legal matters”, e.g. Duahep and his son. Similarly, also “inspectors of the Great House” and “director of the

¹⁷⁰ In the iconography of the mastaba, the evidence is also given by a certain Khenu, here with the titles *imy-r3 pr* and *hꜣk3-hwt* (see Tab. 7). Nevertheless, it is problematic to identify these two persons for certain. In graffiti, usually not all titles but the one most typical is recorded, if the title is written at all (Vymazalová 2019: 77).

‘h-palace’ have likely been in daily contact with the vizier.¹⁷¹ Some of his colleagues might have been even friends rather than subordinates (e.g., brother manicurists Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhetep), others could represent loyal clients of their master not bound with the Vizier Ptahshepses by professional ties or even distant relatives not designated by family relation tag. Some of the individuals mentioned above formed an essential part of the official’s estate (e.g. household servants, scribes), others were members of central administration (direct subordinates of the vizier) or people employed only for the duration of their commission (e.g. sculptors).

In contrast to the depiction of previous vizieral courts, a wide spectrum of various professions and a high number of their representatives can be detected in Ptahshepses tomb. Similar to the tomb of Seshathetep Hety, priests, scribes, household managers, and servants who were responsible for the food supply are present, but their numbers substantially differ. Most significantly, it is apparent in the case of scribes. While in the tomb of Seshathetep Hety only a single scribe appears, in the tomb of Ptahshepses twenty scribes are recorded (in total 30 scribes respectively, see tab. The structure of Ptahshepses household). Moreover, scribes connected to the central administration or directly the court newly occur.

The vizieral suite is now enlarged also by other professional segments – people employed in the central administration, in the organisation of labour or craftsmen. Special emphasis is then put on depicting individuals engaged in the sphere of body care, which distinguishes the entourage of the vizier Ptahshepses even from the vizieral suites of his successors in the office. This group of people (manicurists, hairdressers, or barbers with or without the *pr-ʕ3* attribute) comprises almost a fifth of all dependents captured in relief decoration and more than a third of individuals recorded in hieratic inscriptions.

Notable is also the appearance of different hierarchical levels in several professional segments. Multi-level structure of organisation is observable in case of scribes, craftsmen (three hierarchical levels of an ordinary worker, inspector and overseer), priests (an ordinary priest, under-supervisor and inspector) and labour forces (a director, inspector and overseer of crew).

Titles in iconography	Name	Titles in graffiti	No. of occurrences
<i>imy-r3 mrht pr ʕ3</i>	Niankhra	<i>shd pr-ʕ3; smr wʕty</i>	14x
<i>hʕk(w) pr-ʕ3, hm-k3; ir(w)-ʕnt pr-ʕ3, shd hm(w)-k3</i>	Khnumhetep	without a title	13x

¹⁷¹ According to van den Boorn 1988, the vizier was responsible for running the administration of the royal palace.

<i>shd hm(w)-k3, ir(w)-nt pr-3</i>	Niankhkhnum	<i>shd hm(w)-k3, ir(w)-nt pr-3</i>	10x
<i>imy-r3 izwt</i>	Hetepi	<i>imy-r3 izwt</i>	8x
<i>imy-r3 pr, hk3 hwt</i>	Khenu	<i>imy-r3 izwt</i>	5x
<i>shd hm(w)-k3, wcb nzwt, zš</i>	Nimenekhine pu	<i>z3b zš</i>	3x
<i>hry sš3, wcb nzwt, shd hm(w)-k3, z3b zš</i>	Duahep	<i>z3b zš</i>	3x
<i>shd hm(w)-k3; hm-k3; shd hmwt(yw)</i>	Memi	without a title	1x
<i>hc(w) pr-3, shd hm(w)-k3, wcb nzwt</i>	Ankhhaf/Nekh haf	without a title	1x
without a title	Ty: Kay	<i>hry tp nzwt, z3b</i>	1x

Tab. 7 Individuals appearing in tomb iconography and graffiti.

Ptahshepses	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>z3b zš</i> “juridical scribe”	7 (1)
	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	4
	<i>shd zšw (n) z3b</i> “inspector of juridical scribes”	(1)
	<i>imy-r3 zšw</i> “overseer of scribes”	2
	<i>shd htmt(yw)</i> “inspector of the seal-bearers”	2
	<i>zš šnwt</i> “scribe of the Granary”	2
	<i>zš pr-hd</i> “scribe of the Treasury”	1 (1)
	<i>shd zšw hry htm</i> “inspector of scribes of the registry”	1
	<i>zš md3(w)t</i> “document scribe”	1
	<i>htmty</i> “sealer”	(1)
<i>zš pr ct</i> “scribe of the house of the provisions”	(1)	
<i>zš izwt</i> “inspector of the gang of the workmen”	(1)	
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”	4 (3)
	<i>hk3 hwt</i> “estate manager”	3
	<i>hk3 ...</i> “ruler/chief/estate manager?”	(1)
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> “overseer of the linen”	1
Organisation of labour	<i>imy-r3 prw</i> “overseer of the workmen”	2
	<i>imy-r3 izwt</i> “overseer of crews”	1 (1)
	<i>hryp izwt</i> “director of the gang of the workmen”	2 (1)
	<i>shd izwt</i> “inspector of the gang of the workmen”	(1)
Specialists	<i>zwnw</i> “physician”	1
Craftmen	<i>ksty</i> “sculptor”	4

	<i>shđ kst(yw)</i> “inspector of sculptors”	1
	<i>imy-r3 hmt(yw)</i> “overseer of craftsmen”	1
	<i>shđ hmwt</i> “inspector of craftsmen”	1
	<i>hm(w)t(y)</i> “metal-worker”	(1)
Sphere of a body care	<i>ir šny pr-^č</i> “hairdresser of the Great House”	3 (1)
	<i>h^čkw pr-^č</i> “barber of the Great House”	3 (1)
	<i>h^čkw</i> “barber”	3 (2)
	<i>...h^čkw</i> “... barber”	1 (2)
	<i>ir-^čnt pr-^č</i> “manicurist of the Great House”	2
	<i>ir-^čnt</i> “manicurist”	1 (2)
	<i>shđ ir-^čnt</i> “inspector of manicurists”	(1)
	<i>iry mrht pr-^č</i> “keeper/custodian of the oil/salve(?) of the Great House”	1 (1)
Food supply	<i>sšm(ty)</i> “butcher”	1
	<i>sšm(ty) n pr-<u>dt</u></i> “butcher of the funerary estate”	1
	<i>imy-r3 šd</i> “overseer of the poultry”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn^č n hnkt</i> “overseer of the brewery?”	(1)
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn^č</i> “overseer of the storehouse/labour establishment/department of stores”	(1)
	<i>imy-r3 wh^č</i> “overseer of fowlers”	
	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	(1)
Household servants	<i>k3ny n pr-<u>dt</u></i> “gardener of the endowment”	1
	<i>k3ny</i> “gardener”	3 (2)
	<i>kdw n pr-<u>dt</u></i> “potter of the endowment”	(1/4)
	<i>iry ht prw</i> “brewer”	(2)
	<i>shđ hry(w)-wdb(w)</i> “inspector of masters of those in charge of reversions (of offerings)”	(1)
	<i>m^čnt</i> “nurse”	(1)
Priestly services	<i>hmw-k3</i> “funerary priest”	26 (10)
	<i>shđ hm(w)-k3</i> “inspector of funerary-priests”	16 (7)
	<i>hry-hbt</i> “lector priest”	(1)
	<i>imy-ht hm(w)-k3</i> “under-supervisor of funerary-priests”	(2)
	<i>w^čb nzwt</i> “wab priest of the king”	4 (2)
Titles connected with state/institution/king	<i>shđ pr-^č</i> “inspector of the Great House”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr-<u>hd</u></i> “overseer of the Treasury”	1
	<i>stp z3</i> “protector, court councillor”	2
	<i>shđ šmsw n(w) hnw</i> “inspector of the retainers of the Residence”	1
	<i>hry -sšt3</i> “one who is privy to the secret”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn^č nzwt</i> “overseer of the royal department of stores”	1
	<i>zš nzwt</i> “scribe of the king”	1

Tab. 8 The extended household of Ptahshepses

5.2.3 Seshemnefer II

The tomb of Seshemnefer II, its architecture and wall decoration

Most viziers dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty were buried in the great multi-chambered tombs (Ptahshepses, Rashepses, Ptahhetep, Senedjemib Inti, Akhethetep, etc.).¹⁷² The stone-built mastaba of the vizier Seshemnefer (G 5080)¹⁷³ situated in the Western cemetery in Giza necropolis does not correspond well with this trend; it resembles more a tomb of a higher official as defined by N. Kanawati (1977) (e.g. tomb of Wepemnefret Wep (G 8882) or Persen (LG 20)); in fact the modest architecture of the tomb reflects Seshemnefer II's later appointment to the vizieral post.¹⁷⁴

Seshemnefer II belongs to few Fifth-Dynasty viziers who chose for their burial place the Western cemetery in Giza. His decision was probably influenced by the fact that his father Seshemnefer I built his tomb G 4940 nearby (Kanawati 2001: 8–9, 51–65, pls. 18–24, 38–51; Porter and Moss 1974: 142–143, plan 16). The strong family relations to the place demonstrate also location of tombs of other Seshemnefer I's sons: Pehenptah (G 5280) and Rawer I (G 5270).

The tomb of Seshemnefer II with overall dimensions of 34.10m consists of a two niched offering room of Reisner type 4a, measuring 3.75 × 1.55m (Kanawati 2002: 54; Reisner 1942: 214–215), and an extended part to the southeast with a corridor chapel with two pillars and an extraordinary large serdab complex; and the substructure containing one shaft with the burial chamber of Seshemnefer (Porter and Moss 1974: 144).¹⁷⁵ Wall decoration in painted raised relief has been preserved on several parts of the tomb: on pillars in the corridor, on the entrance doorway, but predominantly in the offering room with the decoration originally occupying the

¹⁷² N. Alexanian in her recent study dealt with the importance of a personal social status as reflected in the particular tomb type and burial customs in general (Alexanian 2017: 7–8).

¹⁷³ For the architecture of the tomb see, Porter and Moss 1974: 146–147; Junker 1938: 9ff.

¹⁷⁴ Seshemnefer II appears to have been appointed the vizier at the end of his career, since the vizieral title does not appear neither in the iconography of his tomb nor recorded within the titles recorded on his sarcophagus. Nevertheless, the title *t3yty z3b n t3ty* is recorded on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of his son Seshemnefer III (G 5070). In contrast to previous studies, Gabi Pieke argues in her article that on the basis of the iconographical criteria in the lotus-offering scenes depicted in the tomb of Seshemnefer III, the individual receiving the lotus flower is the father of the tomb owner, not the tomb owner himself, see G. Pieke (2006: 272–274). This finding is supported by the analysis of particular family members appearing in the mentioned scene published in the article by H. Altenmüller, see Altenmüller 2008: 144–162. The status of the vizier is indirectly confirmed also by the red granite sarcophagus found in Seshemnefer II's burial chamber – only few non-royal dignitaries, mainly viziers, were privileged to use this material during the Fifth Dynasty, see V. Nováková (2019: 139–160).

¹⁷⁵ According to A. Reisner, mastaba of type 4b should contain two shafts instead of one (Reisner 1942: 215).

full chapel area of 5.8 sq.m.¹⁷⁶ Kanawati suggested the length of the decorated surface to be slightly less than 6 m (Kanawati 1977: 120). The rather limited space accommodates not negligible range of scenes, *e.g.* an inevitable offering table scene, a scene with the tomb owner viewing bringing offerings from his towns and estates, a scene depicting presenting of lotus flower, an animal slaughter and husbandry, a procession of offering bearers, domains and priests and also a scene with musicians and dancers (Kanawati 2002: 51–64, pls. 24–32, 58–65).

Seshemnefer's close family and extended household

Unlike the vizier Ptahshepses, the family background of the vizier Seshemnefer is well known to us. The relations among the members of Seshemnefer II's core family were recently minutely analysed by H. Altenmüller in his two articles on the ancestor cult of Seshemnefer II (Altenmüller 2008a: 17–29; Altenmüller 2008b: 17–28). Based on the textual evidence on the south and west walls of Seshemnefer II's tomb, it provides us with the evidence of his close family: a parental couple Seshemnefer I and Meretites, his wife Henutsen, brothers Raneferhetep, Pehenptah and Rawer I, perhaps also Satju (see below), and his offspring: Seshemnefer III, Meretites and Nedjetempet. Another two brothers of Seshemnefer II are detected according to wall inscriptions in the tomb of his father Seshemnefer I: Khufuankh and Ab together with four sisters Weretka, Neferhathor, Neferetkhakhufu and Sobekremetes.¹⁷⁷ The family tree in the third generation contains nine offspring of Seshemnefer III. In addition, the inscriptions in the tomb of Seshemnefer III revealed yet other descendents. Apart from the above-mentioned eldest son Seshemnefer III and daughters Meretites and Nedjetempet, another six children are identified: Neferseshemtah, Seshemnefer and Rawer II, Zuf and another Seshemnefer, and Hetepheres, forming altogether a large, branched family (Altenmüller 2008: 17–29, tabs on page 18, 20).

Returning back solely to the iconography of Seshemnefer II's tomb, ten members of the core family form the majority of identified individuals labelled by a name/title; in total 14 minor figures are attached by a family relation tag, several individuals appearing repeatedly. The rest of identified minor figures – 10 individuals - represent a network of Seshemnefer's social relations captured on the walls. Five of them were *hm-k3* priests depicted as offering bearers in a single (fourth) register on the north wall of the chapel (Kanawati 2002: 62–63, pls. 31, 65)

¹⁷⁶ While the west and south walls preserved almost intact, part of two registers on north and east walls were partly damaged (Kanawati 2002: pls. 62, 64).

¹⁷⁷ The wife of Seshemnefer I is denoted as Imendjefas in his tomb, but according to inscriptions in Seshemnefer II's tomb, his mother was Meretites (Altenmüller 2008a: 144–161).

(see Fig. 15). Other dependents were engaged in the sphere of food supply; they are to be found in a procession of offering bearers on the chapel's east wall (“overseer of the cattle stall”, “overseer of the herds” and “custodian of [..]”) (Kanawati 2002: 57–58, pls. 25b, 62)(Fig. 16).¹⁷⁸ In the same scene another two men are identified but only with their names.¹⁷⁹ The last labelled man – the only scribe in the tomb, named Setju, appears on the side panel of the northern false door of G 5080. However, this individual could be a member of Seshemnefer's family rather than a dependent of the vizier. Setju might be a brother of Seshemnefer as he appears among Seshemnefer's brothers Raneferhotep, Rawer and Pehenptah in the scene. The difference in titles, Setju is designated as an ordinary scribe, while the brothers all held more elaborate and higher titles (either the title *zš Ꞁ(w) n(w) nswt* “scribe of the king's documents” or even the title “*imy-r3 zš(w) n(w) Ꞁ(w) nswt*” which can be explained by Setju's possible young age when standing at the beginning of his career).

It is also possible that scribal employees of the vizier or the management of the household might have originally been represented on the north wall of the chapel where two figures are portrayed with attributes of scribal profession, unfortunately preserved without any titles (see Kanawati 2002: 62–63, pls. 31, 65). No person from the range of the organisation of labour, no craftsmen and even no official connected to central administration is recorded elsewhere in the tomb. In stark contrast to the household of the vizier Ptahshepses not a single person employed in the sphere of body care is recorded (see the household of the Vizier Ptahshepses).

The nearly contemporaneous dating of two vizierial extended households, i.e. that of the vizier Ptahshepses and the vizier Seshemnefer II., both dated to the reign of king Niuserre, allows us to draw a comparison in terms of the number of dependents and the diversity of their professions. To be accurate, it has to be mentioned that no two other Fifth Dynasty vizierial suites differ so substantially. However, already their tombs significantly differ. While the tomb of Seshemnefer II was originally quite modest mastaba with a north-south oriented chapel although extended to the east with another this time corridor chapel, and an extraordinarily large serdab complex to the south; the multichambered funerary monument of Ptahshepses belonging to the largest non-royal private tombs is much more complex. Moreover, the architectural extensions of Seshemnefer are, with the exception of large figures of the tomb owner portrayed on pillars, without any decoration. The wall decoration thus covered only the area of nearly 6

¹⁷⁸ Another man in the scene carrying a goose is labelled only with his name without a title.

¹⁷⁹ They are depicted on the east wall of the chapel, where the tomb owner is viewing the men bringing offerings, probably headed by one of Seshemnefer's brother Pehenptah, see N. Kanawati 2002: pl. 62.

sq. m. opposed to Ptahshepses tomb that incorporated the reliefs in six rooms covering the total area of 180 sq.m. Although the comparison of the state of preservation of wall decoration between these particular tombs indisputably speaks in favour of Seshemnefer whose chapel features two walls almost intact, with the other two also well-preserved). In contrast to it the estimation of preserved wall reliefs in Ptahshepses tombs was proposed around one sixth of the original. Even so, the enormous amount of the overall decorated surface of Ptahshepses' tomb prevails. Seshemnefer II with his limited wall area incorporated modest retinue only restricted to priests and servants who were in charge of animal husbandry. It lacks important segments of household and estate management, for instance overseer of the house, overseer of the linen or scribes responsible for the household incomes. In this respect, it resembles more an entourage of a less important official. Given the preserved evidence, it can be presumably ascribed to the fact that Seshemnefer II's tomb was designed and completed for an undoubtedly important official, but not for the head of the supreme state office. If the opposite was that case, the web of relations depicted in the tomb should have resembled much more the entourage of the vizier Ptahshepses with its complex composition containing officials employed in all main sectors of administration on the top of that covering different hierarchical levels. However, one can ask why the entourage of Seshemnefer II hardly bears any comparison with the entourages of his contemporaries Ty or Wepemnefret Wep (see Chapter 6) or the vizier Seshathetep Hety (Chapter 5). One would suppose that the late promotion to the vizirate of both mentioned viziers and their more modest tomb architecture would somehow pre-determine a similar form and quantity of the recorded household, but Seshemnefer still substantially lags behind it. The precise reasons for staying behind cannot be revealed. Only a personal choice and perhaps a press for time might be suggested.

In addition, despite the drawn distinction between the household of the vizier Ptahshepses and Seshemnefer II, there is a theoretical possibility that both extended households were linked by the same individual named Tjentyu. A dependent of this name appears in both the iconography of Ptahshepses' tomb and in the chapel reliefs of Seshemnefer II's tomb (Verner 1986: Pl. 27, Inscr. No. 64; Kanawati 2002: 53, 63, Pl. 65).¹⁸⁰ Although the titles associated with the individual in the two monuments rather differ, the rare occurrence of the name makes

¹⁸⁰ N. Kanawati wrongly transcribes the name as *Tn3* not *Tjentyu* (the last sign of the name is G4A (*tiu*) not G1 (*3*) sign) (Kanawati 2002: 53, 63). The name *Tntiw* is not listed in Ranke, only similar names *Tnty* (PN 1, 392.10) or *Tn3* (PN 1, 391.16).

the identification more probable, and we cannot entirely exclude this eventuality (Nováková and Dulíková *forthcoming*).¹⁸¹

Seshemnefer II.	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	5
Food supply	<i>imy-r3 mdt</i> “overseer of the cattle-stall”	1
	<i>imy-r3 t̄z(w)t</i> “overseer of herds”	1
	<i>iry</i> ... “custodian of...”	1
Only name, without a title		2

Tab. 9 The extended household of Seshemnefer

5.2.4 Senedjemib Inti

The tomb of Senedjemib Inti, its architecture and wall decoration

Senedjemib Inti belongs to a few viziers dated to the Fifth Dynasty who had built their tombs on Giza Plateau.¹⁸² By installing Senedjemib’s tomb G 2370 at the north-west corner of Khufu’s pyramid in the Cemetery an Echelon began the tradition of the family members to be buried at the eastern edge of the Western cemetery.¹⁸³ The reason for his decision still remains unclear. Since Inti’s titles indicate no connection to the cults of proprietors of Giza pyramids and no ancestors of Senedjemib Inti from Giza are as yet known (Brovarski 2001: 29), we lack a well-founded motive. Inti was appointed the vizier under Isesi and still held the office under Unas (Brovarski 2001: 23). Brovarski argues that one of the reasons for his choice can be that Djedkare Isezi did not establish officials’ cemetery around his pyramid (2001: n. 59). However, this deduction is rather questionable as testified by the recent discoveries undertaken by the Egyptian mission directed by Mohamed Megahed. The tomb of official Khuwy probably dated to the late Fifth Dynasty (Djedkare/Unas) was excavated to the northeast of Setibhor’s pyramid (the wife of king Djedkare) in the season 2019 (Megahed and Vymazalová 2020: 37–48). It can

¹⁸¹ While in the tomb of Seshemnefer II Tjentyu is portrayed among offering bearers designated as *hm-k3* “k3-priest”, in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses Tjentyu figures within the scene showing the pursuit of craftsmen labelled as *imy-r3 hmwt(yw)* “overseer of craftsmen” (Verner 1986: Pl. 27, Inscr. No. 64). The title k3-priest indicates that its holder Tjentyu served as k3-priest and could benefit from the funerary cult of the tomb owner, but it does not automatically exclude the possibility that he might work as “overseer of craftsmen” as well.

¹⁸² Only two viziers from the beginnings of the Fifth Dynasty – Sekhemkare (L 89) and Seshathetep Heti (G 5150) and then two viziers dated to the reign of Niuserre - Sekhemankh (G 7152) Seshemnefer II (G 5080) were buried in Giza.

¹⁸³ Inti’s two sons Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378) and Khnumenti (G 2374), as well as his grandsons Sabuptah Ibebi and Ptahshepses Impy (both G 2381) are interred in the same area.

be assumed that private tombs are presumably hidden in the sand to the north and north-east of Djedkare's pyramid complex (personal communication with Mohamed Megahed and Peter Jánosi). Thus, a more plausible explanation might be that the distinctiveness of Giza necropolis with the Great pyramid of king Khufu could play some role in Senedjemib's choice, or some personal ties that elude us (O'Connor 1974: 22).

The tomb of Senedjemib Inti belongs to large multi-chambered tombs that were in use from the reign of Niuserre onwards (similar to tomb of Ptahshepses, etc.). Its elaborate internal plan comprises of east-west offering room of Reisner type 7 (room IV), open court, pillared hall (room V) and other two subsidiary rooms (antechamber (room II) and another room (room III), together with two serdabs (Reisner 1942: fig. 3). Except for the pillared hall the walls in every room of the complex were decorated, including the burial chamber. Kanawati estimated the length of decorated surface to be almost 100 m (Kanawati 1977: 118). Since the tomb was constructed in local nummulitic limestone, a thin layer of plaster was required in order to provide a smooth surface for carving reliefs (Brovarski 2001: 20). The decoration was carved in raised relief in the stone with details cut in the layer of plaster. Unfortunately, on the places where the plaster was damaged, the details of the decoration are missing.¹⁸⁴

Inti's close family and extended household

The vizier Senedjemib Inti was the founder of the family of viziers and royal builders that covers the time span between the reign of king Isesi and Pepi II (Brovarski 2002: 23). Inti was a trusted vizier of the king, as testified by Isesi's letters recorded on the walls of Inti's tomb (Brovarski 2000: 89–110; Strudwick 2005: 315, 235, 240–241).¹⁸⁵ He was provided with the highest rank titles *iry p^ct* and *h3ty-^c* and headed all important departments of state administration which became regular for the Fifth-Dynasty vizier from the reign of king Neferirkarea - Niuserre (Brovarski 2001: 23–24; Strudwick 1985: 313): *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd*, *imy-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6*, *imy-r3 zšw ^c(n) nswt*, *imy-r3 šnwty*, *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*. A special emphasis among the members of Senedjemib's family is put on labour-related titles – six members of his family held the title *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt* “overseer of all royal works” (Strudwick 1985: 306), and even seven the title *mdḥ nswt ḳdwn prwy* “royal master builder of both houses”, namely Senedjemib Inti and Mehi, Senedjemib (son of Mehi), Khnumenty, Nekhebu, Ptahshepses Impy and Sabuptah Ibeby (Dulíková 2016: 129–130, fig. 5.32).

¹⁸⁴ Sunk relief was used only sporadically for reliefs on the portico and the facade of the tomb, e.g. for capturing Inti's biographical inscription (Brovarski 2000: 21, pl. 58ff).

¹⁸⁵ For the king's decrees in general, see Vymazalová 2019: 95–106.

Concerning Inti's family background, the father cannot be safely identified. Brovarski suggested several possibilities one of which seems the most likely: the male parent of Inti might have been the owner of Saqqara mastaba D 28 (Brovarski 2001: 24; Mariette 1889: 258–289; Porter and Moss 1974: 463) based on the infrequent titles *imy-r3 pr-ḥ3w*, “overseer of the armory,” and *imy-r3 prw msw nswt*, “overseer of the houses of the king's children” identical for both individuals. Given the evidence of Inti's relief decoration it reveals his wife Tjefy (Brovarski 2001: 24, pl. 16, figs. 25, 27, 67a, 68a) and four sons: Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378) and Khnumenty (G 2374) (both appointed viziers under Unas - Teti), probably also Fetek(ta) (G 5560?) (Brovarski 2001: 24–26, figs. 24, 43, pl. 25b–27a) and Niankhmin (Brovarski 2001: pl. 16; figs. 26, 27, 64), recorded together with several grandchildren.¹⁸⁶ Some of them built their tombs in the close vicinity: grandson Nekhebu ((G2374) and grand grandsons Ptahshepes Impy together with Sabuptah Ibebi (G 2381a) who occupied the vizierial office during the reign of Pepi II (Brovarski 2001: 3, 34; Reisner 1913: 58–59, figs. 11–16; Reisner 1942: 170 (G 2381c); Strudwick, 1985: 96–97 [62], 130–131[117], 302)).

Family members portrayed in the tomb of Inti are accompanied by 40 various dependents, 25 named and 10 unnamed (see Tab. 10). Their occupations are diversified to a large extent, ranging from scribal titles and titles of funerary priests on the one hand to particular household servants on the other. Far the most numerous group is formed by priests represented by 25 individuals. *k3*-priests are organized in the cult in a three-level system: ordinary priests, supervisors and inspectors of priests who are rather surprisingly the most numerous, more than ordinary priests. The main concentration of funerary priests occurs on the south wall of the chapel, where the offering table scene is customarily recorded (Brovarski 2001: 70–75, pl. 39)(Fig. 17). Three registers (fourth to sixth) accommodate ca. 40 offering bearers, sixteen of them are now tagged with *k3*-priest title (Brovarski 2001: pls. 38, 39, 41). But, as E. Brovarski stated, “perhaps each of the bearers was once identified by title and name but, as was the case with these details of dress, many of the captions have been lost as a result of the falling away of the plaster sizing which covered the sculptures” (Brovarski 2001: 74). According to E. Brovarski, certain hierarchy among the priests is visible especially in the sixth register where the row of offering-bearers was headed by inspectors of *k3*-priests followed by supervisors and ordinary priests (see Figs. 17 and 18). It can be assumed that a similar pattern was once applied to the remaining two registers, but we cannot be sure based on the fragmentary preserved names

¹⁸⁶ For the genealogical tree of the whole family, see E. Brovarski 2001: pl. 11.

and titles.¹⁸⁷ Worth noting are also two intentionally erased figures in the third and fourth registers (Brovarski 2001: 72, fig. 61)(see Fig. 18). The figures of the fourth priest in the third register and the first offering bearer in the following register were carefully chiselled out, only accompanied inscriptions being left undamaged. The first of them refers to the ritual of consecration of food offerings for the deceased *wdn ht*, only the title inspector of *k3*-priest was preserved unharmed in the second effaced example. No name was recorded in the original layout or seems to be effaced, which would explain an intentional damage made to a specific individual. The reason of the removal thus remains unclear. We might suggest that certain modifications to the original appearance of the figures were intended. It is better understandable in the first case since the *wdn ht* ritual used to be performed mainly by lector priests who essentially differ by their cloths and hairstyle, but what reasons influenced the latter case is difficult to say.¹⁸⁸

In contrast to the retinue of the vizier Ptahshepses, *k3*-priest title was the main and only title for the majority of priests (13 of 21). Five priests held also scribal titles and only one had an accompanied title associated with king's privacy. The last two priests were tagged with a remarkable title *sn-dt.f* "his brother of the funerary estate" (Brovarski 2001: 75, 87, fig. 61). This title is not attested to in the vizieral retinue of Inti's predecessors with the exception of the title *ms.f dt* of a similar nature in the tomb of Seshathetep Hety (see respective household in Chapter 5).

K3-priests were not the only group of priests occurring in Inti's tomb; they were supplemented by two lector priests. One of the individuals named Isesibaef belongs to several members of Inti's retinue who can be linked with the owner of the mastaba in the vicinity of Inti's tomb (Brovarski 2000: 85). He was the eldest son of the Hathor priestess and king's acquaintance Khenit in the Western field of Giza (Junker 1943: 102, 241–246; Porter and Moss 1974: 162). Interestingly, the lector priest Isesibaef appears two times in the tomb of Inti. In both scenes he is portrayed rather untypically not as a priest performing rituals while reading from a papyrus scroll, but as tomb owner's attendant in the fowling scene while strangling a goose and as an offering bearer in the offering table scene on the north wall of the offering room

¹⁸⁷ From the fifth register only second individual attached with the title supervisor of *k3*-priests was preserved in situ; in the fourth register the situation is even less obvious – if correctly reconstructed then several inspectors of *k3*-priests are followed by several ordinary priests, but suddenly one inspector of *k3*-priests appears as the seventh offering bearer accompanied by one ordinary priest, see E. Brovarski 2001: 74, pls. 38, 39, 41, fig. 61 (see Figs. 17, 18).

¹⁸⁸ A similar intentional erasure of the whole figure of a particular dependent can be found in the tomb of the vizier Ptahhetep I (see below).

(Brovarski 2001: 40, 77, 85, pls. 16, 17a; 46a–48; figs. 26, 27, 64; Lepsius 1913: Erg. 27)(Fig. 19). His prominent position within the dependents is indicated by his placement immediately behind Inti’s son Niankhmin in the first scene and also by heading the procession of offering bearers in the first register under the offering table in the latter scene (the name and title are very roughly carved). Moreover, his long triangular kilt and a beaded collar refer to a dress of a significant person. The same type of garments is worn by tomb owner’s son or important officials, e.g. juridical scribe and *k3*-priest Hemakhty in the same scene (Brovarski 2001: pl. 16, 17, fig. 27).

Unlike Isesibaef, the other lector priest occurs in an offering table scene on the west wall of the chapel (Brovarski 2001: 73–74, fig. 61). He is depicted as one of six priests performing rituals in the third register and clearly recognizable by the customary shoulder-length wig, ceremonial beard and a sash across his chest, and carries an unfolded papyrus roll. An accompanied inscription makes the identification indisputable: *šdt zš*, “reading the document aloud” and especially *s3ht in hry-ḥbt*, “spiritualizing by the lector priest” (Brovarski 2001: 73–74, fig. 61)(see Fig. 18).¹⁸⁹

Another significant group of dependents indisputably comprises scribal profession – several different titles can be divided into two main branches: scribes and judicial scribes accompanied by scribes connected to local/central administration or the court: an “overseer of the scribes of the field/field-scribes” or “scribe of the house of the god’s book” (Brovarski 2001: 75, 86, pl. 38; fig. 61). Closely tied with the management of Inti’s household was then *zš šnwt* a scribe of granary who is depicted sitting with scribal equipment while recording the content of silos that are drawn in front of him (Brovarski 2001: 67–68, fig. 56; Lepsius 1913: Erg. 27)(Fig. 20).¹⁹⁰

Several dependents were probably more important than others since they repeatedly appear on the walls in the tomb, or their depictions show distinctive features. For example, certain Neferseshemseshat with the title *z3b imy-r3 zšw*, “juridical overseer of scribes,” walks behind the palanquin of Inti on the south wall of the anteroom (Brovarski 2001: pl. 25a, fig. 40, 41). He is distinguished from other officials depicted on the wall by his garment, a calf-length kilt, which implies that he was a man of certain importance, which is testified by his title denoting him as the head of judicial branch of administration.

¹⁸⁹ For an analogy, see, e.g. W.K. Simpson 1978: figs. 22a, 28, pls. 7a, b or C.R. Williams 1932: pl. 9.

¹⁹⁰ For different types of grain e.g. *bšc* or *ḥ3*, see M. Bardoňová 2019.

The already mentioned individual Hemakhty with the title juridical scribe and inspector of funerary priests was also worth noting among the group of scribes. He is depicted two times: at first represented in the fowling scene in the portico of the tomb portrayed similar to Isesibaef and Neferseshemseshat with a calf-length kilt and a beaded collar (Brovarski 2001: 75, 80, pl. 16, 17, fig. 27)(see Fig. 19), for the second time he occurs as the third of four inspectors of *k3*-priests bearing offerings on the south wall of the offering room (Brovarski 2001: 75, pls. 38, 39, 41; fig. 61). This individual, probably as a capable and loyal man or even family friend, was selected to appear again this time in the tomb of Inti's son Senedjemib Mehi, where we have the opportunity to follow his career path. While in the tomb of Senedjemib Inty he occupied the position of an ordinary juridical scribe, in the tomb of his son he reached the peak in the administration of legal matters as the overseer of juridical scribes (Brovarski 2001: 40, 86 (19), 159 (3)).¹⁹¹

Tracing the potential net of relations, similar to the lector priest Isesibaef also certain Werty could be based on identical title “juridical scribe” identified with a person from the tomb situated close to that of Inti. E. Brovarski identifies Werty with the son of Senemu – the owner of the mastaba G 2032 (Brovarski 2001: 86; Poter and Moss 1974: 68).

Worth noting are also another two individuals with titles connected to palace administration, both with judicial association – *shd sr(w)* “inspector of *sr*-officials/magistrates” and *z3b smsw h3yt* “juridical elder of the court/audience hall”.¹⁹² *Z3b smsw h3yt* Tzesenptah appears presumably twice in the wall decoration; both his depictions are situated on the west wall of room II near the serdab slot, where he is portrayed as one who thurifies, holding a censer and an offering bearer holding a haunch (Brovarski 2001: 50, pls. 25b–27a; fig. 42, 43).¹⁹³ This individual might be identical with the owner of the Giza mastaba G 1038 - *z3b smsw h3yt* Tzesenptah (Brovarski 2001: 87). The other individual, this time connected to central administration *hrp sr(w)* “inspector of *sr(w)*-officials/magistrates” Nedjem, is depicted on the

¹⁹¹ The individual Hemakhty occurs in the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi three times: similar to the tomb of Senedjemib Inti he is depicted in the fowling scene in the portico accompanying Mehi in the marshes (Brovarski 2000: 159), then on the north and south wall of the anteroom heading the offering bearers and presenting commodities from the estates to the tomb owner.

¹⁹² For the titles, see Jones 2000: 966, 3564. *srw* belonged to the highest officials in the country, see e.g. Fischer 227, n. 413; Helck 1954: 83, n. 31, 145; Jones 2000: 813, 2974; Martin-Pardey 1994: 159, n. 20; Moreno-García 1997: 104, 106, n. 334.

west wall in room II in the scene with tomb owner walking in the marshland in the first upper register where he is portrayed viewing preparation of food (Brovarski 2001: 65, 86, fig. 42).

Concerning the household management portrayed on the walls, their appearance is limited to three individuals, one of them responsible for cattle farming, i.e. the “overseer of the cattle-stall”, the other for preparing food for the household, the “director of the dining hall (Brovarski 2001: 58, fig. 51, respectively 65, 75). The third dependent is depicted as *ndt* a “female miller”, but not identified with her name in the scene of grinding grain and sifting flour (Brovarski 2001: 68, fig. 57, pl. 33b).

Ordinary servants are recorded in a number of daily-life scenes carved in the tomb, e.g. butchers in animal slaughter scene (Brovarski 2001: figs. 40, 41), reapers in harvest scene (Brovarski 2001: fig. 53) or herdsmen looking after the cattle (Brovarski 2001: fig. 42, 50), nevertheless they are not identified by their titles or any function. The only herdsman identified by the title *mniw* can be found on the south wall of the portico in a marsh scene forcing the cattle to cross the water (Brovarski 2001: 38, pl. 16).

Concerning the department of organisation of labour, it is represented in the tomb mainly by individuals connected to ship’s navigation. We have the opportunity to see particular leading members of the ship’s crew who are listed in the vignette referring to the rare depiction of transport of a stone sarcophagus from Tura on the south wall of the portico.¹⁹⁴ They are “overseer of ten (men)” *imy-r3 mdw*, “ship’s lieutenant” *shd (wi3)*, “overseer of navigation” *imy-r3 sb3* and finally the “captain of the ship” *imy-r3 irty* (Brovarski 2001: 38, pls. 79–80, fig. 22–23). The two latter men seem to be the most important as indicated by their “sceptre-like batons”.¹⁹⁵

The group of identified craftsmen is represented in the tomb exclusively in the scenes of workshop activities on the north wall of room II. Five registers were originally occupied by craftsmen at work (Brovarski 2001: 52, pl. 27b; figs. 44, 45)(see Fig. 21), but the fourth register was badly damaged and the first was even entirely destroyed, which reduces the number of preserved individuals (Brovarski 2001: 52–53). Most frequently represented are carpenters (four individuals) who are depicted in the third register manufacturing wooden bed and board. In the fifth register they are accompanied by craftsmen drilling stone jars. There are an ordinary

¹⁹⁴ For the details of the analysed text depicting the transport of Inti’s sarcophagus (inscription D), see Brovarski 2001:108–110.

¹⁹⁵ For nautical terms, see G.H. Fischer 1978: 16–17; D. Jones 1988: 58 [41] and more recently also Roth 1991: 46–51.

“stone-worker” and also a senior craftsman “overseer of sculptors” facing each other while using a shaft- or tubular drill. A certain hierarchy might be expressed in a different attitude of the two men and in using of different tools. While the ordinary worker is standing and manufacturing the vessel with a shaft-drill, his superordinate is sitting and working with a more elaborate tool – a tubular drill. None of these craftsmen is identified by his name, they are only anonymous representatives of their profession.

The only individual employed in the sphere of the body care and privacy was “director of necklace-stringers” Mam who at the same time participated in the funerary cult of Inti as “supervisor of funerary priests”. This is demonstrated by his depiction, as he is portrayed as a priest performing funerary rites in the offering table scene on the south wall of the offering room (Brovarski 2001: 73, 86). His foremost place among other officiants figured in the scene refers to his important position within Inti’s suite.

Altogether, it can be stated that the extended household of Inti was quite complex in both the number of dependents and the variety of recorded professions. It consisted of a high number of priests and scribes as was a common practice visible in the iconography of the vizieral tombs dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. The priestly profession was represented not only by *k3*-priests of different hierarchy, involving inspectors, under-supervisors and ordinary priests, but also by a lector priest who occupied an important place among other dependents of Inti’s retinue. When the funerary realm is concerned, it needs to be mentioned yet the occurrence of a distinctive group of *sn-dt.f* individuals who also appear in the tomb.

Apart from priests and scribes, there appeared individuals who were responsible for running the household. The managers do not consist of the overseer of the house or overseer of the linen, but directly of managers who were in charge of the food supply. Household servants are not entirely missing; they are frequently represented, but not personalized by titles or names.

Similar to the vizier Ptahshepses, the suite of Inti consists of officials employed in the central administration, or dependents occupied within the sphere of body care – all holding an important place in the hierarchy of Inti’s retinue. Dependents employed in the organisation of labour are primarily connected to ship’s navigation as particular crew members. Various craftsmen also appear, but they are identified by their specialization, tagged as sculptors or carpenters, but without particular names attached. On the contrary, no specialist is present.

Possible patronage ties between the vizier and some owners of the tombs in the surrounding can be traced. It concerns two educated men Wert and Tzesenptah, both engaged in the judiciary or the lector priest Isesibaef. Certain individuals appear in the tombs of both

father and son Senedjemib Inti and Mehi, for instance Hemakhty who stood at the head of juridical scribes. Such truth-worthy individuals held an important place within the retinue of both viziers and figure in the iconography for several times. A similar situation is noticeable also in another vizieral family under the scrutiny – that of Ptahheteps’ (see below).

Senedjemib Inti	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>z3b zš</i> “juridical scribe”	3
	<i>z3b imy-r3 zš(w)</i> “juridical overseer of scribes”	1
	<i>imy-r3 zšw 3h(wt)</i> “overseer of the scribes of the field/field-scribes”	1
	<i>zš pr-md3t ntr</i> “scribe of the house of the gods”	2
	<i>imy-r3 zšw</i> “overseer of scribes”	2
	<i>zš ° nswt n hft-hr</i> “scribe of the king in the presence”	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	6
	<i>shd hm-k3</i> “inspector of k3-servants”	12
	<i>imy-ht hm-k3</i> “supervisor of k3-servants”	6
	<i>hry-hbt</i> - lector priest	1
Food supply	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	1
	<i>imy-r3 mdt</i> “overseer of the cattle-stall”	1
	<i>mniw</i> “herdsman”	1
	<i>ndt</i> “female miller”	1
Body care	<i>hrp stiw nbw</i> “director of necklace-stringers”	1
Labour-related titles	<i>imy-r3 mdw</i> “overseer of ten (men)”	1
	<i>shd [wi3]</i> “ship’s lietenant”	1
	<i>imy-r3 sb3</i> “overseer of navigation”	1
	<i>imy-r3 irty</i> “captain”	1
Craftsmen	<i>fnh</i> “carpenter”	3
	<i>hm(ty)</i> “stone-worker”	1
	<i>imy-r3 kstiw</i> “overseer of sculptors”	1
	<i>hrp/shd srw</i> “inspector of sr-officials/magistrates”	1
Titles connected to state administration/king/palace	<i>z3b smsw h3yt</i> “juridical elder of the court/audience hall”	1
Other dependents	<i>sn-dt.f</i> “his brother of the funerary estate”	2

Tab. 10 The extended household of Senedjemib Inti

5.2.5 Ptahhetep

The tomb of Ptahhetep, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Ptahhetep built his tomb to the west of the Step pyramid (D 62) (Mariette 1889: 351–56, Murray 1905: 11–18, pls. 7–17 (denoted as Ptahhetep II); Hassan 1975: 25–61; Porter and Moss 1981: 596–597) where also his son Akhethetep (tomb D 64) and grandson Ptahhetep Tjefi II (unnumbered tomb) were interred in a close vicinity. His own mastaba with 11 rooms belongs among the largest and architecturally complicated non-royal tombs dated to the reign of Djedkare Isesi (Strudwick 1985: 87–88 [48]).¹⁹⁶ Some of the rooms are undecorated, namely room I, II, IV, VII and room VI, where the only evidence of decoration comes from the pillars (Hassan 1975: 25–62). Six other rooms are decorated in a high quality of the relief covering the area of 209 sq.m (Kanawati 1977: 94). The richest scenes with dependents are especially in room X – the offering chapel with all the walls decorated (Hassan 1975: 41–44). It comprises a wide range of scenes, *e.g.* bringing of offerings, agriculture scenes including harvest or clap-net scene, marsh scenes or a scene of animal slaughter.

Ptahhetep's close family and extended household

Vizier Ptahhetep was a founder of a vizieral family – the father-son-grandson, all were promoted to vizieral office, ranging from the reign of Djedkare Isesi to Teti.¹⁹⁷ Based on the iconography of the tomb Ptahhetep's close family is rather hard to reveal. Neither the wife nor other family members of Ptahhetep are attested to in the decoration of the tomb except for the son Akhethetep (Mourad 2015: 12). And, as Strudwick pointed out (Strudwick 1985: 87), the affiliation is not expressed explicitly, but based on the joint tomb complex, high craftsmanship of relief decoration and the identical titles *hry tp nswt* and *mdw rhyt* held by Akhethetep, the son of Ptahhetep in the tomb D 62 and the vizier Akhethetep in his own tomb (D 64) (Strudwick 1985: 87).

In contrast to this scarce evidence of Ptahhetep's close family, the extended household of Ptahhetep is numerous, consisting of almost forty dependents. Moreover, preserved titles of the individuals encompass 17 different professions. This diversification of titles is strengthened by the fact that 15 individuals of all depicted are identified only by their names.¹⁹⁸ The rest of identified attendants are identified by one or more titles.

¹⁹⁶ The total area of the mastaba accounts for 655 sq. m (Hassan 1975: 25–62).

¹⁹⁷ W. Helck dates the vizier to the reign of Djedkare Isesi (Helck 1954: 138); K. Baer places him in the period VC middle Djedkare to middle Wenis (Baer 1960: 74–75 (160)); N. Strudwick dates the vizier to later reign of Djedkare (Strudwick 1985: 87–88).

¹⁹⁸ The majority of dependents that are identified only by their names are represented by offering-bearers recorded on the south wall of the chapel (Mourad 2015: 31–32, pls. 4–63, 88, 89), but it is worth noticing that only the lower parts of their figures were preserved until now and it can be thus assumed that at least some of them might have been attached also by the title, see Mourad 2015: pl. 49a.

Most frequently represented are customarily attendants employed in priestly services (12 individuals), but almost equally numerous is a group of scribes (10 individuals) (see Tab. 12). For the first time within the chosen vizieral retinue the titles directly accent a system of phyle organisation.¹⁹⁹ It is demonstrated by frequent occurrence of *zš zš* “scribes of the Phyle” and also by two dependents who bear the title associated with a particular phyle. The first individual is Shepesuptah, “the Director of the *k3*-Servants of the Phyle (of priests) of the West”; only an attribute “of the phyle (of priests) of the West” was preserved from the title of the other individual (Hassan 1975: 32).

In the iconography of Ptahhetep’s tomb, priests are even sorted according to their hierarchy, as indicated by a row of text running above the offering bearers in the second register on the north wall of the offering room (Hassan 1975: 5, pls. XXXIX B–XLIII A, B; Mourad 2015: 28–29, pls. 25–37, 85–86)(Figs. 22a, b). The line of text begins above the third offering bearer by enumerating inspectors of *k3*-priests who are followed by under-supervisors of *k3*-servants and then by scribes of the Phyles of *k3*-priests (Hassan 1975: pls. XL–XLII)(see Fig. 23). It seems probable that the list of priests originally continued above the next three offering bearers to the end of the register, but the text was damaged so the continuation remains hidden to us.²⁰⁰ Concerning the beginning of the text it might have included also the first two individuals, but it cannot be proved because the upper part of the register was damaged as well. According to presumptive levels of hierarchy one would expect overseers of *k3*-priests (*imy-r3 hm-k3*) written at the first place in the text, but it does not correspond to titles that were preserved in front of the first two individuals. As the first stands Ptahhetep’s son Akhethetep followed by a “juridical official and inspector of *k3*-priests” Nuhekau (Hassan 1975: 52, pl. XL), so the highest official among the recorded priests seems to be their inspector, which confirms the absence of any overseer of *k3*-priests in the whole tomb decoration. The row of offering-bearers then continues with three inspectors of *k3*-priests followed, rather surprisingly, directly by two “scribes of phyles of *k3*-priests” leaving out the “under-supervisors of *k3*-servants” (*imy-ht k3*) who are again completely missing in the whole tomb. The last two individuals are no more designated as priests, they hold the titles “overseer of *sr*-officials” (*imy-r3 srw*) and “scribe of

¹⁹⁹ For the detailed information about Old Kingdom phyle organisation see, A.M. Roth 1991.

²⁰⁰ An interesting feature in the register is that the third figure was completely chiselled out, only the upper part being again smoothed as if prepared for a re-carving (Hassan 1975: pls. XL – XLI; Mourad 2015: 28, pl. 28a). It is of course questionable why the whole figure must have been erased, and not only later modified when, for example, the originally arranged inscription appeared to be not properly arranged, and required reparation as in the case of the title *z3b zš* in front of the individual Nisuked or Iydjefa on the same wall (Mourad 2015, 28; pls. 27a, 29b and 42).

the house of provisions” (*zš pr-3kt*).²⁰¹ It seems that some inscriptions at the right end of the register were later adjusted: at least the titles of Iydjefa and Niutiū and perhaps also Nisuked, and it can be assumed that the title *zš n z3* was originally situated above the figure of Iydjefa. This all indicates that the original intention was modified, but the reason for that is unclear. On the top of that the third figure in the row of offering-bearers was completely chiselled out; only the upper part was again smoothed as if prepared for a re-carving (see Fig. 22b). Only the title “inspector of *k3*-priests” remains above the figure and probably a *zš* sign is readable on the erased part of the inscription (Hassan 1975: pls. XL–XLI; Mourad 2015: 28, pl. 28a). It is not obvious why the whole figure was erased, and not only later modified when, for example, the originally outlined inscription appeared to be not properly arranged or required reparation as probably happened in the case of the title *z3b zš* in front of the individual Nisuked or similarly in the case of Iydjefa on the same wall (Hassan 1975: 53, pl. XLII; Mourad 2015, 28; pls. 27a, 29b and 42). We can only surmise that certain personal features identified a person who fell into disgrace.

Concerning offering bearers in the register under discussion, we have to mention the large number of recorded scribal titles; all eight dependents were tagged by some of these titles, even the erased individual and Iydjefa. The most important of them – the four “inspectors of *k3*-priests” - held scribal titles associated with legal department (either juridical inspectors of scribes or juridical *‘d-mr* officials). The only two other scribes in the tomb are at the same time also priests: first is the already mentioned Shepesuptah and “*k3*-priest and scribe of the phyle” Ptahhetep who is depicted as the first offering bearer on the east doorway thickness of the tomb entrance (Hassan 1975: 56; Murray 1905: pl. 14).

The occurrence of *‘d-mr* officials is not frequent within the iconography of high officials’ tombs. It denotes the segment of local administrators or district/border officials (de Cenival 1975: 64; Goedicke 1966: 20–21; Fischer 1959: 265; Helck 1954: 74, 79–82, 114, 119, 129; Helck 1975: 596–597; Helck 1987: 191ff, 244, (1), 266(19); Jones 2000: 354, 1315); according to E. Martin-Pardey it concerns most of all administrators of royal domains (Martin-Pardey 1976: 43ff, 114). W. Helck pointed out the connection of this title with vizier’s *hwt wrt* office (legal department) and title *‘d-mr n z3b* was during the reign of king Niuserre incorporated even in vizier’s titular (Helck 1954: 82). Of certain importance is then the biography of the

²⁰¹ For title *imy-r3 sr(w)* see, D. Jones 2000: 229, 849; for the title *zš pr-3kt*, see D. Jones 2000: 848, 3097, P. Piacentini 2002: 658, Pl. 151. According to R. Hannig 2003: 635, *pr-3kt* is closely related to food offerings including fruits and sweets.

vizier Hezi from the Sixth Dynasty in which his carrier path from the juridical scribe *zš n z3b* to a higher title *šḥd zšw n z3b* and finally *ꜥd-mr n z3b* and *ḥry-tp nswt* was outlined.²⁰² Similarly, Kagemni mentions in his biography his *ꜥd-mr n z3b* title and his work in the institution of *ḥwt wrt*.²⁰³

On analysing priestly titles in the tomb, one's attention is attracted by the title referring to a goddess Sakhmet (Hassan 1975: pls. XXXVII–XXXIX). It accompanies an inspector of physicians Wennefer.²⁰⁴ He is supervising the scene of butchers making sure that the meat they are cutting off is sound (Hassan 1975: 47, pls. XXXVII–XXXIX; Mourad 2015: pl.72)(Fig. 24). Jonckheere in his study on ancient Egyptian physicians argues that the role of *swnw* within such scenes especially in connection with the accompanied title of *wꜥb* priest of Sakhmet refer to *swnw* as a kind of surgeon, who oversees a ritual supervision of slaughter. Nevertheless, it is difficult to confirm this assumption, since no evidence of surgical interventions is attested from ancient Egypt (Strouhal, Vachala and Vymazalová 2010).

Similar to the physician Wenennefer who appears in the neighbouring tomb of Ptahhetep's son Akhethetep (Davies 1901; Ziegler 1993; Ziegler 2007), the social network of Ptahhetep overlaps to certain degree with that of his son. Both tombs feature several identical individuals; apart from physician Wenennefer, it is “director of the *k3*-Servants of the Phyle (of priests) of the West and juridical scribe” Shepesuptah; and official Kaihep employed in the sphere of granaries (Hassan 1975: pls. XXVbis, XXVIA; Davies 1921: pls. 18, 26).

This is not the case with the management of Ptahhetep's household; each household of the father and the son was headed by different individuals. At the head of the household in Ptahhetep's tomb stood only one “overseer of the house”, no other managers as, *e.g.*, “overseer of linen” or “director of the dining hall” were preserved. The depiction of the overseer of the house in the tomb does not anyhow reflect the responsibilities of his professions, since he was recorded as an offering-bearer, yet his depiction in the scene - heading the procession of offering bearers - reveals a prominent position among other dependents (Mourad 2015: 33, pls. 64–65, 90).

²⁰² For the hierarchy of the title see, W. Helck 1954: 82; de F. Cenival 1975: 64. The biographical inscription of Hezi was studied by D.P. Silverman 2000: 9; the tomb was published by N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq 1999.

²⁰³ The biographical inscription of Kagemni was published by E. Edel 1953: 210–226 or N. Strudwick 2005: 285–287.

²⁰⁴ For physicians in Ancient Egypt in general see, P. Ghalioungui 1983; Jonckheere 1958; for the social standing of physicians, see O.A. Jarman and G. L. Mikirtichan 2015, 48–61; for recently found tombs of physicians at Abusir necropolis, see M. Bárta 2015: 15–27; P. Jánosi 2017: 27–36.

Household servants, especially those connected to the food supply for the household were present in the iconography. One can notice three butchers who figure in the scene of animal slaughter, two fowlers of the estate in a clap-net scene, and an individual depicted by his function of *šd-3pd* “fattener of fowl”; all except the butchers were identified by their names (Hassan 1975: 46, 56, pl. 38; Mourad 2015: 36, pls. 66–74, 91; Murray 1905: pl. 40). By contrast, the butchers are depicted as anonymous holders of their occupations, only accompanied inscriptions describing the performed action (Mourad 2015: 36). The group of household servants is complemented by another man described as (*rhty*) depicted with two pieces of cloth in each hand indicating his occupation (Hassan 1975: 33, pl. XXV bis).

Concerning craftsmen, no scene depicting workshop activities has been preserved in the tomb of Ptahhetep, even though an individual with the title elder of the dockyard/workshop was preserved recorded as an offering bearer on the south doorway leading to the offering chapel (Mourad 2015: pl. XXXIV C).

Similar to other Fifth-Dynasty vizierial extended households (*e.g.* that of Ptahshepses or Senedjemib Inti) the tomb of Ptahhetep features depiction of individuals bearing titles connected to central administration, the court or the king. They are officials with the title of an overseer of the Palace or an official managing the *sr*-officials (Hassan 1975: 53, Pl. XLII).²⁰⁵ The last officiant who belongs to central administration was Kai with the title associated with the granary (Hassan 1975: 29). Although the title is not completely preserved, it can be assumed that he was a direct subordinate of the vizier who headed the supreme office in the administration of granary as *imy-r3 šnwtj*.²⁰⁶

After describing the structure of Ptahhetep’s extended household, worth mentioning is also multiple appearance of several individuals on the walls in the tomb. Among these persons, certain Ptahhetep appears four times, even though it is questionable whether the same individual can be identified for sure in all four occurrences since the attached titles rather differ.²⁰⁷

An official named Kaihep then succeeds in a number of occurrences. His title consisting of a component “granary” was preserved only in one case, otherwise no evidence of a title is attested. Another two individuals appear in the tomb decoration two times. First of them, a

²⁰⁵ The title “overseer of the Palace” is scrutinized in the article by M. Bárta 1999, 1–20. The title *imy-r3 sr(w)* was probably rewritten and a consonant *r* is still missing, see Hassan 1975: pl. XLII; Mourad 2015: pl. 29b.

²⁰⁶ For the title overseer of two granaries, see Strudwick 1985: 251–276.

²⁰⁷ Each time the dependent Ptahhetep appears on the walls in the tomb, the titles differ. In the first case the titles depicted are: *šhd hmw-k3, z3b zš*; then only *hmw-k3*; subsequently *hmw-k3, zš z3*; and for the last time an individual Ptahhetep is identified only by his name, see S. Hassan 1975: pls. XLI, XXV bis, XXXVII–XXXIX.

person named Teti, held the titles *shd hmw-k3* and *z3b shd zsw* (Hassan 1975: pl. XLI), while elsewhere the title *imy-r3 h* is attached to his name (Hassan 1975: pls. XXV, XXVI). The positive identification of these individuals cannot be disproved nor confirmed on the ground of such titles. Even more complicated identification is in the case of certain Seshem, who figures on the walls two times but in both cases no titles are recorded.

Overall, the structure of Ptahhetep's extended household consists of dependents holding titles of all main segments of professions that customarily appear in the iconography of elite tombs. Apart from priests and scribes, both types of titles were held by the same individuals this time; also household managers and servants are recorded, evenly accompanied by craftsmen, specialists and officials employed in state services. Individuals engaged in the sphere of body care and labour department form the only missing segments. Nevertheless, what attracts the attention in the textual evidence recorded on the walls is the frequent reference to phyle organisation of the funerary cult as well as the illustrative depiction of the priesthood arranged in a line in descending order. The diversity in titles is testified also by a link to local administration as well as an association to a particular goddess. The most important members of Ptahhetep's suite were then several scribes Ptahhetep, Iteti and Nukekau who were at the same time endowed with *k3*-priest titles, as well as family doctor Wenennefer. The "overseer of the house/estate" who occupied a prominent place within one of the scenes completes the list.

Ptahhetep	Titles	No.of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>z3b zš</i> "juridical scribe"	2
	<i>z3b shd zš(w)</i> "juridical inspector of scribes"	2
	<i>zš z3</i> "scribe of the Phyle"	3
	<i>zš pr kt</i> "scribe of the house of the provisions"	1
	<i>z3b d-mr</i> "juridical d-mr official"	2
	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	5
	<i>shd hm-k3</i> "inspector of k3-servants"	4
	<i>w^cb shmt</i> "wab priest of the goddess Sakhmet"	1
	<i>hrp hmw-k3 z3 imy-wrt</i> "The Director of the Ka-Servants of the Phyle (of priests) of the West"	1
	<i>...z3 imy-wrt..</i> of the Phyle (of Priests) of the West	1
Specialists	<i>shd sinw</i> (Inspector of Physicians)	1
	<i>sinw</i> Physician	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> overseer of the house/estate	1

Food supply	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	1
	<i>šd-3pd</i> “fattener of fowl” (offering bearer)	1
	<i>wh^cw nw pr-dt</i> fowlers of the estate	1
	<i>mnḥ</i> butcher	3
Household servants	<i>rhtj</i> washerman	1
Craftsmen	<i>smsw whrt</i> elder of the dockyard/workshop	1
Titles connected to state administration/king/palace	<i>imy-r3 srw</i> “overseer of <i>sr</i> -officials/magistrates”	1
	<i>imy-r3 ḥ</i> “overseer of the Palace”	1
	<i>...šnwt...</i> (of the Granary)	1

Tab. 12 The extended household of Ptahhetep

5.2.6 Akhethetep

The tomb of Akhethetep, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Akhethotep built his tomb D 64 in a close vicinity to his father’s tomb (D 62) forming thus a joint tomb complex.²⁰⁸ Like most other vizieral tombs of the second part of the Fifth Dynasty it belongs to multi-chambered tombs with an entrance corridor, a pillared courtyard, east-west oriented offering room with a serdab and storerooms, containing also a separate part to the west built for the eldest son of Akhethetep – Ptahhetep II.²⁰⁹ Two of these chambers intended for the cult of Akhethetep were decorated: the entrance corridor and the chapel with the length of the decorated surface consisting of 144 sq.m (Kanawati 1977: 82). The main stress was laid on fine wall reliefs of the latter chamber, while the decoration in the entrance corridor did not reach the high quality and some parts of it were preserved unfinished and were executed slightly unevenly – some parts are well executed, others stayed only in drafts designed in ink with traces of the original bold lines (Davies 1905: 9, 13, pls. IV–IX). Concerning themes and motives of wall decoration, the chapel accommodated traditional scenes, e.g. the tomb owner viewing presenting of offerings and gifts from the funerary domains or animal slaughter scenes, while in the entrance corridor appear scenes depicting a boat trip, a funerary procession with the deceased, but also agriculture themes or depictions of workshop activities (Davies 1905: 10–18, pls. IV–XXXVIII)

²⁰⁸For the detailed study of the tomb, see N. de G. Davies 1901; B. Porter and R. Moss 1974: 599–600.

²⁰⁹For the plan of the tomb, see N. de G. Davies 1905: pl. I and Y. Harpur 2008: 17; the total tomb area numbers almost 740 sq. m. (Kanawati 1977: 82).

Akhethetep's close family and extended household

The vizier Akhethetep is dated by most scholars to the reign of Unas (Strudwick 1985: 55–56) or slightly later, as, e.g., Baer dates the tomb to the later reign of Unas to early reign of Teti (period VD) (Baer 1960: 53 (13)). He was in charge of three of five main areas of central administration, holding the titles *imy-r3 zš ʿ nswt*, *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd* and *imy-r3 šnwtj*, but lacking other two segments: the legal matters *imy-r3 ḥwt wrt 6* and royal works *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*. Akhethetep was among the first viziers who bore the newer type of priesthood – he was an “inspector of *ḥm-ntr* priests” of the pyramids and pyramid towns of kings Niuserre, Menkauhor and Djedkare (Strudwick 1985: 55–56(2), 308, tab 29 and especially 317).

The nucleus family of Akhethetep consists only of two sons, Ptahhetep II Tjefy and Tjefw Ptahhetep, as is attested by the reliefs in the tomb. Similar to his father Ptahhetep, the name of his wife is not only unknown but not even a single figure of her has been preserved on the walls (Davies 1905). By contrast, on the walls a high number of minor figures not linked with family relation to Akhethetep (nearly 70) appear in the tomb attached with 23 different titles, while 18 of them bear no titles (Tab. 12). Concerning the structure of Akhethetep's suite, the most represented are scribes and priests similar to Ptahhetep's retinue but their numbers are more than doubled in Akhethetep's case - 25 scribes and 25 priests. A considerable difference is apparent between the preserved hierarchical levels within the priestly titles. While Ptahhetep's tomb features, apart from ordinary *k3*-priests, also inspectors, both in quite the same numbers, in the iconography of Akhethetep's tomb prevail mainly ordinary *k3*-priests accompanied only by several “under-supervisors of *k3*-priests”. Titles referring to phyle organization are missing, although they are accentuated in the scribal profession – but only a single “scribe of phyle” is present (see below; Davies 1901: pl. V) (see Fig. 25).

Not only funerary priests, but also two “lector-priests” appear in the tomb on chapel's south wall (Davies 1901: pls. XXXI, XXXIV). Two figures of lector priests clearly recognizable by typical shoulder-length wig, ceremonial beard and a sash across their chest, one carrying an unfolded papyrus roll, the other holding a baton, are depicted in the scene of presenting offerings to the tomb owner who is sitting at the offering table. As indicated by the attached inscription, ‘very numerous lector priests’ were intended to perform funerary rites for Akhethetep (Davies 1901: 18, pl. XXXIV).

Apart from priests, a group of scribes is amply represented within the suite of Akhethetep. The vizier himself held the title *imy-r3 zš ʿ nswt*, which became a consistent part

of the vizieral titulary from the reign of Niuserre onwards and numerous representatives of this sector among his suite indicate the stress put on the office of royal documents within the scope of vizieral responsibilities (Strudwick 1985: 200, tab. 12). The majority of subordinates employed in this professional sphere consists of juridical scribes of different hierarchy, *e.g.* overseer, inspectors and ordinary “scribes of the judiciary” (altogether 14 individuals). A major concentration of juridical scribes is clearly detectable on a prominent place in the close vicinity of the tomb owner – especially on the north and south bay of the western wall depicted together with tomb owner’s son and other important officials and then again in the row of offering-bearers following the son Ptahhetep in the first upper register of the north wall of the chapel (Davies 1901: pls. VIII, IX, XX, XXI, XXXI, XXXIV).

Other scribes with juridical associations are also recorded in the iconography. They are “juridical book-keepers, juridical officials and the mouth of Nekhen or juridical *ꜥd-mr* officials”.²¹⁰ (Davies 1901: pls. XXXI, XXXIV). The high number of officials involved in the judiciary can be explained by the fact that the vizier himself held the title juridical *ꜥd-mr* officials and so did his eldest son Ptahhetep II.

The extended household of Akhethetep consists not only of individuals employed in the administration of royal documents, but one finds direct subordinates employed in the sphere of the granaries or the treasury as well. Such individual was, *e.g.*, the “employee/agent/servant of the granary” Tsefu who appears in the scene of the tomb owner viewing presenting of offering from estates (Davies 1901: pl. XX). This individual is not the only one recorded in the tomb who worked for the central institution.²¹¹ Another official employed in state sector or in royal services was the inspector of scribes of the Treasury Hershepses and inspector of the god’s (*i.e.* king’s) archives Seshemnefer (Davies 1901: pls. XXVII, XXXIII). In a similar manner, officials connected with archive, *e.g.*, “inspector of scribes of the god’s book of the Great house”, can be considered employees of the vizier, as the supervision of the archive was one of vizieral responsibilities (Andrassy 1991: 4).

Other significant members of Akhethetep’s retinue appear primarily on the north and south recesses of chapel’s west wall. Among other officials the overseer of the house Hershepses held the prominent place, standing directly behind the tomb owner inspecting the

²¹¹ Another two servants of the Granary occur elsewhere in the tomb of Akhethetep, see N. de G. Davies 1901: 29, pls. XXXIII and XXVI.

tribute of antelopes and sacrificial cattle on the north bay of chapel's west wall (Davies 1901: pl. XVIII). Other important attendants stand on the same place in several separate registers one above the other: physician Wenennefer and three juridical scribes (see Fig. 26). Another five important attendants standing behind the figure of the tomb owner are recorded on its mirror image on the south bay of the west wall. They are mainly "juridical scribes", but also another "overseer of the house" Ptahkekher (Davies 1901: pl. XX). It is not obvious if both overseers of the house Ptahkekher and Hershepses carried their function simultaneously, but since both are depicted on the west wall in a mirrored scene, it might be assumed that they worked together at the same time. And based on Ptahkekher's accompanying title "juridical overseer of scribes", it seems likely that he was the chief steward who was in charge of the whole household.

Not only overseers of the house, but also other persons essential for running the household of a high official were recorded in Akhethetep's tomb. First of all, it was an "overseer of the linen" Seshemnefer who probably belonged to significant household members since he occurs four times on the walls. Each time he is depicted as an offering bearer, in three cases he even heads the register (Davies 1901: pls. V, XIV, XIX); in the last case he holds the fifth place behind scribes (Davies 1901: pl. V). Next in enumerating the household management is an individual Wennefer with the title *imy-ht (n) z3(w)-pr(w)* "under-supervisor of sons-of-houses" heading the second lower register on the north bay on the west wall in the chapel (Davies 1901: pl. XIX)(Fig. 27). This interesting title features police connotations which is not a common phenomenon in Old Kingdom tombs (Jones 2000: 296, 1081; Ward 1982: 431).²¹² This person was according to Jones a direct subordinate to the overseer of the house.²¹³

Ordinary household servants such as butchers, reapers or anglers do figure in the tomb, but they are not labelled by their professional tags (Davies 1901: pls. IV, VII, XXIII).

Another group of individuals depicted in the tomb can reflect the patron-client relationship. In this category, Christopher Eyre includes craftsmen with titles connected with the royal court (designated with "*pr-ꜥ3*" or "*nswt*") (Eyre 1987: 5–46). Eyre stressed that they had a higher status than the ordinary workmen. He also pointed out that they were only available by allowance of the state. Such official - carpenter of the great shipyard/workshop of the Great house Seshemnefer - does occur in the suite of Akhethetep (Davies 1901: 28–30, pl. XXXIII–IV). An interesting thing is that another title "brother(s) of the funerary estate" is attached to

²¹² In contrast, military and police dependents do usually occur in Middle Kingdom tombs, see e.g. P. Newberry 1893 or S. Seidlmayer 2007: 351–368; or the chapter The vizier Mereruka.

²¹³ For the title, see also W.A. Ward 1982: Pl. XXV.

the same individual, which seems rather contradictory. Craftsmen were usually employed only for the duration of their commission, not being permanent members of an official's estate, but holders of *sn-dt* titles were somehow involved in the funerary cult, being responsible for provisioning of the deceased. This connection of titles would support the assumption that one has to consider *sn-dt* officials contract workers rather than clients of the tomb owner (see the entourage of the vizier Ptahshepses).

The segment of amusement is represented in the tomb by two singers as attested by the textual evidence. Both singers are rather unusually portrayed as offering bearers, not in the scene depicting musicians or dancers while amusing the tomb owner which is more typical depiction for musicians in private tombs, and, surprisingly, the scene recording musicians does appear in the tomb (Davies 1901: pls. V, XXV).²¹⁴ The explanation might consist in the type of attached titles. While one of the singers was linked to the tomb owner by a distinct bond, being simultaneously a *k3*-priest of the tomb owner's cult, which seems to be probably more important identification and as such portrayed in a way typical for *k3*-priests, the other singer was rather associated with the king than the tomb owner because of the *pr-ꜥ3* component (Davies 1901: 29, pl. XXV). Also the fact that both individuals were identified not only by the title but by their names Akhetwer and Akhetnes indicates certain closeness and more firm bond to the tomb owner, not to consider them anonymous representatives of the profession recorded for the amusement of the tomb owner (Davies 1901: pls. V, XXV).

Worth mentioning when describing the structure of Akhethetep's extended household is the occurrence of the physician Wenennefer. This individual with the title inspector of physicians appears also in the tomb of Akhethetep's father, the vizier Ptahhetep (see above). Unlike the depiction in his father's tomb, he is not portrayed in an animal slaughter scene, but figures among important officials, *e.g.* overseer of the household Hershepses or juridical scribes, behind the tomb owner inspecting wild animals and cattle (Davies 1901: pl. XVIII). As a family doctor, he must have belonged to the closest circle of Akhethetep's intimate friends and subordinates.

Last but not least, two offering bearers tagged with the rather unusual title *imy-r3 nwdw ḥkrt-nswt* "overseer of the *nwd*-ointment of the king's regalia" and *shd nwdw ḥkrt-nswt* "inspector of the *nwd*-ointment of the king's regalia" are of certain importance (Davies 1901:

²¹⁴ Compare with depictions of musicians, *e.g.*, in the tomb of Ty (Wild 1966: pl. CLXII).

pl. XXXII).²¹⁵ Their title is closely connected to the sphere of king's body care but as is attested by the accompanying *k3*-priest title of these individuals employed in the sphere of king's intimacy, they were at the same time involved in funerary services for the vizier. The professional link with the vizier Akhethetep is not apparent at first sight. He did not hold any title connected to royal regalia, in contrast to his father Ptahhetep who was *imy-r3 hkrw nswt* overseer of king's regalia, whereas Akhethetep was the supreme authority in the administration of the treasury, which was responsible for non-food commodities (such as, *e.g.*, precious stones and metals, linen, wine or oils and some part of tomb offerings or equipment), and was frequently associated with the department of *izwy hkrw nswt* providing personal services for the king (Helck 1954:65–66; Strudwick 1985: esp. 285–299).

Not only the structure of recorded dependents, but also their multiple appearance is of a certain importance. It points out what members of a particular retinue were more significant for the tomb owner than others.²¹⁶ One can list at least four individuals named Seshemnefer, Akhethetep, Ptahhetep and Tjefu who appear several times in the reliefs. The individual named Seshemnefer is recorded ten times, but it is rather questionable whether all ten occurrences can be connected to the same person since the respective titles vary.²¹⁷ Moreover, the name Seshemnefer is very frequent during the Old Kingdom (Ranke 1935: 320 (17)). The situation with titles attached to the individual Akhethetep is in a similar way inconsistent since in each of four occurrences the titles differ.²¹⁸ Rather uncertain is also the positive identification of an individual named Tjefu who appears four times elsewhere in the tomb. Apart from the already mentioned official associated with the Granary (the “servant of the granary” Tjefu), other titles attached to the individual named Tjefu vary from scribal (juridical scribe) to priestly (ordinary *k3*-priest) or are without a preserved title (Davies 1901: 28–29, pls. XXVII, XX, XXVII). Moreover, the name Tjefu itself is quite frequent during the Old Kingdom (Ranke 1935: 390 (27)). The identification of the individual Ptahhetep is more certain since the same title of juridical inspector of the scribes appears in two cases (Davies 1901: pls. XX, XXXIII); Ptahhetep is only once tagged with the title *k3*-priest (Davies 1901: pl. V). Similarly, the official

²¹⁵ For the title, see H. Fischer 1978: 53 (B4); Jones 2000: 153, 591 and 928, 3417. The significance of anointing in ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs is dealt in the article by S. E. Thompson 1998: 229–243.

²¹⁶ Or if some cases, it indicates that some individuals had a free access to the tomb (for instance due to their priestly functions) and could add their names and titles to the original wall decoration later, see *e.g.* the case of Ty.

²¹⁷ The titles of Seshemnefer are following: 1. *k3* priest and overseer of the linen - four times (Davies 1901: pls. V., XIV, XIX, XXXII); 2. *imy-ht hmw-k3* and *imy-r3 sšr* (Davies 1901: pl. V); 3. *imy-ht hmw-k3* and juridical scribe – two times (Davies 1901: pls. V, XIX); 4. *zhd zšw pr-ntr?* (Davies 1901: pl. XXVII); 5. *k3*-priest and sealer (Davies 1901: pl. IX); 6. without a title – two times (Davies 1901: pl. XXIV (title lost), XIV).

²¹⁸ An individual Akhethetep holds in two cases various scribal titles *z3b zš* (two times) pl. XVIII, XXVI; *zš z3* (pl. XXXI), then *k3*-priest title (pl. XXV) and the last case is depicted without a title (pl. XXVII) (Davies 1901: 28, 29, pls. XVIII, XXVI, XXXI, XXXVI, XXV, XXVII, XXXII).

Rekeh occurs in the wall decoration two times with the title *zš n z3 imy wrt* and *k3*-priest (Davies 1901: pl. V), but in another case juridical scribe and a *k3*-priest titles are attached (Davies 1901: pl. X) and lastly he is recorded without a title (Davies 1901: pl. XXV).

Worth mentioning within the context of identified dependents are later modifications to attached names and/or titles. This concerns mainly names additionally inscribed to the original figures, most of all on the north wall of the chapel. Especially the two lower registers feature smoothed squares in front of the offering-bearers, with less carefully written or even roughly written names and titles as if the original inscription was erased and replaced by a different one as indicated by the inscribed name Hepy or Akhethetep in front of the second and third man from the right in the second lower register (Davies 1901: pl. XXVII). In contrast, smoothed small squares in the same register accommodate finely carved elaborated hieroglyphs, as is visible for instance in front of the second and third offering-bearer (Davies 1901: pl. XXIV). Some spaces between particular figures are only left blank; the original inscription seems to have been erased and has not been smoothed as is apparent in front of the second offering-bearer from the left in the lowermost register (Davies 1901: pl. XXIV). Above the fourth offering bearer from the right there is only roughly carved label of name Tjef and title *k3*-priest.²¹⁹

Examples of such later added inscriptions also rarely occur on the south wall of the chapel where some inscriptions are hardly visible (*e.g.* first, third, fifth to seventh and ninth offering bearer in the second lower register) and the name Ity attached to the fourth man; according to the quality of carving probably part of the title of the preceding one seems to have been added later (Davies 1901: pls. XXXI – XXXIV). Altogether, the later added labels represent mainly the records of names, therefore the outlined structure of Akhethetep's extended household based primarily on present professional's tags can be considered relevant even though the possible original titles are lost and their number is thus reduced.

To sum up, Akhethetep's entourage belongs among the most numerous and diverse in the Fifth Dynasty under study, which is not much surprising taking into consideration his family background. Already his father carried out the supreme state office and the power of the family had maintained at least for three generations as Akhethetep's son Ptahhetep II Tjefi also achieved the vizier's post at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.²²⁰ A more complex vizierial court at

²¹⁹ It was probably a different person than Tjefw (not a variation of the same name), since the name Tjefw (without a title) is attached to the first individual from the right (the last one) in the register.

that time was only that of the vizier Ptahshepses, but the position of Ptahshepses was apparently special since he married Niuserre's daughter and became de facto a royal family member.

The bulk of titles of Akhethetep's vizieral suite consists first of all of scribal professions whose holders were either concerned with the incomes of Ptahhetep's household, or they were important employees of central government and thus direct subordinates of the vizier, in some cases probably both. Individuals employed in central institutions (such as granary or treasury) belonged to standard members of the vizieral suite dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty which is valid also in this instance. Akhethetep, as the man of a high social status, munificently endowed his funerary cult as is attested beside other things (e.g. funerary domains) by a high number of funerary priests (25 individuals). Numerous household managers – especially overseers of the house and overseers of the linen - indicate the largeness of Akhethetep's household. Its significance is emphasized by the presence of individuals working for the palace, for instance craftsmen and musicians or individuals employed in the sphere of king's privacy. Last but not least, worth noting is the link of several individuals connecting the suite of both Akhethetep and his father, Ptahhetep, above all the family physician Wenennefer.

Akhethetep	Titles	No. of occurrence
Scribal professions	<i>z3b zš</i> "juridical scribe"	7
	<i>z3b šḥd zš(w)</i> "juridical inspector of scribes"	4
	<i>z3b imy-r3 zš(w)</i> "juridical overseer of scribes"	3
	<i>zš ʿ nswt n ḥft-ḥr</i> "scribe of the king in his presence"	1
	<i>zš z3</i> "scribe of the Phyle"	1
	<i>z3b iry(w)-md3t</i> "juridical book- keeper"	3
	<i>ḥtmty</i> (sealer"	2
	<i>z3b ʿd-mr</i> "juridical ʿd-mr-official"	2
	<i>z3b r3 "Nḥn</i> "juridical official and mouth of Nekhen"	1
	<i>šḥd zš(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ʿ3</i> "inspector of scribes of the god's book of the Great house"	1
Priestly services	<i>ḥm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	22
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥm-k3</i> "under-supervisor of k3-servants"	1
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥm-nṯr</i> "under-supervisor of ḥm-nṯr" priests"	1
	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> "lector priest"	2

Specialists	<i>shd sinw</i> “Inspector of Physicians”	1
Household management	<i>Imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward”	2
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> “overseer of the linen”	4
	<i>imy-ht (n) z3(w)-pr(w)</i> “under-supervisor of sons-of-houses (police)”	1
Organisation of labour	<i>hk3</i> “ruler	1
	<i>im-r3 tzt</i> “overseer of herds”	1
Craftsmen	<i>mdh whrt 3t pr-3</i> “carpenter of the great shipyard/workshop of the Great house”	1
Body care	<i>imy-r3 nwdw hkrt-nswt</i> “overseer of the nwd-ointment of the king’s regalia” <i>shd nwdw hkrt-nswt</i> “inspector of the nwd -ointment of the king’s regalia”	1
Titles connected to state administration/king/palace	<i>shd zšw pr-hd</i> “inspector of scribes of the Treasury	1
	<i>shd zš(w) pr-md3t ntr</i> “inspector of scribes of the god’s (i.e. king’s) archives”	1
	<i>hry-tp šnwt...</i> “employee/agent/servant of the granary”	3
Amusement	<i>hs(w)</i> “singer”	1
Only named	<i>hs(w) pr-3</i> “singer of the Great House”)	1
		18

Tab. 13 The extended household of Akhethetep

5.2.7 Akhethetep Hemi

The tomb of Akhethetep Hemi, its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of the vizier Akhethetep Hemi was built at the northern side of Unas’ causeway to the south of the enclosure wall of the Netjerikhet’s pyramid (Hassan 1975: 5; Kanawati 2003: 25; Porter and Moss 1974: 627–629).²²¹ It consists of six rooms and further five storerooms, of that the pillared hall, offering chamber and antechamber bore relief decoration covering altogether the area of 193 sq. m. measuring. (Hassan 1975: 6, fig. 1; Kanawati 1977: 81). The tomb was later usurped by the vizier Nebkauhor Idu who adjusted the monument for his own use. Most scholars agreed on dating of the original tomb to the end of Fifth Dynasty (Hassan 1975: 2; Porter and Moss 627–629; Strudwick 1985: 56–57(3)) or to the beginning of Sixth Dynasty at the latest (Baer 1980: 53, 89; Schmitz 1976: 36). The dating of the tomb was mainly based on the analysis of the owner’s titles that were suggested for each individual by N. Strudwick (1982:

²²¹ The tomb measures 34 × 18,60m.

89ff). Y. Harpur (1987) also came to the same conclusion – dating to the end of Fifth/beginning of Sixth Dynasty on the grounds of artistic themes and decoration techniques. Careful examination of the reliefs made by the present author (especially of the recently published photos in the monograph by M. Abdou Mohamed) shows that, apart from the name and titles of the original tomb owner, the majority of the wall decoration and inscriptions seems not to be altered (Abdou 2001). The style of carvings and position of titles attached to minor figures seem to correspond with overall technique of decoration in the tomb. If certain later additions to the original text are apparent, as for instance in the scene depicting a procession of offering bearers on the north wall of the pillared hall, where 15 *hm-ntr* priests are recorded, it was only the name of the beneficiary of presented offerings that was changed to the new owner – Nebkauhor, respectively Idu; the titles and offerings of particular gods remained intact (Hassan 1975: 19–21, figs. 3–5). The fact that Nebkauhor did not redefine the original content of the scenes by inserting certain additions points to a burial in a hurry which made such modifications unfeasible. Given the fact that Nebkauhor adopted almost the whole decoration with all the dependents, the final information so obtained concerns primarily the original vizier’s suite, *i.e.* that of Akhethetep Hemi. Therefore, the analysis of identified individuals which will follow deals almost exclusively with the extended household of the original owner (but see also below under Nebkauhor Idu).

Akhethetep Hemi’s close family and extended household

The close family of Akhethetep Hemi was formed by a son or possibly two sons who might be recorded in front of the tomb owner on the south wall of the antechamber, or in the scene depicting senet game, but an appropriate inscription that would identifies him – the family relation tag - is missing (Hassan 1975: 45, fig. 19, pl. XXXIC). The wife of the vizier cannot be revealed from the tomb decoration - as Hassan pointed out neither Akhethetep’s nor Nebkauhor’s woman are depicted in the tomb (Hassan 1975: 45).

Altogether 45 identified dependents are recorded within the wall reliefs (see Tab. 14). The majority of them consist of priests (35 individuals) who were all designated only by their profession without their names attached in any of the cases. The priests are represented by various professions. As is natural in the cultic context, a great deal of the figures comprised *k3*-priests (13 individuals). We can find a reference to three different hierarchical levels that are arranged precisely in a top-down order on the north wall of the mortuary chapel (Abdou 2001: pl. VA; Hassan 1975: 48, pl. XXXV A)(see Fig. 28). The horizontal line of text records from the left an “inspector of *k3*-priest” followed by “under-supervisors of *k3*-priests” and by ordinary

priests. The sequence of priests is at that place interrupted by several *hryp zh* “directors of the dining room” who were inserted in the text (Hassan 1975: 48, pl. XXXV B). Nevertheless, the sequence of priests can be still followed, as it continues at the end of the register by another two *k3*-priests (Hassan 1975: 49, fig. 20, pl. XXXVI A).²²²

Priests carved on the southern wall of the offering chapel are arranged in a similar manner, *i.e.* recorded in a row in a hierarchical order (Hassan 1975: pl. XXXVIII B, C and XXXIX). Three inspectors of *k3*-priests are followed by four assistants of *k3*-priest and an ordinary *k3*-priest.

Another large group of priests are recorded on the well-preserved northern wall of the pillared hall (Hassan 1975: 16, figs. 1–3). The decoration was preserved there in six horizontal registers consisting of various scenes, namely of procession of offering bearers, animal slaughter, amusement of the tomb owner by musicians and dancers, scene of playing senet game or a scene with journey to the Sais, etc. (Hassan 1975: pls. XIV A, XV A and B, XVI A and B, and figs. 3–8). From 23 recorded offering bearers on the wall 15 are designated as *hm-ntr* priests (Hassan 1975: 19–21, figs. 3–5) who present various food offerings from different gods identified by their names, e.g., Anubis, Herishef, Ptah, Tjenenet (Fig. 28). One of them is directly labelled as a priest of a particular god – *hm-ntr* priest of Ptah (Hassan 1975: 21, fig. 4).

Besides funerary priests, other priestly professions figure elsewhere in the tomb. It concerns four *hry-hbt* “lector-priests”. Worth noting among others is the “lector-priest” on the north wall of the pillared hall above the register of offering bearers who is portrayed reciting from the papyrus roll in front of *mww*-dancers (Hassan 1975: pl. XVII A, figs. 3, 9).²²³ Concerning other three ritualists it is hard to distinguish whether the profession tag involves all three individuals or if it is related only to one of them (Hassan 1975: 28, 53, Figs. 4, 11, pls. XVII C, XXXVIII B, C and XXXIX).²²⁴

When enumerating individuals engaged in priestly services, we have to bring to attention also the second man from the right in the scene with musicians on the northern wall of the pillared hall (Hassan 1975: 25, figs. 2, 7). Hassan argues that this person was the earliest

²²² It seems possible that more priests were originally recorded on the wall, prior to the damage to the beginning of the register that was made. Since they are arranged according to their hierarchy in descending order, one might assume that the row was headed by an overseer of *k3*-priest or another important person, perhaps a scribe or an overseer of the house in the front places.

²²³ For a detailed interpretation of *mww* dancers, see Junker 1940: 1–40; Altenmüller 1975: 2–7.

²²⁴ Probably another two ritualists wearing characteristic stolas stand on the same wall behind the men carrying wooden chests, but no label which would identify them was preserved attached to these figures (Hassan 1975: 24, fig. 4, 8).

representation of *Hw*y priest of Hathor. This interpretation is supported by the captions attached to the musical scene in which the goddess Hathor is addressed by one of the harpists and a singer (Strudwick 2005: 401).

The second large group of identified individuals after priests in the tomb is represented by scribes, mostly “scribes of the phyle” (three individuals of four). Three scribes of phyle appear in the above-mentioned scene with *k3*-priests on chapel’s north wall. They are inscribed on a slab fitting in between the damaged register with priests being portrayed also as offering bearers (Hassan 1975: 48–49, Pl. XXXV C).²²⁵ Apart from them, one more representative of scribal profession can be found on the eastern wall of the pillared hall. He is depicted seated with a scribal equipment facing the walking priests and tagged with a title associated with central administration *zš pr-ḥd* “scribe of the Treasury” (Hassan 1975: 32, pls. XXI A and B).

No household managers such as “overseer of the house” or “overseer of linen” were preserved. Only officials connected to food supply – already mentioned directors of the dining room are attested. Household servants, in particular butchers, are identified in the scene of animal slaughter on the eastern wall of the offering room: *sšm* “butcher” and *sšm pr-dt* “butcher of the endowment”, both participating in cutting of an ox (Hassan 1975: 47, pls. XXXIIIB and XXXIV A).²²⁶

Apart from the above enumerated dependents we can identify also other persons who do not figure so often in the iconography of elite tombs. Firstly, it is a man engaged in the sector of amusement designated as *sb3* instructor who is portrayed with a baton on the northern wall of the pillared hall in the register with musicians (Hassan 1975: figs. 5, 7). He was probably a teacher of singing as indicated by his depiction immediately behind singing women. The second individual is a personal attendant of the tomb owner denoted as *šmsw* follower on the southern wall of the pillared hall (Hassan 1975: 32). Finally, two female figures of mourners *dryt* were identified in a boat transporting a coffin in the scene of funerary procession.²²⁷

All these so far mentioned dependents belong to a typical vizieral retinue from the end of the Fifth Dynasty, with a large portion of priests, scribes (including those connected to a central institution), and household managers (though not the most important ones) and

²²⁵ This particular slab suffered from intentional damage – some portions of reliefs were removed, see Hassan 1975: Pl. XXXV C.

²²⁶ For a study of the *pr-dt* see, J.J. Perepelkin (1960 *passim*).

²²⁷ Based on sign *t*, which was preserved behind the figure of the woman on the right side, one can presume her designation *dryt* mourner (Hassan 1975: 24, fig. 8).

household servants, together with rarely appearing *hm-ntr* priests or occasionally identified musicians. However, some segments of professional groups are missing, *e.g.* dependents employed within the organisation of labour, body care services or specialists; with only a single representative of officials engaged in the central administration.

When analysing the scenes, what remarkably differs from other viziers' extended households under the scrutiny is a total absence of any minor figure in the tomb who would be identified by a personal name. Solely titles are attached, names are completely missing, which makes the social environment of the vizier rather impersonal. All the scenes look like a draft or a blank form ready to fill in, but without the most important information given. As a consequence, it could have served for anyone, since not much effort must have been made to adjust this afterlife dwelling for a different owner. It is quite startling that at least the names of the closest family members (even the son/sons) or the most loyal dependents were not added as one may suppose it to be an essential part of the original wall decoration.

Last but not least, one more issue concerning the tomb of Akhethetep/Nebkauhor is worth noting. Not only the structure of recorded professions and the anonymous mode of minor figures, but also the preserved biographical inscriptions are important when making the picture of the vizier's retinue complete. Two preserved biographical inscriptions were assigned, one to each of the owners. N. Kloth assumes that the main biographical text A was inscribed by Nebkauhor while text B by Akhethetep Hemi (Kloth 2002: 4, 22).²²⁸ Text A was preserved in a better condition; it is a legal text dealing with instructions concerning the administration of a funerary foundation. Text B belongs to an ideal biography. In the latter text there are enumerated individuals who were in charge of the funerary estate of the deceased vizier: inspectors of *k3*-priests, under-supervisors of *k3*-priests, scribes of phyles and (ordinary) *k3*-priests (Goedicke 1970: 81–103; Strudwick 2005: 261–262). These officials accurately correspond with titles of offering bearers recorded on the northern wall of the chapel where also directors of the dining hall are added (Hassan 1975: 48, 49, Fig. 20, Pls. XXXV A, B and XXXVI A). The same hierarchy of individuals important for administering of funerary estates appears in the tomb of Ptahhetep (Hassan 1975, 5, pls. XXXIX B–XLIII A, B, XL–XLII; see also above). There are the inspectors of *k3*-priests followed by under-supervisors of *k3*-servants and by scribes of the phyles, with the rest of the sequence damaged, but supposed to continue with ordinary priests. These two pieces of evidence nicely illustrate the Fifth Dynasty composition of private cult

²²⁸ For the ownership and translation of both texts see also Strudwick 2005: 261–262.

management consisting of the three-level hierarchy of *k3*-priests together with the involvement of scribes of the phyle. Moreover, it belonged to rare Old Kingdom examples where the inscriptional evidence correlates with the iconography.

Akhethetep Hemi	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš z3</i> "scribe of the phyle"	3
	<i>zš pr-ḥd</i> "scribe of the treasury"	1
Priestly services	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3</i> "inspector of funerary priest"	3
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥmw-k3</i> "under-supervisor of funerary priests"	4
	<i>ḥm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	4
	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> "lector priest"	6
	<i>ḥm-nṯr</i> "god's priest"	15
	<i>ḥm-nṯr (n) Pth</i> "priest of Ptah"	1
Household management	<i>dryt</i> "mourner"	2
	<i>ḥrp zh</i> "director of the food-hall"	2
Household servants	<i>sšm</i> "butcher"	1
	<i>sšm n pr-ḏt</i> "butcher of the endowment"	1
Amusement	<i>sb3</i> "instructor"	1

Tab. 14 The extended household of Akhethetep Hemi

5.2.8 Summary

The Fifth Dynasty iconography of the viziers' tombs provides a more elaborated and diverse picture of the vizier's extended households than that rendered in the tombs from the previous dynasty. The substantial change visible at first sight is closely connected with the development of tomb architecture in general (see the Historical outline). The extended space of east-west oriented cult chapels together with the enlarged overall area of the tombs, now multi-chambered, enabled us to record a wide variety of scenes. The diverse repertoire of scene themes ranging from scenes of a cultic context, for instance an offering table scene, journey to the Sais or rituals connected to meal, to various daily-life scenes depicting themes connected *e.g.* to agriculture including harvest or clap-net scene or workshop scenes recording crafts, provided an ample space to record the tomb owner's entourage in a whole scale of activities which had an impact on the number and diversity of professions.

The first profound shift between the Fourth- and the Fifth-Dynasty vizier's suites consists in the total number of identified dependents recorded in the tomb. While in the Fourth Dynasty the number of occurrences hardly reached ten, during the Fifth Dynasty it usually counts several tens of people, exceptionally extending also to one hundred of dependents (the case of the vizier Ptahshepses). Moreover, the labelled individuals appear on a more regular basis than in the previous dynasty with a random occurrence. The second significant feature consists in increasing diversity of professions oscillating between ten to thirty different professions for one vizier's entourage, which will be further elaborated in the text.

The major imperative for each funerary monument was to maintain the cult of the deceased in order to secure his afterlife existence. The family of the tomb owner was recorded to ensure its presence throughout eternity (Kanawati 1981: 213). Recording of the non-kin members can be understood in a similar intention – to accompany their master into the netherworld. According to the inscriptional evidence from later periods of Pharaonic Egypt, the most loyal and time-proven managers were selected to serve the vizier also after his death in a similar way as during his life (Newberry 1893, Seidlmayer 2006: 357). A selected group of the identified individuals was primarily connected to the cult of the deceased by their appointment to the post of a funerary priest. The rest was involved in the funerary cult indirectly via their service for the tomb owner in the netherworld, specifically household servants or scribes who were in charge of household management.

The first category of dependents (priests) represents a crucial force for perpetuating the rituals performed in the tomb chapels, as such they were recorded in almost all analysed tombs.²²⁹ Lector priests or embalmers were crucial for performing funerary ceremonies, often depicted in the offering table scene while performing rituals of *s3ht* “spiritualizing” or *šdt zš*, “reading the document aloud”. Lector-priests were usually tagged with a professional label without a particular name given or depicted completely without a caption recognizable merely by their customary dress with a sash across their chest, a shoulder-length wig, a ceremonial beard and a performed activity. On the other hand, a couple of lector-priests were apparently important members of a particular vizieral retinue as is attested by their position within a scene hierarchy or since they feature attributes of seniority regarding their cloths or adornment as, *e.g.*, beaded

²²⁹ This is valid also for the retinue of high officials, not only for the viziers, however the tombs of the latter feature apparently higher number of priests – for instance, representatives of a priestly profession in Ptahshepses' tomb reach more than 40 individuals. For the number of priests in higher or lesser officials' tombs, see respective Chapters.

collar or calf-length kilt; these individuals were naturally tagged with personal name (see, *e.g.*, the extended household of Senedjemib Inti).

Leaving lector-priests apart, most important and in fact indispensable for maintaining the cultic procedures were the funerary priests. The classification of priests in three hierarchical levels was detected (inspectors, under-supervisors and ordinary priests). Their multi-levelled distribution is described in the tomb of the vizier Ptahhetep, where they are recorded in the descending order (Davies 1901: pl. V). As testifies some scenes from the tomb of Akhethetep Hemi, the *zš zš* “scribes of the phyle” and *hrp zh* “directors of the dining room” can be involved among the servants of the funerary cult. These individuals appear among *k3*-priests in the scenes enumerating the priestly personnel (Hassan 1975: 48–49, Pl. XXXV B, C).²³⁰ Interestingly, the senior priest – the “overseer of *k3*-priests” is missing in the tombs of the viziers under the study; the highest priestly representative remains the inspector.²³¹

Beginning from the reign of king Userkaf with the emergence of solar temples, a continuous rearrangement of royal mortuary cults can be traced in the course of the whole Fifth Dynasty. The royal mortuary cults were substantially reorganized during the long reign of king Djedkare as testified by the evidence from Abusir papyri (Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006). A new type of priesthood ‘*hm-ntr/w^cb* priest of the pyramid of a king’ that replaced an older title ‘*hm-ntr/w^cb* priest of a king’ appeared in the titularies of the viziers under Unas. This new type of titles can be observed in the tomb of the vizier Akhethetep who was an inspector of *hm-ntr*-priests in the pyramids of Niuserre, Menkauhor and Djedkare.²³² The series of innovations in the organisation of royal funerary realm and the development in religious beliefs in general inspired high state officials and had a non-negligible impact on their own private cults (Altenmüller 2008).

A reference to phyle organisation within the iconography of private tombs can be considered an adherence to royal models. Its adoption into the private sphere is observed in the tomb of the vizier Ptahhetep, where several *k3*-priests are distinguished by the names of particular phyles (see the Household of the vizier Ptahhetep). Besides, clear reference to the system of phyle organisation is reflected in the titles of scribes of phyle that initiated to be recorded in the tombs at around the same time (Hassan 1975: 5, pls. XXXIX B–XLIII A, B).

²³⁰ This particular slab suffered from intentional damage – some portions of reliefs were removed, see Hassan 1975: Pl. XXXV C.

²³¹ Cf. the tombs of the higher officials (Chapter 6).

²³² For the development in the titles of the attendants employed in the royal funerary complexes, see Helck 1957: 91–111; vizieral titles associated with royal funerary cult are dealt with in Strudwick 1985: 317, esp. Tab. 29 on page 308.

As A.M. Roth (1985: 91–93) claimed, this change in the management of private cults can be traced back to the reign of king Niuserre, but was widely used during the reign of king Djedkare. This would correspond with deep social, administrative and architectural changes dated by many scholars to the reign of king Niuserre.²³³ Introducing of the phyle system in the organisation of the private funerary cult might be also considered a reflection of a growing independence of the viziers, who in a similar manner newly incorporated in their monuments architectural features that were restricted to the king prior to the reign of Niuserre (Bárta 2005: 105–130; Chauvet 2008: 45; Jánosi 1999: 27–39; Roth 1988).

Priests associated to the king or a particular god/goddesses are only exceptionally recorded in private tombs, probably due to the funerary perspective of tomb reliefs. One of such examples is the title referring to a particular goddess in the iconography of Ptahhetep's family. It concerns title wab priest of Sakhmet held by the physician Wenennefer. The title is closely connected to his profession, as the goddesses Sakhmet was a patron of physicians.

No reference to any local god was recorded in reliefs. S. Hassan only recognized one of the earliest depictions of *Thwy* priest of Hathor among the musicians in the tomb of Akhethetep Hemi (Hassan 1975: 25, figs. 2, 7).

Rarely, a *w^cb*-priest of the king was recorded on tomb's wall, in contrast to *w^cb*-priests of a certain god/goddesses who are completely missing. *W^cb*-priests in general are described as a temple personnel of a higher rank who could serve in one but also several pyramid complexes (having also their counterparts in the palace) (Roth 1985: 83–84). As H. Vymazalová proved in her habilitation thesis (Vymazalová 2015: 141–144), *w^cb*-priests were involved in the phyle organisation together with *hm-ntr* priests and *hntyw-s*, appearing at several places in the papyrus archive of king Raneferef and Neferirkare at same context as *hm-ntr* priests.²³⁴ Rare examples of *w^cb*-priests without any attributes (neither to the king/temple nor to the god/goddess) are listed by Jones 2000: 368, 1360; for instance Merymaatnetjer in the study by Murray (1905); Murray (1937: pl. 7). It is rather questionable whether these individuals served in a private cult similar to their counterparts in the royal sphere. H. Junker in this context stated that *w^cb*-priests did occur in private funerary monuments where their main responsibility was to check if the

²³³ For social, administrative and religious innovations, see Bárta 2013: 257–283; Bárta 2015, Bárta and Dulíková 2015; Baer 1960; Helck 1954; Khaled 2009; Mathieu 2010; Moreno García 1999; Moreno García 2013: 185–217; Strudwick 1985. For the king's rule, see Verner 2014: 79–88.

²³⁴ For a different opinion, see Posener-Krieger 1976: 576, 582 and consult also Roth 1985: 84 who pointed out the fragmentarity of sources and thus ambiguous interpretation. For particular titles related to *w^cb*-priests, see Jones 2000: 368, 1360-1379, 1404.

meat intended for the offering is sound (Junker 1940: 13). It suggests itself a parallel with the phyle organisation adopted in the private cult of the highest echelon of the society. However, the negligible number of mentioned examples might indicate that the attribute *nswt* may have been only unexpressed in the text, without any intention to denote a ‘private’ *w^cb*-priest. Certain clues might be provided by the inscriptional evidence in Ptahshepses’ tomb. There appear several *w^cb nswt* in the iconography, namely officials Duahep, Irenptah and Nymenekhinepu whose *w^cb*-priest title was only one of several other titles attached (see The vizier Ptahshepses). These three persons were associated with legal functions, the fourth *w^cb nswt*, certain Ankhaef, was a “manicurist of the royal court”. All four individuals belonged to Ptahshepses’ loyal subordinates who were involved in his funerary cult as indicated by their *k3*-priest titles. One of these individuals, Duahep, is worth mentioning in detail since more information about him is provided in mastaba D 59 at Saqqara whose owner he was (Dulíková 2016: 34–44; Mariette 1889: 335–339). According to the titles preserved in his tomb, he headed the state department of justice as *imy-r3 zš n z3b*. Furthermore, he held a whole range of priestly titles of the kings Neferirkare and Niuserre (respectively their pyramids and sun temples) including a title *w^cb* priest of the king. He must have been a trusted official of his ruler as testifies his title *hry sšt3 n ntr.f*. In this context it became clear that Duahep was truly the “*w^cb* priest of the king” (not of Ptahshepses) as indicated by his ties to the administration of the royal pyramids. The only hint for his service in the funerary cult of Ptahshepses is then the *k3*-priest title. A similar situation can be supposed also for the other three officials. The fact that Ptahshepses did not have incorporated *w^cb* priests in his cult may point to their overall absence in a private cult. Otherwise, we might ask why the vizier Ptahshepses or another Fifth Dynasty vizier did not adopt such kind of innovation. With regard to the continual reorganisation of the royal funerary sphere in the course of the whole Fifth Dynasty, such change in private cults could have happened also later than in the mid-Fifth Dynasty. However, there is no evidence of any *w^cb* priest in other analysed vizieral tombs which would prove this assumption.

The evidence of the other large group of priests engaged in the phyle organisation of the royal cults - *hm-ntr* priests, comes only from the already mentioned tomb of Akhethetep Hemi. Extraordinary high number of 15 *hm-ntr* priests present offerings from various gods identified in the text above, one of them designated as *hm-ntr* priest of Ptah (Hassan 1975: 19–21, figs. 3–5).

When enumerating the dependents who were involved in the private funerary cult in the Fifth Dynasty, one has to mention *sn-dt.f* officials who were, except for *k3*-priest, responsible

for the cult of the deceased'. Based on the textual evidence, they figured, *e.g.*, in the cult of the vizier Senedjemib Inti. A more intimate relation between the tomb owner and selected dependents could be expressed by their appointment to a *sn-dt.f*, which involved also non-kin individuals in the deceased cult and provided them with daily-portions from the reversion of offerings.

Apart from priests, another group of persons who regularly occur in the vizier's tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty were household managers, most often an overseer of the house, overseer of linen, director of the dining hall, overseer of herds/cattle-stall or an estate manager. All these officials were inherent to running of the household of a living vizier. The iconography demonstrates that they were responsible for both its administration and 'running' branch, being in charge of food and linen supply, administration of estates and household accounts.²³⁵ They were often portrayed among other important officials in the close vicinity to the tomb owner or following him as his attendants. The tomb scenes revealed that it was especially the overseer of the house who was the key person among the administrators of a particular household (Nováková 2019: 95–112). Within his responsibilities we may include a supervision of food products transported from estates, an inspection of tribute of cattle and wild animals or keeping and presenting household accounts. Their frequent priestly appointment that guaranteed to the chosen individuals regular portions from the funerary foundations refers to their importance and a more intimate relation to the tomb owner.

The leading household managers were often accompanied by ordinary household servants whose occupations were primarily connected with food supply for the household, namely butchers, bakers, wedepu servants, herdsmen or peasants all of whom are often plentifully represented. However, these dependents were rarely labelled by a particular name, most often only by their profession, *e.g.* *m^{nt}* nurse, *rhty* washerman or *k3ny* gardener or even a function was attached, as for instance *šd 3pdw* fattener of fowl. In the vast majority of cases the ordinary servants were left entirely anonymous. It can be considered a characteristic feature that only the most important individuals in a particular scene were usually attached by a name/profession tag as is apparent *e.g.* in animal slaughter scenes, where not the ordinary butchers but a priest or a director of the dining-hall (*hrp zh*) often played a cardinal role, (see, *e.g.* Kanawati and Hassan 2002: 43–46, pl. 49).

²³⁵ For the complete list of duties and responsibilities of the overseer of the house, see V. Nováková 2019: 95–112.

A similar type of information can be obtained from scenes depicting workshop activities – the principal field for recording particular craft-related professions. A common practice was to describe only the particular activity or profession itself. However, in some extraordinary cases respected and experienced craftsmen identified by their names could have been recorded as well (Hassan 1975: pl. XXXIV C).

Specifically, in the tombs of the viziers one encounters individuals working for the sphere of the central administration, employed at the court or working directly for the king. The structure of recorded dependents seems to be closely connected with the development of the supreme state office. As N. Strudwick stated, important administrative titles were incorporated within the vizierial titular right at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (Strudwick 1985: 217–250).²³⁶ The title *imy-r3 zš ʿ-nswt* overseer of the scribes of king’s documents has been introduced during the reign of king Neferirkare; other chief titles, i.e. overseer of six great mansions *imy-r3 hwt wrt 6*, *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd* overseer of the two treasuries and overseer of the two granaries *imy-r3 šnwtj* became a part of the vizier’s titular from the reign of Niuserre onwards (Strudwick 1985: 176–299). On the grounds of these changes the vizier became overall responsible for all main segments of central administration, not excepting the management of the provincial administration no later than during the reign of Niuserre.²³⁷ A certain reflection of these reforms can be noticed by analysing the spectrum of professions that were attached to the identified minor figures in Fifth-Dynasty tombs. While the suite of the vizier Seshathetep Heti did not yet contain individuals engaged in central administration or the royal court (see respective chapter), from the vizier Ptahshepses onwards dependents holding such type of professions began to be recorded within the vizier’s entourage.²³⁸ Especially scribal titles associated with a particular central institution (e.g. granary, treasury or *hwt wrt*) or professions connected to the administration of the royal court (overseer of the palace, court councillor or elder of the court) were represented; in all the cases they can be considered direct subordinates of the vizier.

Concerning the depiction of these individuals, in particular scribes, it is not easy to reveal with certainty what role they played. Were they vizier’s subordinates employed in some central institution or members of the vizier’s household exclusively employed in its

²³⁶ Only the title *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt* “overseer of all royal works” were introduced within the vizierial titular already in the Fourth Dynasty (Strudwick 1985: 233–283). For the particular title see, also Krejčí 2000: 67-75.

²³⁷ The office of *imy-r3 šmʿw* overseer of Upper Egypt was established during the reign of king Niuserre. The provincial administration was scrutinized by Eva Martin-Pardey 1976: 152–170 and most recently also by E. Martinet 2019.

²³⁸ For the only exception see the household of the vizier Seshemnefer II.

management? Concentrating on their place in the iconography of respective tombs, they were depicted in two main types of scenes. They were either represented in scenes of reporting accounts from estates to the tomb owner which were often executed by scribes,²³⁹ or they held significant posts sitting or standing among other important officials when accompanying a tomb owner who oversees various activities.

The first type of scenes appears to depict scribes as household members who were engaged in the administration of household's accounts and the funerary foundation. Most often such scenes included scribes or juridical scribes of different hierarchy who report to the tomb owner about the revenues. We can highly likely proposed professional ties connecting them to the tomb owner. Especially the juridical scribes indispensably belonged to the administration of central institutions, such as *hwt-wrt* and almost each scribe *de facto* participated in the state administration under the leadership of the vizier.²⁴⁰ Some scribal title explicitly mention institutions that are customarily connected to the state, i.e. treasury or granary. However, while certain offices, such as the Treasury or *hwt wrt* were exclusively associated with the central government, the existence of private granaries in the Old Kingdom cannot be entirely refuted as M. Bardoňová pointed out in her doctoral thesis dealing with grain storage during the Old and Middle Kingdom (Bardoňová 2019: 289–290). *šnwt* is considered to be predominantly a royal institution, but when considering its diminishing importance from the reign of Pepi I when the provincial officials gained more autonomy and began to oversee local resources, the silos belonging to a wealthy governor makes perfect sense (Flores 2015: 88–90). Such individual was, e.g., the employee/agent/servant of the granary Tsefu who appears in the scene of the tomb owner viewing presenting of offering from estates (Davies 1925: pl. XX).

The scene context of individuals connected to a granary regrettably does not tell us which kind was intended to be inscribed. For instance, in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti a “scribe of the granary” is depicted standing in front of the tomb owner while recording him the content of silos (Brovarski 2011: 67–68, fig. 56). Are the state silos concerned or do they represent private belongings of the vizier? Regrettably, it is not evident. In a similar manner, in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses two “scribes of the granary” preserved in the scene of bringing

²³⁹ One has to mention yet another type of scene, where scribes often appear, which is the procession of offering bearers, but this scene is of no significance concerning the issue under the discussion; it only indicates the prominent position of scribes among other dependents as they are holding the foremost places.

²⁴⁰ For the study of Old Kingdom scribes in general, see P. Piacentini 2002. For scribes associated specifically to central offices, see N. Strudwick 1985.

offerings where they are presumably transporting fruits from a state? granary (see Verner 1986: Pl. 9, Insc. No. 19, 20).²⁴¹ However, it is not indicated in the text.

These examples demonstrate that it is not much useful trying to distinguish at what point a certain person acts as a representative of the state administration and when he is occupied by tasks of a private estates. More promising is to describe the nature of their ties to the tomb owner. By a careful analysis of the titles the vizier held, we often find out that these dependents were apparently linked by professional ties and could have worked for the vizier in the administration of some central institution.

When we take into consideration the coexistence of various type of titles in a single titular string of an Egyptian official, for instance priestly, administrative and judicial together with various rank titles, an attempt to strictly classify and differentiate state and “private” sectors seems from that point of view rather contradictory. A combination of titles from different spheres was inherent to Egyptian officials dated to the period under discussion. To give an example, even a lower rank individual, for instance the priest Neferinpu from Abusir held a mix of priestly, administrative and rank titles. (Bárta *et al* 2014: 8–9)²⁴² It is thus perfectly possible to imagine that a scribe of the granary who participated in the storage, redistribution and taxation of cereals at the central level was at the same time involved in the administration of estates of his superordinate.

When describing important individuals depicted in the vizier’s entourage we cannot forget to underline the occurrence of specialists. The vizier as the first man in the state after the king may have had indisputably the possibility, or more precisely the privilege, to use the services of court physicians, therefore the embodiment of a personal physician or other specialist such as a dentist within the vizier’s suite might have reflected a growing self-confidence and independence of high dignitaries during the Fifth Dynasty. The available evidence does not confirm a real need to have a personal physician at the disposal, such type of evidence is missing in the tombs under the study. Based on the iconography, no medical title with attributes related to the palace or directly to the king was recorded in the analysed sample, which on the contrary is the rule later in the Sixth-Dynasty provincial tombs (see below).

²⁴¹ For the role of state/private granaries during the Old Kingdom, see M. Bardoňová 2019: 15–43.

The following main features were summarised from all the above presented evidence: First, numerous and diverse vizier's entourage (with a few exceptions); second, a presence of professions essential for running the vizier's household, namely scribes, priests and property management and specific for the vizier's tombs people employed in the central administration; and last but not least a reflection of a royal model in the organisation of the funerary cult. Equally important is to emphasize at this place that each vizier's retinue under the scrutiny was distinctive to a certain extent and we have to be cautious to make general conclusions on the basis of a few attested instances. When a thorough analysis was undergone, different professional segments were accentuated in each particular tomb chosen for the study. Several examples are provided. Many individuals connected to the body care both of the king, but also of the tomb owner, were recorded in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses, probably reflecting that he himself was associated with the sector of king's privacy. He held not only a title of a royal hairdresser but also a title keeper of the headdress (Verner 1986: Inscr. Nos. 30, 41, 47, 51, 116, 117, 157, 162, 163, 181; Verner 1992: 184, 190).

In a similar manner, subordinates of their master can be detected in the tomb of the vizier Akhethetep. Juridical scribes, together with *ḥd-mr* officials, were recorded in relatively great numbers. Worth noticing is in this context the fact that the vizier Akhethetep and also his eldest son Ptahhetep II Tjefi both headed the department of scribes of the king's documents and held titles *ḥd-mr (n) z3b* juridical *ḥd-mr* officials (Davies 1901; Hassan 1975: 63-84). Another remarkable group of individuals is formed by officiants holding titles related to the sphere of king's privacy: *Imy-r3* and *shd nwdw ḥkrt-nswt* overseer and inspector of the *nwd*-ointment of the king's regalia. Together with an inspector of the Treasury, they could have been Akhethetep's subordinates since he headed the administration of the Treasury as *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd* (the office responsible among other non-agrarian commodities for linen and oils). The service and care for the king's regalia also pervades the titles of Akhethetep's close family members - vizier's father Ptahhetep was *imy-r3 ḥkrw nswt* overseer of king's regalia and at the same time *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd* overseer of the Treasury - the same title that was also held by the vizier's son Ptahhetep Tjefy.

As far as the tomb of Senedjemib Inti is concerned, we can find a numerous group of dependents associated with labour forces, mainly inspectors and directors in charge of certain crew/gang of workmen as well as individuals with a nautical title. They occur in two types of scenes, either in the transport of tomb owner's statues or in a boat trip scene. In the first one they supervise successful transport of statues, in the second they are portrayed as chief crew

members (see chapter The household of the vizier Senedjemib Inti). The occurrence of individuals engaged in the organisation of labour is not much surprising when taking into consideration the strong connection to this sector among the members of Senedjemib's family. However, officials connected directly to the royal works are missing in the wall decoration.

When analysing the iconography, particular professional ties (or a group of ties) between the vizier and his subordinates were detected in the wall decoration as proved by the above examples. Certain hints of hierarchy in a particular scene point out individuals who were more important than others within each suite. In a similar way helpful was the figure's size, hairstyle, cloth or jewellery that differentiates his holder from the bulk of the other dependents. Of certain importance were also epithets (*e.g. mḥnk*), that are instrumental in describing the relation to the tomb owner. Nevertheless, all the evidence of such type is to certain extent indirect and particular relationships (*e.g. employment or patronage*)²⁴³ is never explicitly expressed in the tombs, which represents one of the mayor limits of iconography as an analysed source and allow us to only tentatively outline the most evident cases (see Methodoogy).²⁴⁴

Concerning the number and the diversity of titles, we reached more solid grounds. It was observed that both entries considerably increased during the Fifth Dynasty as was already outlined at the beginning of the summary. The enlarged diversity in titles was reflected in the extension of particular professional segments that are now distinguished in tombs. In contrast to the Fourth Dynasty the individuals in the central administration, organisation of labour, sphere of body care or amusement are newly represented and identified by a particular title. The number of various titles in all the tombs under discussion is quite stable, balancing around 20 different titles per the vizier. An extraordinary case was then the vizier's entourage of Ptahshepses that encompassed more than 50 miscellaneous titles (the variants of the same title are not included).

Furthermore, the appearance of a multi-level hierarchical structure of certain professions is noticeable. It concerns most of all priests (all tombs), but also the labour forces (Ptahshepses), craftsmen (Ptahshepses), the sphere of body care (Ptahshepses), and scribes (all tombs). Based on this enumeration it becomes clear that the vizier' entourage of Ptahshepses was exceptional with regard to the diversity of recorded professions as well as its hierarchical stratification and

²⁴³For the patronage in tomb iconography of Old and Middle Kingdom Egypt, see *e.g.* Bardoňová and Nováková 2017.

²⁴⁴ For instance, the special relationship between the vizier Ptahshepses and brother manucurists Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep.

will be elaborated further in the text, it exceeds other tombs also with respect to the total number of identified dependents.

In comparison to the Fourth Dynasty, the number of identified members in all tombs from the Fifth Dynasty is very high, and their occurrence greatly exceeds it. However, the numbers of dependents in particular households rather fluctuate in contrast to a relatively constant degree of diversity of their titles, reflecting presumably a personal preferences or uneven preservation of sources. The range oscillates from 19 to 68 individuals, Ptahshepses reaches even 130.²⁴⁵ Despite the considerable differences in the size of particular households, it is clearly demonstrated that households from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards are numerous, consisting of a great variety of economic and social ties of their members, namely master-servant relations, patron-client, inferior-superior or even friendship ties were proposed.

Based on the analysed Fifth Dynasty tombs, we can define three different case groups of the vizier's entourages. First, the microstudy of Seshemnefer II's demonstrates how could a suite of a vizier-to-be look like immediately prior to his appointment. This formative phase of the vizier's retinue reflects rather modest social and economic ties, at least those captured in reliefs. It depicts an entourage which is neither numerous nor diverse comprising 10 dependents employed in three most frequently appearing professional segments - priestly, scribal and household managerial. Second, the evidence from the tomb of Ptahshepses enables us to virtually reconstruct a picture of the suite of a high dignitary who practically reached the status of a royal family member by his marriage with Niuserre's daughter. His entourage encompassed 80 individuals preserved in the iconography in situ, other 30 persons that were assembled in fragments, together with another 20 different individuals recorded in hieratic inscriptions, in total comprising 130 dependents with titles of a multi-level hierarchy throughout all possible professional segments. If we accept the assumption that an appointment to a funerary priest can express a kind of more intimate relation to the tomb owner, the inner circle of Ptahshepses' closest collaborates was formed of 42 individuals who were endowed with *k3*-priest title (approximately one third of all dependents). These people were not ordinary priests but primarily representatives of scribal profession, also engaged in the body care of the king, officials employed in central administration or important household managers - probably the most loyal and experienced individuals who were chosen not only to accompany their master

²⁴⁵ It has to be kept in mind that some of these individuals were tagged only with profession-related labels, therefore the numbers need to be adjusted to a certain degree and slightly diminished, as not all represent a particular person. Moreover, we are never sure whether the same individual was recorded when the same name but a different title was attached or if the title has not preserved at all.

in the netherworld, but benefited from his funerary foundation already during their life. If we take into consideration the fragmentary preservation of wall decoration in Ptahshepses's tomb (one sixth to one tenth was proposed), the original number of the funerary priests could have once been much higher as well as the total amount of dependents if preserved intact. A hundred/s of funerary priests together with various household subordinates, managers, servants, etc., who were once involved in Ptahshepses' entourage represents an exceptional amount for the administration of a single private cult, and definitely reflects Ptahshepses' elevated rank and his overall responsibility over the most important state institutions. The third "model" case represents let say "standardized" entourage of the vizier Akhethetep coming from a well-established vizieral family from the end of the dynasty. Due to his family background, he was directly predetermined to incorporate a wealthy representation of his subordinates, clients, employees and servants. His entourage nearly reaches 70 dependents who held 23 different titles from nine different segments involving priestly, scribal, managerial (household), labour, craft-related, body-care service, entertainment, specialists and typical for vizier also the individuals engaged in central state institutions. Especially rich in number and hierarchical differentiation were scribal representatives, mainly those associated to judiciary and priests who provide illustrative evidence about the structure and organisation of a private cult characterized by a three-level hierarchy of *k3*-priests together with the involvement of scribes of the phyle.

Finally, the entourage of Akhethetep Hemi completes the enumerated variety of different vizieral entourages by representing an unprecedented case of a numerous group of dependents, but without any personal data recorded. This particular case demonstrates more markedly than the others that personal preference and apparently also some unexpected circumstances that elude us must have played not negligible role in planning, construction and decoration of sepulchres. In spite of certain specificity of each tomb, and uneven preservations of sources, common patterns in the composition of the extended households from spatial and diachronic perspective are well traceable as outlined above in the summary. They provide us with a picture of numerous and extraordinarily complex Fifth Dynasty vizier's entourage.

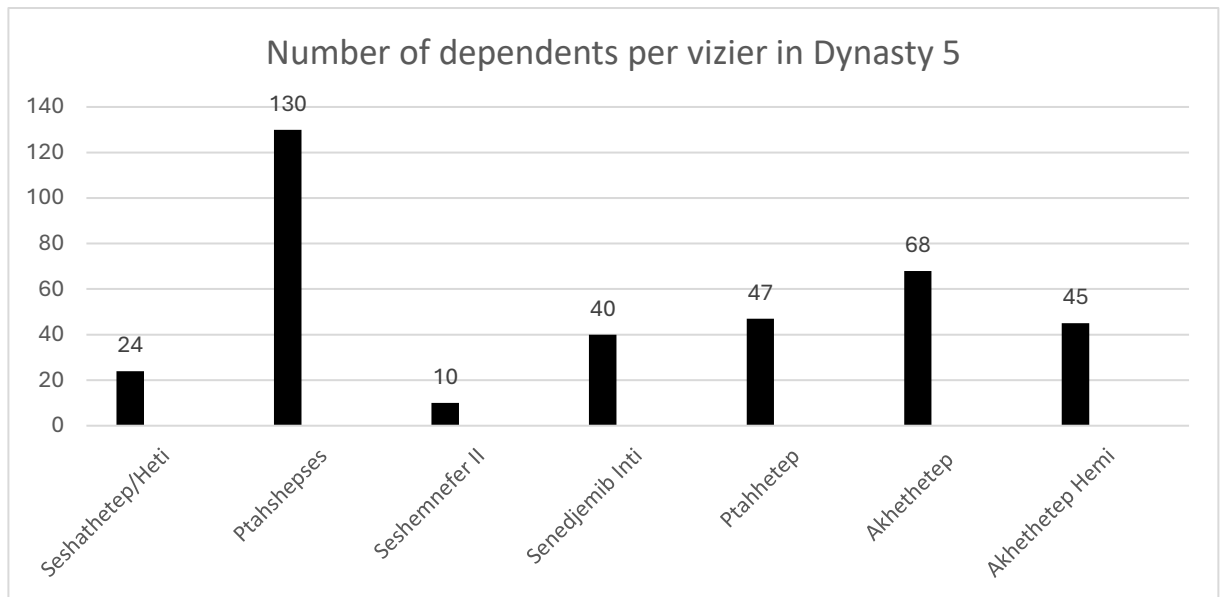


Chart 2. Number of dependents per vizier in the Fifth Dynasty

5.3 Households of the viziers dated to the Sixth Dynasty

The beginning of the Sixth Dynasty was characterized by a delicate political situation with regard to the royal succession lineal Unas-Teti, the reign of the following king Pepi I being accompanied by political conspiracies.²⁴⁶ Despite the uneasy beginnings of a new dynasty, we can observe a continuity with the previous period in many spheres of the state policy. For instance, the royal marriage policy of the second part of the Fifth Dynasty is still employed during the reign of king Teti whose viziers Kagemni and Mereruka both married king's daughters Nubkhetnebtj and Watetkhethor/Seshseshet.

²⁴⁶ N. Kanawati sees that the political struggles at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty had an impact on loyalty and an important role of guards which they probably played within the administration of the land (Kanawati 2003). He highlighted the high number of anonymous guards depicted in the tombs of Teti's viziers and the same trend according to his opinion (Kanawati 2003) can be seen on the evidence of unusual honour given to guards during the reign of king Pepi I. (Urk. 1, 81: 8–9, 82:15, 83:9–11, 86: 7). The stress on loyalty and on the security personnel employed in the personal services to the king went hand in hand at the same time with noticeable disgrace of certain persons expressed by the evidence of punishment especially in the fourth 4 E-W street of Teti cemetery (Kanawati 2020: 161).

On the other hand, the administration of provinces underwent an important change.²⁴⁷ Each king of the Sixth Dynasty introduced his own policy of provincial administration to reach efficiency over agriculture and manpower (Kanawati 1980; Kanawati and Swinton 2018). The new office of *imy-r3 šmꜥw* overseer of the Upper Egypt was established already during the reign of king Djedkare.²⁴⁸ He was the second most important official in provincial administration, primarily responsible for taxation and organisation of workforces. Before the reign of Teti the holders of the title were buried at Memphite necropoleis (e.g. Ptahsepses Junior), later on during the Sixth Dynasty primarily on provincial sites. Two contemporary viziers were introduced, one residing at Memphis, the other responsible for provinces as the key provincial administrator with the seat at an important provincial centre which was changed according to a particular state policy (Kanawati 1980: 25; Strudwick 1985: 322). Governors of particular provinces who were designated as great overlords of the nomes, *i.e.* received the title of a nomarch, formed the backbone of the provincial administration. Furthermore, a significant role was played by expedition leaders and guardians of the southern border at the first cataract in Elefantine together with local administrators in Dakhla oasis in Ain Asil.

Each provincial necropolis was unique in certain respect. For instance, Elefantine is a very illustrative case of how specific conditions formed a distinctive identity of a local community. Elefantine profited from its unique position at the southern borders of the Egypt and its role to guard the borders and to carry out expeditions to South Nubia for trade. The tombs at local necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa also evince distinctive features. This applies not only to the architecture of the tombs, but also to the wall decoration that, unlike the residential tombs with various ritual and daily life scenes, consists mainly of panels with minor figures making offerings to the tomb owner (Vischak 2015). Furthermore, while the vast majority of elite tombs decoration encompasses anonymous subsidiary figures with only a small portion of them identified by a personal name or title, in the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa the overwhelming majority were identified, either by the title/name or by an affiliation to another depicted person. Only 5 percent of 448 subsidiary figures were without any identification tag (Vischak 2015: 449)! Another particularity is represented by a depiction of a whole families of the dependents with their wife, their son or their daughter who also served for the cult of the tomb owner, involving thus a next generation of servants (Vischak 2015: 452).

²⁴⁷ J.C. Moreno García 2013: 107–151.

Dachla oasis is a different example of a specific provincial site in a remote desert area. Balat - a seat of the governors of the oasis with the residence of the governor, and Qilat ed-Daba - a necropolis consisting of huge tombs of the governors, provide another source of information about high official's entourages which is complemented by a papyrus archive recording distribution lists and property inventories (Pantalacci 2010: 200). The latter sources inform us about the hierarchy of oasis administration, but also about the administration of a governor's household where an important role played *htmtyw* seal-bearers and *imy-r3* overseer of the house. An important part of governor's household were foundations for *k3*-chapels managed by the same sort of officials (Pantalacci 2010: 201). The particular members of governor's entourage are not recognized in the tomb decoration due to the bad state of preservation, but they were clearly detected in archaeology. One of the governors' tombs, that of Khentika, was surrounded by around sixty subsidiary burials. As G. Castel states, occupants of these burials were governor's family members, non-kin members of his entourage and servants who supported his cult, all buried in the time span from the reign of Pepi II to the beginning of the Middle Kingdom when the cult of Khentika become inactive (Castel 2005: 73–105).

A new interesting feature of the royal policy introduced by the Sixth Dynasty kings, in particular Pepi I, consists in bringing the sons of local rulers to the capital to be educated at Memphis together with the royal children in order to pass over the courtly values and to maintain their loyalty. Some of these sons stayed at the Residence and were employed in central administration, others, usually the eldest sons, were subsequently appointed at provincial centres to administer the nomes which they came from (*e.g.* Merirenefer/Qar to Edfu, or Ibi to Gebrawi).

The repertoire of the viziers dated to the Sixth Dynasty is the most numerous during the Old Kingdom consisting of more than 35 viziers from Memphite necropoleis and 11 others from provincial necropoleis (Strudwick 1985: 301–303, Tab. 28). As proposed by N. Kanawati, the high number of viziers dated to the Sixth Dynasty can be associated with appointing two contemporary viziers in the capital (Kanawati 1980)²⁴⁹. The majority of viziers from the first part of the Sixth Dynasty are buried on Teti pyramid cemetery in North Saqqara (viziers Kagemni, Neferseshemre Seshi, Ankhmahor Zezi, Mereruka Meri, Khentika Ikhekhi, Hezi, Inumin, Meriteti, Rawer). Three of these viziers, Mereruka, Ankhmahor and Inumin, were

²⁴⁹ The issue of simultaneous holding the post of the vizier was examined by N. Strudwick 1985: 323–328.

deliberately chosen. First of them especially because of his elevated rank as a son-in-law of king Teti and the extremely high number of depicted dependents, the latter one for his late promotion and loyalty to the ruling king Pepi I.

In contrast to clustering of high officials' tombs around the pyramid of the ruling king, the viziers of Pepi I were not buried in the vicinity of his pyramid in South Saqqara. Pepi I's viziers built their tombs either close to the pyramid of Teti, for instance the vizier Hezy (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1999)²⁵⁰ or Rawer (El-Fikey 1980), in the vicinity to the pyramid of Unas, e.g., the viziers Mehu or Ankhmerire (Altenmüller 1998) or in central Saqqara, e.g., viziers Tepemankh, Tjenty or Merery). Only in the second part of Pepi II's reign were the viziers buried again in the vicinity of the ruling king.²⁵¹

The selection of tombs dated to the second part of the Sixth dynasty was difficult for several reasons. Firstly, the tombs of several viziers are missing, namely the tombs of viziers Khenu, Ihykhenet, Neferseshemseshat Khenu and Zezi.²⁵² Another group of viziers were buried in the tombs of their fathers, therefore the wall decoration with depicted dependents is rather restricted either to a part of the tomb as in case of Mereruka's son Meriteti, or to a single chapel as illustrated by Ankhmerire for whom the chapel was built in the tomb of his father vizier Mehu. The place of the funerary cult of the vizier's offspring could have also been limited only to a false door, which was owned for instance by Hetepka in the tomb of his grandfather Mehu (Altenmüller 1998; Strudwick 1985: 153(149)).

Last but not least, one has to mention the not so rare phenomenon of the second part of Pepi II's reign – the reuse of older tombs.²⁵³ One can encounter this type of burial with regard to several viziers. For instance, the vizier Nebkauhor Idu who figures in the present selection of tombs usurped the tomb of the vizier Akhethetep Hemi (Hassan 1975; Strudwick 1982: 89–94; Strudwick 1985: 56–57). Another example represents the tomb M15 which originally belonged to official Akhi was reused by the vizier Khabaukhnun Biu (Brovarski 2005: 32; Strudwick 1985: 103). In some cases, it is rather difficult to distinguish the practice of usurpation from a mere burial of a person related by family ties to the tomb owner, since the mutual relationship is not revealed in the inscriptions. According to Strudwick one can consider,

²⁵⁰ For the biography of Hezy, see D.P. Silverman 2000: 1–9.

²⁵¹ E. Brovarski 2005: 35; M. Lehner 1997: 65.

²⁵² The location of tombs of the first two viziers is completely unknown to us, while the tombs of the latter two viziers (E 11 and E 16) are situated somewhere in North Saqqara, only the exact location is lost (Strudwick 1985: 96(62), 130(117)).

²⁵³ E. Brovarski assumes that the reuse of earlier tombs can reflect a weakening power of the vizier's office to the end of the Sixth dynasty (Brovarski 2005: 39).

e.g., Nihebsed Neferkare as a son of the vizier Merireiam, thus his secondary burial in the tomb of his potential father can be hardly taken as usurpation (Strudwick 1985: 103).

Another issue which makes the choice of the viziers more difficult, was the state of publication of South Saqqara tombs. The only available study dealing with tombs of the viziers of Pepi II interred in the vicinity of his pyramid complex at South Saqqara is the monograph by Jequier (Jequier 1929). Unfortunately, the viziers' tombs (of the above-mentioned viziers Nihebsed Neferkare (M 13), Merireiam (M 13) and Khabaukhnunm Biu (M 14) together with Teti (M 15 and Perishenay (N 5)) were not properly excavated nor published. Despite this fact, the latter individual was selected to illustrate the development in tomb building at the end of the Old Kingdom and to demonstrate the conditions of preservation of such monuments in Memphite cemeteries.

The vast majority of the above-mentioned viziers built their tombs at Saqqara necropolis. Only five viziers from the Sixth Dynasty built their tombs in Giza necropolis.²⁵⁴ As a representative of the viziers buried there, figures in my selection the vizier Idunefer, because he is one of the few whose tomb with good state of preservation made proper analysis possible. The list of chosen tombs is complemented by two representatives of provincial elite to compare the web of relations of the viziers from the Residence with social networks of provincial viziers. The first vizier is Hemre/Izy of Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati 2018: 61, no. 275) – the third provincial vizier after Izy of Edfu and Bawi of Akhmim. The second selected provincial vizier is Pepiankh, the Middle of Meir (Kanawati 2012).

Viziers dated to the Sixth Dynasty	Reign of
Kagemni Memi (Saqqara L10)	Early Sixth Dynasty
Neferseshemre Seshi (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Early Sixth Dynasty
Ankhmahor Sheshi (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Middle Teti-early Pepi I
Mereruka Meri (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Middle Teti-early Pepi I
Khentika Ikhekhi (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Middle Teti-early Pepi I
Qar (Abusir)	End Teti – beginning of Pepi I
Hezi (Saqqara)	End Teti – beginning of Pepi I

²⁵⁴ They are viziers Iryenakhty (Iryenakhty [QC 1], Idunefer [G 5550], Impy [G 2381a], Sabuptah Ibebi [G 2381a] and Werkauba Iku [G 2383]. Three latter ones were buried within the tomb complex of Sendjemib's family and their tombs have so far not been published (Brovarski 1979: 118, 1; Porter and Moss 1974: 460–461; Smith 1958: 59, fig. 2; Strudwick 1985: 96–97, 130–131. Moreover, as indicated by unpublished fragments, a tiny quantity of wall decoration survived from the chapels of both brother Impy and Sabuptah Ibebi (www.gizaarchives.com).

Merefnebef (Saqqara)	End Teti – beginning of Pepi I
Irenakhty (Giza QC 1))	End Teti – beginning of Pepi I
Inumin (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Beginning of Pepi I
Mehu (Saqqara Unas cemetery)	Beginning to mid Pepi I
Ptahhetep (Saqqara L 31)	Beginning to mid Pepi I
Tepemankh (Saqqara No. 75=D 10+H 11)	Pepi I
Tjenti (Saqqara No. 72=C18)	Pepi I
Meriteti (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Pepi I
Rawer (Saqqara Teti cemetery)	Middle to end Pepi I
Mereri (Saqqara)	Merenre to year 20 Pepi II
Neferseshemseshat Khenu (Saqqara E 11)	Merenre to year 20 Pepi II
Zezi (Saqqara E 16)	Pepi I to year 20 Pepi II
Idunefer (G 5550)	End Pepi I to year 20 Pepi II
Ankhmerire (Saqqara Unas cemetery))	End Pepi I to year 20 Pepi II
Khenu (unknown)	Midle Pepi II
Ikhykhenet (unknown)	Midle Pepi II
Merireiam/Pepiiam (Saqqara M13)	Midle Pepi II
Impy (G 2381a)	Midle Pepi II
Sabuptah Ibebi (G 2381a)	Midle Pepi II
Peri Shenay (Saqqara N5)	Midle Pepi II
Nebkauhor Idu (Saqqara Unas cemetery)	Mid to end Pepi II
Khabaukhnun Biu (Saqqara M 14)	Mid to end Pepi II
Nikhebsed Neferkare (Saqqara M 13)	Mid to end Pepi II
Werkauba Iku (G 2383)	End Old Kingdom
Teti (Saqqara M 15)	End Old Kingdom
Tjetju (Saqqata Teti cemetery)	End Old Kingdom

Tab. 16 Memphite viziers dated to the Sixth Dynasty

5.3.1 Mereruka

The tomb of Mereruka, its architecture and wall decoration

The stone-built mastaba of Mereruka is an illustrative memorial of the vizier's power. It was situated at a prominent place in the first row of tombs in front of the north temenos wall of Teti pyramid complex reserved for the king's most important dignitaries (Kanawati 2010). It is one of the great multi-chambered tombs, with dimensions of ca. 41.7 × 25m (Kanawati 2010: 33). The central and south-eastern part consists of more than 20 chambers belonging to Mereruka,

ten of which were fully decorated (Kanawati 2010: 34) (A1, A3-4, A6, A8-A13). Apart from a multi-roomed chapel designed for the tomb owner, the complex building consists also of a separate part of the tomb assigned for Mereruka's wife Watetkhethor and for his eldest son. The decoration of Mereruka's elaborate tomb was documented and studied by Kanawati (2010; 2011). As far as thorough iconographical studies of the vizier's tomb are concerned, it was especially Gabrielle Pieke who scrutinized particular issues, namely the relief and painting techniques of Mereruka's tomb (Pieke 2011: 216–228), iconographic analysis of part C in the tomb with respect to its original owner (Pieke 2008: 103–110), the provenance of some new relief fragments in Berlin museum and its analysis or more extensive works dealing with relief programs in the tombs of viziers situated at Teti cemetery (Pieke 2012:123–139; Pieke 2013: 295–311). In general, Mereruka's tomb iconography is distinguished by richness of decoration featuring some unique scenes and motives (Kanawati 2003: 31; Pieke 2011: 216–228; 2012: 123–139).²⁵⁵

Mereruka's close family and extended household

Numerous studies and articles were devoted to this intriguing vizier: several monographs dealt with his place in Teti's administration (Kanawati 2007), the political background and the royal succession policy (Kanawati 2003) or the vizier's titulary (Strudwick 1985). It was N. Kanawati who minutely analysed the family background of the vizier (Kanawati 2012: pls. 74, 76, 82). Mereruka's mother Nedjetempet is well documented, she was most likely a wife of official Meruka from Giza (Harpur 1987: 14; Junker 1950: 69–83; Kanawati 2010: 19). Paternal ancestors are less obvious; according to Kanawati (2007: 48) a link can be traced to Seshemnefer's family - Seshemnefer I proposed to be a great-grandfather of Mereruka.

Based on the textual evidence from the tomb Mereruka's close family was formed by his wife Watetkhethor/Seshseshet – the eldest daughter of king Teti, together with his eldest son who were both designated their own separate parts of the chapel.²⁵⁶ Six sons by Mereruka: Mery, Pepiankh (Memi), Meriteti, Nefer, Khenu and Khenty (Kanawati 2010: 23–26), together with one daughter Ibnebu are recorded in the tomb iconography (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq

²⁵⁵ N. Kanawati pointed out the great difference between the tombs of Teti's viziers like Mereruka or Kagemni and the tombs of lower or even middle officials (Kanawati 1977: 73–74). He associates it with the difficulties that accompanied Teti's accession to the throne and his need to support his few loyal officials and reward them with material benefits (Kanawati 2007: 31).

²⁵⁶ Kanawati ascribes a part of the tomb to the eldest son by Watetkhethor and Mereruka Meriteti. In contrast, G. Pieke in her recent study convincingly demonstrated that part C of the tomb was originally built for another eldest son by Mereruka and his first wife - certain Memy (Pieke 2008: 103–110).

2010: pls. 5-6, 57; Duell 1938: 1, 3).²⁵⁷ Within other close relatives of Mereruka has to be mention also his ten brothers depicted elsewhere in the tomb (Duell 1938, Kanawati 2010: 20–22; 2011).

The bulk of non-kin persons that once formed the vizieral entourage of Mereruka must have been imposing – almost a hundred of identified dependents preserved as yet on the walls. To be more specific, they comprise in total 92 persons, seven of them designated only by a title, eighteen only by their names (Kanawati 2010 and Abder-Raziq: 26–31). In relation to this large number of attendants, their titles rather vary (there are 23 different professions depicted), but the diversity in titles is not as numerous as for example in the case of the vizier Ptahshepses or Akhethetep (see the extended households of respective viziers). It has to be mentioned that the large number of dependents consists primarily of persons engaged in priestly services - more than 50 priests are recorded in the tomb! They are distinguished by a three-level hierarchical system consisting of 46 ordinary priests, two under-supervisors and three inspectors of *k3*-priests, with no overseer of *k3*-priests preserved in the reliefs. Of them, 31 ordinary priests were exclusively distinguished by their priestly titles and names.²⁵⁸ Another large group of 11 priests was at the same time endowed with a scribal title connected to phyle administration, namely a “scribe of the phyle”. Some *k3*-priests, especially those of a higher hierarchy, were also holders of various important scribal titles. For instance, the individual Irenakhty who belonged to leading priestly attendants as inspector of *k3*-priests simultaneously held the title “overseer of juridical scribes” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 27, pl. 72c, 74, 77a, 87, 94). Another two “inspectors of *k3*-priests” also held a scribal title of an “inspector of juridical scribes”; these were Hernet and an individual whose name was preserved only partially (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 28, pl. 74).²⁵⁹ “Under-supervisors of *k3*-priests” can be also considered men of certain importance based on their accompanying titles. In the first place it was Inkhykem who held several scribal titles; he was a scribe of the phyle, a scribe of the god’s book and also held an interesting title connected to king’s privacy – a “scribe of the cool-room of the palace” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 27, pls. 67, 74, 77a, 94; Kanawati 2011: pls. 73, 81). Another

²⁵⁷ Ibnebu is depicted only in the chapel of her mother Watetkhetor. Kanawati suggests that the reason why we lack any record in her father’s part of the tomb can be explained by her birth only after her father’s death (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010). Kanawati pointed out also another remarkable feature in the connection with Mereruka’s family. Based on the fact that Mereruka’s son Meriteti was recognized as the oldest son of Mereruka nowhere else than in the C part of the tomb (room 10), he speculates of a potential unique position of Meriteti within the royal succession lineal considering Meriteti as a potential successor to the throne for a certain time until the royal son Pepi I was born (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 24–25; Kanawati 2007: 50–52, 55, pl. 93).

²⁵⁸ Concerning the rest of five ordinary priests, their names have not been preserved, but were once probably attached.

²⁵⁹ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2010: 28, pl. 74) reconstructs only part of the name as M[...]w.

man endowed with the title “under-supervisor of *k3*-priests” was a key person in running the household, holding at the same time title *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house” Khay (Kanawati 2010: 29, pls. 81, 82a, 87).

Apart from *k3*-priests of different hierarchy, we encounter also *hry-ḥbt* “lector priests” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: Pl. 86b, 88a; Kanawati 2011: Pl. 64). Lector priest Aperef can be distinguished among others by his rank title *smr wꜥty* “sole companion.” In fact, he is the only dependent in the tomb designated by a rank title. Only a single depiction of his figure occurs in tomb iconography, yet his significance is apart from the rank title recognizable by several other factors. Firstly, it is underlined by his prominent position in the physical proximity of the tomb owner (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 86b). Furthermore, his figure is elaborately manufactured with a fine relief detail of the carving (Pieke 2012: 128) portrayed in a larger scale than any other dependent in the respective wall scene (Duell 1938: pls. 138, 154; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 73)!

On analysing Mereruka’s priestly personnel also individuals associated with *hntyw-š* profession have to be highlighted (Fettel 2010: 21–123).²⁶⁰ Various scholars who dealt with this group of people employed different terms to denote it (Fischer 1968: 171; Posener-Kriéger 1976: 577–581; Roth 1991). The translation “tenant” was for a long time generally accepted (e.g. Porter and Moss 1981 or Fischer 1968: 170-171), but P. Posener-Kriéger preferred the translation “employé” because of the role *hnty(w)-š* played within the ritual in the mortuary temple of Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 577–581/1976: 577ff). N. Kanawati specifies their services for the king as “mainly occupied with transport, escorting and guarding” (Kanawati 2003: 16). According to his opinion the office began to be closely associated with titles concerning clothing, bathing and feeding of the king with the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 18). He sees the aspect of securing the protection for the king as one of key responsibilities of the office which goes hand in hand with responsibility for weapons. Therefore, he uses the term palace guards (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 14–24), but his idea has not been generally accepted. The present author considers neither of these interpretations entirely convincing, therefore, she uses the term *hnty(w)-š* officials without any translation.

Two representatives of *hntyw-š* profession are present in the tomb of Mereruka. The individual Menthebet who is tagged by the title *imy st-ꜥ hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3* “overseer of department

²⁶⁰ The introduction of the title *hnty(w)-š* in the second part of the Fifth Dynasty can be associated with the change in administration of royal cults (e.g. *hm-ntr* priests became connected not directly with the king, but with his mortuary temple).

of *hnty(w)-š* officials of the Great House” is the first and the only identified offering bearer on the south wall of Room A 12 (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 60, 109). His name is rather erased, yet it still seems to be part of the original wall inscriptions. In the second case the title *hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3* “*hnty(w)-š* officials of the Great House” was attached to the figure of an attendant who served the brother of the tomb owner sailing in a boat (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 79)(Fig. 29). This inscription seems to overlap an older one which was erased. The time when the inscription was modified is unclear, but the context of the particular scene suggests that the inscription was recorded at the time of completing the decoration. Mereruka’s brother Ihy – the dignitary who is being served, is also tagged with the *hntyw-š* title, not the same, but a higher title in the same professional branch. Hence Ihy’s loyal subordinate might have appeared to be the most appropriate candidate and as such replaced someone else.

Similar to individuals connected to central administration or the court it is rather questionable what role *hntyw-š* officials played within the extended household of the vizier. Were they his subordinates (or his brother’s) or attendants of the king? The attribute *pr-ꜥ3* in their titles indisputably refers to the involvement of these officials within the court administration. But we can still ask whether these individuals could not have served to both - the king and the vizier, at least for their funerary cult. The organisation of the funerary cult in phyle system appears to be adopted by private individuals during the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. In a similar way, might there happen a certain transformation in the purview of *hnty(w)-š* officials from exclusively royal to both royal and private sphere a several decades later?²⁶¹ Unfortunately, the depictions of *hnty(w)-š* officials in the tomb of the vizier Mereruka provide no clues to support this assumption.

When dealing with *hnty(w)-š* officials the author would like to discuss one more issue. N. Kanawati accentuates the aspect of protection in regard of their profession (Kanawati 2003: 16). He pointed out the high number of anonymous attendants and guards recorded around Mereruka, even in rather intimate scenes (Kanawati 2013: pls. 108, 109). According to him no other official is depicted with such a high number of his attendants. He puts it in connection with the problems of Teti’s ascension to the throne. Moreover, he draws attention to the fact that Teti arranged for his guards the north-west section of Teti’s cemetery which he interprets as the desire of the king to be surrounded by holders of this office (Kanawati 2003: 152). However, the remarkably low number of identified *hnty(w)-š* officials in Mereruka’s tomb (only

²⁶¹ Responsibilities and competencies of *hntyw-š* officials were scrutinized by A.M. Roth, but exclusively in the royal cultic context (Roth 1991: 79–81).

two) does not indicate any necessity to be protected against a potential threat. Moreover, we are not sure if they did not rather belong to the individuals employed in royal services. Another issue is that it was not usual to depict dependents with military or police titles in the decoration of Old Kingdom tombs in contrast to Middle Kingdom, when this segment of administration regularly appears, *e.g.* officials depicted with titles such as *imy-r3 mšꜥ*, *imy-r3 šnt*, *imy-r3 nw w* (Seidlmayer 2007: 351–368 or Newberry 1893).

To continue in the enumeration of the members of Mereruka's suite, the second type of profession which follows in a number of occurrences after priests are scribes (more than 30 individuals). Especially persons with the already mentioned title 'scribe of the phyle' stand out among other incumbents of scribal profession (in total 15 individuals, 11 of them held the *k3*-priest title at the same time). According to A.M. Roth (1991: 113) it is exactly the frequent occurrence of the title *zš z3* "scribe of the phyle" which is characteristic of phyle organisation in a private cult. Moreover, five storerooms in the tomb of Mereruka are labelled with the name of a phyle (Roth 1991: 113). It demonstrates that the phyle system was fully developed in the funerary cult of Mereruka, only the distribution of particular scribes to phyle divisions is not obvious. Roth suggests an assignment of one scribe to each phyle (Roth 1991: 113). In the case of Mereruka's tomb, there are 15 persons labelled with the title, which would indicate three scribes for each phyle. Although one might argue that some of the roughly carved *zš z3* titles were attached to particular figures later and thus their numbers are in fact lower, it need not necessarily be this particular case. As G. Pieke (2011: 222) pointed out, the roughly carved bulk of titles "scribe of the phyle" that was recorded in front of scribes and priests on the east wall of room 10 seems to be just a later stage of decoration, not new additions to the scene (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: Pl. 46b, 94). Therefore, they were included among the dependents (see Tab 17).

Scribal professions represented in the mastaba of Mereruka comprise also scribes of the juridical branch of different hierarchy: ordinary juridical scribes, inspectors and overseers of juridical scribes, in total 7 individuals. Apart from this three-level hierarchical organisation, we encounter also four scribes of the funerary estates whose occurrence refers, together with the frequent occurrence of "scribes of the phyle", to the large size and significance of Mereruka's funerary foundation. Scribes connected to the palace/ king or associated with land administration are present as well, namely *zš šꜣbb pr-ꜣ* "scribe of the cool-room of the palace" and *zš md3t nꜥr* "scribe of the god's book" Inkhikem (Kanawati 2010: 27, Pl. 67, 74, 77a, 94; Kanawati and Abder Raziq 2011: Pl.73, 81) or "scribe of the royal records in the presence" and

at the same time *hk3 hwt* “estate manager” Nedjemib and Shepesuptah (Kanawati and Abder Raziq 2010: 29, 30, 77a, 78a). All three were probably Mereruka’s direct subordinates, since he held, among other titles, the title *imy-r3 skbbwy pr-ʿ3* “overseer of the two cool-chambers of the palace” (Kanawati and Abder Raziq 2010: 14, pl. 63).

Scribes were often portrayed in the tomb decoration seated in scenes of rendering accounts or bringing offerings to the tomb owner, often in the prominent place in the register.²⁶² In the tomb of Mereruka such scenes contain a punishment of those who failed in administering estates they were responsible for (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 77a, 78a).²⁶³ Among the punished scribes several following individuals were recorded: “a scribe of the field” Nedjem, *imy-r3 zš(w) mrt* “overseer of *mrt*-people” Šemau and a *imy-r3 zš(w) n z3b* “overseer of juridical scribes of the judiciary” Imshetetu (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 77a, 78a). They were all portrayed in a bent posture in front of men with batons. Another scribe in the same scene is portrayed in a humbled position almost lying on the ground (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 77a, 78a). This individual Gefgef held the title scribe of the royal records in the presence. Yet another individual named Ptahshepses with the title *imy-r3 zšw 3h(wt)* “overseer of the scribes of the field/field-scribes” is pictured tied to a post (Kanawati 2010: 30, Pls. 77a, 78a).²⁶⁴ Interestingly, all these men were at the same time labelled as estate manager, which indicates that some serious incident in administering of estates must have happened and their protagonists were illustratively punished. A scene of recording the goods from funerary estates of Lower Egypt on the south wall in Room A6 is of certain importance in this context (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 81, 82a). Four anonymous scribes of the funerary estates are portrayed there, sitting behind the overseer of the house Khay. A noteworthy aspect is the erasure of the second part of their titles *n pr dt* (only sign *zš* remained undisturbed). This is quite peculiar since the scribes appear to be originally anonymous and no other title or name was later added. Why the component *n pr dt* was then removed is hard to reveal, but it again points to a certain problem in the management of Mereruka’ estates. This assumption could be supported by the fact that none of the estate managers does occur elsewhere in the mastaba depicted in a prominent position and in none of the cases were they endowed with *k3*-priest title. This might

²⁶² For scenes of scribes rendering accounts see, Y. Harpur 1987: 169–170.

²⁶³ A similar scene appears in the tomb of the vizier Khentika 1953: pl. 9.

²⁶⁴ Careful study of the inscriptions shows that at least the titles of all five named individuals were somehow modified. They were either wrongly arranged and subsequently corrected or slightly changed, which makes the scene even more ambiguous.

indicate that they were excluded from participation in the profit provided to loyal dependents from Mereruka's funerary foundations.

Returning back to the list of scribal professions, a particular stress has to be put on those who appear several times in the iconography of Mereruka's tomb. Together with the fact that they were usually depicted in a prominent place within a respective scene, it demonstrates their important position among members of Mereruka's entourage. First in the number of occurrences (six times in total) was an individual named Inkhikem who bore the title *ḥm-k3 imy-ḥt ḥm-k3 zš m3d nṯr zš z3 zš skbb pr-ꜥ3* of a “*k3*-priest, an under-supervisor of *k3*-priests, scribe of the god's book, scribe of the phyle and scribe of the cool-room of the palace” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 27). He appears six times in the relief decoration. In most of these scenes, this individual holds an important post in the vicinity of the tomb owner, or at the front place in the row of offering-bearers or attendants. He could be a direct subordinate of the vizier, who held the title *imy-r3 skbbwy pr-ꜥ3* “overseer of the two cool chambers of the palace” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 14, Pl. 63).²⁶⁵

Another representative of scribal profession, Irenakhty, occurs five times elsewhere in the iconography of the tomb. He stood at the head of a juridical branch of administration as *z3b imy-r3 zš(w)* “juridical overseer of scribes” and he was also involved in the funerary cult of Mereruka as indicated by his title *shḏ hm(w)-k3* “inspector of *k3*-priest” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 27).²⁶⁶ In a number of occurrences then follows the “scribe of the phyle and *k3*-priest” Nebsen (*zš z3, ḥm-k3*) who is recorded three times.²⁶⁷ To accomplish the list of significant scribes it is necessary to mention an individual Ikhy with the titles juridical overseer of scribes

²⁶⁵ Inkhikem is depicted as an attendant in both scenes of the tomb owner spear fishing (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: Pl. 67), and in the scene of the tomb owner viewing the activities in workshops (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: Pl. 74), as an offering bearer in front of the tomb owner in the scene on the west wall in Room A4 (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 77) and following the tomb owner in the procession of offering bearers (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 94), standing in front of the tomb owner in the scene of conveying in a palanquin (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 73), and as an offering bearer in the scene of a seated couple playing senet game and viewing agriculture scenes (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 81). In the first case the inscription is secondarily damaged.

²⁶⁶ Irenakhty is recorded bearing offerings in front of the tomb owner (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 72c), as a personal attendant in the scene of tomb owner viewing workshop activities (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 74), again as a personal attendant of the tomb owner (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 77A), and as the first in the procession of offering bearers (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 87; the inscription contains only name and probably added later), as the first offering bearer in the register under the tomb owner sitting in the offering room (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 94). The latter inscription is partially erased.

²⁶⁷ Nebsen appears burning incense in front of the statue of the tomb owner in the scene of workshop activities (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 74–75) and as a scribe in the scene of bringing offerings from the estates of Lower and Upper Egypt (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 81), also standing within important officials (priests and scribes) behind the tomb owner in scene of bringing offerings on the east wall of the offering chamber (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 94).

and a privy to the secrets of the great chamber, who appears as a senior official to whom the scribes are rendering accounts (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 77A, 78). He must have been a trusty man probably closely connected to a palace administration.

A group of individuals who follows priests and scribes in the number of representatives of certain profession are household managers (16 persons). Three overseers of the house stood in charge of running the household of Mereruka: Nyankhkhnum, Ikhy and Khay. Their depictions within respective scenes indicates that each was presumably responsible for a slightly different household segment. Based on the scene of rendering accounts from estates in which Nyankhkhnum is reporting to a senior official, he was probably in charge of household incomes (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 77a, 78a). Other two overseers presumably headed particular household segments. The second one, Ikhy, appears to be responsible for workshop production and probably all non-agrarian products in general according to the scene of weighing metal where Ikhy supervises and records the outcomes (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 74–75)(Fig. 30). The third overseer of the house, Khay, seems to take care of the household's livestock, as he heads the register of scribes in the scene presenting the list of fatted animals brought to Mereruka as mortuary offerings (Duell 1938: pl. 50; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 81, 82a, 87). The latter individual might have been the senior overseer of the house as indicated by his involvement in the funerary cult of the deceased vizier – he was endowed with the title *imy-ht hm-k3* “under-supervisor of *k3*-servants”, bearing yet another scribal title *zš md3t ntr* “scribe of the god's book” (and perhaps *wty* embalmer if the same individual was concerned).²⁶⁸

Apart from these three *imy-r3 pr* “overseers of the house”, seven *hk3-hwt* “estate managers”, and four *imy-r3 šsr* “overseers of linen” belonged to the group of household administrators. Seven estate managers occur in the already-mentioned scene of rendering accounts, all of them portrayed in a position of humiliation (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 78) (Fig. 31). In contrast to estate managers, two named overseers of linen Weret and Hemre were both labelled as *k3*-priests. Weret is depicted following the palanquin of the tomb owner (Duell 1938: pl. 14; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 27, pl. 71), while both together are portrayed as attendants of the tomb owner who views the procession of priests and scribes (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 29, pl. 94). Another five anonymous overseers of the linen are recorded in the scene depicting a bed-making for the tomb owner (Kanawati and Abder-

²⁶⁸ Overseer of the house Niankhkhnum also took part in the cult of the deceased vizier, but he was only an ordinary priest and a scribe of the phyle at the same time (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pls. 67, 77a, 78a, 94).

Raziq 2010: pl. 51a). Since none of them are named, the labels attached to the figures refer exclusively to their function.

No particular household servant who would be identified by a name or a title is recorded in the wall decoration. Although scenes with ordinary servants do occur in the tomb, e.g. in scenes of animal slaughter depicting butchers or harvest scenes with reapers (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: pl. 57a), the servants are merely anonymous.

As far as other professional segments are concerned, neither specialists nor persons employed in the sphere of body care are present.²⁶⁹ Regarding craftsmen, two *mdh zš nswt* “master architects of the king” are depicted. Nevertheless, in this particular case we might consider the other of two possible translations of the title - “inspector of the royal scribes” - as more appropriate.²⁷⁰ In the scene describing workmen in the tomb of Mereruka, other persons than craftsmen are identified, e.g. overseer of the house (Kanawati 2010: 74–75).²⁷¹ The just mentioned *mdh zš nswt* “master architects of the king” rather surprisingly appear in the scene of rendering accounts. They were highly likely represented primarily as scribes and managers of Mereruka’s estates. Both executed the post of estate managers, at the same time being portrayed in a posture of humility as other estate managers (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 27, 28, pl. 78).

The organisation of labour represented in the tomb concerns three persons, two of them are *imy-r3 izwt* “overseers of crews” Neferwedenet and Nefermenekhet who appear in a relief fragment where they steer a sailing boat (Kanawati 2011: pl. 87d). The third one, this time anonymous holder of the title, “was elder of the dockyard” *smsw whrt* (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 31).

Overall, the extended household of the vizier Mereruka shows to a large extent features characteristic for the late Fifth Dynasty viziers. It consists of a high number of dependents in these professional segments, i.e. priestly, scribal, central administration or courtly. On the contrary, a big difference consists in the number of respective representatives, especially *k3*-priests. While in the previous dynasty the number of priests oscillates from seven to 25

²⁶⁹ It has to be noted that not a dependent but one of Mereruka’s sons Nefer was a physician. He is portrayed within a depiction of tomb owner’s brothers and sons (Kanawati 2012: Pl. 73).

²⁷⁰ For the translation and interpretation of the title, see Hannig 2003: 383; Helck 1954: 75, n. 56; 100, n. 65; Jones 2000: 467, 1739; Piancentini 2002: 35–36 and no. 22, 27. Interestingly, A. McFarlane considers the title *shd mdh zš nswt* senior scribal title prior to introduction of *imy-r3 zš (w) nswt*.

²⁷¹ For the scenes of workshop activities in Old Kingdom tombs, see Y. Harpur 1987: 84; the list of workshop scenes was provided by R. Drenkhahn 1976.

individuals in particular extended households, Mereruka's cult was administered by 51 priests, which is comparable only to the cult of the vizier Ptahshepses. Of certain importance is also the presence of *hnty(w)-š* officials who are missing in the tombs of Mereruka's predecessors.²⁷² The frequent reference to phyle system in numerous titles of Mereruka's dependents, as well as the records of names of various phyles inscribed above the entrance of several storerooms in the tomb together with a large amount of *k3*-priests, refers to a big size and the significance of vizier's funerary cult. The same can be claimed about Mereruka's household management. The size of Mereruka's household is reflected in numerous occurrences of different overseers of the house and overseers of the linen elsewhere in the tomb. Nevertheless, these managers were not accompanied by identified household servants, only by an anonymous domestic staff that is depicted all over the tomb. This is rather surprising taking into consideration the large number of household managers. Perhaps, anonymous groups of people were recorded to complete the scenes to capture the complexity in the daily-life scenes without any need to distinguish the ordinary people.

Similar to priests, the extended household of Mereruka abounds of scribes (29 individuals). Their number resembles the number of scribes in Ptahshepses' extended household (25 individuals), but the difference consists in the occurrence of "scribes of the phyle" (15 individuals) who are completely missing in Ptahshepses tomb.²⁷³ Other scribes were represented by their juridical branch (of different hierarchical levels) and by those employed at the royal court or working directly for the king. Scribes connected directly to the management of estates ("scribes of the funerary estates") newly appear in the iconography, but these titles were erased for a specific reason (see above).

Regarding other segments of administration, there occur only individuals engaged in labour organisation while other professional groups are missing. To be more specific, individuals employed in the sphere of body care are absent although Mereruka himself held several titles associated with the work in the sphere of king's privacy and intimacy.²⁷⁴ As far as the presence of identified craftsmen is concerned, it is rather questionable because of the

²⁷² It does not necessarily mean that *hnty-š* officials firstly appeared in private tombs during the time of king Teti, the evidence of *hnty-š* officials in sources of the royal provenience comes already from Sahure's mortuary temple (Borchardt 1981; Borchardt 1913) or from Abusir papyri (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 577ff, 659).

²⁷³ The evidence of scribes of the phyle comes already from the tomb of the vizier Ptahhetep (see the respective chapter).

²⁷⁴ Mereruka held the titles *hry sš3 n pr-dw3t* "one privy to the secret of the house of morning", *imy-r3 ipt nswt* "overseer of the king's (private) apartment", *imy-r3 izwy n hkr(w) nswt* "overseer of the two bureaux of the royal ornaments/regalia", *imy-r3 hkrw nswt nb* "overseer of all king's royal ornaments/regalia" (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 13–14, pls. 63, 64b–c, 90; Kanawati 2011: pls. 76, 87a, 93–104, 107, 112d).

ambiguous translation of the title *mdh zš nswt*. No specialists did occur in the tomb except for Mereruka's son Nefer who held a medical title (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2010: 25).

Based on this data a certain disproportion in the representation of particular professional groups has to be pointed out. While some segments or groups of professions/titles are strongly represented (*e.g.* priests or scribes, esp. “scribe of the phyle”) and within them we find quite a big diversity of titles, other segments are almost or completely missing. This clearly demonstrates that the high number of dependents and the big diversity of titles in one or more professional spheres do not necessarily imply the growth and complexity of titles in other potential segments. The iconographic evidence shows that the stress was put on the primary components necessary for running the vizierial household both during the vizier's life and especially after his death. The occurrence of *hnty-š* officials appears to be a completely new feature which corresponds with the general characteristic of the office that was rapidly developing at the turn of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty and was often inherited within a single family (Kanawati 2003: 152–153; Roth 1991: 79–80).

Mereruka	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>imy-r3 zš(w) n z3b</i> “overseer of juridical scribes of the judiciary”	3
	<i>z3b šhd zšw</i> “juridical inspector of the scribes”	2
	<i>z3b (zš)</i> “juridical scribe”	2
	<i>imy-r3 zšw 3h(wt)</i> “overseer of the scribes of the field/field-scribes”	2
	<i>imy-r3 zš(w) mrt</i> “overseer of scribes of meret-serfs”	1
	<i>zš skbb pr-3</i> “scribe of the cool-room of the palace”	1
	<i>zš ˆ n nswt hft-hr</i> “scribe of the royal records in the presence”	1
	<i>zš md3t ntr</i> “scribe of the god's book”	1
	<i>zš z3</i> “scribe of the Phyle”	15
	<i>zš n pr-dt</i> “scribe of the funerary estate”	4
	<i>htmty</i> “sealer”	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	46
	<i>imy-ht hm-k3</i> “under-supervisor of k3-servants”	2

	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3</i> “inspector of funerary priest”	3
	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> “lector priest”	5
	<i>imy st-ᶜ ḥnty(w)-š pr-ᶜ3</i> “overseer of department of <i>ḥnty(w)-š</i> officials of the Great House”	1
	<i>ḥnty(w)-š pr-ᶜ3</i> “ <i>ḥnty(w)-š</i> officials of the Great House”	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate”	4
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> “overseer of the linen”	4
	<i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i> “estate manager”	7
Organisation of labour	<i>imy-r3 izwt</i> “overseer of crews”	2
	<i>smsw whrt</i> “elder of the dockyard”	1
Craftsmen	<i>mdḥ zš(w) nswt</i> “master architect of the king”	2
	<i>iry iz</i> “tomb-maker”	1
	<i>iry iz</i> “custodian of the iz-chamber/ tomb keeper”	1
Titles connected to central administration/court/the king	<i>ḥry-sš3 n izt ᶜ3t</i> “privy to the secret of the great chamber”	1
Rank titles	<i>šmr wᶜty</i> “sole companion”	1

Tab. 17 The extended household of Mereruka

5.3.2 Ankhmahor Zezy

The tomb of Ankhmahor, its architecture and wall decoration

Ankhmahor is the second Teti’s vizier deliberately chosen for the analysis among the viziers dated to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty. While the vizier Mereruka held the vizirate probably in the first part of Teti’s reign, Ankhmahor was presumably active during the mid-late reign of the same king (Cherpion 1989: 153; Strudwick 1985: 75 (30)).²⁷⁵ The vizier’s tomb was built in Teti pyramid cemetery, where all Teti’s viziers without any exception were accompanying their ruler in the afterlife. The whole cemetery is unique not only in a number of vizier’s tombs clustered on a single necropolis but the tombs themselves are distinguished by their large size containing multiple rooms and elaborated iconography with a variety, in some respect unparalleled, of scenes and inscriptions.²⁷⁶ The tomb of the vizier Ankhmahor is situated in the second north-south street of the cemetery, exactly between the tombs of Neferseshemre on the

²⁷⁵ For a slightly different dating, see Y. Harpur 1987: 273 (374) who dates Ankhmahor to late Teti/early Pepi I reign or K. Baer (1960: 64 (94)) who set the vizier to the reign of Pepi I (period VIB).

²⁷⁶ For specific features and the particularity of Teti pyramid cemetery in general, see Kanawati 2003: 138–144, Maříková-Vlčková 2009: 47–57, Pieke 2012: 123–138.

south and the tomb of have preserved on the walls until now. The only room – room VII - stayed largely unfinished (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 54–55).²⁷⁷

The iconography of the tomb includes several scenes that are worth mentioning. These include not only a well-known scene of a ritual purification of a funerary priest previously wrongly interpreted as a circumcision scene²⁷⁸ (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 49–50, pls. 19, 55), but also a scene of beer making (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 12), a market scene (Badawy 1978: 19) or a depiction of a funerary procession accompanied by grief and lamentation (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 51, pls. 20a, 56).

Ankhamor's close family and extended household

The textual evidence informs us about the close family of the vizier that was very limited. Similar to some other dignitaries, for instance the vizier Ptahhetep of Akhethetep, no wife of the vizier Ankhamor is recorded (only not preserved?) in the tomb. However, on the grounds of the presence of at least two eldest sons in the decoration of the tomb, Kanawati assumes that Ankhamor had two potential wives (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 12). Apart from the eldest son Ishfy, an important role within Ankhamor's family definitely was played by his brother Tjemeru as demonstrated by his multiple occurrences on the walls in the tomb (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pls. 12, 45, 46).²⁷⁹

These few relatives of Ankhamor were accompanied in the wall decoration by 37 dependents not related by blood (see Tab. 18). Twenty individuals are designated by both their names and titles, the rest (18 of them) are known only by their titles. Concerning the diversity of titles, they range from scribal and priestly to various titles connected to crafts or household management; in total 23 different titles appear attached to the figures of particular dependents.

The most numerous group of dependents consists of persons with priestly titles (13 people). The majority among them was formed again by *k3*-priests (10 individuals). Only ordinary priests and an inspector of priests are to be recognized, the middle level of under-supervises is missing. Two titles containing names of a particular phyle refer to the organisation

²⁷⁷ According to the inscription on the false door it had to serve as the offering room for Ankhamor's son Ishfy.

²⁷⁸ For the most recent interpretation of the scene, see S. Grunert 2002: 137–151, cf. earlier works by e.g. Nunn 1996: 169–171; Roth 1991: 62–72 or Spigelman 1997.

²⁷⁹ N. Kanawati considers more than one Ankhamor's son to have the same name Ishfy, see Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 13–15, especially the fowling scene on the west wall of room II that records at least three different sons of the same name Ishfy, but holding different titles. One of the sons was intentionally erased, see Badawy 1978: 23–24; Kanawati and Hassan 2002: pls. 8, 42. Several sons were also captured in the group statuary of Ankhamor. For the interpretation of the statuary, see also M. Eaton-Krauss 1984: 132 n. 696.

of *k3*-priests in phyle system. The first individual title was *shd hmw-k3 n imy-wrt* “inspector of funerary priest of the starboard phyle”, the second one *zš z3* “scribe of the phyle” (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 16–17, pls. 8, 9, 13, 48)(Fig. 32).²⁸⁰ Another piece of evidence of a phyle organisation of Ankhmahor’s funerary cult is clearly visible in the scene on the east wall of room V where the depicted offering bearers (according to the vertical inscription *k3*-priests), are divided into four different phyles: *t3-wr n hzt* “the larboard of the favoured” and *imy wrt n hzt* “the starboard of the favoured” in the bottom register and *imy nfrt n hzt* “the stern of the favoured” and *w3dt n hzt* “the bow of the favoured” in the register above (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 48, pl. 54).²⁸¹ Not counting Ankhmahor’s son in the register, it comprises sixteen priests (eight pairs) who carry large chests together with one super intendant and another offering-bearer holding a jar. The first upper register on the wall was completely damaged, but fragments of the second upper register indicate that there was repeated a procession of offering bearers. Another 16 or at least eight priests originally recorded in the scene – that have been originally involved in Ankhmahor’s funerary cult.

To name the most important representatives occupying priestly profession in Ankhmahor’s cult, it was in the first place the “inspector of *k3*-priest” Hepy. He was depicted two times in the iconography of the tomb and distinguishes from other dependents by his depiction. He is portrayed as a portly man with a long kilt occupying a prominent place either immediately behind Ankhmahor’s son Ishfy or at the head of the register of offering bearers (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 42, pls. 8,9, 13, 48)(see Fig. 29). Priest also appear is the well-known scene of ritual purification in earlier works wrongly interpreted as a circumcision scene (Fig. 33).

Not only funerary priests, but also other representatives of priestly profession have to be enumerated. A *wty Inpw* “embalmer of Anupis” and *hry-hbt* “lector priest” both identified only by their titles appear in the scene depicting funerary procession (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 51, pls. 20a, 56, 57a)(see Fig. 34).²⁸² Another man in the same scene portrayed as the first man in front of these priests is worth noting – he is an “overseer of the seal-bearers of the god” – probably a man of certain importance, since he holds a sceptre in one hand and leans on his

²⁸⁰ Both individuals are portrayed as offering bearers, each of them recorded on an opposite doorway thickness between room III-IV (Kanawati and Hassan 2002: 42, pls. 13, 48).

²⁸¹ Four registers of offering bearers were originally depicted, two of them badly weathered (Kanawati and Hassan 2002: 48, pl. 54).

²⁸² Another two lector priests can be found in the scene of animal slaughter both designated exclusively by the professional tag (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 44, 46, pl. 49).

staff by the other. A group of priests is accompanied by a female servant who is also tagged by an identifying label. It describes the woman as a “mourner” (*dryt*).

There appears a *hnty-š* official among the individuals associated with Ankhmahor’s funerary cult similar to Mereruka’s household. It is unfortunate that the title was preserved only partially [...*st hnty-š..*] department of *hnty-š* officials..equally as the figure of the individual, therefore it cannot be stated with certainty if it represents any of the dependents of the tomb owner or directly Ankhmahor’s brother Tjemeru (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pls. 8, 9, 42).²⁸³ Based on the corresponding title *imy-r3 st hnty-š pr-š3* “overseer of department of *hnty(w)-š* officials of the Great House” and sign *w* that was preserved probably from the name of the individual, the latter possibility cannot be excluded. Moreover, the person holds a prominent position at the first place in the register – Ankhmahor’s sons occupy a corresponding place in two registers below on the same, which strengthens the eventuality of a family member recorded at the place under discussion. It goes hand in hand with a specific feature that A.M. Roth ascribes to the holders of *hnty-š* profession (Kanawati and Hassan 1991: 41–43, 79–81). According to her analysis, the title often occurs among several members of the same family. In this context it is remarkable that Ankhmahor himself was endowed with the title *hnty-š* official of Teti pyramid (together with the title *shd hm-ntr*), and also one of his sons held a title associated with the office of *hnty-š* (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 12, 14–15).

To return to the list of different professional groups of officials included within the suite of the vizier, one has to focus on an individual designated as *zwnw pr-š3* “physician of the Great House” Ankh (Kanawati and Hassan: pls. 8, 9, 42). The physician occurs among important individuals in the already mentioned fowling scene.²⁸⁴ He follows Ankhmahor’s son Ishfy and the above-mentioned inspector of *k3*-priest Hepy. His foremost position together with the attribute *pr-š3* associates this man with the royal court and elevated rank.

No other specialist appears in the tomb, but several officials connected to central power or the court do occur there. It is among others *zš pr md3t ntr pr-š3* “scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace” Mesy who could be direct subordinate of Ankhmahor who stood at the head of the department of the scribes of the king’s documents. Mesy belonged to remarkable dependents since he is depicted two times in the tomb. Firstly, as a leading person in the

²⁸³ Tjemeru was according of his titles both an overseer of the department of the *hntyw-š* officials of the palace (*imy-r3 st hntyw-š pr-š3*) and “inspector of the *hntyw-š* officials of the palace” (*shd hntyw-š pr-š3*), Kanawati and Hassan 2002: 15).

²⁸⁴ The circumcision is performed not by a physician but by a *k3*-priest (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 49–50, pl. 19, 55). It seems to be a common practise that such procedures were undertaken by priests.

procession offering bearers on the west wall of room III (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pl. 46), his other depiction in the scene of sculptors' workshop reveals another of his titles - *zš w^cbt* "scribe/painter of the southern workshop" (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pls. 6, 7a, 40). He embodies the link to other vizier's houses, given the fact that this individual is highly likely the same man who appears in the tomb of the vizier Khentika (James 1953: 43, pl. 10).

An *šḥd zšw mrt* "inspector of scribes of meret-serfs" Irenakhty and an "overseer of the storehouse" *imy-r3 pr šn^c* whose name has not been preserved (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 15, 17, 33, 42 pls. 13, 48) could be potentially added among the officials representing the central power. Their assignment to the royal institution is not as unambiguous as it would appear without a further analysis. Although the storehouse as an installation is mostly associated with central administration, or alternatively with the pyramid cities, sun temples or other temples of gods (Andrassy 2008: 78–79), rare evidence from the Old Kingdom indicates that storehouses of a private household perhaps also existed (e.g. Andrassy 1993: 24, 27; Steindorff 1913: Tf. 86).²⁸⁵ Textual evidence from the tombs of Mereruka and Akhethetep Hemi/Nebkauhor Idu demonstrates that several magazines of respective tombs served as places for storage of funerary offerings (Duell 1938: pl. 199; Hassan 1937-1938: 59). The specifying inscription [...] *n pr dt* that was partially preserved in the tomb of Ankhmahor written in front of *imy-r3 šn^c* concerned in the scene of beer making underlines the relation of this particular *pr šn^c* installation to the cultic context of the vizier's household.

Concerning the administration of *pr-šn^c* it is remarkable that one group of people it was connected with were *mrt*-people (Andrássy 2005: 27–68; Moreno García 1998b: 71–83). As far as the suppliers of *mrt*-workforce are concerned, it cannot be again unequivocally claimed that it was exclusively the king or certain central institution. *Mrt*-people usually worked for the king on royal estates or had labour duties within temple administration but also executed duties for a private household of a high official as was demonstrated by scholars who dealt with this issue, for instance P. Andrassy (2008: 65–66), Hafemann (2009: 106, 157–158) or Moreno García (1998b: 71–83). In the tomb of Ankhmahor, an individual with the title "inspector of scribes of meret-serfs" is recorded presenting offerings to the tomb owner from the towns of Delta and Upper Egypt (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 15, 42, pls. 13, 48)(Fig. 35) which apparently refers

²⁸⁵ According to J.J. Perepelkin (1960: 3) *pr-šn^c* was a place where food was stored and processed, e.g. bread was baked or beer was brewed. For other studies related to *pr-šn^c* in the Old Kingdom, see Andrassy 1993: 17–35; Savelieva 1993: 335–345; Papazian 2012: 58–82; Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová 2006: 343–344 and Flores 2015: 93–163. More complex analysis and interpretation of the institution of *pr-šn^c* with respect to archaeological sources was most recently undertaken by Bardoňová (2019) in her PhD thesis.

to some of Ankhmahor's funerary foundations as they are depicted on the south wall of room I (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 32, pl. 37b; Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 407). However, it cannot be revealed if it concerns private or royal estates.

With regard to *šn^cw* in private tombs, P. Andrassy considers that they were not managed by personnel containing term *šn^c* (Andrassy 1993: 25). She based her assumption on the evidence from the tomb of Akhethetep Hemi/Nebkauhor Idu where the inscription on an architrave records: 'z3-wr pr-šn^c hry-^c z3b smsw h3yt šd hm-k3 Bby' that is translated as 'wr phyle under the management of assistant of the juridical elder, the elder of the court/audience hall and inspector of the k3-priests Beby' (see the chapter Akhethetep Hemi (Nebkauhor Idu). Nevertheless, as M. Bardoňová (2019: 334 n. 217) in my opinion correctly argues: 'there might be a rather specific nature of the magazines in tomb chapels (and probably also those in royal funerary temples) serving only as magazines, which caused that they were overseen by phylae rather than by *imy-r3 šn^c*.' Furthermore, we have to be cautious to make any general conclusion on the basis of one or two pieces of evidence.

Scribes formed another large group represented on the walls of Ankhmahor's tomb. More than one fifth of identified dependents (eight individuals) was according to recorded titles employed as scribes. They were either connected to central administration as mentioned above or they belonged to ordinary scribes directly included in the administration of Ankhmahor's household.

Likewise numerous as scribes was a group of identified craftsmen (eight dependents). They are recorded primarily in the scene of workshop activities in room II (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pls. 6, 7a, 40). Overseer of sculptors, craftsmen, painter and overseer of the workshop supervise statues manufacturing and painting or participate in leather works; overseer of metal-workers is recorded in the scene of gold-working weighing an ingot. Another two overseers of craftsmen supervise drilling and manufacturing stone vessels (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pls. 6, 7a, 40).

The household and estates management that was crucial for running the household of both living and deceased vizier is rather insufficiently represented in the tomb. An overseer of the house who usually headed the household of a high official is missing here. Household management is represented only by two directors of the dining hall; both appear as offering bearers on the north wall in room II (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 37–38, pls. 41). The existence of private storehouses was already discussed; the *imy-r3 pr-šn^c* "overseer of the storehouse" of

the funerary estate thus can be included within the staff (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 33, pls. 5a, 38). Other persons who were responsible for supplying the vizieral household with food were included, namely two overseers of fowling, one of them recorded in a fowling scene, the other while bringing animals to the tomb owner (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 36, 39, pls. 42, 44), together with one “director of herdsmen” (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 46, pls. 17, 50). Last man belonging to this group of dependents was an individual with the title “one concerned with the hunt” *n iry nw* (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 46, pls. 17, 50).²⁸⁶

Although this group of dependents seems quite numerous, it has to be noted that some of just listed titles belong to later added captions. It concerns titles and names of several dependents on the south and north wall of room IV (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 46–47, pls. 50–51). The titles “director of the dining-hall”, “person concerned with the hunt” Shepesuptah, but also “elder of the dockyard” Nefermenkhet and “inspector of the seal-bearer” Hetep – all are not carved in raised relief but only incised. It seems that these dependents were not involved in the original plan of the decoration, but it is not clear whether the original plan was only modified during completing of the decoration and they were included at this later stage, or if these persons were inscribed some generation later (see The vizier Mereruka). The names and titles of two individuals lamenting in the scene of grief – “inspector of seal-bearers” Ptahshepes and *k3*-priest Zenbeyy that were rather roughly carved seem to be later added as well (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 52, pls. 20a, 56).

Concerning ordinary servants, it can be noticed that they are either missing in the decoration or are not identified by their name and/or title.²⁸⁷ To give an example: not a one of 43 butchers is identified by a respective profession despite of the fact that they appear in one of the most elaborated scenes of animal slaughter (Kanawati and Hassan 2002: 43–46, pl. 49). The only professional tag presented is that of a lector priest who had to supervise the purity of cut meat and a director of the dining hall who was in charge of meat supply for the tomb owner.

In total, the extended household of the vizier Ankhmahor is not as numerous as that of Mereruka’s, but taking into consideration the smaller area of decorated walls it still consists of a large amount of individuals, (almost 40) with 23 different titles. One encounters a high number

²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, one has to take into consideration that a large amount of wall decoration was damaged, or had not preserved up until now. Particular heights of preserved registers in each room in the mastaba are recorded by Kanawati and Hassan 2002: 68, Tab. 1.

of scribes and in the funerary context naturally priests. Within their titles the reference to phyle system is again clearly demonstrated as in the funerary cult of Ankhmahor's vizieral predecessors. What distinguishes his household is the large extent of recorded phyles. In all analyzed tombs, one specific phyle is mentioned, if any at all, here exactly four of them: "the larboard of the favoured" (*t3-wr n hzt*), "the starboard of the favoured" (*imy wrt n hzt*), "the stern of the favoured" (*imy nfrt n hzt*) and "the bow of the favoured" (*w3dt n hzt*) (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 48, pl. 54). As far as the funerary priests involved are concerned, seven ordinary priests were headed by three inspectors, one of whom was directly connected to phyle *imy-wrt*, all of them complemented by one *zš z3* "scribe of the phyle".

Lector priests (*hry-hbt*) and embalmer of Anupis (*wty Inpw*) are also present, identified only by their title, but recorded rather untypically within a scene depicting a funerary procession.²⁸⁸ They are much frequently depicted performing ceremonies in the offering table scene, as for instance in the tomb of Seshathetep Heti (Junker 1934: 181, fig. 33; Kanawati 2002: Pls. 5, 46).

The household of the vizier was managed by several dependents, all of whom were associated with supplying of food (e.g. "director of the dining room, overseer of the fowlers or overseer of the storehouse"). Strongly represented among the identified dependents are also craftsmen, occurring in quite a high number of six people. Specialists are represented by a single person – a physician of the great house. No person engaged in the body care was recorded elsewhere in the tomb. Concerning professions related to organisation of labour, only two elders of the dockyard are depicted on the walls, at least one of the inscriptions to be added later.

A couple of dependents, particularly scribes or priests, appear for several times. Two of them are remarkable: firstly, inspector of *k3*-priests Hepy who was probably in charge of the *k3*-priests of the deceased vizier, and the second, scribe Mesy associated with the court who was responsible for the southern workshop – an individual important also for a possible link to a social web of relations of the vizier Khentika.

Ankhmahor	Titles	No. of occurrences

Scribal professions	<i>šḥd zšw mrt</i> “inspector of scribes of meret-serfs”	1
	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	1
	<i>zš z3</i> “scribe of the phyle”	1
	<i>zš pr md3t ntr pr-ḥ3</i> “scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace”	1
	<i>šḥd sd3wty</i> “inspector of sealer-bearers”	2
	<i>imy-r3 sd3wtyw ntr</i> “overseer of sealer-bearers of the god”	1
Specialists	<i>zwnw pr-ḥ3</i> “physician of the Palace”	1
Priestly services	<i>ḥm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	7
	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3</i> “inspector of funerary priest”	2
	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3 n imy-wrt</i> “inspector of funerary priest of the starboard phyle”	1
	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> “lector priest”	3
	<i>wty Inpw</i> “embalmer of Anubis”	1
Household management	<i>ḥrp zh</i> “director of the food-hall”	2
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šnḥ</i> “overseer of the storehouse”	1
	<i>imy-r3 mh(w)</i> “overseer of fowlers”	2
	<i>ḥrp nrw</i> “director of herdsman”	1
	<i>iry nw</i> “concerned with the hunt”	1
Organisation of labour	<i>šmsw whrt</i> elder of the dockyard”	2
Craftsmen	<i>imy iz</i> “overseer of the workshop”	1
	<i>zš wḥbt (zs wḥbt rsy)</i> “scribe/painter of the workshop (southern)”	1
	<i>imy-r3 bḏtyw</i> “overseer of metal-workers”	1
	<i>imy-r3 ḥtmtyw</i> “overseer of craftsmen”	2
	<i>ḥmwty</i> “craftsman”	1
	<i>imy-r3 kstiw</i> “overseer of sculptors”	1
	<i>zš</i> “painter”	
Not specified	<i>ḏryt</i> “mourner”	1

Tab. 18 The extended household of Ankhmahor

5.3.3 Inumin

The tomb of Inumin, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Inumin is dated to the reign of Teti to early Pepi I (Kanawati 2006: 16–17)²⁸⁹ and belonged to 11 other viziers who highly likely served during the reign of the latter king.²⁹⁰ The evidence of Inumin's vizieral title *t3yty z3b t3ty* comes only from the interior part of the sarcophagus which means that Inumin was promoted the vizier late in his career when building and decorating of the tomb were almost finished (Kanawati 2006: 12, 51, 34b, pl. 56c).²⁹¹

Unlike Teti's viziers, the highest officials of king Pepi I were not buried in the vicinity of king's pyramid in South Saqqara. Inumin built his tomb at Teti pyramid cemetery at the second north-south row of tombs near the tomb of Nedjetempet and Kaaper (Kanawati 2006: 18). In contrast to multi-chambered tombs of Teti's vizier the tomb of the vizier Inumin is rather modest; it measures in total 11.50 × 9.50m and consists of five chambers (Kanawati 2006: 18). In comparison to the total area of Ankhmahor's tomb (454.57 m²) (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 19), it is more than four times lesser. Kanawati highlighted a gradual decline in size and impoverishment of officials' tombs during the reign of Pepi I (Kanawati 1980: 206ff; Kanawati 2003: 180). The tomb of Inumin is illustrative of this trend that holds true even for the most trusted officials of Pepi I. As N. Kanawati pointed out, Inumin must have belonged to loyal dignitaries since his tomb is one of a few that feature no traces of an intentional damage made by chiselling out of names and figures, which was typical for many tombs on Teti pyramid cemetery and thus indicates that he did not fall in disgrace (Kanawati 2006: 14).²⁹²

Regarding the decoration of the tomb covering the walls of two small rooms I, II and most of all the offering chapel (room III), it is carved in fine coloured relief; two other rooms were left blank (Kanawati 2006: 25–54).²⁹³ The repertoire of scenes is limited to a few scenes of fowling and fishing, the desert hunt or the animal slaughter; together with extensive scenes depicting the tomb owner sitting at the offering table with registers of offering bearers (Kanawati 2006: 26–46).

Inumin's close family and extended household

²⁸⁹ N. Kanawati dates the vizier on the basis of architectural features, tomb decoration and the fact that no priesthood of the king Teti nor of his pyramid was preserved in the tomb, in contrast to a priesthood in the pyramid of king Pepi I as well as the presence of the king's cartouche (Kanawati 2006: 17).

²⁹⁰ For the list of viziers dated to the Old Kingdom, see Tab. 16.

²⁹¹ Still, we cannot exclude the possibility that the vizieral title was once recorded elsewhere in the iconography of the tomb, but unfortunately is not preserved until now.

²⁹² To name at least some of them, it concerns part of the tomb assigned for Mereruka's sons (Duell 1938: pl. 138), Nefreseshemptah or Ankhmahor (Kanawati et al. 2001: 12–15; A.B. Lloyd, A.J. Spencer and A. el-Kouli 2008). For the issue, see also Kanawati 2003: 177ff.

²⁹³ The tomb of the vizier Inumin belongs to the tombs with decorated burial chamber; such kind of tombs are dealt with in the monograph by N. Kanawati 2010.

The family of Inumin recorded on the walls consisted of his wife Bendjet and two sons Neferi and Khewi (Kanawati 2006: 13–15).²⁹⁴ Interestingly, Inumin’s sons are depicted exclusively with his father, the link of any of them to the only depicted wife of Inumin – Bendjet is not obvious. As Kanawati pointed out since both the sons are denoted as Inumin’s eldest son, it might refer to two different mothers, possibly from the previous Inumin’s marriages (Kanawati 1976: 235ff)?

The modest Inumin’s family was once accompanied by members of his extended household in a not large quantity. The restricted variety of scenes might be one of the reasons for the limited number of dependents (Kanawati 2007: 40). Twenty dependents in total holding eleven different professions were recorded (see Tab. 19). The key scenes with important dependents are the spear fishing scene on the west wall in room I (Kanawati 2006: 6, 44) and the scene of animal slaughter on the chapel’s east wall (Kanawati 2006: pls. 28–29, 52).

The most numerous group recorded in the wall decoration consists rather surprisingly not of *k3*-priests or scribes, but of *hntyw-š* officials (seven individuals). They are depicted primarily on the west wall of the chapel in the scene of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table, where four of six offering bearers held *hntyw-š* title (Kanawati 2006: 15–16, pls. 19–20, 50a)(Fig. 36). Several of them represent ordinary *hntyw-š* officials, others served for the Royal House. Both groups were represented by a different hierarchy; while ordinary *hntyw-š* officials were formed of *hnty(w)-š* “officials” and *shd hnty(w)-š* “inspector of the *hntyw-š* officials”, the *hntyw-š* officials of the Royal House in contrasts were of a higher hierarchical level classified in the group of “inspectors of the *hntyw-š* officials of the Royal House” and an “overseer of the *hntyw-š* officials of the Royal House”. Among the latter, *hnty(w)-š* official named Ankhemsæf labelled with title “inspector of the *hntyw-š* officials of the Royal House” *shd hnty(w)-š pr-ꜥ3* belonged probably to more important members of Inumin’s retinue on the grounds of his multiple appearance in the tomb and a noticeable post within the scenes where he occurred.²⁹⁵

Not only dependents of Inumin, but also his family members were holders of *hntyw-š* titles. Both Inumin’s sons Neferi and Khewi held titles associated with palace guards.²⁹⁶ This corresponds with the evidence from the most significant families during the first half of the

²⁹⁴ Kanawati tentatively identifies Inumin’s son Khwi with an owner of the tomb situated in a close proximity of Inumin’s tomb to the west (Kanawati 2006: 14; A.B. Lloyd, A.J. Spencer and A. el-Khouli 1990: 2, 33ff, pls. 19ff).

²⁹⁵ Ankhemsæf appears two times in the wall decoration; he is portrayed as an offering bearer in both the depictions, in one of them heading the register, in the other following tomb owner’s son and another important dependent (Kanawati 2006: 18, pls. 28–29, 50a, 51).

²⁹⁶ Neferi was overseer of the department of *hnty(w)-š* officials; similarly, his brother Khewi was overseer of the department of *hnty(w)-š* officials (Kanawati 2006: 13–15).

Sixth Dynasty – their members were frequently holders of *hntyw-š* office. For instance, Mereruka or Khentika (James 1953: 10, pls. 19–22) held titles associated to *hnty(w)-š* profession, and their family members, as well as Mereruka’s brothers, son/s of the vizier Neferseshemre (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq: 13–14) or Ankhmahor (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 25–26) were furnished with titles associated with *hnty(w)-š* profession.

To continue enumerating important members of Inumin’s suite, they comprised two *imy-r3 pr* “overseers of the house” Nihetepptah and Hetep. Hetep seems to be in charge of the food supply for the household since he is associated with animal slaughter on the east wall of the offering room (Kanawati 2006: pl. 52)(Fig. 37). The latter steward is portrayed in a spear fishing scene recorded in the close proximity to the tomb owner among a few probably most significant collaborators and personal attendants – the group of two *hntyw-š* officials, a man tagged with high rank title *šmr w^cty* “sole companion” and a sandal bearer (Kanawati 2006: 15, 32, pls. 6, 44)(Fig. 38). This might indicate that Hetep was the chief overseer of the house. However, whether the overseers served in parallel or one after the other cannot be excluded either.

Another household manager *imy-r3 ššr* “overseer of linen” Shepsy is also worth noting. He not only occurs in the wall decoration two times, but his image attracts the attention.²⁹⁷ As Kanawati pointed out, he is depicted wearing anklets - a feature more typical for women than men (Kanawati 2006: 33, pl. 45). It can be objected that such kind of accessories might refer to his profession associated with cloth. However, a large seated figure of the tomb owner on the entrance façade features the same type of anklets (Kanawati 2007: pl. 68a–b). In this context it would rather indicate that such kind of ornaments came into fashion for men at that time or it might have been a favourite piece of Inumin’s wardrobe.

In terms of frequency of appearance of various household managers, it is the profession of *hnp zh* “director of the dining-hall” that stands out among others comprising five individuals. The directors of the dining hall appear mostly in the scene of animal slaughter (four individuals) depicted as offering bearers (Kanawati 2006: 15–16; 33, 45). One of these directors, certain Iry, probably belonged to more important dependents, since he appears two times elsewhere in the wall decoration.²⁹⁸ Another two directors of the dining room have to be highlighted for a

²⁹⁷ Shepsy appears in the first instance carrying a calf and holding a goose on the north wall of room I, in the second case he accompanies the tomb owner on the west wall in the already mentioned spear fishing scene (Kanawati 2006: 16, 32, 33, pl. 6, 8, 44, 45b).

²⁹⁸ The director of the dining room Iry is depicted in the first instance as an offering bearer carrying a thigh on the north wall in the offering room; in the second case together with other directors of the dining hall Nedjem, Tetiankh and S[.]t in the scene of animal slaughter on the eastern wall of the offering room (Kanawati 2006: 15, pl. 28–29, 51–52).

different reason. Both (Tetiankh and Nedjem) who figure as butchers in the above-mentioned scene of animal slaughter (Kanawati 2006: 16, 45, pls. 28–29, 52) represent a possible web of relations to other vizier’s extended households of Ankhmahor (Kanawati and Hassan 1997; Kanawati 2007: pl. 41; see respective chapter) and Khentika (James 1953: 44 (34)).²⁹⁹

Ordinary household servants who would be identified either by their title or by their name are absent in either of the few daily-life scenes, e.g. poultry yard scene ((Kanawati 2006: 33, pl. 45d), scene of animal husbandry (Kanawati 2006: 34, pls. 9–11, 49a) or desert and outdoor activities (Kanawati 2006: 37, pls. 13–15, 47). In a similar manner, all 39 butchers in the scene of animal slaughter are anonymous (Kanawati 2006: 45, pls. 28–29, 52)(Fig 37).

Scribal profession is represented in the iconography of the tomb by several individuals. One of them, *imy-r3 zš(w)* “overseer of the scribes” Seshemnefer heads the register in the scene of animal slaughter on the east wall of the chapel (Kanawati 2006: pl. 28a, 52)(Fig. 37). Probably one of the most important men within the suite of Inumin was another representative of scribal profession Niankhkhnum. Not only he bears a prominent position immediately behind his master in the spear fishing scene on the west wall of Room I (Kanawati 2006: 15, 32, pl. 6, 44), but was tagged with several titles – a practice used for the most significant dependents (see Fig. 34). He was endowed with a scribal title of a higher hierarchical level *šhd sd3wty(w)* “inspector of the seal-bearers”, and titles associated with court services *šhd hnty(w)-š pr-ꜥ3* “inspector of *hnty(w)-š* officials of the Great House”, and *šmr pr* “companion of the house/courtier of the (royal) house”.³⁰⁰ Moreover, he was designated by a rank title *šps nswt* “nobleman of the king”, again quite a rare practice in private tombs.³⁰¹ Given this fact it is even more startling that two individuals in the same scene hold rank titles; yet certain Ninesut is identified there by a rank title *šmr wꜥty* “sole companion” (Kanawati 2006: 5, 32, pl. 6, 44)(see Fig. 38).³⁰²

²⁹⁹ The individual with the same name and title appears in the mastaba of the vizier Ankhmahor.

³⁰⁰ The title *šmr pr* “companion of the house, courtier of the (royal) house” according to W. Helck (1965: 25–26) counts among rank titles slightly lower than the title *šmr* “companion, courtier”, denoting at first royal sons, later also non-royal individuals who carried out their professions at the royal court dealing mostly with body care services, morning toiletries, clothing, etc. It than have undergone a certain development during the Old Kingdom, later became a rank title frequently attached to physicians, hairdressers or singers, however at the end of the Old Kingdom it occurs very rarely (Helck 1965: 26, n. 87).

³⁰¹ In royal mortuary temples the courtiers are designated regularly by their rank titles, in private tombs the dependents of the tomb owner are predominantly described by their functional/administrative titles. For the royal practice of recording important courtiers, see e.g. Borchardt 1907, Borchardt 1913 or El-Awady 2009).

³⁰² The rank title is his only title attached; any functional title is missing.

Describing members of Inumin's retinue worth noting is the presence of the only *k3*-priest recorded in the whole tomb, on the top of that only ordinary one, not a senior priest. The title *k3*-priest was attached to a figure of a sandal bearer who accompanies the tomb owner on a boat in the already mentioned spear fishing scene (Kanawati 2006: 32, pls. 6, 44)(see Fig. 38). Since the individual was probably an older man or someone who suffered from a bodily deformity as N. Kanawati suggested, it might have been one of the reasons why the tomb owner supported him by daily portions from his funerary cult (Kanawati 2006: 33). It still gives no explanation why he is the only individual involved in the funerary cult of the deceased vizier.

To sum up, Inumin's extended household is not as numerous nor diverse as was typical in previous decades in case of Teti's viziers.³⁰³ Nevertheless, several characteristic features are to be described. Firstly, the almost complete absence of *k3*-priests who were absolutely essential for securing the funerary cult of the deceased person. This fact can be partially explained by fragmental preservation of the tomb decoration, the missing parts might have originally contained other priests. Another possible explanation is connected with a characteristic feature of Inumin's extended household - a frequent occurrence of *hnty(w)-š* officials which was far from typical in tomb decoration of his predecessors. Can we consider it to be a new trend? Did *hnty(w)-š* officials substitute to a certain degree or directly replace *k3*-priests in their service for private funerary cults? We can search for a parallel in the Sixth Dynasty royal mortuary temples, *hntyw-š* officials became permanent servants of the royal cult, taking part in the transportation of offerings or dressing the statue of the king (Vymazalová 2013: 189). It was these officials who served in person in contrast to the *hm-ntr* priests who could send a *dt*-servant to perform their duties instead of them as their deputy. It is possible that the daily running of the rituals in private tombs was now in the hand of *hntyw-š* officials, however we have to analyse other Sixth Dynasty tombs to confirm this assumption.

Another specific feature regarding Inumin's retinue is the presence of dependents with rank titles, which began to appear on a more regular basis up to the end of the Sixth Dynasty in particular in provincial tombs (see The household of the vizier Pepiankh the Middle in this Chapter).

Furthermore, the household composition features certain modesty. While household managers and scribes are recorded in wall decoration (even though the latter in limited numbers), other segments usually represented in viziers' tombs are completely missing. Namely

³⁰³ Compare e.g. Mereruka's household or the social web of relation of the vizier Ankhmahor in this chapter.

the persons employed in the labour department, craftsmen, specialists, but also officials working for central administration/the court, or those engaged in the sphere of body care. It does not mean that in the tombs of Inumin's predecessors in the office all these segments were equally covered (see preceding viziers in the chapter), but in no other vizieral suite is this so markedly visible. The extended household of Inumin with its limited diversity and absence of multiple segments resembles more the web of relation of a high official than a vizier's entourage that abounds of large numbers of dependents with a big diversity of professions. However, this correlates well with a possible late promotion of the vizier (see above).³⁰⁴

Inumin	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>imy-r3 zš(w)</i> "overseer of the scribes"	1
	<i>shd sd3wti(w)</i> "inspector of the seal-bearers"	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	1
	<i>imy-r3 hnty(w)-š pr-š3</i> "overseer of the palace guards"	1
	<i>shd hnty(w)-š</i> "inspector of the guards"	1
	<i>shd hnty(w)-š pr-š3</i> "inspector of the palace guards"	2
	<i>hnty(w)-š</i> "guard"	3
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house/estate"	2
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> "overseer of the linen"	1
Rank titles	<i>smr pr</i> "companion of the house"	1
	<i>smr wšty</i> "sole companion"	1
	<i>šps nswt</i> "nobleman of the king"	1
Food supply	<i>hrp zh</i> "director of the dining-hall"	5

Tab. 19 The extended household of Inumin

5.3.4 Hemre/Izy

The tomb of Hemre/Izy, its architecture and wall decoration

Hemre with the beautiful name Izy was chosen as one of the representatives of provincial elite. He was not only *hry-tp š3* "great overlord of the 12th Upper Egyptian nome", an important administrative centre of that time, but also appointed the vizier (Davies 1902: pls. XXIII–XXVI; Kanawati 1977: 117; Strudwick 1985: 303). He is considered to be a founder of

³⁰⁴ Cf. the household of the vizier Seshemnefer II from the Fifth Dynasty who were appointed vizier after the completion of his tomb.

a new necropolis situated on the northern cliff near the village of Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati et al. 2005: 11–20). His rock-cut tomb was one of the three large tombs of nomarkhs that were built there (tombs of Henqu I, Hemre/Izy and Henqu II).³⁰⁵ The dating of these tombs on the northern cliff was first proposed by N. de G. Davies (1902: 3), but later questioned by other scholars.³⁰⁶ Most recently, Kanawati confirmed the dating suggested by Davies to the earlier parts of the Sixth Dynasty, *i.e.* from the reign of Teti to Pepi I (Davies 1902: 12–20). The dating provides us with the opportunity to compare to what degree differed the size and composition of the viziers' retinue depicted in tombs on residential necropoleis, *e.g.* that of Inumin, with a member of prosperous and expanding provincial family.

The tomb of Hemre consists of two chambers, with the entrance of the tomb and the chapel decorated, the entrance incised in raised relief, the chapel merely in paint (Kanawati et al. 2005: 41). It comprises a typical set of Old Kingdom private tomb scenes of that time, *e.g.* fowling scene, activities in marshlands, harvest scene, vineyard scene, fruit picking, baking and brewing, animal slaughter scene, scene with pulling the papyrus *zšš w3d*³⁰⁷ or a scene of entertaining the tomb owner with musicians and dancers (Kanawati et al. 2005: 44–54).

Hemre/Izy's close family and extended household

The iconography of the tomb provides evidence of the close family of Hemre consisting of his wife Hemre and three or four sons (Kanawati et al. 2005: 38–40). The father of Hemre was probably Henqu I, and his brother Henqu II, owner of the tomb (N 67) in the vicinity who claimed in his bibliographical inscription that he started his career under his brother. Kanawati suggests that Hemre might have married his own sister based on the identical name of Henqu's daughter and the rarity of this name outside the family (Kanawati et al. 2005: 38–40), however we have no anthropological analysis to confirm it.

Kanawati states that the number of identified figures recorded in the tomb is quite low in contrast to the large number of anonymous individuals (Kanawati et al. 2005: 40), but such disproportion between identified and anonymous dependents corresponds with the data we have from tombs on Memphite necropoleis, and is thus nothing exceptional. On the other hand,

³⁰⁵ The first built tomb belongs to Hemre's father Henqu I (tomb N 39; Davies 1902: 2, 14–19, 31; Kanawati et al. 2005: 21–36); the vizier Hemre/Izy I built his tomb (N 72) to the west of his tomb higher on the cliff (Davies 1902; Kanawati 2005: 37–59).

³⁰⁶ For a different opinion on the dating of the northern and southern cliff of the necropolis at Deir el-Gebrawi, see, *e.g.* K. Baer 1960: 102–103; H. Brunner 1936: 45; H. Fischer 1968: 130; Y. Harpur 1987: 280; Kanawati 1980: 90, 101 n. 19; E. Martin-Pardey 1976: 208ff; W. S. Smith 1946: 222.

³⁰⁷ For the list of the latter scene see Y. Harpur 1980: 53ff; Y. Harpur 1987: 335–338, J. Vandier 1964: 738ff; A. Woods 2011: 314–319.

taking into consideration a high number of identified dependents in tombs at Meir in general, it could bias our view of what was a ‘typical’ retinue. With respect to the composition of preserved dependents, only scribes and household managers are represented more frequently (see Tab. 20). The key person in administering Hemre’s household/estates was probably *zš imy-r3 pr n dt* “scribe and overseer of the funerary estate”. This title occurs three times on the north wall of the chapel where all other identified dependents can be found as well (Davies 1902: 24, pl. 19 (bis); Kanawati 2005: pls. 15–19, 47, 49–50, 62–63)(Fig. 39).³⁰⁸ Two holders of the title are depicted in the eastern D part of the wall, another one in the easternmost part of the same wall – part E. The first two individuals are portrayed with a scribal equipment while presenting accounts to the tomb owner; the third holder of the title appears in the scene recording metal works (Kanawati et al. 2005: 40, 52 pls. 15–19, 47–48, 62–63). Whether the professional tag in all three cases denotes the same individual cannot be distinguished since all three individuals are anonymous. Moreover, it appears not to be entirely clear whether a particular person was really intended to be recorded – based on the inscriptions there seems to be no spare place where to add a particular name (Kanawati et al. 2005: pl. 47, 48). Therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded that there were recorded only a representative of an appropriate person in charge of the economic aspects important for maintaining the funerary foundation.

Hemre’s extended household does include also individuals distinguished by their personal names. Above all, it is Nisutjesu with the title *šmr pr* “companion of the house” who was at the same time endowed with the rank title *šps nswt* “noble of the king” (Kanawati 2005: pls. 15–19, 46–48, 62–63). His portrayal as a corpulent man (in the second register) differentiates him from other dependents and his position in the vicinity of the tomb owner attests to his importance within the vizier’s suite (see Fig. 36). He resembles one of Inumin’s dependents – an individual Niankhkhnum, who held the same titles, together with another two titles connected to sealing and *hnty(w)-š* office. The role these individuals played in the extended household of their respective tomb owners seems to be connected with economic aspects of a household management. Nisutjesu was portrayed as a scribe presumably reporting the household accounts.

Other identified dependents in the tomb represent a segment of animal husbandry. The supervising role played an *imy-r3 tẓwt* “overseer of herds” (name not preserved) together with a herdsman named Perneb who is giving instructions to their companions, namely to another

³⁰⁸ For the title, see D. Jones 2000: 129, 510.

herdsman named Tetiankh, who is helping a cow giving birth (Davies 1902: pl. 19; Kanawati et al. 2005: 40, pls. 15–19, 46–48, 62–63)(Fig. 39).

Concerning craftsmen, the only identified one, labelled as an *imy-r3 ...bdtiw* “overseer of [...] metal workers”, bore a prominent place within a scene of a metal workshop (Davies 1902: pl. 19; Kanawati et al. 2005: 40, 52 pls. 15–19, 48, 62–63). He attends a pair of scales and reports to a seated scribe; no personal data that would mention his name are provided (see Fig. 39).

Regarding other professional segments represented in the tomb decoration, specifically officials connected to central administration/palace/king, specialists, persons engaged in body care service or labour forces, they are absent, or their representatives remained anonymous as, e.g., a boat crew that lacks any labour-related title or specific names (Kanawati et al. 2005: 50)(see Fig. 39). As for the occupations associated with the entertainment/amusement, three (originally perhaps four) dancers *Ib3* are mentioned in particular without names given. The inscriptions seem not to denote the activity dancing but really a particular profession as the tag appears in front of each dancing figure, not as a line of text running above them (Kanawati et al. 2005: 48).

When analysing the composition of Hemre’s extended household, an unusual feature is the presence of the only *k3*-priest. He is the only identified dependent recorded on the southern thickness of the false door of the vizier portrayed as an unnamed personal attendant who brings linen (Kanawati 2005: 46, pl. 45).³⁰⁹ This resembles the situation in the retinue of Inumin who included the only *k3*-priest as well, but unlike him, no individual connected to *hntyw-š* office can be detected.

Concerning the potential web of relation of the vizier, we may consider a number of burials cut in the lower parts of chapel’s walls (Kanawati et al. 2005: 13).³¹⁰ As N. Kanawati (2005: 13) stated ‘they were not much later intrusive burials; more likely they belonged to near contemporary family members’, but without any detailed information given. We can assume that these burials belonged either to family members or to some loyal dependents - perhaps some of those depicted in tomb iconography?

³⁰⁹ Behind the funerary priest stands another offering bearer, unfortunately only partially preserved, but the traces of original name and/or title tags remain still visible (Kanawati et al. 2005: 46, pl. 45). Perhaps it could be another priest.

³¹⁰ Such burial compartments were installed in all three tombs of nomarchs on the northern cliff see, Kanawati et al. 2005: 13.

Overall, the suite of Hemre/Izy is significantly modest; it lacks both a high number of dependents and the diversity in titles. It characterizes an insufficient number of priests; professions basic for running the household *i.e.* scribes and household managers do rarely appear in Hemre’s tomb but they are either of peripheral importance such as, e.g., overseer of herds, or not identified by their name/s. The same applies for an unnamed supervisor of craftsmen. Individuals employed in central administration, nor persons associated with the body care, labour or specialists are attested in the tomb, the only exception is a hardly classified *šmr pr* “companion of the house, courtier of the (royal) house” Nisutjesu. On the other hand, the presence of individuals tagged with rank titles appears to be a new feature at that time.

When drawing a comparison with the vizier’s retinue of his contemporary in the capital Inumin, the suite of Hemre/Isy appears to be less comprehensive. Although some features can be considered of equal value – the scarcity of *k3*-priests and the presence of individuals with rank titles, the difference consists in the absence of officials associated with *hntyw-š* office and a dissimilar composition of household managers. While Inumin’s household was ruled by a set of household managers customarily occurring in the tombs at Memphite burial ground, *i.e.* overseer of the house/estate, overseer of linen and director of the dining hall, Hemre/Isy’s dependents included completely different managers, *i.e.* overseer of the funerary estate and overseer of herds. These professions put stress on securing the economic aspects of the afterlife existence and accentuate the importance of the cattle. We might assume that it reflects the economic importance of the Middle provinces and reforms implemented by king Teti (Kanawati and Swinton 2018).

Hemre/Izy I	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	3
Priestly services	<i>ḥm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -servant”	1
Household management	<i>šmr pr</i> “companion of the house”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr-n-ḏt</i> overseer of the funerary estate	1
	<i>imy-r3 ṯzwt</i> “overseer of herds”	3
Household servants	<i>mniw</i> “herdsman”	2
Craftsmen	<i>imy-r3 ...bḏtiw</i> “overseer ... of metal workers”	1
Musicians	<i>ib3</i> “dancers”	3

Rank titles	<i>šps nswt</i> “nobleman of the king”	1
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Tab. 20 The extended household of Hemre/Izy

5.3.5 Nebkauhor Idu

The tomb of Nebkauhor/Idu, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Nebkauhor belongs to one of the viziers who usurped the tomb of his predecessor, which was not a rare phenomenon during the second part of the Sixth Dynasty.³¹¹ N. Strudwick (1982: 89–94; Strudwick 1985: 302 (82)) and Dodson and Hilton (2004: 77) believe Nebkauhor to be the eldest son of Pepi II while the original owner of the tomb, the vizier Akhethetep Hemi, is supposed to serve under Unis (Strudwick 1985: 56–57(3)).³¹² The tomb was built at the northern side of Unas’ causeway to the south of the enclosure wall of the Netjerikhet’s pyramid (Hassan 1975: 5; Kanawati 2003: 25; Porter and Moss 1974: 627–629).³¹³ It consists of six rooms with pillared hall, offering chamber and antechamber decorated, complemented with five storerooms (Hassan 1975: 6, fig. 1). Nebkauhor usurped the tomb and intentionally erased and rewrote inscriptions with the name of the original tomb owner. The identification of particular titles belonging to each individual was suggested by N. Strudwick (1982: 89ff). Most scholars agreed on dating of the original tomb to the end of Fifth Dynasty (Hassan 1975: 2; Porter and Moss 627–629) or to the beginning of Sixth Dynasty (Baer 1980: 53, 89; Schmitz 1976: 36). The dating of the tomb was mainly based on the analysis of the owner’s titles. However, Y. Harpur also came to the same conclusion (end V/beginning VI dynasty) on the grounds of artistic themes and decoration techniques (Harpur 1987). Careful examination of published reliefs made by the present author (especially of the recently published photos in the monograph by M. Abdou 2001) shows that, apart from the name and titles of the original tomb owner, the majority of the wall decoration and inscriptions seems not to be altered. The style of carvings and position of titles attached to minor figures seem to correspond with overall technique of decoration in the tomb. If certain later additions to the original text are apparent, as for instance in the scene depicting a procession of offering bearers on the north wall of the pillared hall, where 15 *hm-ntr* priests are recorded, it was only the name of the beneficiary of presented offerings that was changed to the new owner – Nebkauhor, respectively Idu; the titles and offerings of particular gods remained intact (Hassan 1975: 19–21, figs. 3–5)(see Fig. 40a). The

³¹¹ Another vizier who usurped the tomb was, e.g., Chabauchnum Biu, who reused the tomb of Akhi (Brovarski: 2005: 32; Strudwick 1985: 103) or Merefnebef (Mysliwiec 2004: 250).

³¹² Similarly, Nebkauhor Idu is dated by S. Hassan also to the reign of Pepi II (Hassan 1975: 2).

³¹³ The tomb measures 34 × 18,60m.

fact that Nebkauhor did not redefine the original content of the scenes by inserting certain additions points to a burial in a hurry which made such modifications unfeasible. Given the fact that Nebkauhor adopted almost the whole decoration with all the dependents, the final information so obtained concerns primarily the original vizier's suite, i.e. that of Akhethetep Hemi. Therefore, the analysis of identified individuals deals almost exclusively with the extended household of the original owner which is elaborated in this chapter above). At this place only the features related to Nebkauhor Idu will be focused on.

Nebkauhor Idu's close family and extended household

Similar to the vizier Akhethetep Hemi, no wife of Nebkauhor was recorded in the wall decoration. The same applies for possible children of Nebkauhor.

As was already stressed in the part devoted to Akhethetep Hemi, the original decoration captured dependents typical for the vizieral retinue from the end of the Fifth and the beginning of Sixth Dynasty, mainly attached with priestly, scribal and household managerial titles, together with rarely appearing *hm-ntr* priests or occasionally identified musicians. However, all of them seem to belong to the original relief decoration.

What attracts the attention when analysing the tomb decoration, it is the absence of any dependent who would be personified by a name tag. Although all the identified dependents recorded in wall reliefs in situ are nameless, labelled only by a professional tag, the same does not hold true for an inscription preserved on a limestone loose block found on the floor beside the doorway of one of the storerooms (Hassan 1975: 59). This bears inscription recording two individuals identified by both their names and titles. The partially preserved text lists: “*wr z3w šn^c hry-^c z3b, smsw h3yt, šḥd ḥm(w)-k3* Ibi the great of the phyle of the store, assistant of the juridical elder, the elder of the court/audience hall and inspector of the *k3*-priests Ibi.” The text continues by enumerating another person “an under-supervisor of *k3*-priests Imy”. The inscription is carved in sunk relief while the wall decoration in situ was manufactured in raised relief. The different type of carving might support the hypothesis of S. Hassan who argues that this slab could have been placed in the tomb when the vizier Nebkauhor usurped it for himself (Hassan 1938: 514; Hassan 1975: 59, pl. 48D). Given Nebkauhor's presumably sudden death he might not have been able to properly establish his entourage beforehand; however, based on this evidence, it appears probable that the vizier after all did include in his last resting place at least some of his closest collaborators (see Tab. 21b).

According to the biographical inscription assigned to Nebkauhor (text A) (Kloth 2002: 4, 22), he further issued an instruction regarding his funerary foundation in order to secure its administration (Fig. 40b). Of certain importance is also a reference to officials connected also to central administration, which is embodied in the legal text A (Strudwick 2005: 187–188). Since the text was preserved only fragmentarily, one can only presume that it originally concerns certain privileges given to funerary priests in relation to important state officials (of *e.g.*, treasury, granary, *pr md3t* or court officials), but the particular issue remains hidden.

Akhethetep Hemi	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš z3</i> “scribe of the phyle”	3
	<i>zš pr-ḥd</i> “scribe of the treasury”	1
Priestly services	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3</i> “inspector of funerary priest”	3
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥmw-k3</i> “under-supervisor of funerary priests”	4
	<i>ḥm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	4
	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> “lector priest”	6
	<i>ḥm-nṯr</i> “god’s priest”	15
	<i>ḥm-nṯr (n) Ptḥ</i> “priest of Ptah”	1
Household management	<i>dryt</i> “mourner”	2
	<i>ḥrp zḥ</i> “director of the food-hall”	2
Household servants	<i>sšm</i> “butcher”	1
	<i>sšm n pr-ḏt</i> “butcher of the endowment”	1
Amusement	<i>sb3</i> “instructor”	1

Tab. 21a=Tab. 14 The extended household of Akhethetep Hemi³¹⁴

Nebkauhor Idu	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>ḥry-ᶜ z3b</i> “assistant of the juridical elder”	1
Priestly services	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3</i> “inspector of funerary priest”	1
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥmw-k3</i> “under-supervisor of funerary priests”	1
Central admi	<i>smsw h3yt</i> “the elder of the court/audience hall”	1
	[<i>wr z3w</i>] <i>šnᶜ</i> “the great of the phyle of the store”	1

Tab. 21b The extended household of Nebkauhor Idu

³¹⁴ For a better overview, both households of Akhethetep Hemi and Nebkauhor Idu are listed at this place.

5.3.6 Idunefer

The tomb of Idunefer, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Idunefer is dated by the majority of scholars to mid-Sixth Dynasty; the present study follows the recent dating by Brovarski (2006: 82, 91) to the first part of the Pepi II's reign.³¹⁵ Idunefer belonged to one of a few viziers who built his tomb (G 5550) in Giza, at the Western Cemetery, north of the enclosure wall of Khufu's pyramid (Junker 1947: 66–90, pls. 25, 30, Taf. 11; Porter and Moss 1974: 165; Strudwick 1985: 68 (22)). His tomb is quite small, almost square in its layout, measuring 11.20 × 10.20m (Junker 1947: 66). The decorated part – the entrance with architrave and the tomb chapel - is carved in raised relief, not very carefully manufactured. The repertory of scenes is limited to two offering table scenes with a couple of registers depicting a scene of animal slaughter, a scene of leading animals and a priest fumigating with incense (Junker 1947: 81–89).

Idunefer's close family and extended household

Although the tomb is largely damaged, a better preserved part of the north wall of the chapel features some members of Idunefer's family. His wife Hemetra and two sons are identified in the scene recording the tomb owner accompanied by his family (Junker 1947: 72, 84, pl. 35).

The extended household captured in the iconography of the tomb is rather modest, consisting of six individuals. They are recorded primarily in the offering table scene on the north wall of the chapel (Junker 1947: 84–87, pl. 36). The most significant among them was apparently an individual named Qar. He was in charge of Idu's household as overseer of the house and at the same time he was engaged in the funerary cult of Idu, which he probably headed as inspector of funerary priests (Junker 1947: 73). This individual is portrayed with a papyrus and a scribal equipment in a prominent place close to the tomb owner, under the eldest son of Idu (Junker 1947: 83–84, pl. 35)(Fig. 41). What attracts the attention is his triangular loin-cloth and a broad collar around his neck – accessories which are usually worn by sons of the tomb owner or the most important officials (Junker 1947: 84). His special relationship to the tomb owner is easily noticeable when reading attached epithets: *im3hw hr nb.f r^c nb* “revered

³¹⁵ The dating of the tomb of the vizier Idunefer slightly varies, i.e. early reign of Pepi I-early Pepi II (Junker 1947: 68, 90); later of Pepi I to early Pepi II (Strudwick: 1985: 69(22)); middle Teti-middle Pepi II (Baer 1960: 62(78)), but also early Sixth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 165) and the reign of Teti (Harpur 1987: 267). On the basis of false door analysis, E. Brovarski most recently preferred the dating of the monument to the first part of the Pepi II's reign (Brovarski 2006: 82, 91).

before his master each day”; *ir ḥsst* “he, who does what he praised” and *mrrt-f nbt ir wdt-(f)* “he who is beloved of his master who does according to his master’s command” (Junker 1947: 82). Moreover, his significance is attested by multiple appearance in the tomb. For the second time he figures in a partially preserved offering table scene on the north wall of the chapel (Junker 1947: pl. 36)(Fig. 42).³¹⁶ Concerning his position in the scene, H. Junker stressed that he is portrayed on a place usually reserved for sons of the tomb owner (Junker 1947: 86). Nevertheless, his potential family relationship is not recorded in either of the scenes. Furthermore, it is rather unlikely for the position of the overseer of the house to be held by a family member, as demonstrated by recent analysis by the present author (Nováková 2019: 95–112). The study proved that among the holders of the title prevailed educated, loyal dependents of the tomb owner, in the vast majority not represented by family members.

Apart from this crucial man, only a couple of other individuals were recorded (some of the figures only partially) on the north wall of the chapel (Junker 1947: 85, pl. 36). A person named Kutebakh (?) designated by a scribal title (*zš*) and probably one *k3*-priest, both figure in the register above the offering table scene where they view slaughtering of animals (Junker 1947: 87, pl. 36)(see Fig. 42).

Another four individuals are identified only by their names. They are two butchers Iry and Mukhuakhty depicted in the scene of animal slaughter, and an attendant named Fetekta who is burning incense in front of the tomb owner, perhaps another *k3*-priest (Junker 1947: 73, pl. 36)(see Fig. 42)? The last individual to be mentioned is the dwarf Mereri who is portrayed sitting under Idu’s chair on the south wall of the chapel (Junker 1947: 82, pl. 35)(see Fig. 41).

Although the number of enumerated dependents is very low, it has to be pointed out that it represents all preserved minor figures in the tomb. In other words, each of the recorded figures was identified either by a name or by a title, which is unparalleled in other tombs in question.

Altogether, the web of relation of the vizier Idunefer is very limited partly due to largely damaged wall decoration, but also owing to rather modest tomb architecture with restricted number of decorated walls. It is reflected in the small number and diversity of titles. According to the preserved evidence the key role for administering the vizier’s household during his life was played by the overseer of the house who was at the same time the crucial person for vizier’s afterlife existence, heading his funerary cult as inspector of *k3*-priests. The cult of the deceased

³¹⁶ Here, he is depicted also with a papyrus roll and a scribal equipment; unfortunately, the detail of his neck and kilt is not visible because of a partial damage.

vizier was maintained with the help of only one other *k3*-priest; the educated part of Idunefer's household was formed by a single scribe. The overall picture of Idunefer's extended household is completed by two household servants and the same number of personal attendants.

Idunefer	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	1
Priestly services	<i>šḥd ḥmw-k3</i> "inspector of funerary priest"	1
	<i>ḥm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house, the Steward"	1
Household servants	<i>sšm</i> "butcher"	2

Tab. 22 The extended household of Idunefer

5.3.7 Peri Shenay

The tomb of Peri Shenay, its architecture and wall decoration

The vizier Peri Shenay, dated to the middle of Pepi II's reign (Strudwick 1985: 141 (133)), is the last chosen representative of Sixth Dynasty Memphite viziers. He belongs to several other viziers of Pepi II who were buried in the vicinity of the king's pyramid in South Saqqara (Jéquier 1929).³¹⁷ His tomb situated to the north-south of the pyramid is illustrative of the tombs of high state officials on Memphite burial grounds during the second part of the Sixth Dynasty, since they were clustered again around the pyramid of the ruling king (Roth 1993). But unlike other rather modest tombs in the surroundings, G. Jéquier considered the tomb N5 very different, resembling the great multi-chambered tombs on Teti pyramid cemetery (Jéquier 1929: 107). According to G. Jéquier the entrance and the courtyard of the tomb were originally decorated, but during the excavation's works only fragments of original relief decoration were found in the debris of the court (Jéquier 1929: 109). The published drawings of the fragments show mainly procession of funerary estates and offering bearers (Jéquier 1929: 108, fig. 122).

Peri Shenay's close family and extended household

³¹⁷ The tomb situated to the north-south of the pyramid is illustrative of the tombs of high state officials on Memphite burial grounds during the second part of the Sixth Dynasty. From the middle of Pepi II's reign viziers were clustered around the pyramid of the ruling king (Strudwick 1985: 69). For the tomb of viziers Meriam, Khabaukhum Biu, Nihebsedneferkare or Teti, see G. Jéquier 1929.

The family of the vizier cannot be revealed from the preserved fragments. Only several minor figures were designated by a name/title but were preserved in a fragmentary state on three pieces of relief fragments (Jéquier 1029: fig. 122) (Fig. 43). The titles of these dependents refer to scribal or priestly professions: one individual is probably [...] *zš* “scribe” Kaiuu, the second one bears three titles *šdt* (*3pd*), *zš md3(w)t*, *hry hbt* “fattener of (fowl), document scribe and lector priest”. Another fragment records also professions associated with the royal court - one individual is designated as *šmr* “companion/courtier” and *ʕ3 dw3w* “assistant of Duau”. Another piece of evidence depicts an incomplete title referring to the Great house [...] *ʕ3* [...], as well as to the desert region *zmi(w)t*. The holder of these titles is depicted as a bearded man in a larger scale than other individuals. The leading person in Pery’s household management is recorded as well, but this time the attached title is associated with the court in the form of the title *imy-r3 pr-ʕ3* [...] “steward of the Great house” – a title very rarely attested to during the Old Kingdom (Jones 2001: 116, 468). Last fragment to be mentioned features two male figures (only their upper part being preserved) with attached personal names [Ka]ri and Ishthy (see Fig. 43).

Since none of the wall fragments has been preserved in situ it is questionable whether all of these reliefs once belonged to the original decoration of tomb N5. As G. Jéquier pointed out the fragments of the wall decoration could have come from walls of other tombs in the surroundings (Jéquier 1947: 109). But he also stressed that tomb N5 significantly differs from neighbouring modest tombs and so does the quality of preserved reliefs as illustrated by published drawings of tombs of group M and N (Jéquier 1929: 109). In this light, it seems highly likely that the enumerated fragments (or the majority of them) truly belonged to the original decoration of tomb N5.

Even though we accept the provenience of the preserved reliefs, due to their extremely fragmental state it is particularly difficult to draw precise conclusions (if any at all) regarding the original extended household of the vizier Peri Šnay. The biased picture shows a small vizieral suite consisting of only seven identified individuals. Two of them belonged probably to more important dependents as indicated by two/three attached titles. With respect to recorded professions, it concerns a couple of priests, scribes, officials connected to central administration/court and also a household manager. However, not a single *k3*-priest was preserved, and no rank title is attested. In a similar way, the absence of people employed in labour organisation, body care or professions related to crafts has to be mentioned. The preserved selection cannot be considered a representative sample, but only a distorted image

of the original entourage. It is of course hard to assess the initial extent of decorated walls, the proportion of identified individuals in relation to anonymous dependents, etc., However, taking into consideration Jéquier’s assumption of the tomb size and complexity (Jéquier 1929: 109), we can surmise that Pery’s retinue might have initially included considerably more dependents, perhaps resembling his predecessors in the vizier’s office. Despite the large incompleteness of the source, it might be regarded as an interesting piece of evidence confirming that the vizier’s tomb at the middle of Pepi II’s reign was still elaborate enough to encompass a significant amount of his closest collaborators and servants within the tomb iconography. Nevertheless, one observes certain modesty in the hierarchy of preserved titles that are mainly of ordinary rank.

Peri Shenay	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	1
	<i>zš md3(w)t</i> “document scribe”	1
Priestly services	<i>hry-hbt</i> “lector priest”	1
	<i>ʕ dwʕw</i> “assistant of Duau”	1
Professions connected to central administration/Palace/King	<i>imy-r3 pr ʕ3</i> “Steward of the Great House”	1
	<i>.. ʕ3</i> “... Great House”	1
Household servants	<i>šdt (3pd)</i> “fattener of (fowl)”	1

Tab. 23 The extended household of Peri Shenay

5.3.8 Pepiankh, the Middle

The tomb of Pepiankh, its architecture and wall decoration

Pepiankh, the Middle was as a child brought to the Residence together with other sons of provincial elites, e.g., Merirenefer, Qar of Edfu or Ibi of Gebrawi to be educated and “indoctrinated” (Kanawati 2018: 101, 146; Sethe 1933 (Urk I, 253: 18–254:5). He became a high dignitary holding several crucial provincial posts. He was appointed not only overseer of the Upper Egypt in the Middle provinces and overseer of the Upper Egypt in reality, but he reached the post of the vizier as is testified by the inscriptions on several places in his tomb

(Kanawati 2012: 13, pls. 75b, 83, 85).³¹⁸ The dating of the vizier became a subject of a long debate and he is predominantly dated to the middle of Pepi II's reign (Baer 1960: 70 (133); Blackman 1914: 5–11 and 1924: *passim*; El-Khouli and Kanawati 1989: 25–26; Strudwick 1985: 303) while N. Kanawati argues for a slightly earlier date than suggested by Blackman and other scholars, i.e. to the end of Pepi I reign – early Pepi II's reign (Kanawati 2012: 24–6). Based on his recent excavations, he reconstructed the family history of Pepiankh, proposing his father to be Sobekhetep Hepy instead of NiankhPepi.³¹⁹

Pepiankh built his rock-cut tomb (D2) in the D group of tombs at the necropolis of Meir and, according to his biographical inscription, he was a founder of a new necropolis (Blackman 1924: 20, 21, 25 n. 1–7, pl. 22 (1), 23 (2); Kanawati 2012: 27, 35). His tomb consists of four rooms, two of which were originally decorated, namely the pillared room and the chapel. The manifold repertoire of scenes contains themes connected to cultic context such as, e. g., the offering table scene, performance of a traditional ceremony associated with meals or a pilgrimage trip to sacred places, but also a daily-life scene such as for instance ploughing and harvesting scene, brewing and baking, bird trapping, fishing and fowling or music and entertaining (Kanawati 2012: 54, pls. 13–19, 20–22, 37–47, 53–58, 79, 80, 84, 89).

Pepiankh's close family and extended household

Both the close and “extended” family of Pepiankh were very numerous. In the iconography of the tomb, there are portrayed Pepiankh's mother Pehernefret and father Sobekhetep Hepy, his eight brothers, his wife Hutiah, nine sons, two grandsons and a couple of distant relatives – the family altogether containing of almost 30 members (Kanawati 2012: 13–19).³²⁰

Concerning Pepiankh's extended household one notices a considerably large number of identified minor figures in comparison to anonymous dependents in the tomb decoration. The overall number of identified dependents exceeds one hundred (in total 105 individuals; 34 of

³¹⁸ The vizieral title was preserved on the architrave in the pillared hall, on the south wall of the chapel as well as on the north section of the west wall, but rather surprisingly this highest title was not recorded on Pepiankh's false door (Kanawati 2012: pl. 86).

³¹⁹ N. Kanawati disagrees with Blackman, that Pepiankh, the Middle is the son of NyankhPepi (Blackman 1924: 5–11); he proposed a rather different genealogy of the vizier: Pepiankh, the Elder – Sobekhetep Hepy – Pepiankh, the Middle – NyankhPepi, the Black (El-Khouli and Kanawati 1989: 25–26). Kanawati even suggests that Pepiankh, Kheryib could have been the greatest son of Mereruka before he was married to Watetkhethor/Zešzešet (Kanawati 2012: 25). In contrast, S. Polet estimates that Pepiankh succeeded Pepiankh, the Elder (Polet 2008: 83–84, 87).

³²⁰ It concerns especially the scene of Pepiankh's family depicted on the west and north walls of room III, where fifteen or eight members of the family appear (Kanawati 2012: 50, 60–61, pls. 59–60, 84–87, 94).

them are identified only by their name) holding almost 40 different professions (see Tab. 23). This comprises professions that regularly occur in the iconography of the vizieral tombs at Memphite necropoleis at the same period of time, specifically scribes, priests, household managers, specialists, officials engaged in central administration/court/the king or employed in the sphere of organisation of labour, together with various craftsmen professions. Nevertheless, titles that are peculiar to a provincial administration or specifically to Meir can be found in Pepiankh's tomb as well even though they appear in small numbers (see below).

On describing the structure of Pepiankh's extended household, worth mentioning is the large number of household managers, especially the frequent attendance of overseers of the house (21 different individuals). According to the analysis of the present author, a high occurrence of dependents with such profession was observed in the elite tombs at Meir in contrast to other provincial burial grounds, e.g. el-Hawawish or Quseir el-Amarna (Nováková 2019). It becomes apparent that the range of the responsibilities and duties of overseers of the house, as attested in their representations in iconography, was slightly wider than those of the individuals who held the same title at Memphite necropoleis, moreover they were more involved in the funerary cult of the deceased.³²¹ To demonstrate their fields of activity, several examples can be displayed. One of the overseers of the house Neferbaqet was associated with the agriculture production of the household. He is depicted in the scene of a cattle count or accompanying the tomb owner in the scene of receiving accounts by scribes (Kanawati 2012: 41, 44, pls. 83, 85, 89). At the same time, this individual figures as a priest who is performing a ritual connected to funerary meal (Kanawati 2012: 53, pl. 85) (see Fig. 44). Another overseer of the house, Khuyenwekh, who appears three times in the iconography of the tomb, was involved directly in the funerary service for the tomb owner as inspector of *k3*-priests (Kanawati 2012: 22, pls. 78, 80–81, 89). His responsibilities linked to funerary services are clearly demonstrated by one of his depictions: he is portrayed throwing incense in front of the tomb owner (Kanawati 2012: 36, pl. 78). A special relation of Khuyenwekh to the tomb owner is expressed by the attached epithets: *n st-ib nb.f* “favourite of his lord” and *im3hw hr nb.f irr hst mrrt.f* “the honoured one before his lord, who does what he praises and wishes”. The list of important overseers of the house needs to be extended by Merwekhankhef, who was apart from *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house” also an *šhd hm-ntr* “inspector of god's priest” and held the

³²¹ Given the preserved evidence, it can be stated that the overseer of the house was not only linked to the agriculture produce, but he was also more involved in the funerary cult of the deceased since he was portrayed pouring libation water, holding a censer and throwing incense or performing ceremonies associated with funerary meals (Nováková 2019: 102–103).

significant rank title *hry tp nswt pr-ꜣ* “royal chamberlain of the palace” (Kanawati 2012: 21, 53, pls. 84–85) (see Tab. 23).³²² He must have been an intriguing man within the suite of the vizier as indicated by the close proximity of this person to the tomb owner in both scenes where he appears. He accompanies the tomb owner in the scene of viewing ploughing activities standing at a prominent place among two Pepiankh’s sons (Kanawati 2012: 48, pl. 84); and he is recorded as the sole man standing behind the tomb owner’s chair in the offering table scene (Blackman 1924: 34, pl. 12; Kanawati 2012: 53, pl. 85) (see Fig. 44).

It seems likely that the scope of activities of the overseer of the house was even wider than demonstrated by the above-mentioned examples. He could have played a certain role also in the entertainment of the tomb owner, as can be deduced from a scene depicting a senet game, where another of overseers of the house, named Merery, was recorded (Kanawati 2012: 59, 89, pls. 53–58a).

A number of other overseers of the house occurs elsewhere in the tomb, but their enormous concentration can be noticed especially on the north wall of the chapel (Kanawati 2012: 60–61, 89, pls. 53–58a, 88, 89) (see Fig. 45). There are recorded 19 overseers of the house, twelve of them figure in a single bottom register on the wall where significant officials of Pepiankh’s suite are represented. With only one exception they all hold rank titles, either *šps nswt* “noble of the king” or *hry-tp nswt* the “royal chamberlain” and according to attached inscriptions some of them were directly associated to Pepiankh’s private estate *pr-dt* (Blackman 1924: 32–33).

Regarding the titles connected to household managers, a common feature appears to be their accumulation. A large portion of overseers of the house in the tomb hold yet another title, in three cases it was the title *hry-zh* “director of the dining hall” (Kanawati 2012: 61, 84, 88, 89), in five cases *imy-rꜣ ššr* “overseer of linen” (Kanawati 2012: 81–83, 85, 88–89) (see Fig. 45), and in one case a title connected to the organisation of labour *smsw whrt* “elder of the dockyard” is attached (the only title in the vizier’s suite related to the organisation of labour) (Kanawati 2012: 85, 89, pls. 47b–51a, 53–58).

Other titles related to household management, such as directors of the dining hall or overseers of linen, do appear in the tomb. As is apparent from the accompanying titles of the overseers of the house, some individuals held both titles. The household managers have to be

³²² Another three overseers of the house occur two times in the wall decoration: Khnumhetep, Sefekhnefer or Shepesuptah (Kanawati 2012: 23, pls. 81, 84–85, 88–89).

supplemented by estates managers. The information about them is obtained only from one particular inscription carved above kneeling individuals on the south wall of room III which originally continued to the right by repeating the word *hk3-(hwt)* (estate) managers, but with the rest of the register damaged (Kanawati 2012: 44, pl. 83).³²³ Altogether, the individuals who administered Pepiankh's household formed the most numerous professional group among the identified dependents in the tomb (in total 27 individuals).

Animal husbandry must have represented an important segment of Pepiankh's household. Food supply was provided by several dependents employed as *imy-r3 tzt* "overseers of herds" Herunefer and Hepy (Kanawati 2012: 22, 21, pl. 82) and *imy-r3 mdt* "overseer of the cattle-stall", who were complemented by a couple of herdsmen (Kanawati 2012: 20, 22, pl. 75e, 79, 83).

Scribes and priests - a group of individuals who regularly appear in Memphite elite tombs were extensively represented also in the tomb of Pepiankh. Scribes form the first large group of 19 individuals that consisted of scribes and juridical scribes of different hierarchy (ordinary scribes, overseers of scribes, juridical scribes, overseers of juridical scribes). Apart from them, scribes connected to territorial administration of the land can be found on the walls, e.g., *zš sp3t* "scribe of the province" Khusuwakh (Blackman 1924: pl. 14) or *imy-r3 zš(w) 3ht* "overseer of the scribes of the field" (Kanawati 2012: pl. 45, 79, 83). In addition, one scribe associated with a local temple also appears in tomb iconography *zš hwt-ntr* "scribe of the temple" (Kanawati 2012: 20, pl. 83).³²⁴ No, particular local temple is specified, however the goddess Hathor, lady of nearby city al-Qusija can be assumed as a possible candidate. Qusija was the governmental centre of the 14th Upper Egyptian nome and based on the inscriptional evidence from the tomb Pepiankh himself held the title *imy-r3 hm(w)-ntr (n)hwt-hr (nbt K̄is)* "overseer of priests of Hathor, Lady of Qis."

Similar to the tombs at Memphite burial grounds, also the tomb of Pepiankh contains scribes associated with the Residence. Their titles refer either to central administration: *zš šnwt* "scribe of the granary" Sennefer (Kanawati 2012: 23, Pl. 89)(see Fig. 45), to the king: *zš ʿ(w) nswt* "scribe of the royal documents" and "juridical overseer of scribes" Kaemtjenenet

³²³ The scene strongly resembles the theme of estate managers punished for their misappropriation in managing estates often represented in the vizier's tombs at Teti pyramid cemetery, see the chapter the vizier Mereruka.

³²⁴ All the more, Pepiankh started his biography with a reference to his service for this goddess as overseer of priests of Hathor, lady of Qusija (Blackman 1924: 25 n.1-7; Kanawati 2012: 35, pls. 75a, b) and his wife Hewetiaah served the same goddess as *hnwt nt hwt-hr nbt K̄is* 'the sistrum player of Hathor' (Kanawati 2012: 36, 49 pl. 80, 89).

(Blackman 1924: 41 n. 4; Kanawati 2012: 44, pl. 83) or to the palace: *zš pr md3t ntr pr-ʿ3* “scribe of the house of the sacred books of the palace” Kaemtjenenet who was at the same time *hry-ḥbt* “lector priest” and *zš(w) ḳdwt*³²⁵ “inspector of draughtsmen” (Kanawati 2012: 23, 41, pls. 79, 81, 88) (see Fig. 45).³²⁶ The latter two individuals are depicted on the south wall of room 3, where scribes are presenting accounts to the tomb owner – probably the most important scene in Pepiankh’s tomb recording scribes (Kanawati 2012: 44, pl. 83).

Not only scribes demonstrate the link to the Residence and central administration, but several other officials held titles referring to them as well, e.g., *hry-tp šnwt* - “employee/agent/servant of the granary” Iry and Neby who appear in the scene of the tomb owner accompanied by important officials, above others also by *imy-ḥt ḥnyw izt* “under-supervisor of those who are within the palace.” (Blackman 1924: pl. 15; Kanawati 2012: 19, 21, 24, pl. 83)

In contrast to tomb of Hemre/Izy the iconography of Pepiankh’s tomb contains individuals with titles associated to the office of *ḥntyw-š*, namely *imy-r3 st ḥnty(w)-š pr-ʿ3* “overseer of the department of the palace guards” (Kanawati 2012: 23, 42, pl. 82) who also held a high scribal title *imy-r3 zš(w)* overseer of scribes.³²⁷ He figures in the scene of counting animals in the middle provinces where he personally reports to the tomb owner (Kanawati 2012: 41–42, pls. 79–82).

As was already discussed earlier in the text, the relation of these officials to the vizier is not obvious. In general, there are several types of scenes where such kind of state officials appear. Firstly, it is a scene where the tomb owner is accompanied by his family, closest collaborates, friends and servants. Based on such type of scenes it can be supposed that the depicted individuals were apparently important members of vizier’s extended household. The same can be stated about the fowling scene, where the tomb owner is usually accompanied by the most loyal dependents, but again without explicit record of the mutual relationship. Other types of scenes describe issues of undoubtedly economic significance; they represent scribes who are presenting accounts to the tomb owner or scribes undertaking an animal count. These scenes again seem to imply that members of tomb owner’s suite responsible for such tasks were involved. Nevertheless, we cannot be sure if it does not depict an official of central administration charged with a tax collection sent there for this particular purpose. For instance,

³²⁵ Kanawati and Woods in their study (2010: 12) pointed out the association of these particular titles: *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-ʿ3* “scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace” and “inspector of draughtsmen with artists”.

³²⁶ This individual is distinguished from other dependents by his long hair and a beard (Kanawati 2012: 23, pl. 79).

³²⁷ This individual was depicted as a scribe engaged in the scene of cattle count on the east wall of Room 3 (Kanawati 2012: 23, 42, 79–82).

the scene of ‘counting animals in the middle provinces’ where *imy-r3 zš(w)* “overseer of scribes” and *imy-r3 st hnty(w)-š pr-š* “overseer of the department of the palace guards” reports to the tomb owner probably refers to an annual event that shows Pepiankh as a guarantor of its proper execution (Kanawati 2012: 23, 41–42, pls. 79–82). As is natural in cultic context, the tomb owner is evidently the focal point of the scene, nevertheless there are no clues included that would help to distinguish if the scribe was Pepiankh’s direct subordinate or a kind of king’s deputy sent to provinces to control such an important act. Unfortunately, we repeatedly meet the limits of the source; the rare evidence contains hints of certain hierarchy within a particular scene, but the exact nature of the mutual relationship between the tomb owner and his dependents remains hidden.

In this context the way how the selection of dependents was made becomes even more crucial. Partially instrumental in revealing the background of tomb owner’s choice could be two short horizontal inscriptions on the north wall of room III. There are 22 offering bearers recorded in the lowermost register; above the seven first is recorded a horizontal text: “*int rnpt nbt 3pdw nb(w) in sw nw pr-k n dt* bringing all year offerings and all fowl by the men of your private estate” (Blackman 1924: 32–33, pl. 9)(see Fig. 46). It recognizes individuals who were included in Pepiankh’s private estate, namely seven overseers of the house Qisweser, Khewi, Khewti, Qeri, Inepuankh, Sefekhnefer and Fefi. The same scene continues with the second bottom register where eight offering bearers are denoted in a similar manner as “*iw mrt nt pr n dt hn^c rnpt nb(t) ht nb(t) nfr(t)* “the servants of the private estate come with all year-offerings and every good thing” (Blackman 1924: 32, pl. 9; Kanawati 59, pls. 59–60, 89). Apart from four Pepiankh’s brothers who are aligned in the first place, it encompasses two overseers of the house Shepesuptah and Khununes (different ones from the above mentioned) together with *šhd zwnw* “inspector of physicians” Niankhkhnun and *zš šnwt* “scribe of the granary” Sennefer. This information reveals that in private estates of the vizier was most of all accentuated the property management, especially overseers of the house, but also scribes. The involvement of scribe of the granary Sennefer within the Pepiankh’s private estates might indicate a possibility of private granaries, despite the fact that *šnwt* are considered to be predominantly a royal institution (Flores 2019: 88–90). As Martina Bardoňová in her recent study pointed out, the funerary context that prevails in the preserved sources naturally biases our view of the issue (Bardoňová 2019: 289–290). The possibility of private granaries in the Old Kingdom cannot be entirely refuted, especially considering the diminishing importance of *šnwt* from the reign of Pepi I when the provincial officials gained more autonomy and began to oversee local resources (Flores 2015: 88–90).

Apart from individuals in charge of economic sphere, a representative of highly educated persons was also enumerated within the “servants of the funerary estate”, specifically *zwnw pr-ꜥ3* “physician of the Great House” and at the same time *šhd zwnw* “inspector of physicians” Nyankhkhnnum called Memy. The explanation of the occurrence of physicians with the title including attribute *pr-ꜥ3* (Great house) in provincial tombs of high dignitaries can be twofold. It can refer to a real link to the Residence but also merely express that the king rewarded loyal local rulers by funding highly specialized professions outside the Residence.³²⁸ This individual was elsewhere in the tomb rather surprisingly tagged also with the title overseer of the house. To my knowledge no other physician held such title denoting a household manager, nevertheless it only confirms the firm place of Nyankhnnum within Pepiankh’s extended household (Kanawati 2012: 21, pls. 79, 81–82, 84–85, 89). This is supported by still another evidence, Niankhkhnum’s appearance within the fowling scene at the prominent place immediately behind the tomb owner (Kanawati 2012: pl. 79, 81)(see Fig. 44–46), his outstanding position in the scene of the cattle count (Kanawati 2012: pl. 82) as well as his role in performing a ceremony associated with the funerary meal in the offering table scene – all this attaches a great value to his person (Kanawati 2012: 53, pl. 85) (see Fig. 44). Hints of special relations between the vizier and his doctor and strong local bonds of the physician can be seen in the fact that according to inscriptional evidence he was privileged to be buried within the tomb complex of the vizier and the manufacture of his coffin and a headrest were unequivocally of Meir’s provenience (Kamal 1914: 172, Fig. 22, Porter and Moss 1974: 256, Bourriau 1984: 131).

When speaking about the *pr-dt*, it is necessary to scrutinize another large group of dependents key for guaranteeing Pepiankh’s cult – in particular priests. Altogether 17 individuals are recorded in the wall decoration represented mainly by *k3*-priests (7 individuals) and *hm-ntr* priests (5 individuals). In both cases we encounter almost exclusively inspectors of priests, no ordinary *k3*-priests and under-supervisors of *k3*-priests are represented (only one *hm-ntr* priest). Moreover, it seems probable that originally also the number of inspectors of funerary priests was much lower. Names and title of four of them are merely scratched on the south wall of the chapel which seems to be a graffiti added by dependents of the tomb owner presumably not much later after the death of the tomb owner by someone who took care of the cultic matters (Kanawati 2012: pl. 75f, pl. 3 (after Blackman 1924: pl. 3)). In the remaining two occurrences of title inspectors of *k3*-priests the proper identification is rather questionable, since there is a

³²⁸ This issue was dealt in detail in the paper ‘Social standing of physicians during the Old Kingdom’ held by the present author at the Current Research in Egyptology conference in Madrid in 2020.

certain possibility of kinship relation, *i.e.* if this individual Khuenwakh was not directly a Pepiankh's son (Kanawati 2012: 22, pls. 78, 80–81, 89). The other option points on Khuenwakh as a mere dependent but of a big significance.

In addition, five lector-priests and an inspector of *k3*-house can be noticed (Kanawati 2012: pl. 85, 75e)(see Fig. 44).³²⁹ Four lector priests are anonymous; only one is identified by his name Kaemtjenenet who was at the same time scribe of the house of sacred books and inspector of draughtsmen (Kanawati 2012: 23, pl. 79, 81, 88). His portrayal distinguishes him from other dependents with a typical dress and a wig.³³⁰ No priest referring to a particular god is captured in reliefs, only the already mentioned scribe of a temple Wetjsuma can be linked to a local priesthood (Blackman 1924: 40, pl. 15; Kanawati 2012: 20, pl. 83).

Concerning the organisation of the funerary cult, inscriptions in the tomb does contain a reference to phyle organisation. Nevertheless, it highly likely does not encompass titles attached to dependents of the tomb owner, but directly some Pepiankh's relative. An individual Khewenwekh who held the title *mty n z3* "regulator of the phyle" is not explicitly designated by a family relation tag, but his depiction among tomb owner's sons in the scene of animal count is indicative of possible kinship (Kanawati 2012: 82). On the ground of this sole evidence and taking into consideration the absence of any scribe of the phyle elsewhere in the tomb, the existence of phyle organisation in Pepiankh's cult cannot be proved.

The only other professional segment that appears in wall decoration of Pepiankh's tomb involves craftsmen who are represented apparently by a sole individual. It is the already mentioned lector-priest Kaemtjenenet who was endowed with two other titles *shd zš(w) kdwt* "inspector of draughtsmen" and *zš pr-md3t ntr pr-3* "scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace" – titles that are according to N. Kanawati and A. Woods (2009: 12) frequently held by artists (Kanawati 2012: 38, 44, pls. 79, 81, 88)(see Fig 46). According to M.W. Blackman another possible holder of craft-related title is the inspector of artisan Ibenmut (Blackman 1924: 37). However, the present author agrees with N. Kanawati in this particular issue that M.W. Blackman's reading is rather unconvincing and also the attachment of such type of title to the figure of a herdsman in the scene of animal husbandry instead to a craftsman in some workshop scene seems peculiar (Kanawati 2012: 82, pls. 26–33).

³²⁹ For *k3*-chapels see Raue 2014; Ziermann and Eder 2001: 309–356.

When analysing the identified dependents in Pepiankh's tomb, a characteristic feature that can be recognized is a frequent occurrence of rank titles which is far from typical in elite tombs on Memphite necropoleis. Mostly represented are the lower ranking title *šps nswt* "noble of the king" (25 individuals), followed in number of occurrences by the title *hry-tp nswt* "royal chamberlain" (9) and *iry ht nswt* "property custodian of the king/acquaintance of the king" (6).

Apart from a different type of an attached title (either functional or rank), we obtain also information about the number of titles held by a single individual. The tag analysis demonstrates that dependents in the case of the vizier Pepiankh regularly held more than one title – almost one fourth of them (48 individuals) held two or more titles.³³¹ Not only rank and functional title attached together, but two or more functional titles were attached as well; both eventualities are equally often represented in the tomb. This situation bears hardly a comparison with the tombs on Memphite necropoleis where only several of the most important persons were identified with more than one title (see above, e.g., The extended household of the vizier Ptahshepses or Mereruka).

Another type of information – a multiple occurrence of a particular individual - indicates to what extent he was "indispensable" for his master or more precisely if he played an essential role in the funerary context, alternatively if an individual had a free access to the tomb to make a later added inscription. In a similar way, the significance of a particular individual can be derived, apart from the number and importance of titles they held or multiple occurrences, also by hints of visible hierarchy in some scenes. With respect to enumerated features, foremost posts within Pepiankh's suite held, apart from already mentioned inspector of physician Nyankhkhnum and overseers of the house Merwekhankh and Khuenwakh (to a lesser extent also their colleagues Neferbaqet and Nedjem), also two priests, both were *šhd hm-ntr* "inspector of god's-priests" and *šps nswt* "noble of the king" Pepiseneb and Mešetjy/Netjery (Kanawati 2012: 20, pls. 80, 82, 88; or 81, pls. 22b–25, 85, 88, pls. 53–58a)(see Fig. 44). Both appear several times elsewhere in the tomb decoration, holding a prominent place within particular scenes, placed among other important dependents or even tomb owner's brothers.³³² Despite not being endowed with a scribal title, the first priest is depicted as an educated, wealthy man with a scribal palette and other components of a scribal equipment. Worth mentioning, in respect

³³¹ For the list of dependents with their titles, see Kanawati 2012: 19–24.

³³² Pepiseneb is depicted among important individuals sailing in a boat in the spear-fishing scene (Kanawati 2012: 40, pl. 88), for the second time as an offering bearer in a prominent place among tomb owner's brothers (Kanawati 2012: 89) and while reporting to the tomb owner in a scene of cattle count (Kanawati 2012: 42, pl. 82); Mešetjy/Netjery accompanies the tomb owner while spear fishing as well or entertains his master with a flute (Kanawati 2012: 81, pls. 22b–25, 85, 88, pls. 53–58a).

to multiple occurrences and higher posts in the iconography, is the royal chamberlain and noble of the king Hepy; his significance is among other things demonstrated by a staff in his hand or by his posture and attributes that assign him to a scribal staff (Kanawati 2012: 79, 83, pls. 34–36, 89)(see Fig. 45).

In total, it can be stated that Pepiankh's extended household was large and diverse, encompassing individuals with 40 different professions. By far the most distinctive feature of Pepiankh's vizieral retinue appears to be the size of his household, as testified by the frequent appearance of household managers, in the first place an incredibly high number of overseers of the house (21 individuals). Not only household managers, but also a large number of other dependents often held more than one title (rarely even three), frequently including rank titles which seems to become another characteristic feature for the tomb iconography on provincial sites to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

The composition of Pepiankh's extended household consisted in the first place of dependents who were essential for running of the household, *i.e.* household managers and servants such as, for instance, overseers of the house, overseers of the linen or individuals directly connected with animal husbandry, e.g. overseers of herds. They are accompanied by scribes who were in charge of household's accounts and legal matters as ordinary or juridical scribes. Scribes holding titles with a link to the territorial administration of the land are present as well (e.g. *zš sp3t*). Priests formed another indispensable group of people; most of all funerary and lector priests, but also priests outside the thematic context of tomb reliefs, such as for example god's priests, or priest connected to *k3*-houses. Rather peculiar is then the absence of ordinary *k3*-priests; only a high level of inspectors of funerary priests occurs.

Like in elite tombs at Memphite necropoleis, individuals with titles connected to central administration are present at Meir. Their status is ambiguous (see the discussion above), they could have been sent to provinces to advance king's cause, but what seems to me more probable is that, when included in a private tomb environment, they rather truly belonged to Pepiankh's vizieral entourage. Nevertheless, based on preserved evidence neither of possibilities can be proved nor excluded.

As far as the "physician of the Great House" is concerned, the *pr-ʿ3* attribute makes a link between the particular workplace and the Residence, either directly denoting someone who worked for certain time at the royal court and later resettled to provinces, or as a certain label it might characterize someone who is funded by the Residence in order to carry out his profession in the provinces or elsewhere outside the capital, being salaried by the court.

	Titles	No. of occurrences
Pepiankh the Middle		
Scribal professions	<i>imy-r3 zš(w) 3ht</i> "overseer of scribes of the field"	4
	<i>imy-r3 zš(w)</i> "overseer of the scribes"	2
	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	1
	<i>zš ˆ(w) nswt</i> "scribe of the royal documents"	1
	<i>zš šnwtj</i> "scribe of the granary"	1
	<i>zš sp3t</i> "scribe of the province"	2
	<i>zš hwt-ntr</i> "scribe of the temple"	1
	<i>z3b imy-r3 zš(w)</i> "juridical overseer of scribes"	1
	<i>z3b zš</i> "juridical scribe"	2
	<i>z3b ˆd-mr</i> "juridical ˆd-mr official"	1
	<i>z3b iry mḏ3t</i> "juridical book keeper"	1
	<i>imy-r3 dbˆw</i> "overseer of the sealing"	1
	<i>htmtj ntr</i> "god's sealer"	1
	Priestly services	<i>shḏ hmw-k3</i> "inspector of funerary priest"
<i>shḏ hm(w)-ntr</i> "inspector of priests"		6
<i>hm-ntr</i> "god's priest"		1
<i>shḏ hwt-k3</i> "inspector of ka-house"		1
<i>hry-hbt</i> "lector priest"		5
<i>imy-r3 st hnty(w)-š pr-ˆ3</i> "overseer of the department of the hnty(w)-š officials of the palace"		1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house"	21
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> "overseer of the linen"	4
	<i>smr pr</i> "companion of the house"	1
	<i>hrp zh</i> "director of the food-hall"	7
	<i>imy-r3 tzt</i> "overseer of herds"	2
	<i>imy-r3 mḏt</i> "overseer of the cattle-stall"	1
	<i>mniw tntt</i> "herdsman of tjentet-cattle"	1
	<i>nr</i> "custodian"	1
	<i>shḏ iry(w) ht</i> "inspector of the custodians of property"	2
Organisation of labour	<i>smsw whrt</i> elder of the dockyard"	1
Craftsmen	<i>shḏ hmwt(yw)</i> "inspector of craftsmen" (artisan)	1
	<i>shḏ zš(w) kdwt</i> "inspector of draughtsmen"	1
Central administration/court/king	<i>zš pr mḏ3t ntr pr-ˆ3</i> "scribe of the house of the sacred books of the palace"	1

	<i>ḥry-tp šnwt</i> “employee/agent/servant of the granary”	2
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥnyw izt</i> “under-supervisor of those who are within the palace”	3
	<i>ḥrp šmsw</i> “director of the followers”	1
	<i>smr</i> “companion”	1
Specialists	<i>zwnw pr-ꜥ3</i> “physician of the Palace”	1
	<i>shḏ zwnw</i> “inspector of physician”	1
Rank titles	<i>ḥry tp nswt</i> “royal chamberlain”	6
	<i>ḥry tp nswt pr-ꜥ3</i> “royal chamberlain of the palace”	3
	<i>iry iḥt nswt</i> “acquaintance of the king”	6
	<i>šps nswt</i> “noble of the king”	25

Tab. 23 The extended household of Pepiankh, the Middle

5.3.9 Summary

An attempt to provide a characteristics of a typical Sixth Dynasty vizier’s entourage is practically impossible since the suites from the beginning and the end of the dynasty vary greatly in contrast to the Fifth Dynasty, in which the analysed extended households were more balanced. Another factor worth mentioning, is that the officials began to be buried in the provinces only to the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Therefore, we have to distinguish the Sixth Dynasty vizier’s suites both in chronological and spatial respect.

As far as the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty is concerned, it seems apparent that Teti’s viziers followed in the trend of building elaborated, multi-chambered tombs that captured in their iconography a numerous and highly diversified group of dependents. They include several tens of individuals, up to almost one hundred in case of the suite of Mereruka that can be considered an exemplary case, reaching the top of the dynasty. All the main segments of occupations are represented, *i.e.* scribal, priestly, household management, as well as professions associated with the central administration/court, which concern especially scribal titles, e.g. scribe of the royal records in the presence, or scribe of the house of sacred books of the palace. A hierarchical division in the organisation of scribes and priests is clearly recognized in titles of different social levels, *i.e.* overseers, inspectors, or under-supervisors.

Other professions were less frequented, encompassing people employed in the organisation of labour complemented by a sporadic occurrence of identified craftsmen.

Individuals denoted by the latter type of titles are often anonymous, only the most important ones being distinguished also by a personal name. Moreover, usually the master craftsman in a given trade is identified, *e.g.* overseer of the metal-workers or overseer of sculptors; ordinary craftsmen remain largely unlabelled.

The funerary cult of the deceased vizier was managed by a group of *k3*-priests, in a similar manner as in the Fifth Dynasty. The names of particular phyles in priestly titles and the presence of scribes of phyles is attested, for instance in the suites of Mereruka and Ankhmahor. The appearance of *hntyw-š* officials that are missing in private tombs of the previous dynasty can be considered a kind of innovation. It is possible that they newly cooperated with *k3*-priests on the every-day running of the cult as was a daily routine for *hntyw-š* officials in the royal mortuary temples (Vymazalová 2013: 189). However, to confirm this assumption it requires to make an in-depth analysis using a wider sample of tombs. In the present selection of the tombs there is no iconographic evidence of *hntyw-š* officials that would confirm their involvement in the funerary cult of the deceased vizier, but such evidence is missing also for the majority of *k3*-priests who are usually depicted as offering-bearers. It is only lector priests (*hry-hbt*) who are customarily portrayed while performing rituals. As many viziers and members of their families held titles associated with *hntyw-š*, we cannot exclude also the possibility that these individuals were depicted as loyal subordinates of their masters similar to inferiors involved in the central administration without any link to the funerary cult.

When comparing particular extended households, the size of Mereruka's cult is especially remarkable as it consisted of more than 50 *k3*-priests and another 15 scribes of phyle. In regard of the high number of funerary priests it resembles only the suite of the vizier Ptahshepses. Worth mentioning in this respect is that both viziers were sons-in-law of the king, which might have substantially influenced the size of their cult and the form of organisation in the phyle system derived from the royal funerary cult. Despite these common features in both vizier's suites, it has to be admitted that the suite of the vizier Ptahshepses still remains at the forefront in terms of the complexity of recorded professions. A number of individuals employed in the sphere of body care, numerous household servants and craftsmen including a representative of specialists, this all makes the vizieral extended household of Ptahshepses unequalled.

Regarding specialists, namely physicians, their occurrence is irregular. Within a certain viziers' entourages they did appear; this concerns the vizier Seshathetep Hety (dentist), Ptahshepses, Ptahhetep and Akhthetep dated to the Fifth Dynasty, and the viziers Ankhmahor

together with Pepiankh, the Middle from the Sixth Dynasty. On the contrary, almost the same number of households under the study did not record any specialists, which involve households of the vizier Seshemnefer II, Senedjemib Inty and Akhethetep Hemy, and Sixth Dynasty viziers Mereruka and Inumin together with all the Memphite viziers from the second part of the dynasty. Due to an absence of proper anthropological studies and poor preservation of the skeletal remains of the viziers under the study, the occurrence of a physician cannot be directly associated with a serious illness or injury a particular vizier might have suffered from (see, e.g. the Household of the vizier Ptahshepses).³³³ However, the fact that certain physician was recorded in the tomb signifies a more personal relation among the two individuals and thus indirectly refers to a potential medical treatment either of the tomb owner or someone of his family. The joint tomb of a father-son pair of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep provides an evidence of a family doctor Wennennefer who looked after two generations as is attested by his depiction in both separate parts of the tomb belonging to each individual. Taking into account a low average age and the high infant mortality in ancient Egypt (Strouhal and Bareš 1993: 71–72), we can presume that the physician might have played an important role within wealthy families. His prominent place among other members of a particular vizier's suite is clearly expressed as he is always portrayed within the close circle of the tomb owner's most important collaborators, sometimes even following tomb owners' sons (see The extended household of the vizier Ptahshepses) and whenever appears he is identified by his personal name.

When analysing the development of the composition and diversity of the extended households, a substantial decrease is observed already from the reign of Pepi I. onwards. Hand in hand with the diminishing size of the private tombs at that time (Kanawati 2003: 180), the presence of identified dependents is rather limited in comparison to huge households from Teti's reign. However, it still comprises quite a numerous group of low tens of dependents, large enough to cover the household economy and to secure the needs in the afterlife. It still consisted of the most important segments (priestly, scribal and household management, together with food supply). On the other hand, several professions groups comprising of organisation of labour, crafts or, most importantly, also individuals engaged in the central administration, were excluded (see The household of the vizier Inumin).

In a similar manner limited was the vizier's entourage of the provincial representative Hemre of Deir el-Gebrawi dated to the approximately same time as his counterpart Inumin in

³³³ Anthropological analyses can reveal serious illnesses or injuries the deceased underwent, and recognized pathological changes that bear witness to such illnesses.

the Residence. His extended household was even less numerous, and recorded professions hardly represented the most essential segments. Only a single *k3*-priest was in charge of Hemre's cult, similarly modest was also the household management, and a single person - a scribe and overseer of the funerary estate, was responsible for running the household. More startling that their restricted numbers is the fact that such key persons for the afterlife existence of Hemre remained anonymous. Worth mentioning are also individuals designated with rank titles. They are in contrast to the rest of the retinue distinguished by personal names. The presence of rank titles attached to the dependents seems to be a novelty in the Sixth Dynasty tombs. This phenomenon does not relate only to this particular period and is not exclusive to provincial tombs. Sparse evidence of minor figures tagged by rank titles is observed already at the very beginning of the Sixth Dynasty in the tomb of Mereruka, followed by Inumin, Hemre/Isy, and it is then extensively represented in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle. The most frequently occurring were the lower ranking titles *šps nswt* "noble of the king" (Inumin, Hemre/Isy, Pepiankh, the Middle) or *šmr pr* (Inumin); the higher titles, *i.e.* *šmr w^cty* "sole companion" were, occasionally inscribed as well (Mereruka, Inumin).

During the second part of the Sixth Dynasty a sudden drop both in the number of dependents and complexity in their titles is clearly recognizable for Memphite tombs. Only a couple of individuals hardly reaching ten are recorded during that time (see The extended households of Idunefer, Nebkauhor or Pery Shenay). Most often, one or two dependents employed in priestly or scribal services are present, accompanied by a representative of household managers/servants of a similar number. Importantly, the officials connected to the state administration are still to be found there. However, other occupational groups are completely missing. It does not explicitly mean that these dependents were no longer recorded in tombs, the evidence of relief decoration shows that the repertoire of scenes was very limited, but it still includes a procession of offering bearers or other scenes where ordinary workers appear, such as butchers in the scene of animal count. Nevertheless, these dependents now remain largely anonymous. It seems as if the tomb owners did not have enough resources to secure the afterlife existence for a numerous group of their dependents, or vice versa they selected only a couple of the most loyal and essential ones for their funerary cult.

In contrast to the situation on Memphite necropoleis where the tombs grew poorer and consequently this fact influenced the development of the viziers' suites, a dynamic development is monitored in the provinces; provincial centres flourished and the viziers seem to have gradually gained more independence and power during the Sixth Dynasty (Bárta 2011:

212–228), which was reflected in their wealthy decorated tombs rich in recorded entourage and biographic inscriptions that lauded their achievements. The main traits in the development and innovation towards the end of the Old Kingdom originated exactly in the provinces instead of the Residence, which has no longer enough power to control and run the state and to ensure the highest state officials to building an elaborated tomb.

As the author of this thesis tried to outline, each provincial site provides an invaluable insight in the household studies; an in-depth analysis of particularities of each province would be highly demanded, but it is beyond the scope of the present study to scrutinize them one by one. Nevertheless, selected examples of provincial tombs, be it those of the viziers or those of high officials, serve for a comparison to the main traits of development on residential necropoleis. The selected provincial sites, Deir el-Gebrawi and Meir were both representatives of important provincial centres in the Sixth Dynasty. Gebrawi was a place where a nomarchic family dynasty was established for at least four generations (Kanawati 2018: 150; Kanawati 2005: 2–20); as one of three significant administrative centres together with Thebes and Abydos, Meir was the seat of the overseer of the Upper Egypt as well as the provincial vizier in the reign of Pepi II. The selected tombs, i.e. those of Hemre/Izy and Pepiankh, the Middle demonstrate how much the development in the Residence and the provinces took its own direction. Moreover, it confirms that the trend of recording the identified dependents, that almost vanished in Memphite tombs, still continued to the very end of the Old Kingdom in distant powerful provincial sites.

As was mentioned above, the size and the diversity of the viziers' suites shows a clearly decreasing trend during the Sixth Dynasty. The decline in the size of the vizier's entourages is not gradual, it features quite a sudden drop from the mid-Sixth Dynasty onwards. The number of dependents hardly reaches ten. The represented professions show rather radical loss of complexity. In this sense, the tombs from the second part of the Sixth Dynasty, more precisely from the end of Pepi I's reign, share a similar characteristic in common with the viziers' suites from the first half of the Fourth Dynasty. The tomb decoration seems to have returned back to its roots when the focus was laid on the depiction of the tomb owner within his family realm.

Practically the opposite trend was recognized for wealthy provincial tombs from the reign of Pepi I to the long reign of king Pepi II. While the tomb of Hemre dated to the reign of Pepi I is quite modest, the tombs on different necropoleis, e.g. Abydos, Ahmim or Hagarsa from the reign of Pepi II are multi-chambered with rich relief decoration. The iconographical evidence from the tomb of our selected official, *i.e.* Pepiankh, the Middle shows that the

entourage of the provincial vizier still flourished in the second part of the Sixth Dynasty. This tomb belongs to tombs that record one of the highest numbers of identified officials. Moreover, D. Vishak (2020: 449, no. 5) gives Pepiankh's tomb as an example of a tomb with an untypical high ratio of identified persons to the bulk of anonymous dependents. The total number of Pepiankh's dependents (105 individuals), as well as the diversity in titles (almost 40 different professions) resembles the most numerous vizieral extended households from Memphite tombs, i.e. that of the vizier Ptahshepses or Mereruka. The composition of Pepiankh's household comprised professions characteristic for the tombs on the Residential necropoleis, specifically scribes, priests, household management, etc., but on the top of that they were complemented with titles associated with local administration and temples, to name several of them, e.g. for instance a scribe of the province (Blackman 1924: pl. 14) overseer of the scribes of the field (Kanawati 2012: pl. 45, 79, 83) or scribe of the temple (Kanawati 2012: 20, pl. 83). Scribes and priests were hierarchically defined as in the tombs in the Residence, but only in two different levels; the higher ranks of inspectors/overseers are frequently represented, ordinary scribes and priests are, in contrast, under-represented.

Another difference consists in the administration of the funerary cult. In neither of provincial necropoleis, *i.e.* in Der el-Gebrawi and Meir, but nor in Akhmim or Efantine, is detected any reference to a phyle system. In a similar manner exceptional is the presence of the only representative associated with the office of *hntyw-š* in the tomb of Pepiankh (Kanawati 2012: 23, 42, pl. 82). Based on this unique occurrence, we cannot arrive to any general conclusion about the involvement of these individuals within the cult of the provincial vizier.

A specific feature observed in the tombs at Meir is the frequent occurrence of overseers of the house; Pepiankh employed more than 20 of them, which refers to the enormous size of his household. Almost 20 other individuals involved in the management of Pepiankh's household stress the importance of the property management which is testified also by some scribal titles such as, e.g., *imy-r3 zš(w) 3ht* "overseer of the scribes of the field" or *zš šnwtj* "scribe of the granary". Based on this testimony, the provincial households were large independent economic units with a number of fields and estates and own granaries.³³⁴

Another particularity that stands out among others is the frequent occurrence of rank titles attached to the subsidiary figures; in case of Pepiankh's entourage it reaches 40 individuals. This feature can be partly associated with the fact that almost one fourth of all

³³⁴ The papyrus archive from the palace of governors at Balat confirms the presence of local granaries supporting the inhabitants of Dakhla oasis (Pantalacci 2010: 200).

dependents (48 individuals) held two or more titles. This situation resembles to some extent the entourages of the vizier Ptahshepses or Mereruka, however with the numbers of these dependents it highly exceeds their residential counterparts. It is apparent that large vizieral extended household included important officials depicted by more than one title; however, the frequent occurrence of rank titles can be ascribed more to the devaluation of functional titles to the end of the Old Kingdom (Baer 1960).

Although the main responsibilities of Pepiankh consisted in directing the administration of the Upper Egypt together with the supervision over tax collection, some of his titles (e.g. *hry sšt3 n pr dw3t* or *imy-r3 šnwtj*) and titles of some of his dependents clearly refer to the central administration/court/king. Two Pepiankh's dependents who held the titles *zš ʿ (w) nswt* "scribe of the royal documents" and *zš pr md3t ntr pr-ʿ3* "scribe of the house of the sacred books of the palace" were according to an attached label presenting accounts to Pepiankh (Kanawati 2012: 44, pl. 83, respective 23, 41, pls. 79, 81, 88). A question may arise to what extent the officials of central administration were involved or intervened into the provincial matters. The meaning of the presence of titles connected to the central administration may be twofold. It might on the one hand indicate that some important activities such as, e.g., keeping accounts as a basis for imposing taxes, were within the scope of the central administration controlled by the deputies of the state. On the other hand, these officials might have been Pepiankh's collaborators in the Residence and returned with him to Meir where they took charge of keeping accounts of his own household. Unfortunately, such type of information which would be instructive in this sense is not explicit in iconography, therefore neither of the possibilities can be excluded.

As was already stated in the text, the representation of women in the iconography was massively under-represented probably due to thematic focus of the funerary monuments. Only several mourners belong among the rare depictions of identified females (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 51, pls. 20a, 56, 57a; Hassan 1975: 24, Fig. 8). The only exception is the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Wehemka (see Chapter 8). It is of a certain importance, that when one searches not only for the female dependents but also for the female tomb owners, the number of preserved monument especially belonging to non-royal woman is rather low. Only 26 tombs of non-royal women were recognised by E. Brovarski in his study (Brovarski 2020). It would deserve further examination what reasons stood behind, the lack of resources might be one of them. However, to explain this issue is beyond the scope of the present study.

To sum up, the analysed vizieral entourages clearly demonstrated two different traits of the development of the vizier's office and extended household during the Sixth Dynasty. The Memphite viziers reach the peak during the reign of Teti at the beginning of the dynasty. A clearly decreasing trend is monitored from that period onwards with a sudden fall in the

diversity of titles attached to recorded dependents. The rather modest tombs of the viziers newly deficient in resources did not allow them probably not only depict but highly likely also sustain a large entourage. Provincial holders of the titles, on the contrary, gradually gained more power during the Sixth Dynasty, which is reflected in an increasing size and complexity of the vizier's retinue under the study. Provincial viziers thus continued in the tradition of building elaborated tombs abounding of a large entourage with a high number of identified individuals, characteristic for residential necropoleis, at least to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty.

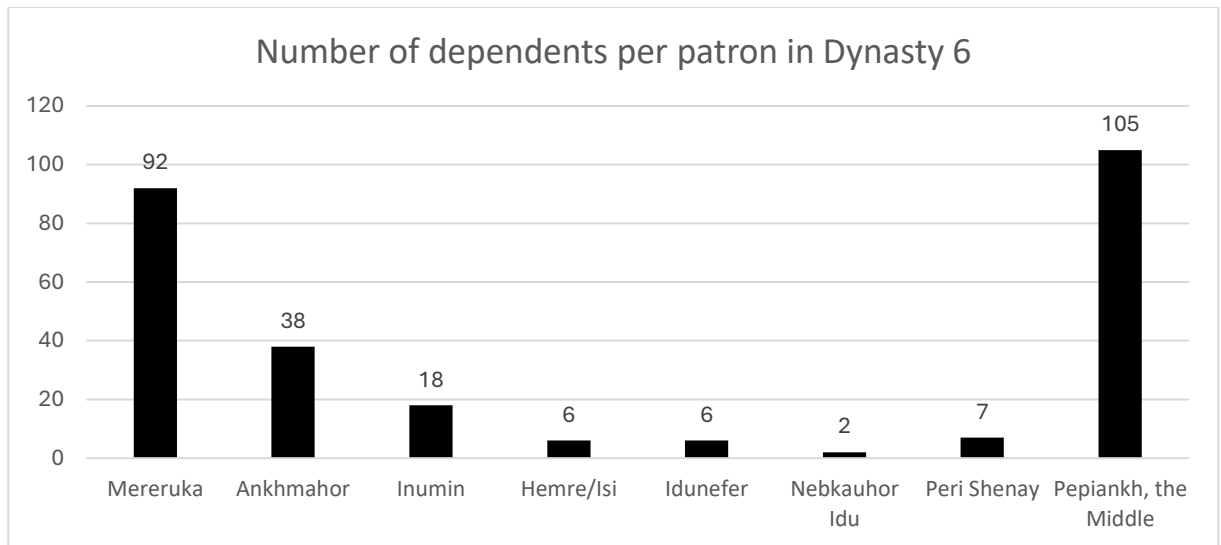


Chart 3. Number of dependents per vizier in the Sixth Dynasty

5.4 Summary of the households of the viziers dated from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasty

Viziers are the highest Egyptian officials clearly defined by the title *t3yty z3b t3ty*, therefore their number is precisely given; so far 82 viziers are known from the Old Kingdom. The viziers preserved from the Fourth Dynasty form the least numerous group consisted of 14 viziers, in contrast, the Sixth Dynasty group is, with 46 viziers, the most numerous. The analysis of 18 selected tombs showed a very different picture for each of the dynasties which is further elaborated.

Although the first appearance of an identified person can be observed at the turn of the Third and Fourth Dynasties, in the whole Fourth Dynasty the deceased vizier was still depicted mainly in the circle of his close family (e.g. Nefermaat or Inumin). It is reflected in the small

number of tombs included within the representative sample analysed in the present study. Three tombs of the viziers (possibly one more) do not represent a real selection, but a list of all the tombs of viziers in which identified non-kin dependents appeared. The strict rules introduced by king Khufu for the burials of his family and his subjects apparently played certain role in this respect as well (Bárta 2011: esp. 143–146).

All the viziers from the Fourth Dynasty in general except of Nefermaat primarily built their tombs in the Giza Cemetery. The chapels of some tombs were relatively richly decorated and contained minor figures either in the form of processions of scribes or herdsmen, scenes of animal slaughter or boat building, but these individuals were overwhelmingly anonymous. The decoration of the tombs was also often damaged, so important information may escape us. Based on the three examples in which this information has been preserved, it is difficult to formulate more general conclusions. However, what is obvious in all three monuments is the emphasis put on the role of priests, only natural in a funeral context. It would be more surprising if they were missing. The extended household of the Vizier Khufukhaef I, seems to be according to the tomb iconography the most numerous and evidently foreshadows further development. In addition to priests, scribes who were according to preserved titles apparently subordinates of the vizier in some central institution, were also recorded. The third group was formed by people who took care of the household and property of their master. However, throughout the Fourth Dynasty, we cannot speak of any regularity in the occurrence or individual titles, nor about their bigger diversity. The number of identified dependents per tomb only gently surpassed ten individuals in a single instance.

The Fifth Dynasty viziers' tombs provide a completely different picture of individual extended households than the previous dynasty. The number of the viziers alone is almost double, there preserved altogether 24 viziers in the available evidence. Viziers, as a prominent group, had the privilege of being buried close to the funerary monument of the ruling king (Roth 1993: esp. 48–50). Thus, Saqqara-Abusir necropoleis became the predominant place of their burial during the Fifth Dynasty. A significant feature of non-royal tombs was not only the expansion in their size but also in decorated areas. At least since the reign of king Niuserre, the tombs of viziers are usually large and multi-chambered (Jánosi 2000: 445–466). Hand in hand with the expansion of the wall area, one also observes an increase in depiction of both anonymous and identified persons.

In addition to the obvious increase in the number of recorded dependents, which ranges in number from two to more dozen compared to the previous dynasty where the numbers barely

reach ten, one detects also more numerous and diverse occupations that do not appear before. Around twenty different professions on average were recorded per one tomb. In addition to the three basic groups, i.e. priests, scribes, and people who managed the vizier's household, there appear also craftsmen, people employed in the sphere of organization of labour, sphere of body care, amusement or specialists. Specifically in the tombs of the viziers educated dependents participating in the state administration, or those engaged in the services at the royal court quite often occur as well.

When analysing the titles attached to the identified dependents, not only bigger diversity in titles, but also a vertical division of the organization of individual professional groups is clearly visible. It is very common among priests, but also within the group of scribes and craftsmen. There are usually two to three different hierarchical degrees in one professional segment recorded in the vizier's tomb. Overall, the preserved titles point to a six-level hierarchical organisation of the Egyptian administration: from ordinary worker, assistants, under supervisors, directors, inspectors to overseers.

The scrutiny of the viziers' tombs also provided a better insight in the organization of private funerary cults, although it raised more questions than it gave concrete answers. On one hand, tomb iconography records all individuals participated in the cult: *k3*-priests, *sn-dt* individuals, lector priest and embalmers. In addition to that, persons referring to phyles began to appear in the representative sample of tombs during the Fifth Dynasty. Here the question of the organization of private cults arises. A.M.Roth devotes an entire chapter in her monograph to the organization of private mortuary cults based on the principle of phyles rotation (Roth 1985). She noticed the system of phyle organisation among high state officials, especially viziers, but elsewhere in her monograph she questions its existence. The analysis of the selected tombs themselves shows several contradictory results. The first is the fact that the vast majority of titles related to phyles are scribes of phyles. Only in two tombs, *k3* priests with an attribute of a specific phyle is recorded. It is the director of funerary priests of the starboard phyle (*hrp hm(w)-k3 n imy-wrt*) in the tomb of Ptahhetep and inspector of funerary priests of the starboard phyle (*shd hm(w)-k3 n imy-wrt*) in the tomb of Ankhmahor. The fact that they are not *hm-ntr*, but *k3*-priest could indeed refer to the organization of a private cult based on phyles. However, in none of the tombs preserved the evidence of two or more different phyles within a single tomb. In the case of the scribes of the phyle, they may have been persons who participated in the royal mortuary cult, although in the tomb of Ptahhetep, these individuals are depicted as part of the processions of *k3*-priests indicating their involvement in the administration of a

private cults as well. According to A.M.Roth (1991: 113) it is exactly the frequent occurrence of the title ‘scribe of the phyle’ which is characteristic of phyle organisation in the private cult. We cannot even rule out the involvement of scribes of the phyle within the organisation of another institution, for instance the private *pr-šn*^c, as suggested by M. Bardoňová in her PhD thesis (Bardoňová 2019: 289–290). Worth mentioning is also the fact that the scribes of the phyle hardly appear in the tombs of viziers from the Sixth Dynasty; on the contrary, we newly detect the presence of *hnti(w)-š* officials in private tombs. What role, if any they played in the private funeral cult is again unclear. The occurrence of these individuals may only reflected the permanent reorganization of the royal funerary cults that began to be projected with some delay in the titles of the viziers subordinate. To answer the question to what extent the private cults adopted royal models deserves further investigation.

The Sixth Dynasty vizierial entourages resemble those of the previous dynasty in some respects but differ in others. First, the selection of tombs from this period is numerically the largest. A total of 46 monuments belonging to viziers have been preserved. The prevalent location of their tombs changed again. With the exception of the reign of Pepi I, viziers were buried near the monarch to whom they served. So, one finds the majority of tombs in the area of North and South Saqqara, only 5 viziers were buried in Giza.

When evaluating individual extended households, it is necessary to strictly distinguish those from the first half of the dynasty and those from the second. The reign of king Teti at the beginning of the dynasty represents the peak in the number and variety of occupations of individual dependents and at the same time the second highest value reached throughout the Old Kingdom. During the reign of Pepi I, however, this trend breaks and there is a relatively sharp reduction in both the total number of dependents and the variability of individual occupations. With the reign of Pepi II, the relatively modest tombs incorporated few selected individuals whose number does not usually reach ten people. They are derived again from three basic professional groups - priests, scribes and household managers who were responsible for running of the household. An interesting phenomenon is the disappearance of identified ordinary servants, who remained at that time largely anonymous. It is also necessary to mention the occurrence of rank titles newly attached to the dependents. Rank titles are almost entirely missing in the previous two dynasties and as they now usually appear in pair with the functional title it may be linked with the devaluation of functional titles towards the end of the Old Kingdom (Helck 1954; Baer 1980).

When tracing the diachronic development of the vizierial extended households in the second part of the Sixth Dynasty, the tombs in the centre show a radical loss in complexity - both in the number and variety of titles of dependents and the main focus lies on the family of the deceased. On the contrary, in the provinces there is a remarkable flowering and clear progressive increase in wealth of tombs of local elite (Kanawati and Swinton 2018), which record many dependents attached with a wide variety of titles. Specifically, the extended household of Pepiankh, the Middle of Meir resembles the entourages from tombs at Memphite necropolis during their heyday, i.e. the reigns of Niuserre and Teti. Typical here is the large number of rank titles, and the presence of titles related to local administration and temple management, while titles typical for the organization of royal mortuary cults are largely missing. However, individuals with titles related to central administration do occur in provincial tombs. Possible explanation proposed by the present author slightly differs from those presented by E. Martinet in her monograph on provincial administration (Martinet 2018). The presence of an attribute *pr-ꜣ* (Great house) in titles may either directly denote someone who worked for certain time at the royal court and later resettled to provinces but also merely express that the king rewarded loyal local rulers by individuals with highly specialized professions who were salaried by the royal court. In this work, selection of few provincial tombs appears, therefore, it is not possible to responsibly answer which of the presented options is closest to reality. This issue deserves further research which is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

In the whole two opposing trends can be outlined during the Sixth Dynasty, one of the gradually diminishing status and wealth of the viziers in the capital in the second part of the dynasty, which is evidently reflected in their modest tombs and even more modest extended households. On the other hand, the gradually increasing influence and wealth of the provincial magnates, who adopted the tomb decoration with conventional repertoire of scenes from their residential counterparts together with the tradition of recording the vizierial entourage in wall reliefs.³³⁵

Only the following chapters dealing with extended households of higher, middle and lower officials will show to what extent do the trends outlined for the viziers correspond with the evidence from other social strata.

³³⁵ For the unique scene repertoire in the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawwa, see the following chapter.

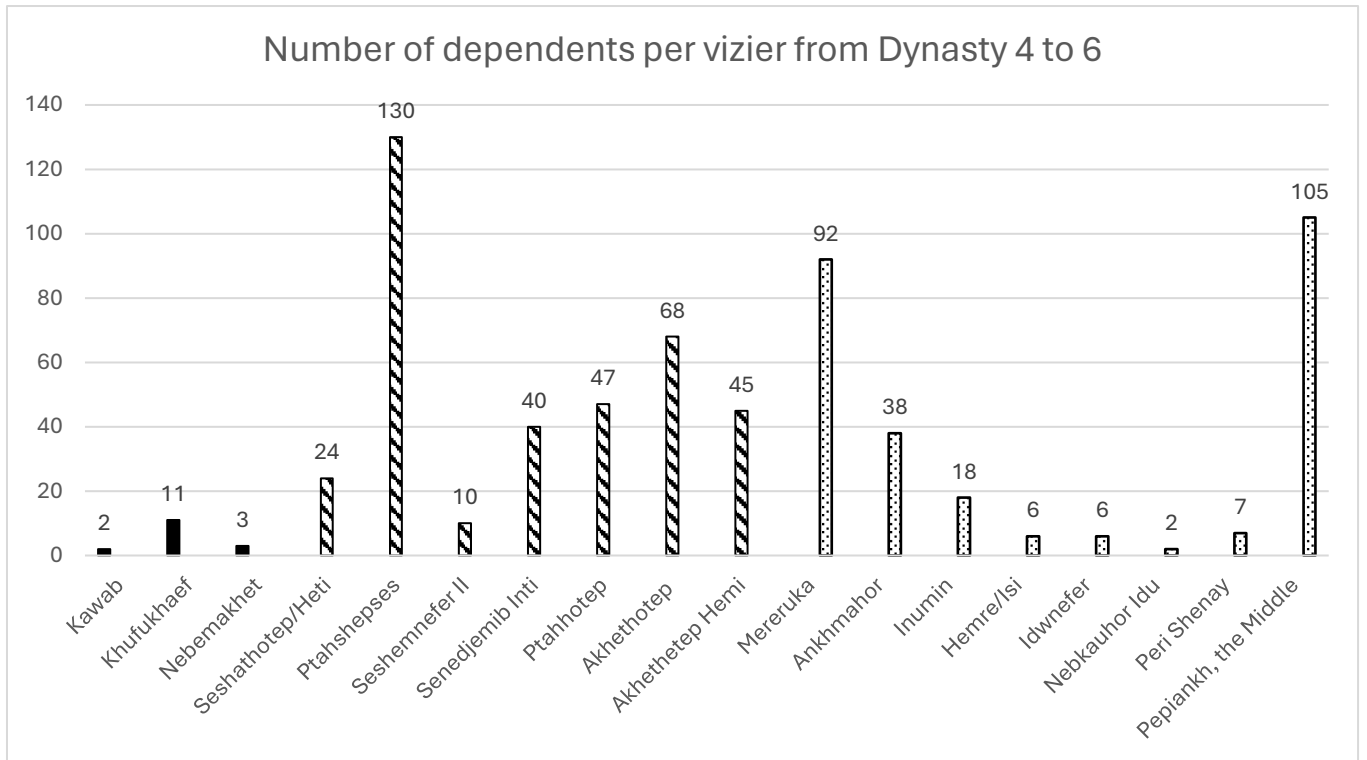


Chart 4 The extended households of the viziers dated from Fourth to Sixth Dynasty

6 Households of the higher-ranked officials

The higher officials are more numerous and diverse group than the viziers. They are not distinguished by the single title *t3yty z3b t3ty* as the viziers do; titles indicating their status are more varied. N. Kanawati (1977: 15) provides us with a list of 23 different titles characteristic for this category including high rank titles *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-c*, *smr w^cty*, *sd3wty bity* as well as four highest administrative titles analysed by N. Strudwick (1985), i.e. the overseer of the king's documents, overseer of works, overseer of treasuries, overseer of granaries. N. Kanawati's selection also comprises the highest representative post in charge of the provinces – the overseer of the Upper Egypt or titles related to important state institutions, as e.g. *prwy-nbw*, *gs-pr* or the court, for instance *hrp šndyt nbt* or *zš hkr nswt*.³³⁶ N. Kanawati (1977: 15–23) provides us with a list of 73 officials of a higher rank in the Residence and 44 officials from the provinces – altogether 117 individuals dated to the Old Kingdom in comparison to 67 Memphite and 13 provincial viziers that are enumerated by N. Strudwick (1985: 301–302, Tab. 28).³³⁷ These lists clearly show that the number of higher officials substantially exceeds the group of the viziers with the major difference consisting in size of the group of provincial officials, which is several times larger. Despite the wider choice of higher officials, the situation at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty is with regard to the preserved dependents well comparable to the group of the viziers. The wall decoration often captures exclusively the family members, for instance in the tomb of Rahetep (Harpur 2001) or is limited to slab stelae, as testify Giza tombs dealt by Manuelian (2003), e.g. the tomb of Wepemnefret (G 2100).³³⁸ Therefore, only four of 28 higher officials' tombs put forward by N. Kanawati (1977: 15–18) feature identified dependents not related by blood. All four come from Giza due to the prevailing spatial distribution of tombs on these necropoleis in the Fourth Dynasty, similar to chosen viziers.³³⁹ The high echelon of the Fourth Dynasty society is represented by the dignitaries Nefer, Akhi, Kaunesut and Medunefter. The majority of chosen individuals was buried at the Western cemetery (Nefer, Akhi and Medunefter), while Kaunesut at the Central Field (see respective households in this chapter). Nefer together with Akhi were representatives of the central administration. Both held the

³³⁶ For the full list of relevant titles, see Kanawati (1977: 15). It was the tomb size that served to Kanawati as a useful criterion for a recognition of the status of their owners.

³³⁷ Strudwick's list of the viziers does not include some of the recent excavations, for instance the vizier Merefnebef of Saqqara or Qar of Abusir; on the other hand, it incorrectly includes Seshemnefer III instead of Seshemnefer II among the viziers (see The social networks of the viziers).

³³⁸ Do not confuse with Wepemnefret Wep (G 8882).

³³⁹ As A.M.Roth pointed out during the first three dynasties the private tombs were built at a distant place away from the royal cemeteries, while from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty high officials began to build their tombs in the vicinity of the royal mortuary monument, most significantly at Giza cemeteries (Roth 1993: esp. 48–50).

position of the supreme administrator in the department of the treasury *imy-r3 prwy-hd*, Nefer stood on the top of that at the head of the scribal department *imy-r3 zš ʿ(w) (nw) nswt*, whereas Akhi was an overseer of all works of the king *imy-r3 k3t nbt (nt) nswt*. Kaunesut was, in contrast to these functionaries, closely associated with the court and the king holding titles *hrp ir(w)-šnʿ*, *hrp ʿh*, *jrj nfr-h3t*, etc. “director of hairdressers, director of the palace or keeper of the diadem”. Medunefer seems to be the most modest official from the selection, his titles are mainly priestly (e.g. chief lector priest) and administrative connected to the archive (e.g. *zš md3t ntr*) (Curto 1993: 78–81, fig. 32, pls. XXIII [left], XXV).

As far as the recorded dependents are concerned, the tomb of Nefer is well preserved and amply decorated with identified dependents as it is “perhaps the first chapel... after that of *Hm-iwnw*... to have been fully decorated” (Strudwick 1985: 110).³⁴⁰ The mastaba of Kausesut represents, on the contrary, a tomb chapel with only its entrance and a false door decorated (Porter and Moss 1974: 274, plan 23, C-10; Hassan 1936: 75–86, figs. 81–91, pls. 23–26). The decoration of Medunefer’s tomb was in a similar manner limited to a false door (Curto 1963: 78–81, fig. 32, pls. XXIII [left], XXV). Finally, the monument of Akhy suffered from an intentional damage, therefore, the chapel with its wall decoration preserved in a very fragmentary state (Junker 1929: 234–242, figs. 55–57, pls. 38 [a, b], 39 [a, c]).

The number of the Fifth Dynasty higher officials are more numerous than in previous dynasty due to the substantial increase of tombs in general, which reflects the growing demand for capable state officials of non-royal origin (Bárta 2017: 1–17; Bárta 2013: 153–175; Moreno Garcia 2013: 185–217). The selection made for the present study comprises 6 individuals, namely Merib Kapunesut, Tjenty, Kaninisut, Ty, Wepemnefret Wep and Seshemnefer III, arranged in a chronological order. All of them, except of Ty, who has built his tomb at North Saqqara, are representatives of Giza cemetery. Merib was connected to both the state administration as the “overseer of all royal works” *imy-r3 k3t nbt (nt) nswt* and to the royal court holding title *hrp ʿh* “director of the palace”. Tjenty, Kaninisut and Wepemnefret Wep were all closely associated with the service at the royal court, while Ty and Seshemnefer III were even more powerful individuals. Ty held two highest administrative titles in the scribal and labour department. Furthermore, he was involved in king’s private sphere as well as endowed with the supreme priestly posts in the pyramids and sun temples of several Fifth Dynasty kings. It is also

³⁴⁰ Manuelian opposed that the north wall of the tomb remained undecorated. Despite this fact, the tomb still belongs to richly decorated and better-preserved ones on the Western Cemetery (Manuelian 2009: n. 15 on page 153).

his tomb together with the tomb of Kaninisut that belong to few extremely well-preserved private monuments dated to the Old Kingdom.³⁴¹ Seshemnefer III as the son of the vizier Seshemnefer II held several important state offices, primarily the supreme office in the scribal department (*imy-r3 zš ʿ(w) (nw) nswt*) and in the two houses of weapons/arsenals (*(imy-r3 prwy ʿh3w)* together with posts related to the security (e.g. *hry sšt3 n nswt* or *hry sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt*).

Mastabas of Merib, Tjenty, Kaninisut, and Wepemnefret Wep are comparable in its size, with the latter being the larger one including an additional chapel for the son; all accommodating a single L-shaped chapel for the tomb owner (see respective households below). The tombs of Ty and Seshemnefret III, on the contrary, both belonged to multi-chambered tombs that appeared from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards (e.g. Jánosi 2000: 445–466); the tomb of Ty especially stands out among other large tombs with its total size surpassing 1200 sq.m.

The Sixth Dynasty higher officials are the most numerous group largely represented by the provincial elite members. Three Memphite holders and two provincial officials were chosen, specifically Nikauisesy, Shepesuptah and Nyankhnefertem from the first half of the Sixth Dynasty; Ibi of Gebrawí and Pepinakht Heqaib of Qubbet el-Hawa from its latter part. Teti pyramid cemetery is strongly accentuated in the selection for the beginning of the dynasty similar to the group of the viziers, with one representative of Saqqara West. The choice of tombs from Memphite necropoleis dated to the second part of the Sixth Dynasty was even more problematic than for the tombs of the viziers. Not a one of the higher officials enumerated by N. Kanawati proved to be a suitable candidate for the present research (Kanawati 1977: 21–23)³⁴². The main bulk of tombs on the list comes from South Saqqara. They can be divided into two groups, the first consisting of quite large tombs with wall decoration mainly limited to a false door (tombs of M group, i.e. M3, M4, M6, M7, M10; Jéquier 1929), while the second corpus of tombs comprises small mastabas without chapels, merely with inscribed elements on the tomb façade, some of them furnished with decorated burial chambers (tombs of N group, i.e. N7–N10; Jéquier 1929; Kanawati 1977: 23). As a result, the non-kin dependents are captured in neither type of these tombs. The limited wall decoration of these monuments resembles the tombs from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty where the emphasis was put on

³⁴¹ To name another well preserved private tomb, it is for instance the tomb of the vizier Mehu (Altenmüller 1998).

³⁴² Kanawati provides a list of 19 officials dated to the Sixth Dynasty (Kanawati 1977: 21–23).

the family realm of the tomb owner (see The Introduction and The extended households of the viziers).

As the social standing of the chosen Sixth Dynasty officials is concerned, Nikauisesi and Shepesuptah both participated in the central government of Egyptian state. Nikauisesi held the highest office in the labour department *imy-r3 k3t nb(t) nt nswt* “overseer of all the works of the king” as well as the title *imy-r3 šmꜥw* “overseer of Upper Egypt” indicating his governance over this part of Egypt, while Shepesuptah headed the segment of the treasury administration and held several important titles associated with the king and the court, for instance, *iry nfr h3t* “keeper of the headdress” or *imy-r3 šwy pr-ꜥ3* “overseer of two pools of the palace” (see The extended household of Nikauisesi and Shepsipuptah below). Nyankhneferem of Saqqara West was ranked by the title *smr wꜥty* “sole companion”, he further held the highest and most important position of the *hry-sšꜥ3* group, i.e. *hry sšꜥ3 n pr dw3t* “secretary/privy to the secret of the House of Morning” and several other court-related titles including priestly titles in the mortuary temples of king Unas and Teti (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 127–129). The tombs of Nikauisesi and Shepesuptah are situated on Teti pyramid cemetery at North Saqqara, while the tomb of Nyankhneferem is located at Saqqara West to the west of the enclosure wall of the Step pyramid next to the tomb of the vizier Merefnebef.

The process of selection of the tombs dated to the second half of the Sixth Dynasty proved that there is no evidence of a fully decorated private monument with identified dependents that would come from Memphite cemeteries, whereas provincial cemeteries are rather rich in amply decorated tombs dated to the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty.³⁴³ Ibi and Pepinakht Heqaib 2 were chosen as the representatives of the provincial elite. Ibi was a nomarch and held two of six highest administrative posts in the state enumerated by N. Strudwick (1985), i.e. *imy-r3 prwy-hꜥ* “overseer of the two treasuries” and *imy-r3 šnwty* “overseer of the two granaries”. Pepinakht Heqaib 2 held, in contrast to Ibi, titles characteristic for the elite members of the community at Elefantine reflecting their controlling role at the southern Egyptian border together with the responsibility over expedition. Despite playing such a distinctive role, or perhaps due to this role, the Elefantine leaders were closely connected to the king as indicates number of titles related to the royal mortuary cults.³⁴⁴ Pepinakht Heqaib 2 is a typical representative of a high official of Elefantine holding both type of titles, i.e. those specific for Elefantine region as e.g. *imy-r3 h3swt* “overseer of foreign land” and *imy-r3 iꜥ3w* “overseer of Egyptianized Nubians”, as well as

³⁴³ It encompasses not only the two chosen necropoleis, i.e. Gebrawi and Kubbet el-Hawa, but also Hawawish, Hagarsa, Meir, Quseir e-Amarna or Deshasha.

³⁴⁴ For the distinct titularies of owners of the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, see D. Vishak 2015: 23–32.

titles referring to ties to the Residence, e.g. titles of the inspector of priests at the pyramids of Pepi I and Merenre (Viskák 2015: 267–277).

6.1 Households of the higher-ranked officials dated to the Fourth Dynasty

6.1.1 Nefer

The tomb of Nefer, its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Nefer G 2110 (Junker No IX 1 (originally VIII 1)) of type IIa (Reisner 1942: 57); with the overall dimensions 21.6m × 12m, measuring in total 259 sq.m., is considered to be the most intriguing on the whole Western cemetery in Giza (Manuelian 2009: 30, 37, 151–208, Figs. 6.1–6.117; Reisner 1942: 57, 422, Figs. 22, 109, 205, 240–242, pls. 29–34f) although G.A. Reisner describes it as abnormally small (Reisner 1942: 57–58).³⁴⁵ The tomb is “of particular significance for the evolution of slab stelae, false doors, and table scenes” (Manuelian 2009: 153, 154), as well as for the discovery of the famous reserve head of Nefer (MFA 06.1886; Manuelian 2009: 160–162, Figs. 6.39, 6.90–6.100).³⁴⁶ The decorated part of the tomb represents an exterior L-shaped stone chapel of Reisner type 2a measuring 3.7 × 1.15m; in total 4.25 sq. m (Manuelian 2009: 42, 151; Reisner 1942: 184, 200, 201, 306, 307, Fig. 109;). The wall decoration was badly damaged but was preserved in many fragments that were reconstructed by W.S. Smith (Manuelian 2009; El-Metwally 1992: 154–162 (§6.3.2); Reisner 1942: 509–510; Smith 1946: 163 n. 1). The decoration was characterized as a fine raised relief carving (Reisner 1942: 423; Smith 1946: 164, 249). The scenes render predominantly the married couple of Nefer and his wife while sitting at the offering table, facing the procession of scribes and mortuary priests or viewing bringing provisions from estates as well as animal slaughtering.

The tomb of Nefer is dated predominantly to Khafre’s reign (Manuelian 2009: 31, 46, esp. the discussion on page 154–155 (Khafre or posterior to Khufu’s reign)³⁴⁷.

³⁴⁵ A.G. Reisner provides comparison of other significant tombs for the cemetery G 2100 and for other nucleus cemeteries at Giza Western cemetery (Reisner 1942: 57).

³⁴⁶ For recent studies discussing this phenomenon, see N. Tacke 1996: 307–336; D. Bisping and Ch. Winter 2002: 16–21; Picardo 2007: 221–252.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Manuelian 2003: 82 (Khufu’s reign); Reisner 1942: 306–307; Smith 1946: 163; Harpur 1987: 267 [124]; Porter and Moss 1974: 72; Strudwick 1985: 109–110 [84] (end Khufu or later). Other scholars prefer slightly later dating, e.g. to the end of the Fourth Dynasty to early Fifth Dynasty (Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981; Baer 1960: 89–90 [250]; Cherpion (1989: 119–120) dates Nefer to Dynasty 4, not later than Djedefre; Jánosi 2005: 124, table 12 (Djedefre or Khafre) and El-Metwally 1992: 154 (end of the Fourth Dynasty).

Nefer's rank, his close family and extended household

There is no evidence of the family background of Nefer. The tomb iconography reveals no Nefer's antecedent, only his wife Wenankhes.³⁴⁸ According to his burial place on the necropolis and titles, Nefer himself was a high dignitary of the royal court.³⁴⁹ Of primary significance was his title connected to the treasury and archive - he headed two branches of central administration as an "overseer of the double treasury" *imy-r3 pr-ḥd* and "overseer of royal document scribes" *imy-r3 zš ʿ(w)(nw) nswt* (Manuelian 2009: 155, 158, 162). Moreover, he held other important state offices, being, e.g., an "overseer of the double storehouse of provisions" *imy-r3 sty ḏf(3w)*, an "overseer of the house of weapons/arsenal", *imy-r3 pr-ʿh3w*, "overseer of scribes of the crews" *imy-r3 zš(w) ʿprw* and a "director of a crew/section of recruits/leader of the crew of (young) soldiers" *ḥrp ʿpr(w) nfrw*. His close link to king and the court is testified by further titles - an "overseer of every royal ornament" *imy-r3 ḥkrt-nswt nb*, "overseer of scribes of the portfolios of the king" *imy-r3 zš ḥry-ʿ nswt*, or a "scribe of the palace" *zš pr-ʿ3*; his credibility and loyalty are confirmed by the titles "master of secrets of the king in every place" *ḥry-sšt3 nswt m swt nb* and title "keeper of the king's property/royal acquaintance" *iry ḥt nswt* which, for this time period, denotes a high rank individual (Bárta 1999: 79–89).

The bulk of identified minor figures recorded on tombs walls is quite numerous, comprising altogether 33 individual depictions.³⁵⁰ None of them is designated by a family related tag – we lack any Nefer's offspring. However, a large portion of all depicted persons (27) is identified by both their names and titles; either solely a particular name or a title are recorded in two cases. The majority of rendered dependents is represented by funerary priests, in total 14 individuals.³⁵¹ Three of them, certain Ankh, Persen and Iymery, appear probably two times elsewhere in the chapel.³⁵² The depiction of Ankh and Persen rather stands out among other dependents as they are not depicted as mere offering bearers, which was the case of the majority of funerary priests in the tomb. Instead, Ankh appears in his priestly role fumigating

³⁴⁸ Earlier publications incorrectly reconstructed the name of the wife as Meresankh, see Reisner 1942: 422; Baer 1960: 146 [536]; Jánosi 2005: 123; Porter and Moss 1974: 72; Harpur 1987: 286, Tab. 2.3; Piacentini 2002: 97–98. The correct reconstruction of Wenankhes's name was first discovered by Fischer 1996: 31–32, P. de Manuelian follows the proposed reading (Manuelian 2009: 162).

³⁴⁹ For the full list of Nefer's titles, see Reisner 1942: 422; Manuelian 2009: 162.

³⁵⁰ There seems to be 28 different individuals, including the owner of shaft Z (see below); some of them appear in the tomb iconography for several times.

³⁵¹ All priests with one exception are attached by both a priestly title and a name, see Manuelian 2009: Figs. 6.60–6.61.

³⁵² In case of Iymery, his occurrence on the east wall on the south entrance thickness (Manuelian 2009: 180–181, Fig. 6.56, 6.57) is rather questionable, Manuelian reconstructs the name of a sitting scribe as Iymery, but a large portion of his name is lost (Manuelian 2009: 158, Figs. 6.59–6.61).

the deceased with incense, Persen serves him with a libation vessel in the same offering table scene (Manuelian 2009: 180–181, Fig. 6.56, 6.57) (see Figs. 46 and 47). An unnamed *wty* “embalmer”, together with another partly preserved individual perhaps originally *hry wdb* “he who is in charge of reversions of offerings”, accompanied the funerary priests (Reisner 1942: 317).³⁵³

The second large group of dependents that appears in the chapel iconography are scribes (in total seven individuals). They are concentrated firstly in the procession of striding scribes on the north entrance thickness to the tomb, and another three scribes (perhaps originally four)³⁵⁴ are depicted in two registers on the east wall of the chapel (Fragment Copenhagen ÆIN 937; Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.59, 6.60). The first group comprises three ordinary scribes complemented by a *zš pr hry-wdb* “scribe of the house of reversion offerings”; all four identified by their names (Manuelian 2009: 156, Figs. 6.50–6.55)(see Fig. 48). The fourth scribe in this group is worth mentioning in detail. This individual named Senenuka is identified by Manuelian as a possible owner of the tomb G 2041 situated immediately to the west of Nefer’s tomb (Manuelian 2009: 30, 154, 156, 162). He must have belonged to close collaborates of Nefer, perhaps his subordinate in Nefer’s office of the overseer of the two places of provisions (*imy-r3 sty df3w*) and as such built his afterlife dwelling in the vicinity of his superior. The textual evidence from the tomb of Senenuka Keki shows us what social standing and professional specification might one of Nefer’s dependents occupy. Senenuka ranked among the higher officials of that period as indicated by his title property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance *iry ht nswt* similar to his superior Nefer. His functional titles demonstrate his field of occupation in the royal services as a royal document scribe *zš ʿ(w) (nw) nswt*, an overseer of the pyramid town Akhet-Khufu *imy-r3 3ht-Hwfw* and controller of royal *wʿb*-priests *hrp wʿb nswt* (Manuelian 2009: 162). He apparently worked in the department of royal scribes headed by Nefer as the “overseer of royal document scribes” *imy-r3 zš ʿ nswt*. Moreover, Senenuka was engaged in labour forces as indicated by the title “overseer of construction projects” *imy-r3 k3t* as well as involved in territorial administration, being “district administrator” *ʿd mr*, and “district administrator of the foundation” *ʿd mr grgt* (Manuelian 2009: 162; Porter and Moss 1974: 24–

³⁵³ Both *hry wdb* “he who is in charge of reversions of offerings” and *hry-hbt* a “lector priest” play a significant role in the scene of performing ceremonies for the tomb owner, but the latter cannot be taken into consideration as a candidate for this position, since the figure is not dressed in a typical long triangular kilt nor wearing a sash across his chest. For particular examples, see, e.g., the household of Ptahshepses, Senedjemib Inti or Akhethetep.

³⁵⁴ Only part of the name of the first kneeling scribe in the first upper register is preserved; the left upper corner is unfortunately missing (Fragment Copenhagen ÆIN 937; Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.59, 6.60).

25; also MFA 07.1000–07.1001, 07.1003–07.1005a).³⁵⁵ Senenuka’s family was rather modest consisting of his wife Ity and two daughters Akhetemhenut and Nubheset who are depicted on the northern false door (MFA 11.1000 + MFA 11.1001 + MFA 11.1003 + MFA 11.1004 + MFA 11.1005).³⁵⁶ His extended household was limited to only a single *k3*-priest which is quite surprising taking into consideration his high rank. But it has to be mentioned that the stone-built mastaba of Senenuka is 2,5 times smaller than the tomb of his superior Nefer. This refers to a substantial difference in the social standing of both individuals and clearly manifests Senenuka’s inferiority.³⁵⁷

Apart from priests and scribes, only two *sšm* “butchers” and one *hrp zḥ* “director of the dining hall” can be noticed within representatives of other professional groups (Manuelian 2009: fig. 6.74, 6.75. All three individuals are named and appear in the same register on chapel’s west wall; the butchers portrayed in an animal slaughter scene, the director of the dining hall presents a tray with offerings to the tomb owner (Manuelian 2009: Figs. 6.74, 6.75) (see Fig. 47). The latter individual named Ankh may have been the same as an already mentioned funerary priest of the same name (see above).

When analysing the iconography, it seems evident that virtually all minor figures should have been originally intended to be personified with a designation of a particular name and/or a title. One can argue that in the scenes on the east wall, only six of twelve persons are inscribed with a name and/or title, nevertheless the evidence from the respective registers indicates that the original intention was rather different. The reason for this assumption is smooth raised surface that preserved in front of the unidentified figures (Manuelian 2009: Figs. 6.59, 6.60, 6.61 or Fragment Copenhagen ÆIN 937) (see Fig. 49). They appear to represent either an unfinished stage of decoration prior to final carving or possible re-carving of original personal data.

To grasp Nefer’s suite in its completeness, our attention needs to be aimed also at archaeological evidence. Numerous subsidiary burial shafts along the west face of Nefer’s

³⁵⁵ For a complete list of Senenuka’s titles, see Manuelian 2009: 162.

³⁵⁶ The tomb has not been published so far, but the reliefs are available on the following web pages <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/3036/full>; <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/136181/relief-from-the-tomb-of-senenuka?ctx=c8ce17ba-642c-4af4-970f-4a3cd56e7bdb&idx=0/>. The only identified dependent preserved on the west wall of the chapel between two false doors, where appears also a scene of animal slaughter with anonymous butchers.

³⁵⁷ The tomb G 2041 measures in total 94, 71 sq.m. (Porter and Moss 1974: 68), while the tomb of Nefer 259 sq.m. (Manuelian 2009: 30, 37, 151–208, Figs. 6.1–6.117; Reisner 1942: 57).

mastaba are of particular significance.³⁵⁸ Reisner numbered them G 2110 M through Z, running from north to south (Manuelian 2009: 154, Figs. 6.4, 6.21, 6.117). The owners of these shafts probably belonged to the close circuit of Nefer's extended household. Taking into consideration that no family member figures in the tomb, the occupants of these shafts probably belonged to Nefer's close subordinates or friends. Their high number, reaching 15, is quite surprising. Regrettably, only a single piece of textual evidence reveals a potential owner of one of the subsidiary burials. An inscribed limestone offering table was found in shaft G 2110 R (Manuelian 2009: 152–153, 162, Fig. 6.18; MFA Boston 38–2–2); it contained offering formulas, a name and a title of property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance Muti (*iry-ht nswt Mwtj*) (see Fig. 50).³⁵⁹ Manuelian provides no relevant information regarding the finding circumstances or the dating of the find, however the fact that he included the owner of this object among Nefer's dependents indicates that he dates him among his contemporaries. Muti's burial place within Nefer's tomb compound refer to their mutual relationship; both were high rank dignitaries, potential collaborators or friends. One can pose a question why Muti, as a man of certain importance for Nefer, was not included in the tomb iconography; however, we can ascribe it to incompletely preserved wall decoration.

No detailed information is known about the occupants of other shafts, with the exception of shaft U where human bones of a female adult were uncovered (Manuelian 2009: 154, Figs. 6.42, 6.111; MFA 36–2–9). If she was Nefer's distant relative or a favourite housemaid remains unclear.

Altogether, taking into consideration that Nefer's close family consists only of the married couple, 27 members of his suite is a relatively high number. The comparison with Nefer's almost contemporary - the vizier Khufukhaef, is of particular significance.³⁶⁰ It testifies rather surprisingly in favour of Nefer; Khufukhaef's extended household comprises 11 dependents – the number which does not reach the number of Nefer's funerary priests (14).³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Nefer himself was buried probably in the main shaft A, where only fragments of limestone sarcophagus were scattered, skeletal remains were probably intrusive (Manuelian 2009: 152).

³⁵⁹ The carving is rather crudely manufactured, as apparent from the photographic evidence (Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.18).

³⁶⁰ When measuring the decorated wall areas, the comparison is rather disproportionate. While the iconography in Khufukhaef's tomb covers the walls of southern inner chapel (6, 84 m²) and the west wall of the outer chapel (Porter and Moss 1981: 188–119; Mariette 1889: 562–564; Simpson 1978: 9–10, Reisner 1942: 115, 118, 120–121, 206, 308, 318; Fig. 114), as far as Nefer's tomb is concerned, only three decorated walls of outer chapel were preserved (whole chapel's area is 4.25 sq. m (Reisner 1942: 184, 200, 201, 306, 307, Fig. 109; Manuelian 2009: 42, 151).

³⁶¹ Three funerary priests are depicted in Khufukhaef's tomb, see Chapter 5.

On the other hand, the number of scribes and household servants is well comparable, but significantly differs in its composition. While seven Nefer's scribes consist mainly of ordinary scribes, only one "scribe of the house of those in charge of reversions" (*zš pr hry-wdb*) was present, Khufukhaef included in his tomb scribes with more diverse titles, i.e. those connected to territorial administration or archive. Individual household managers/servants also markedly vary, not in their number that is low in both cases, but in the sphere of performed activity. Nefer's household servants are limited to two butchers whereas Khufukhaef's representatives are those in managerial posts connected to estate management or another kind of property administration. In contrast to Khufukhaef, Nefer records neither a single person engaged in state/court/king' administration, nor in any other professional sphere. Nefer's subordinate Senenuka can be considered the only exception due to his association to archive (attested in his own tomb G 2041) and possibly also *pr hry(w) wdb(w)* "house of those in charge of reversions". Professions mainly connected to cultic sphere, i.e. funerary priests, "scribe of the house of reversion offerings" (*zš pr hry-wdb*) or both butchers preparing the pure meat for the deceased apparently prevail. They were accompanied by persons associated again with food supply, e.g. director of dining hall, and scribes as key house/estates administrators, an illustrative case being the scribe Senenuka – the owner of nearby tomb G 2041.

It thus became clear that Nefer exceeds the extended household of Khufukhaef in the size but not in the diversity of titles of individual dependents as well as in their status.

Nefer	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš pr hry-wdb</i> "scribe of the house of those in charge of reversions"	1
	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	6
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	14
	<i>wty</i> "embalmer"	1
	<i>hry wdb</i> "he who is in charge of reversions of offerings"	1
Household management	<i>[hrp] zh</i> "director of dining hall"	2
Household servants	<i>sšm</i> "butcher"	1

Tab. 24 The extended household of Nefer

6.1.2 Akhi

The tomb of Akhi, its architecture and wall decoration

The stone-built mastaba of Akhi (G 4750=Junker No: VIIs) is situated at the Western Cemetery in Giza (Junker 1929: 234–242, figs. 55–57, pls. 38 [a, b], 39 [a, c]). It is spread over the area of almost 300 sq.m (Kanawati 1977: 81–82). The chapel was badly damaged, only some fragments remained, now in Boston Museum (No. 14-2-13) and in Vienna Museum Inv. No. 8541, 8545, 8557 [2, 3, 5-10] (Junker 1929: Figs. 56, 57, Pl. 39). The fragments were carved in raised relief of a high quality of workmanship; they reveal a part of a scene of the tomb owner viewing the offering bearers and probably also an offering table scene (Junker 1929: 238, pl. 57, 6). However, they are too fragmental to provide a further information about any detail of the scene, its extent or a chapel placement.

Akhi's rank, his close family and extended household

Akhi himself belonged to high officials closely connected to the central administration of the state during the reign of Menkaure (Porter and Moss 1974: 137). He stood at the head of two important state departments as the “overseer of the two treasuries” *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd* and “overseer of all works of the king” *imy-r3 k3t nbt (nt) nswt*. Though not holding the highest posts, he was also involved in the management of other two departments, i.e. those related to the granaries and scribes (Junker 1929: 234–242).³⁶²

A fragmental preservation of the wall decoration does not allow us to see the picture of Akhi's family and his entourage in its completeness. Only a small fraction of the original social realm of the tomb owner displayed on the walls could be reconstructed. There can be recognised a son named Akhi Nedjes and a daughter Sabet (Junker 1929: 238, pl. 56). The only non-kin dependent seems to be a *k3*-priest Tjenty (see Fig. 52). Regrettably, it is the maximum information we can gain from the preserved fragments. Taking into consideration the important posts in state administration that Akhi held, we would expect an elaborate wall decoration with a group of identified dependents. Under the current conditions of preservation, it can be only stated that the high state officials, such as Akhi did still display their retinue on the walls of their tombs during the reign of Menkaure. We can further presume that the retinue was composed of one or probably more dependents with the representatives of priestly professions at the top.

³⁶² Akhi held titles *imy-r3 šnwtj nswt* “overseer of royal granaries”, *imy-r3 zšw ḥprw* “overseer of scribes of the crews” as well as titles related to judiciary, e.g. *wr md šmḥ* “great one of the tens of Upper Egypt” (Junker 1929: 234–242).

Akhi	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	1

Tab. 25 The extended household of Akhi

6.1.3 Kaunesut

The tomb of Kaunesut, its architecture and wall decoration

Kaunesut was another selected representative of high officials buried at Giza. His afterlife dwelling G 8960 belongs to rock-cut tombs in the central Field (Porter and Moss 1974: 274, plan 23, C-10; Hassan 1936: 75–86, figs. 81–91, pls. 23–26). It is dated to the end of the Fourth Dynasty or the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (Hassan 1936: 86). The tomb consists of a pillared hall, passage and an internal chapel, overall measuring 23.50 × 13.05m, in total 307 sq.m. (Hassan 1936: 76). The wall decoration in low relief that covers only the chapel entrance and the northern false door has been preserved very fragmentarily.

Kaunesut’s rank, his close family and extended household

Kaunesut was a high official closely associated with the court and the king, as testified by his titles, i.e. *jmj-hnt*, *hrp ir(w)-šn^c*, *hrp ḥ*, *jrj nfr-h3t*, *hrj-s3t3*, *jmj-r3 jz* “he who is in the forecourt, director of hairdressers, director of the palace, keeper of the diadem, secretary, overseer of the workshop/iz(t)-chamber/office” (Hassan 1936: 75). His family consisted of his wife Weretka and son Shepseskafankh (Hassan 1936: 75).

From the two false doors embedded in the eastern wall of the tomb, only part of the northern false door inscribed for Kaunesut was decorated. There were preserved two anonymous offering bearers (Hassan 1936: 81, fig. 86).³⁶³ Regarding the identified dependents, the rare evidence comes from the left jamb of the southern entrance to the chapel (Hassan 1936: fig. 88) (Fig. 53). There are three offering bearers arranged in each of two registers behind the standing tomb owner. Five of them are distinguished by a particular name, four of them also by a title.³⁶⁴ All are k3-priests, the first one heading the register being their leader designated as “overseer of priests” *imy-r3 hm(w)-k3*.

³⁶³ It seems probable that another two offering bearers were originally recorded on its mirror image on the opposite part of the tablet above the tomb owner, see Hassan 1936: fig. 86.

³⁶⁴ Hassan unfortunately provides no photographic documentation, only an unclear drawing to which all the evidence of identified dependents refers.

Worth mentioning is yet another figure facing the tomb owner. He is recorded in a bigger scale than other dependents, with a *hrp* sceptre in his hand. This figure might represent the son Shepseskafankh, however his depiction in a loin kilt is rather confusing as he is portrayed in three other appearances as a naked child. There might be another possible explanation, that the figure embodies not the son of the same name, but a trusted manager of Kaunesut's household. However, there are no clues to support this possibility elsewhere in the tomb.

To sum up, the extended household of Kaunesut is very modest; only the most essentials for ensuring the afterlife seem to have been recorded. However, it can represent a biased picture due to very fragmental preservation of wall decoration. Only a rare occurrence of identified dependents has been preserved. From eight offering bearers, three were identified as funerary priests headed by an overseer of *k3*-servants. The available evidence provides no information regarding the original decoration of the chapel or if it has ever been decorated at all. Under these circumstances, one cannot exclude the possibility that the iconography of Kaunesut's tomb did originally not render exclusively priestly personnel but was more diverse.

Kaunesut	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	3
	<i>imy-r3 hm-k3</i> "overseer of k3-servants"	1
Only named		1

Tab. 26 The extended household of Kaunesut

6.1.4 Medunefer

The tomb of Medunefer, its architecture and wall decoration

Medunefer is considered to be a higher official on the ground of his title chief lector priests/lector priest in charge (Kanawati 1977: 17 [139]). His other titles were mainly priestly and administrative, e.g. scribe of the divine book *zš md3t ntr*, *sm3*-priest of Anubis *sm3*-priest of *Inpw*, *imy-ht wr tntt* khet "priest(ess)/follower/attendant of the Great One (i.e. the King)³⁶⁵ and of Tjentet". His dating considerably varies. Scholars proposed Medunefer to be dated from the end of the Fourth Dynasty (Kanawati 1977: 17) to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 133), or even later, i.e. to the end Fifth Dynasty or later (Baer 1960),

³⁶⁵ For this particular title, see Jones 2000: 755, 2752.

respectively the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties (Curto 1993:78). The pottery analysis reveals the dating to the Fourth Dynasty, specifically several pieces of Meidum bowls found in shaft A are characteristic of the Fourth Dynasty.³⁶⁶ Therefore, the present author follows the expert's opinion proposing the dating of the finds to the end of the Fourth Dynasty.

The tomb of Medunefer G 4630 is situated in the central part of the Western cemetery (Curto 1993: 78–83, Figs. 27b, 29, 32, pls. XXIII, XXIVa, XXV; Reisner 1942: 491–495, Fig. 298; Reisner and Fischer 1914: 227–252). The mastaba occupies quite a large area of 23.2 × 9.4 m, in total 218.08 sq. m. (Reisner 1942: 491–495, fig. 298). The tomb consists of three rooms, one of which is the main offering room, according to G.A.Reisner an exterior chapel of type Ic with 31.30 sq.m, a vestibule room with one column in the middle and an open courtyard (Reisner 1942: 491). The decorated part of the tomb is represented by two limestone stelae, the southern one belonging to the tomb owner, the second to his son Ankhires (EMC_CG_57123 = EMC_JE_36191 (incorrectly called [CG] 57321 in Curto 1993 and Sethe 1933).

Medunefer's close family and extended household

The limited space of the stelae reveals primarily the close family of Medunefer - his wife Nebuka, son Ankhires and his wife Tjentet, two other sons Seneb, Kairef together with grandson Medunefer.

The members of Medunefer's extended household are depicted on his south false door on both right and left inner jambs (see Fig. 54). There appear five individuals without a family relation tag, all attached with the title *zš pr-mdꜣt ntr* "scribe of the house of the gods" (Curto 1993: fig. 32, pls. 21, 25). The title markedly resembles one of Medunefer's titles (scribe of the divine book *zš mdꜣt ntr*) and correlates with one of the titles attached to the figure of Medunefer's son Ankhires who is depicted on the left inner door jambs within the same group of individuals. These individuals might be Medunefer's subordinates. They were designated also as "his children of the funerary estate" *msw.f nw dt*. This label indicates their involvement in the cult of the deceased Medunefer; possible blood relation of such individuals was extensively questioned by several scholars (Moreno García 2007; Wen 2018; see also Chapter 5 (Senedjemib Inti). It seems apparent that the cult of Medunefer was in an exclusive care of these persons as no *kꜣ*-priest is recorded on either of the false doors.

³⁶⁶ Personal communication with K. A. Kytarová.

To conclude, the extended household of Medunefer was limited to five individuals, since the wall decoration consisted merely of two false doors. The focus lied in the tomb owner and his family members; five scribes were the only present dependents if they did not belong to his family as well. On the grounds of their titles, it is obvious that they were both in charge of Medunefer's household accounts and his funerary cult.

Medunefer	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš pr-md3t ntr</i> "scribe of the house of the gods"	5
Priestly services	<i>msw.f nw dt</i> "his children of the funerary estate"	5

Tab. 27 The extended household of Medunefer

6.1.5 Summary

The identified dependents were recorded in the tombs of higher officials in the Fourth Dynasty extremely rarely. If they appear, their number oscillates between one to five individuals with priestly profession dominated. The only exception represents Nefer who incorporated more numerous extended household consisting of 27 dependents employed not only as priests but also as scribes and household managers. As far as the number of Nefer's dependents is concerned, it exceeds the number of dependents of the viziers of that time, however it cannot be equalled in terms of the diversity of titles and higher social hierarchy.

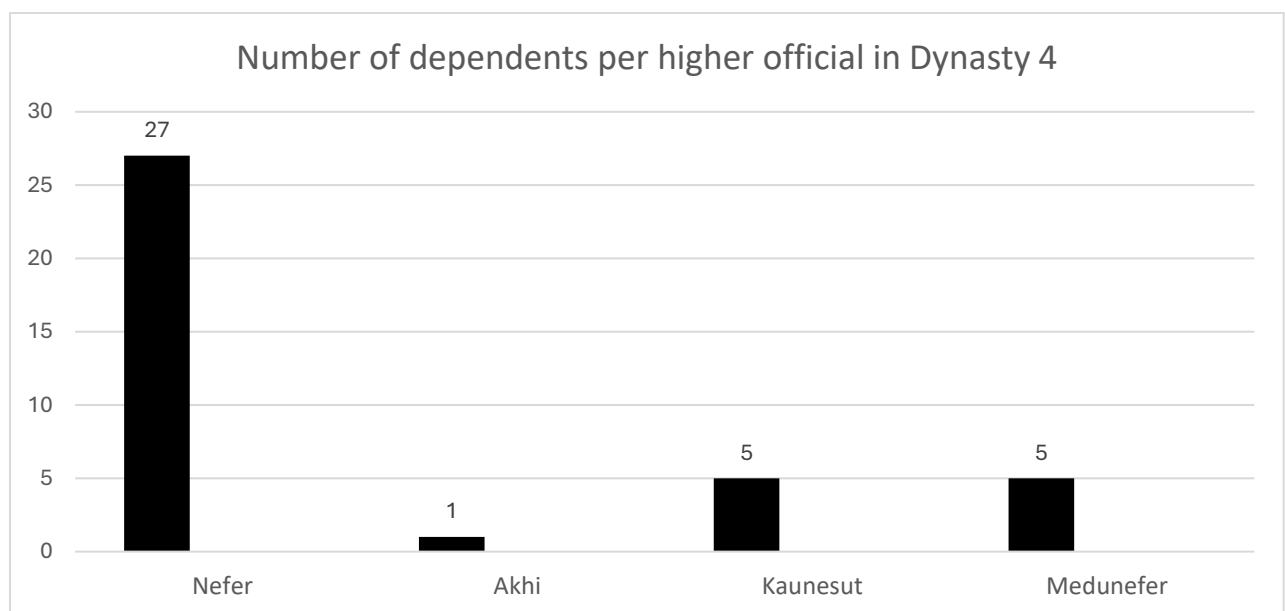


Chart 5 The number of dependents per higher official in the Fourth Dynasty

6.2 Households of the higher-ranked officials dated to the Fifth Dynasty

6.2.1 Merib Kapunesut

The tomb of Merib (G 2100-I), its architecture and wall decoration

Merib belongs to few officials whose chapel iconography was found almost intact (Junker 1934: 121–135, fig. 11, pl. 1; Lepsius 1849–1859: pls.18, 22; Manuelian 2009: 69–116; Porter and Moss 1974: 71–72), which was the main reason for the choice of this person. He has built his tomb G 2100-I in the south-west extension of the necropolis G 2100 to the south of his mother's tomb. It is the only family complex of mastabas in this cemetery consisting of tombs of the mother Sedit, Merib himself and his daughter Nensedjerkai. The tomb of Merib was of Reisner type VII measuring 22.0 × 14.0 m, with the total area of 308.0 sq. m (Junker 1934: 121–135; Manuelian 2009: 69; Reisner 1942: 419–421). It was discovered by R. Lepsius in the 1840s and later housed in Berlin museum (Ident. Nr. ÄM 1107; Priese 1984).³⁶⁷ The monument is dated mainly to the early Fifth Dynasty (Junker 1934: 121–135; Manuelian 2009: 72; Porter and Moss 1974: 71–72).³⁶⁸ The decorated part of the tomb comprises the exterior entrance façade of the mastaba and the chapel (Manuelian 2009: 73–83, figs. 4.27–4.61). As P. de Manuelian pointed out, all four walls of the chapel were decorated in raised relief in a “higher, bold style” in contrast to subtly modelled reliefs of Khufu's craftsmen (Manuelian 2006: 229). W.S. Smith even suggested that the chapel of Merib and that of Seshathetep (G 5150) were both manufactured by the same group of craftsmen (Smith 1949: 165, 362). A synopsis of recorded scenes is provided by H. Junker (1939: 36–37); the scenes themselves were published by P. de Manuelian (2009) and R. Lepsius (1900: 46–49, pl. 22; 1901: pls.18–22). The repertoire of scenes was composed of the offering table scenes, the offering list, procession of offering-bearers, priests and scribes presenting a list of offerings of wild animal, poultry, etc., together with a scene of animal slaughter and a boat scene.

Merib's rank, his close family and extended household

Merib was connected to both the state administration as “overseer of all royal works” *imy-r3 k3t nbt (nt) nswt* and to the royal court as *hrp ḥ* “director of the palace”. He held also priestly titles, for instance *wr m33w Iwnw hm-ntr Ḥwfw*, greatest of seers in Iunu, priest of Khufu and titles

³⁶⁷ Link to the website: <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=757316&viewType=detailView>, accessed on 17.11.2021.

³⁶⁸ P. de Manuelian provides a summary of the dating criteria for the early Fifth Dynasty (Manuelian 2009: 72).

related to conducting expeditions, i.e. *imy-r3 mšc* “expedition leader”. On the top of that he was *s3 nswt n ht=f* “king's son of his body” (Junker 1934: 132–133).

The tomb reliefs reveal Merib’s family consisting of five members: his mother Sedit, the owner of neighbouring mastaba G 2100, two sons Khufumernetjeru and Merib Nedjes, together with two daughters Sednet and Nensedjerkai, the owner of G 2100-II. The size of Merib’s extended household is almost equally numerous as his close family. It comprises one dependent identified with both a name and a title and four individuals depicted only by their titles. The only personified dependent is *hrj-tp sšr* “supervisor of cloth” Ishy who is presenting a piece of linen to the tomb owner (Junker 1934: 129, fig. 11; Lepsius 1900: pl. 22)(see Fig. 55). Other identified individuals are representatives of a priestly personnel: two *k3*-priests are depicted on the right jamb of the northern false door.³⁶⁹ The rest three priests are captured in the panel of the same false door – they are a *wty* “embalmer”, a *hry wdb* “master of the largess/he who is in charge of reversions (of offerings)” and a *wdpw* “butler, attendant, steward, cupbearer” –all appearing in the ritual of *smnt 3h* that refers to supply of the *3h* of the deceased in the offering table scene on the northern false door tablet (Junker 1934: 62–66, 130–131; Manuelian 2009: fig. 4.61).³⁷⁰

Altogether, the number of identified dependents is in proportion to the number of all depicted non-kin individuals very small, it accounts only 5.2 %. To be more specific, the suite of Merib consists of 6 individuals, five of them are anonymous priests, either funerary or priests related to the offering table ritual; the only personified individual is the dependent in charge of garments. The rest of 87 dependents recorded on the chapel walls remained anonymous. Taking into consideration the almost complete state of preservation of the wall reliefs, we acquired a complete picture of Merib’s extended household not distorted by potential unpreserved evidence. It thus becomes clear that the suite of a high official from the onset of the Fifth Dynasty was significantly modest accentuating mainly priestly personnel without any need to record their personal names.

Merib Kapunesut	Titles	Number of occurrences
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³⁶⁹ For the false door, see the websites <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/671/full/#people>; accessed on 4 October 2022.

³⁷⁰ For the offering table ritual, see G. Lapp (1986: 153–164); see also Chapter 5 (Seshathetep Hety).

Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	2
	<i>wty</i> “embalmer”	1
	<i>hry wdb</i> “master of the largess/he who is in charge of reversions (of offerings)”	1
	<i>wdpw</i> “butler, attendant, steward, cupbearer”	1
Household management	<i>hrj-tp sšr</i> “supervisor of cloth”	1

Tab. 28 The extended household of Meib Kapunesut

6.2.2 Tjenty

The tomb of Tjenty (G 4920), its architecture and wall decoration

The stone-built mastaba G 4920 (LG 47) of Tjenty is situated in the south part of Giza cemetery En echelon stretching at the area of 280.8 sq. m. (Reisner 1942: 214). Its two-niched chapel of type (4 a) measuring 2.85 × 1.2 m (in total 3.42 sq. m.) was fully decorated (Lepsius 1900: 30–31, Erg. XXVI; Reisner 1942: 214). The summary of particular scenes was encapsulated by H. Junker (1934: 38–39 [24]); the list includes scenes of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table, viewing procession of offering bearers and estates as well as animal slaughter, the tomb owner accompanied by his attendants and members of his household or scribes reporting to the tomb owner.

Tjenty’s rank, his close family and extended household

Tjenty was a high official closely connected with the service at the royal court, similar to Kaunesut, as testified by his titles *smr w^cty*, *hrp ^ch*, *hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t*, *hk3 b3t* “sole companion, director of the palace, secretary of the House of Morning, priest of Bat” (Porter and Moss 1974: 141–142; Reisner 1942: 214, 312). He is predominantly dated to the early Fifth Dynasty (Lepsius 1900: pl. 30; Porter and Moss 1974: 141; Reisner 1942: 214).

The tomb iconography reveals Tjenty’s wife *Nfirt-k3w* attached with title *iry iht nswt* “royal acquaintance” and his son Hesre. The non-kin dependents were more numerous represented by 29 individuals attached with 9 diverse titles. The majority of them was formed by funerary priests, who are depicted on the west wall of the chapel in the procession of offering bearers (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30–31) (see Fig. 56). Three registers of offering bearers are headed by *imy-r3 hm(w)-k3* “overseer of funerary priests” Seneb.³⁷¹ Ten of the individuals are labelled with ordinary priestly title *hm-k3*, another two are “directors of the dining room” *hrp zh* -

³⁷¹ Seven offering bearers are distinguished only by their names (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30).

representatives of household management associated with meal. One of them, certain Iwf, is burning incense (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30). Another priest *hry wdb(w)* “master of largess/he who is in charge of reversions (of offerings)” is recorded in the ritual of consecration of food offerings for the deceased *wdn ht*.³⁷²

Of particular significance is an individual standing on the left outer jamb of the southern false door (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30)(Fig. 56). He is recorded in a larger scale than any other dependent, almost bigger than the sitting couple he is facing to. Tagged with the title of the “property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance” *iry ht nswt* and “brother of the funerary estate” *sn dt*, this individual Iasen rather surprisingly held more prominent place than the son of Tjenty, Hesra, who stands in a smaller scale far to the left. It appears evident that Iasen must have played a crucial role within the suite of Tjenty; apart from the large size of his figure, his importance is stressed by another appearance (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 31). He was involved in the cult of the deceased, perhaps might have replaced the son in his duties due to his young age, as the son is depicted naked with the lock of youth. In this context one has to mention the label attached to Tjenty wife on the south wall of the chapel where she bears a similar tag (*snt dt*, (*rht*) *nswt* “(sister) of the funerary estate, royal (acquaintance)” (Lepsius 1900: pl. 31b). This indicates that the wife was also charged with funerary duties, perhaps instead of her immature son. An interesting piece of evidence comes from the register above Tjenty’s wife, where another individual appears designated as brother of the funerary estate, perhaps again Iasen who is followed by an attendant of a smaller size. In front of the *sn-dt* individual, two signs for phyle *z3* are recorded with the rest of the inscription damaged. A.M. Roth (1991: 94–95) suggests that these signs were originally part of a title, *zš z3* or *imy-r3 z3w*; however, it cannot be said with certainty if this evidence refers directly to the cult of Tjenty organised in phyles.

The educated members of Tjenty’s entourage are represented by seven figures with scribal equipment in the first register on the west wall, only the first two being identified by attached titles: *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house/estate” Djefanisut and *zš-md3t tst* “document scribe of the troop” (see Fig. 56). Another five are distinguished by personal names (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30).

372 For parallels, see Chapter 5, Seshathetep Hety or Senedjemib Inti; for the clarification of *wdn ht* ritual, see W. Barta 1968: 68, 86, 96.

A group of household servants can be found on the east wall, where three *mniw* herdsmen are depicted (Lepsius 1900: pl. 31a).³⁷³ Other ordinary servants, such as, e.g., four butchers on the northern wall remained anonymous (Lepsius 1913: pl. 26 [b]).

Finally, one representative of labour department is also recorded. It is an individual labelled as *imy-r3 idw* “overseer of young men” (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 31b).

To sum up, the extended household of Tjenty was relatively numerous, similar in comparison to the entourage of Nefer. Especially the groups of *k3*-priests and scribes were strongly represented, priests being even hierarchically defined with the overseer at the top. Interestingly, inspectors of *k3*-priests were usually the highest rank in vizieral entourages. Specific individuals charged with cult duties, i.e. brothers of the funerary estate, appear earlier than in selected viziers’ tombs (compare the extended household of the vizier Senedjemib Inty). Typical representatives of household management (overseer of the house and director of the dining hall) known from the Fifth Dynasty vizieral suites occur within the entourages of higher officials as well. The presence of a man engaged in the department of labour makes the picture of Tjenty’s entourage complete.

Tjenty	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	1
	<i>zš md3t tzt</i> “document scribe of the troop”	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -servant”	10
	<i>imy-r3 hm-k3</i> “overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants”	1
	<i>hry wdb(w)</i> “master of largess/he who is in charge of reversions (of offerings)”	1
	<i>sn dt</i> “brother of the funerary estate”	2
Labour department	<i>imy-r3 idw(w)</i> “overseer of young men”	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”	1
	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	2
Household servants	<i>mniw</i> “herdsman”	3

Tab. 29 The extended household of Tjenty

³⁷³ Another four anonymous individuals are recorded whose upper parts have not been preserved; perhaps they were once also tagged with name/title (Lepsius 1900: pl. 31a).

6.2.3 Kaninisut

The tomb of Kaninisut (G 2155), its architecture and wall decoration

Prince Kaninisut lived at the turn of the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty.³⁷⁴ His stone-built mastaba with the dimensions of 23.50m × 10.10m (237.35 sq.m.) is situated at Western cemetery in Giza (Junker 1931: 10). It belongs to Old Kingdom tombs astonishing due to the fine relief carving as well as the complex wall preservation (Junker 1931: 7).³⁷⁵ The L-shaped chapel of the tomb measuring 3.60 m × 1.45 m × 3.16 m (height) as well as the tomb entrance are fully decorated with raised reliefs. It was R. Hözl (2000) who published reliefs from the chapel of Kaninisut, which is now in Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien, Inv. 8006. The repertoire of scenes contains a characteristic offering table scene including the list of offerings, processions of offering-bearers and funerary estates, delivering and slaughtering of animals, but also a scene with ships above the door entrance (Hözl 2005).³⁷⁶

Kaninisut's close family and extended household

According to the titles captured in his tomb G 2155, Kaninisut was closely connected to the king and the court; he was *z3 nswt n ht.f, hrp šndwt, hry-wdb hwt-ḥnh*. His title strings encompass a wide range of rank titles including, *sm*-priest, *šmr*, *šmr wḥty*, *wb3 hr ḥd mr dp*, *r p nb*, *hry sšt3 n pr dw3t*, *hry-tp Nhb*, etc. As R. Hözl pointed out that the lack of functional administrative titles together with an abundance of rank titles place Kaninisut among the members of king's entourage (Hözl 2005: 28).

Despite the fact that Kaninisut's ancestors are unknown to us, the tomb of Kaninisut belongs to those infrequent cases where the family history can be traced for several generations. Tomb inscriptions reveal Kaninisut's wife Neferkhanisut together with three offspring: the eldest son Herwer, Kaninisut, the younger (II) and daughter Wadjethetep (Junker 1934: 158–162). Owing to the evidence from the tomb of the son Kaninisut (II) and grandson Kaninisut (III) we can follow his family up to the fifth generation covering the time span from early Fifth

³⁷⁴ The tomb of Kaninisut G 2155 is predominantly dated to early Fifth Dynasty, see, e.g. Junker 1934: 135–172; Porter and Moss 1974: 78–79 or Schmitz 1976: 77–79.

³⁷⁵ For the architecture and wall decoration of the tomb, see Junker 1934: 135–172; Junker 1931; Porter and Moss 1974: 78–79, plan 11.

³⁷⁶ The synopsis of scenes is provided by Junker (1938: 37 [21]).

to early Sixth Dynasty: 1. Kaninisut I., 2. Kaninisut II., 3. Kaninisut III., 4. Irienre, 5. Anchemre. (Junker 1931: 16; Hölbl 2000: 22/55).³⁷⁷

The household of prince Kaninisut has already been described by H. Junker (1934: 135-172). Most recently, M. Bárta (2011) and H. Münch (2013) analysed the household from a sociological perspective. The text presented below drew inspiration from these works and expands some aspects that were not accentuated in the fruitful contributions of these scholars.

There are almost exactly a hundred of identified minor figures outside the family realm recorded in the wall decoration of Kaninisut's tomb. The individuals captured in reliefs are distinguished by a high density of attached titles and names. The decorative programme consists of 58 (or 49) individuals personified by a particular name and/or title occupying 17 various professions; and 15 individuals identified only by their names (Junker 1934: figs. 15–21)(see Tab. 30).³⁷⁸ Worth mentioning is the fact that it encompasses the majority of minor figures in the tomb. Leaving apart a ship scene, only five individuals of 63 were anonymous. In the exceptional ship scene, the ratio between identified and anonymous dependents was reversed; 8 of 34 dependents were identified by a name and/or a title tag (Junker 1934: fig. 22 on page 156).³⁷⁹

When analysing the composition of depicted entourage of the prince, there are two numerous groups of professions, both almost equally represented, i.e. priests (16 individuals) and scribes (13 individuals). Funerary priests are not hierarchically graded, only ordinary priests occur complemented by “embalmers” (*wty*) and “masters of largess/those who are in charge of reversions (of offerings)” (*hryw wdb(w)*), the latter two perform ceremonies in front of the tomb owner in the offering table scene on both entrance jambs (Junker 1934: pls. 15–18, 20)(see Fig. 57a, b). Scribal professions are more diverse, most of all represented by ordinary scribes, together with scribes related to archiving of documents as well as sealers (Junker 1934: pl. 19 on page 20)(Fig. 58).³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷The tomb of Kaninisut (II) G 2156 lies adjacent to the eastern facade of his father's tomb, the grandson Kaninisut (III)'s tomb G 2156a is situated nearby, built onto the north end of G 2155 (Junker 1931: pl. 4; Junker 1938: 35 [II], Junker 1944: 177–178, pl. 93; Porter and Moss 1974: 79, 80); <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/2107/full/>; also <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1914/full/>.

³⁷⁸ The number differs due to an uncertain identification of several individuals, namely Imsekher, Mernetjerkhufu, Niykhathor, Seshmu and Tjenty since their titles vary.

³⁷⁹ The rest of 30 individuals depicted in reliefs represents a procession of enumerated funerary estates (Junker 1934: fig. 20).

³⁸⁰ A key scene depicting scribes is on both west and north wall of the chapel where Kaninisut's scribes enumerated villages and men and control household documents (Junker 1934: pls. 18–19).

Despite the significance of both enumerated groups, by far the largest professional unit in Kaninisut's tomb consists of household managers and servants, comprising in total 19 individuals (see Tab. 30). The iconography provides a variety of household servants, specifically butlers, bakers, cooks or butchers who were managed by two directors of the dining room, Tjenty and Niankhathor, and two directors of linen, Seshemu and Penedju. The most important man in running the household was the "overseer of the house/estate/the Steward" Wehemka. He is recorded three times in the tomb iconography, in all cases holding a prominent place, either immediately following Kaninisut's offspring, facing the tomb owner as the first in the row of scribes or carved on the main left false door jamb standing directly behind the tomb owner (Junker 1934: pl. 18 on page 150, pl. 19 on page 153)(see Figs. 58 and 59). Wehemka, as a chief scribe, informs the prince about the list of villages and men, and controls household documents. His depiction distinguishes him from other dependents (together with other scribes) with a calf-length kilt in all of his three appearances. Strong bond between Kaninisut and Wehemka might have been expressed by an involvement of Wehemka's son Rahotep within Kaninisut afterlife realm (Junker 1934: 164; Kayser 1964: 20–21). An individual of the identical name and similar title scribe (*zš*) was recorded on the same north wall as Wehemka, depicted as the last scribe in the first lower register (Junker 1934: pl. 19 on page 153)(see Fig. 58).

Apart from Wehemka, Kaninisut extended household consists of a couple of other individuals who deserve to be focused on, specifically those who, similar to Wehemka, appear several times on the walls. Especially those persons recorded on the false doors seem to be of certain significance for their master. Hermeru, Penedju and Penu presumably belonged to favourite servants - personal attendants of Kaninisut who accompanied their master either in a boat trip or in a symbolic way to the netherworld on false door jambs (Junker 1934: pl. 22 on page 156). Penu appears for the third time also in the procession of offering-bearers on chapel west wall where he is endowed for his loyal services by the *k3*-priest title (Junker 1934: pl. 18)(see Fig. 59). Penedju was an attendant in charge of Kaninisut's clothing as indicated by his title *imy-r3 sšr* "overseer of linen"; Hermedju is present without a title. An individual worth mentioning in both boats is certain Wahib. His relation to the tomb owner is not obvious. Evidently, he does not belong to a boat crew since he is not involved in any of respective activities (Junker 1934: pl. 22 on page 156). He is in a slightly bent posture with both arms freely hanging in front of his body with the head turning back on Kaninisut who stands immediately behind him. Sons of the tomb owners regularly accompany their fathers on a

voyage trip,³⁸¹ however Wahib lacks a family relation tag in these depictions; nowhere in the tomb is he depicted as a son, only as a *k3*-priest. A last dependent to mention is a partly preserved person recorded on the left outer jamb of the south false door (Junker 1934: pl. 18)(see Fig. 59). Only his name Idunefherhetep is preserved, the upper part of the body and a possible title were destroyed. Surprisingly, his figure is recorded in a larger scale than other dependents, he is even bigger than the representation of Wehemka standing above him. This points to an honoured dependent of his master; unfortunately, no indication to a possible link to Kaninisut is preserved or mentioned in another place in the tomb. Kaninisut's wife Neferhat held an analogous post on the north false door, thus Idunefherhetep may have been Kaninisut's relative, but probably not his offspring, as he is not included in a row of Kaninisut's children in the middle of the chapel's west wall (Junker 1934: pl. 18). There appears yet another possibility. Individuals who are designated with the title brother of the funerary estate (*sn dt*) may also appear in a prominent position close to the tomb owner and in a relatively large scale, as is characteristic for *sn-dt* individuals, for instance in the tomb of Kahay at Saqqara (Harpur and Scremin 2015) or Tjenti at Giza (see The extended household of Tjenty in this chapter).³⁸² We might assume that Idunefherhetep was provided with the same post, being a *sn-dt* of Kaninisut.

Overall, Kaninisut's entourage was very complex, comprising 58 individuals occupying 17 various professions and highly exceeding the entourage of Tjenty in a number and diversity of titles. Only the group of scribes consisted of 15 individuals, with a similarly numerous priestly segment (16 persons). Other almost 20 members participated in the management (6 individuals) and operation (13 servants) of the household and numerous estates.³⁸³

The most illustrative of Kaninisut's dependents is undoubtedly his steward Wehemka. Since Wehemka's tomb D 117 was uncovered in 1903 by Steindorff, later published by Günter Roeder (1927) and Hans Kayser (1964), we have a unique opportunity to analyse the status, family background and household of such a crucial dependent.³⁸⁴ The inscriptional evidence from Wehemka's tomb reveals the full title string. While in the tomb of Kaninisut he was endowed with the title *imy-r3 pr* "overseer of the house/estate/the Steward" and *zš pr md3(w)t*

³⁸¹ For spear-fishing scenes, see e.g. (Brovarski 2001: 38–40, pls. 16, 17 [a], Figs. 26–27; Vachala 2004: 32–33).

³⁸² It concerns individuals named Iasen in Tjenty's tomb and Wenty in the tomb of Kahay, both captured in a larger scale than other dependents and distinguishing themselves also by a long projecting kilt, a collar, and a short curly wig.

³⁸³ 30 funerary estates were recorded, 11 of them founded by different household members (Junker 1931: 28).

³⁸⁴ The tomb of Wehemka was situated in the same cemetery as his master Wehemka barely 50m far from it, with a small area of 12 × 6m (Kayser 1964: 20). The modest tomb chapel (1,20 m × 2,30 m with 2,35 m height) is currently in the Museum of Hildesheim 2970.

“scribe of the archives/department of documents”, in his own tomb he was granted at least another two titles, i.e. rank title *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance” and, at the same time, with the scribal title *zš nfrw* “scribe of recruits” (Kayser 1964: 25, 51, pls. 10–11). In contrast to Kaninisut the family background of Wehemka is well documented. Wehemka apparently put stress on his family, probably being proud of his ancestry. It is apparent from the number of family members he recorded, in total 12 relatives including his parents, grandparents and probably his son-in-law. The large size of their figures, equal in height to Wehemka’s own, is indicative of their significance (Kayser 1964: 24, 32, 33, 36).³⁸⁵ Based on the titles of male members of the family we can trace a link of holding the same or very similar office for several generations. Wehemka’s father Ity was *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward” and *nht-hrw pr-md3t* ‘tally-man’ of the archive,³⁸⁶ his grandfather Kaemneferet held the same offices as Wehemka - *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward” and *zš pr md3t* “scribe of the archives/department of documents”. When counting among them the already mentioned son Rahetep who was attached with the title *zš pr-md3t* “scribe of the archives/department of documents”, we receive four generations of members of a single family engaged in practically the same office/s. Considering the list of titles of Wehemka’s grandfather, one wonders if the person named Kaemnefret, tagged with the title *imy-r3 pr* in Kaninisut’s tomb, cannot represent Wehemka’s grandfather. It has to be mentioned that already Wehemka’s son is recorded there on the same wall (Junker 1934: pl. 19 on page 153). However, as the name Kaemnefret is frequent (Ranke 1934: 339/20), this remains a mere possibility.

One more person from the family realm of Wehemka is worth mentioning. It is a husband of his daughter Nefertzes, named Neferhernemty, depicted together with his wife (Kayser 1964: 24, 76–77). As was already mentioned, he was one of the individuals portrayed in a large size; he belonged to *snw.dt* individuals - brothers of the estates who were involved in securing Wehemka’s afterlife.³⁸⁷ He was of an equal rank as Wehemka *iry ht nswt*,³⁸⁸ yet holding a functional title *shd w^cbw* “inspector of wab-priests”.

³⁸⁵ It is most of all his wife Wife Hetepibes, but also both couples of his parents and grandparents and quite surprisingly also his daughter Nefertjeses with her husband (Kayser 1964: 32, 33, 36).

³⁸⁶ The father of Wehemka was not attached with any rank title, but since his mother Djefatsen was ranked *iry ht nswt* it can be assumed to be derived of her husband rank.

³⁸⁷ For the discussion on the title, see Chapter 5 (Senedjemib Inty).

³⁸⁸ It was already Y. Harpur who pointed out the fact that *sn dt* were often of roughly equivalent rank as the owner of the cult to whom they were associated (Harpur 1981: 29). In a similar manner B. Grdseloff assumed that they exercised the same professional function (Grdseloff 1943: 46).

A comparison of the extended households of both men, prince Kaninisut and his majordomus Wehemka, is worth mentioning. Although the latter is more modest in the rank and diversity of titles, the extended household of Wehemka is surprisingly more numerous in identified dependents than that of his master. The iconography of Wehemka consists of 78 non-kin minor figures, which is less than is featured in Kaninisut entourage that reaches one hundred individuals. However, both houses share a similarity in a high ratio of identified people. In the tomb of Wehemka, this is exceptional as only three of 78 dependents were left anonymous. 16 dependents were only distinguished by name, the rest of 52 individuals comprised 17 various professions (see Tab. 31). This exceeds the number of identified dependents in Kaninisut's extended household (75 to 52). However, not only the number of dependents provides us with the picture of the entourage, equally important is the question how particular professional segments are covered and if higher hierarchical levels are present. While the particular professional groups are relatively equally numerous (e.g. Wehemka's scribal segment contained 14 individuals while Kaninisut's 13), the titles are considerably lower in case of Wehemka. As concerns scribal professions, ordinary sealers prevail, including female representatives (5 women); only an elder of the house, a "supervisor of linen" *hry-tp sšr* and three "chiefs" *hk3*, but no overseer either of the house or of the linen figures within the key persons of the household management. The managerial functions in Wehemka's household were complemented by a high number of household servants (17 individuals) (see the Tab. 31). The only segment which substantially differs in both entourages are priests. While 15 priests appear in Kaninisut's tomb, in Wehemka's only three. However, given the high occurrence of *sn-dt* individuals - brothers/children of the funerary estate (10 individuals) who played an important role in the cult of the deceased, the difference is partly substituted. *Šn-dt* individuals encompass both family members and people outside the family realm. The most significant among them was apparently Wehemka's already mentioned son-in-law Neferhernemty whose large-scale figure held, together with his wife, an independent place on the west wall directly facing Wehemka (Kayser 1964: 24, 76–77).

Two professions from segments that rarely appear even in the entourages of the vizier were detected for Wehemka - an individual engaged in body care services, namely a "female hairdresser" *ir-šn^c*, and an individual engaged in military – a "recruit" *nfr*. Nearly ten of identified dependents in Wehemka's tomb were women (female sealers, but also a hairdresser and funerary priestesses), which appears to be a specific feature in the depiction of the tomb owner's entourage. It accounts for 12 % of all identified dependents.

The entourage of Wehemka represents an important piece of evidence for a lower ranked individual engaged in a domestic realm of a high official. Its number and composition resemble that of his master. However, it clearly demonstrates that a large size of the retinue does not necessarily imply a complex, hierarchically structured group of individuals, as mainly ordinary household servants, sealers or priests appear there. Lesser officials, e.g. household managers or scribes connected to archives/department of documents, occur exceptionally. An absence of any depiction of a funerary estate in the tomb is in a sharp contrast to the large size of the entourage. It seems probable that Wehemka's cult was derived and funded by his master Kaninisut, not by his own estates, and the high number of *dt*-servants was installed in order to secure and support the cult.

Kaninisut	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	8
	<i>zš md3(w)t</i> "document scribe"	2
	<i>zš pr md3t</i> "scribe of the archives/department of documents"	1
	<i>iry(w)-md3(w)t</i> "scribe's assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of documents, archivist"	1
	<i>htmty</i> "sealer"	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	12
	<i>wty</i> "embalmer"	2
	<i>hry wdb(w)</i> "master of largess/he who is in charge of reversions (of offerings)"	2
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house/estate, the Steward"	2
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> "overseer of the linen"	2
	<i>hrp zḥ</i> "director of the dining hall"	2
Household servants	<i>wdpw</i> "butler, attendant, steward, cup-bear"	5
	<i>wdpw n hnty-wr</i> "attendant/steward of the great celler"	2
	<i>sšm</i> "butcher"	3
	<i>rth</i> "baker"	2
	<i>fsw</i> "cook"	1
Labour services	<i>hrp iz(w)t</i> "director of crew(s)/ director a gang of workmen/boat crew"	1

Tab. 30 The extended household of Kaninisut

Wehemka	Titles	Number of occurrences
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Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-priest”	3 (of that 1 woman)
Household servants	<i>wdpw</i> “butler, attendant, steward, cup-bear”	7 (of that 1 woman)
	<i>wdpw n hnty-wr</i> “attendant/steward of the great celler”	2
	<i>sšm</i> “butcher”	5
	<i>kbh šnwt</i> (= <i>kbh nmt</i>) “butcher of the slaughterhouse”	1
	<i>fty</i> “brewer”	2
	<i>mnyw</i> “herdsman”	1
Household management	<i>smsw pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”	2
	<i>hry-tp sšr</i> “supervisor of cloth”	2 (of that 1 woman)
	<i>hrp zḥ</i> “director of the dining hall”	3
	<i>hk3</i> “chief”	3
	<i>šmsw</i> “retainer”	1
Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	6
	<i>zš pr md3t</i> “scribe of the archives/department of documents”	2
	<i>htmty</i> “sealer”	9 (of that 5 woman)
	<i>hrp htmw</i> “director of sealers”	1(2) child
Military/police	<i>nfr</i> “recruit”	1
Body care service	<i>ir-šn^c</i> “hairstylist”	1 (woman)
Only named		15

Tab. 31 The extended household of Wehemka

6.2.4 Ty

The tomb of Ty (D 22), its architecture and wall decoration

Ty was a significant dignitary, whose well-known tomb no. 60 (D 22) at North Saqqara astonishes scholars because of its splendid relief decoration, which is distinguished by the quality of workmanship, unique scenes and most of all by an extraordinarily good state of preservation. For this reason, the relief decoration with all attested individuals can serve as a model case of how an extended household of a high dignitary of the mid-Fifth Dynasty could originally look like.³⁸⁹ Ty’s tomb belongs to large, multi-chambered tombs, with the overall dimensions of 1274 m², counting together 870 m² of the proper mastaba with an area of the

³⁸⁹ Ty is dated by most scholars to the reign of Niuserre, see, e.g. Porter and Moss 1981: 468–478; Strudwick 1985: 158–159 (157), or to the reign of Niuserre or end of the Fifth dynasty, see e.g. Epron, Daumas and Goyon 1939: 53, 66. An official with the same name and title (*smsr w^cty*) occurs in the mortuary temple of Nyuserre (Borchardt 1984: 71 (1,2)), which can be another proof of the proposed dating.

courtyard measuring 404 m² (Kanawati 1977: 20, no. 11, 126).³⁹⁰ In comparison to the tomb of his contemporary and superordinate – the vizier Ptahshepses, it accounts for proximately one half of it.³⁹¹ Despite this fact, it is still considerably larger than other tombs of the same date (Auenmüller 2018:19).

The stone-built tomb of Ty consists of six rooms including the main cult chapel, two corridors, the so-called “Speisekammer”, and a pillared courtyard, all of them decorated.³⁹² B. Porter and R. Moss provides a synopsis of the scenes (Porter and Moss 1974: 468–477). The wide range of scenes contained rows of offering bearers, the deceased carried in a palanquin, animal slaughter scene, transporting of statues by boats, the deceased accompanied by his family, scribes and important officials, the deceased receiving reports, boats building, harvest scene, wild animals in the desert, musicians with dancers and workshop activities.

Ty’s rank, his close family and extended household

The social standing of Ty is clearly reflected in his titles - a mixture of rank and functional titles, specifically administrative, juridical or priestly ones (Strudwick 1985: 158; Speidel 1990: 63). Ty was ranked among the high echelon of Egyptian society due to his title *smr w^cty* “sole companion”. His elevated rank is testified also by his administrative titles; the attention deserve especially two highest titles in the sphere of scribal and labour administration, i.e. *imy-r3 zš^c (w) nw nswt* and *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*.³⁹³ His courtly titles refer to Ty’s involvement in king’s private sphere, namely the title “director of hairdressers of the king” (*hrp ir šn^c nswt*) and the same position in the royal palace (*hrp ir šn^cpr-^c*)³⁹⁴ together with other titles associated with the king’s privacy, i.e. *iry nfr h3t* “keeper of the headdress”, *imy-r3 hkr nswt nb* “overseer of all royal regalia”. Several titles connected to secret matters (*hry sš3* “privy to the secret”) refer to Ty as the trusted official of the king. Besides, Ty held a supreme function in the pyramids and sun temples of several Fifth Dynasty kings, i.e. *imy-r3 b3 Nfr-ir-k3-R^c*, *imy-r3 Mn-swt-ny-wsr-R^c*, *imy-r3 hm-ntr b3-Nfr-ir-k3-R^c*, *imy-r3 Htp-R^c*, *imy-r3 Sht-R^c*, *imy-r3 St-ib-R^c*, *imy-r3 Šsp-ib-R^c*, *shd hm-ntr R^c m St-ib-R^c*.

³⁹⁰ For slightly different numbers, see M. Bárta 2005: 114; P. Jánosi 2006: 120. J. Auenmüller in his article dealing with sociological analysis of the iconography of Ty’s tomb explains Jánosi’s lower numbers by not including the width of the core walls from the courtyard area (Auenmüller 2018: 17); why the data given by M. Bárta vary is not provided.

³⁹¹ The total area of Ptahshepses tomb is around 2380 m², see The tomb of Ptahshepses in Chapter 5.

³⁹² The architecture of the tomb and the wall decoration was comprehensively studied by Epron, Daumas and Goyon 1939; Porter and Moss 1974: 468–478; Steindorff 1913; Wild 1966 and Wild 1953.

³⁹³ For the thorough study of these titles, see Strudwick 1985: 199–216, respectively 217–250.

³⁹⁴ For an in-depth study on Old Kingdom hairdressers, see Speidel 1990; for Ti in particular page 63.

There were originally almost 2000 figures captured in the iconography of Ty's tomb with precisely 1802 both mayor and minor figures preserved until now, a considerable number of that, namely 118, was formed by next of kin (Auenmüller 2018: 20). The core family of Ty was according to the attested evidence quite modest, consisting of his wife Neferhetepes, sons Ty, Demedj and Webenka together with another unnamed son and daughter.³⁹⁵ Unfortunately, inscriptions in the tomb provide no evidence of Ty's family background.

In contrast to the rare information given about his closest family, the very opposite can be said about the extended household. A large number of Ty's dependents is recorded, the high number of anonymous dependents. i.e. 1684 figures, attracts special attention. The amount of identified individuals is equally impressive, although it forms around 15% of all minor figures in the tomb (Auenmüller 2018: 20–28). There are 268 minor figures distinguished by a name and/or title not linked with family ties to Ty, representing in total 46 different professions (see Tab. 32). A large number of them – 176 individuals, were tagged only by their profession, which is rather surprising (Auenmüller 2018: 20). When only titles were attached, they refer to the representatives of certain professions or functions usually connected to some duties or activities, but for some reasons they were not important enough for the tomb owner to individualise them by their personal names. As a consequence, only 72 minor figures were attached with both the name and the title present (Auenmüller 2018: 20).³⁹⁶ Some of these individuals that occurred several times on the walls were probably identical, e.g. *šḏ ḥm(w)-k3 Iyny* (11x) or *zš Ḥm-nw* (4x), in other cases the identity of persons with the same name but different title/s is questionable, e.g. the titles of *Sb3ktt-n-ḥ* rather differ (1x *imy-r3 pr*, 1x *zš z3*, 1x *zš*, 1x *smsw pr*, 1x *nḥt-ḥrw*). Therefore, the exact data vary. Moreover, the time when the inscriptions were written was a factor that played another important role. Some of the names and/or titles were inscribed later, but the nature of the secondary character is not always obvious. As J. Auenmüller pointed out some names were added later even when the original inscription of that person already existed (Auenmüller 2018: 20, note 53). For instance, an inspector of *k3*-priests Iyny who was originally designated in a scene of the tomb owner receiving reports from his steward with two rows of his sons and close collaborators, can be

³⁹⁵ For the detailed enumeration of occurrences of particular family members overall in the tomb decoration, see Auenmüller 2018: 20 and especially note 47.

³⁹⁶ According to J. Auenmüller 20 individuals who were tagged only with a personal name in the tomb of Ty all belonged to secondary inscriptions (Auenmüller 2018: 20–22, n. 53).

found added secondarily at ten other places in the tomb (Wild 1953: pl. XLIV; Steindorff 1913: pl. 57)!

When analysing the composition of Ty's entourage, by far the largest group of individuals depicted in the tomb were funerary priests - they formed exactly one half of all labelled minor figures in the tomb (125 persons). Four different hierarchical levels are attested: the highest overseer, followed by inspectors, under-supervisors and ordinary priests. At the top of the pyramidal structure stood an individual Kaaper who, apart from the highest priestly title *imy-r3 hm(w)-k3* "overseer of *k3*-priests", held also a scribal title connected to the palace administration *shd zš(w) ḥprw ḥw (nw) nzwt(?)* "inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the crews(?)" (Wild 1953: pls. 13, 19, 21, 27, 33, 67; Steindorff 1913: pls. 23, 25)(see Fig. 60; the first man in the second register).³⁹⁷ This individual appears five times in the wall decoration, each time holding a prominent position within a respective scene (Wild 1953: pls. 17, 19, 21, 27, 33). An increasing number of people below this leader is clearly visible at each successive level, *i.e.* 28 inspectors of *k3*-priests and 101 ordinary priests that were complemented by only one under-supervisor.³⁹⁸ As already mentioned above, the majority of identified individuals in the tomb was distinguished solely by a title/profession, which is perfectly true for the group of priests. 28 titles of inspectors of priests were recorded elsewhere in the tomb, most of all without a personal name added. To take the tomb chapel as an exemplary case, only one of 15 inspectors of priests depicted there, a certain Heni, is personified in the chapel decoration (Steindorff 1913: pl. 141; Wild 1966: pl. 172, 181)(see Fig. 61). It is rather symptomatic that his name belongs to later added inscriptions attached to an original title, thus not a single inspector of priests who would be individualised with his name was captured in the original layout of the chapel scenes. Moreover, this phenomenon concerns not only inspector of priests, and in fact the priests in general (25 ordinary priests were without a name tag), but holds for all the professions that appear in the wide range of chapel scenes. It encompasses a variety of professions, including scribes, sealers, personal attendants, household managers and servants or craftsmen. The only two other names that occur in the chapel, Sekhemre and Khenti, were both inscribed later to the original scribal title (Steindorff 1913: pls. 129, 132; Wild 1966: pls. 150, 167–168). Such lack of the closest collaborators and servants of Ti right in the chapel, where we would expect the

³⁹⁷ For the title, see D. Jones 2000: 957, 3533.

³⁹⁸ J. Auenmüller mentions a slightly lower calculation, *i.e.* 22 inspectors and 97 ordinary priests (Auenmüller 2018: 23).

selection of the most outstanding individuals from the tomb owner's entourage, is quite startling.

The situation with regard to attached name tags is slightly better for other rooms in the tomb. If we look closer at the rest of 13 titles of inspectors of priests, one remained anonymous, seven of them were personified by the name Iyni, and only one inscription seems to be original (Steindorff 1913: pl. 57), the remaining six inscriptions of Iyni are considered to be added later (Auenmüller 2018: 21, n. 53). Four other names appear in connection with the title “inspector of *k3*-priests”; two of them were probably secondarily inscribed (Wild 1953: pls. 40, 62), while Nefermaat and Irenptah belong to the original reliefs (Wild 1953: pls. 15, 43–44).³⁹⁹ It becomes clear from this evidence that out of the 28 inspectors of funerary priests only three were probably involved already in the original layout of the wall reliefs, while three others were highly likely persons who also served in the cult of Ti, but were added in a later stage of decoration or after the funeral. In both cases it seems appropriate to include them within the funerary realm of the deceased.

The group of ordinary priests features largely prevailing professional tags similar to the inspectors of funerary priests. All 25 *k3*-priests captured in the chapel were unnamed. Of other 75 *k3*-priests elsewhere in the tomb only nine were identified also by their names (Wild 1953: especially pls. 44, 65).⁴⁰⁰ Importantly, *k3*-priests who are distinguished by their names were often endowed with another title, mostly scribal, for instance *zš*, *zš pr-ḥd* or *zš pr-md3t ntr*, alternatively with title of a “hairdresser” *ir šnꜥ* (Wild 1953: pls. 17, 43, 65).⁴⁰¹ In addition, the only recorded under-supervisor of *k3*-priest is labelled by a secondary name tag Werzaes without another additional title (Auenmüller 2018: 23, n. 68; Wild 1953: pl. 40).

The evidence of the lower levels of priestly representatives can be viewed in stark contrast to the person who stood at the head of Ty's cult, *imy-r3 ḥm-k3* “overseer of *k3*-priests Kaaper”. His multiple appearance is considered to have belonged without a doubt to the original scene content as both his name and titles are concerned (see Fig. 60). His high scribal title *šḥd zš(w) ꜥprw ꜥw (nw) nzwt(?)* “inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the crews(?)” apparently refers to his services in the same segment as Ty (Steindorff 1913: pls. 23, 25; Wild

³⁹⁹ Irenhetep held at the same time the title *zš ꜥprw* “scribe of the crews” (Wilde 1953: pl. 44).

⁴⁰⁰ Further six *k3*-priests designated by their names are likely later additions (see, e.g. Wilde 1953: pl. 40–42).

⁴⁰¹ As far as the higher title inspector of *k3*-priests is concerned, it is usually the sole title attached; the only exception is Irenhetep who held also a scribal title *zš ꜥprw* “scribe of the crews” (Wilde 1953: pls. 43, 45).

1953: pls. 13, 19, 21, 27, 33, 67). Kaaper was evidently a loyal subordinate entrusted to manage Ty's cult and to share the benefits from the reversions of offerings.

Ty's administrative apparatus forms another numerous group of persons appearing in his tomb, primarily in two scenes depicting the tomb owner accompanied with his sons, colleagues and significant dependents of his household (Epron 1939: pls. 21, 44)(see Figs. 62 and 63). In contrast to priests, scribes and household managers, they are often distinguished not only by their titles but also by personal names (more than 50 individuals)(see Tab. 32). A group of ordinary scribes (*zš*) with 17 individuals is predominant, followed in number by *htmty* "seal-bearers" (13) and *iry md3(w)t* "keepers of the documents" (4). Juridical section of scribal profession held *z3b šhd zšw* and *iry md3(w)t n z3b* "juridical inspector of scribes and book-keepers" (5). Three dependents in the tomb hold the title associated with archive, i.e. "scribe of the royal records" *zš ʿ(w) n(w) nswt* or, alternatively, *zš ʿ(w) n(w) nswt (n) hft hr* "scribe of the royal records in his presence", possible direct subordinates of Ty. One of them, certain Kaemneferet, who appears in the scene of Ty accompanied by his most important officials, was involved in the management of Ty's household as *imy-r3 pr* "overseer of the house" (Wild 1953: pls. 19, 21)(see Fig. 62). Several other officials held titles connected to the central administration, court or the treasury; primarily it was the above mentioned highest priest Kaaper who bore the title *šhd zš(w) ʿprw ʿ(w) (nw) nzwt(?)* "inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the crews(?)" (Wild 1953: pl. 17, 21, 27; Jones 2000: 957, 3533), and other officials, such as, e.g., *šhd šmsw n(w) hnw* "inspector of the retainers of the Residence" Ankhkakai (Wild 1953: pl. 16) or *zš pr-hd* "scribe of the Treasury" Ptahkhaef (Wild 1953: pl. 53)(see Fig. 64). The latter individual appears in the scene of dragging the statue of the tomb owner. This resembles the scene from the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses where the scribe of the Treasury Kainepu was involved in a similar scene of dragging the statues of the tomb owner (Verner 1986: Pl. 60, ins. No. 169). It seems symptomatic that the only two scribes of the treasury in the selected tombs appear in the same type of scenes. It refers to the department of the treasury that embraced royal workshops including the sculptor's one.

The large amount of people employed as scribes can be ascribed to the fact that Ty himself held the supreme position in this field as "inspector of scribes of the royal records" *imy-r3 zš(w) ʿ(w) n(w) nswt* and some of his subordinates were apparently included in his social realm. In a much similar manner, the fact that Ti was endowed with the supreme title in the sphere of organisation of labour has probably influenced the recording of an extraordinary high number of people employed in this field (10 individuals). Two *imy-r3 izwt* "overseer of crews"

(Wild 1953: pl. 26), two *hrp izt* “directors of a gang of workmen” (Wild 1953: pl. 44) and six *hrp iz(t) n pr-dt* “directors of the crew of the funerary estate” (Wild 1953: pls. 47, 52, 54) belonged to this professional group. Individuals with titles connected to labour were depicted either as captains on a prow of a boat (Wild 1953: pls. 47, 49), or supervising a group of people who dragged the statue of the tomb owner while pouring water in front of the sledge with the statue (Wild 1953: pls. 52, 54)(see Fig. 64), alternatively being represented as herdsmen (Wild 1953: pl. 26). Worth mentioning is the fact that all ten representatives of this profession were unnamed, in contrast to two scribes associated with the organisation of works, i.e. the leading persons of Ty’s entourage Kaaper and Irenhetep.

The most important persons with regard to the everyday running of Ty’s household were primarily represented by *imy-r3 pr* “overseers of the house/estate, the Steward”. A high number of ten stewards were recorded elsewhere in the tomb; two of them captured in the chapel were anonymous (Wild 1966: 167, 172). The others, with one exception, were identified also by their names. Four, respectively eight of them held not only a household managerial title, but an accompanied scribal title (Wild 1953: pls. 19, 21, 27, 44).⁴⁰² They were depicted in a prominent place often close to the tomb owner, either reporting the cattle count or keeping accounts of the estates to the tomb owner with a papyrus scroll or a palette in their hands (e.g. Wild 1953: pls. 19, 21; Wild 1966: 167(see Fig. 63). If these stewards served simultaneously or subsequently is difficult to determine. As five overseers of the house cluster in the same scene of the tomb owner viewing his closest collaborators (Steindorff 1913: 19, 21, 23)(see Fig. 60), it seems highly likely that at least some of them carried out their functions simultaneously.⁴⁰³

Yet another two individuals can be associated with Ty’s house. The first was *smsw pr* “elder of the house/domain” Sebaktetankh (Steindorff 1913: pl. 57). This is the only original inscription of Sebaktetankh, other four appearances of this individual were of a secondary nature according to J. Auenmüller (2018: 23, n. 68) He inscribed his name to original titles, each time educated individuals holding either a scribal title or a title of a steward, as was the case of the above-mentioned scene (see Figs. 60 and 62).⁴⁰⁴ The second individual *z3 pr*

⁴⁰² They are *zš md3t* Irmaa (Wild 1953: pl. 44), *z3b šhd zš* juridical inspector of the scribes Kaemsekhem (Wild 1953: pl. 27), *zš* scribe Khaefhetep (Wild 1953: pl. 27) and *zš ʿ n nswt hft-hr* - scribe of the royal records in the presence Kaemneferet (Wild 1953: pls. 19, 21). Another four overseers of the house (Neferhay, an unnamed man, Sebaktetenankh and Ramaat) were not designated by any scribal titles, however their depiction - a papyrus scroll and/or a scribal palette in their hands - evidently refer to scribal profession (Wild 1953: pl. 67; Wild 1966: 167).

⁴⁰³ The interpretation of these stewards is complicated as some of them were inscribed later, i.e. Sebaktetankh.

⁴⁰⁴ Individual with the same name appears in total five times in the wall decoration, each time bearing a different title (*imy-r3 pr*; *zš ʿprw+nht hrw*; solely *nht-hrw*; *zš*; not preserved) (Wild 1953: pls. 27, 35, 42, 67).

Nikaiunu belongs according to D. Jones to rare representatives of a police sector (Jones 2000: 797, 2908). He was depicted as a personal attendant of the tomb owner in the scene of overseeing works, holding the title *zš pr* “son-of-the house, policeman, watchman, estate attendant” (Wild 1953: 67).

Apart from the above-mentioned individuals, the household managers comprised three *imy-r3 ššr* “overseer of the linen” (Wild 1953: pl. 63). Two of them were identified by their names, Khemetnu and Sobekweser (Wild 1953: 44), the third one without a name added (Wild 1966: pl. 126). Another bulk of 18 individuals, e.g. *imy-r3 pr-šn^c* “overseer of the storehouse”, *imy-r3 wh^c* “overseers of fowlers” or *šsm(w)* “butchers”, were responsible for the food supply for the household. Nine butchers were recorded in the chapel scene of animal slaughter (Wild 1966: pl. 163). They were designated only by their profession, not unusually without particular names attached. In a similar manner, both overseers of fowlers in the scene of hippo-hunting as well as all three officials associated with a storehouse - two *imy-r3 pr-šn^c* “overseer of the storehouse/labour establishment/department of stores” and one *zš pr-šn^c* “scribe of the storehouse”, were left without a name tag (Wild 1953: pl. 117, respectively 67).

Another group of persons was engaged in the private sphere of the tomb owner that encompasses servants in charge of the amusement and body care (in total 16 individuals), again only anonymous individuals with one exception. The sphere of amusement encompassed two *hs(w)* “singers”, one *hs(w) n pr-dt* “singer of the funerary estate”, a *zb* “flutist” and several musicians designated as *hnrt* “member of a troop of musicians” (Wild 1953: 56; Wild 1966: 162). The group of individuals engaged in body care services was represented by two *ir(w)-^cnt* “manicurists” and two *h^ck(w)* “barbers” who accompanied the tomb owner as his personal attendants together with two retainers *šmsw*, an overseer of the linen and a couple of individuals of scribal profession - *iry md3(w)t* “scribe’s assistant, keeper of documents, archive” (Wild 1953: 124, 126, 150)(see Fig. 65). Despite the fact that Ti held the titles *hrp ir šn^c nswt* “director of hairdressers of the king” and *hrp ir šn^c pr-^c3* “director of hairdresser of the Great House”, similar to Ptahshepses who held the latter title, Ti did not include in his entourage barbers or hairdressers who would be associated to the king or the court, only ordinary servants.

Craftsmen formed a non-negligible professional segment that makes the extended household of Ty complete. It is primarily the scenes depicting the workshop activities that are rich in various crafts-related titles. Altogether 25 craftsmen representing eight different professions, e.g. “sculptors” *kšty*, “carpenters” *mdh*, “stoneworkers/craftsmen” *h^mwty*, *zšp*

“polishers” or *fnh* “joiners” (Wild 1966: pls. 173, 174). Similar to the preceding group, these persons remained without a name expressed.

To conclude, the entourage of Ty was extraordinarily numerous as well as diverse in recorded professions when comparing not only officials of the same rank, but also the viziers’ courts. The comparison with the court of his contemporary - the vizier Ptahshepses - is worth noticing. The size of the extended household of Ty is so large that it exceeds the number of Ptahshepses dependents almost twice (268 individuals to 130). The same is valid for the number of funerary priests (127 to 62) who formed exactly one half of all labelled minor figures in the tomb. The preserved number of identified individuals and in particular priests appears to be outstanding; nevertheless, a closer look at particular examples reveals a high degree of depersonalisation in Ty’s entourage. The number of “personalized” dependents, *i.e.* those distinguished by their names, was considerably lower, in case of funerary priests it is only 6.3%. Apart from the frequency, the priestly ensemble of Ty discloses another distinctive feature. The hierarchy of priestly servants is defined by all four different vertical levels (overseers, inspectors, under-supervisors and ordinary priests), which is monitored nowhere in the tombs under the study. The highest rank of *imy-r3 hm-k3* is usually absent even in the case of the vizier’s entourage, such as, e.g., that of Ptahshepses.⁴⁰⁵ On the other hand, it has to be admitted that it is already the third entourage of a higher official after Kaunesut and Tjenty to include the priest of the highest rank.

Scribes and household administrators in Ty’s tomb were more frequently personalised than priests. Only five individuals of this numerous group (36 individuals) were anonymous.⁴⁰⁶ They consisted mainly of scribes connected to the archive - Ty’s direct subordinates in his supreme office of the “overseer of scribes of the royal records”. Both Ty’s highest administrative offices over the scribal segment and the organisation of labour presumably influenced the choice of the most important dependents in his tomb, among others especially the installation of an inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the crews Kaaper to the head of Ty’s cult. Both segments were also extensively represented even when compared to vizier’s entourages (see Chapter 5).

The extended household of Ty was complex, containing many different professional segments. Apart from priestly, scribal, household managerial and organisation of labour it

⁴⁰⁶ The ratio between personified and anonymous individuals among the group of 14 sealers was 8 to 6.

included also individuals engaged in the private sphere of the tomb owner – amusement and body care, and craftsmen. However, these segments remained largely anonymous and the ordinary posts of the dependents prevailed. Importantly, there were attested officials who held titles connected to the central administration or the king, e.g. *zš šnwt* “scribe of the Treasury”, or *šḥd šmsw n(w) ḥnw* “inspector of the retainers of the Residence”. These officials seem to rarely occur in a larger amount in the private tombs of lower social strata than the viziers. Therefore, their presence refers to a high rank and importance of Ty, perhaps derived from his engagement in the sphere of king’s privacy and his involvement in central administration. A unique position of Ty is also testified by the enormous size of his household that comprised a high number of overseers of the house/estate, overseers of the linen, and dependents in charge of the food supply (32 individuals in total) which is well comparable to the household of the vizier Ptahshepses. Specialists were the only segment missing in Ty’s iconography.

Ty’s entourage features the most numerous size of all selected tombs, surpassing even the large entourages of significant viziers Ptahshepses or Mereruka. However, the high number of professional tags without a name point to a considerable depersonalisation. Especially the absence of named dependents in the chapel is quite startling and difficult to explain. It provides a picture of an “ideal” social network depicted on the walls with all important professions needed for the secure afterlife existence, but without any personal dimension. It also shows that the size of a particular entourage need not be the most relevant factor. The diversity in titles and the share of named individuals in the bulk of labelled people are equally important. While the variety of titles of Ty’s dependents is extraordinarily high, ranging from different scribal titles to various titles of craftsmen or officials responsible for running of Ty’s household, the number of dependents distinguished by a personal name is not as exceptional as it appeared to be prior to the analysis of Ty’s iconography being accomplished. It showed that the close circle of the most trusted subjects of Ty was more limited; furthermore, a large part of them was not included in the original layout of tomb reliefs.

Ty	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>z3b šḥd zšw</i> “juridical inspector of the scribes”	1
	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	17
	<i>zš pr-md3t ntr</i> “scribe of the house of documents/archives/temple library/scriptorium of the god”	2
	<i>šḥd ḥtmt(yw)</i> “inspector of the seal-bearers”	4

	<i>htm(w)/htmty</i> "seal-bearer"	9
	<i>htm(w) imy 3bd</i> "sealer (who is) in (his) monthly service"	1
	<i>zš pr-[hd?]</i> "scribe of the Treasury"	1
	<i>zš ʕ(w) n(w) nswt n hft hr</i> "scribe of the royal records in the presence"	2
	<i>zš n hrt-ʕ(nt) nswt</i> "scribe of the writing material/document-case of the king"	1
	<i>zš 3pdw</i> "scribe of aviary"	4
	<i>zš ʕprw</i> "scribe of the crew"	2
	<i>shd zš(w) ʕprw ʕ(w) n(w) nswt</i> "inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the crews"	1
	<i>iry md3(w)t n z3b</i> "juridical book-keeper"	4
	<i>iry md3(w)t</i> "keeper of the documents"	4
	<i>zš ʕ(w) n(w) nswt</i> "scribe of the royal records"	1
	<i>zš md3(w)t</i> "document scribe"	2
	<i>zš pr-šnʕ</i> "scribe of the storehouse/labour establishment/department of stores"	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house/estate, the Steward"	10
	<i>smsw pr</i> "elder of the house/domain"	1
	<i>hk3</i> "chief"	1
	<i>imy-r3 ššr</i> "overseer of the linen"	3
	<i>imy-r3 pr-dt</i> "overseer of <i>pr-dt</i> "	1
Organisation of labour	<i>Imy-r3 izwt</i> "overseer of the gang of the workmen"	2
	<i>hrp iz(t) n pr-dt</i> "director of the crew of the funerary estate"	6
	<i>hrp izwt</i> "director of the gang of the workmen"	2
Military and police	<i>z3 pr</i> "policeman, watchman, estate attendant"	1
Craftsmen	<i>kšty</i> "sculptor"	4
	<i>mdh</i> "carpenter"	2
	<i>mdh n(w) pr-dt</i> "shipwright of the <i>pr-dt</i> "	1
	<i>hmwty</i> "craftsman/stoneworker"	4
	<i>fnh</i> "joiner"	1
	<i>gb-tbw</i> "leather-worker"	1
	<i>hmwty</i> "metal-worker"	9
	<i>htmty</i> "seal-cutter"	1
	<i>zšp</i> "polisher"	1
	<i>zšp n pr-dt</i> "polisher of the <i>pr-dt</i> "	1
Sphere of the body care	<i>ir(w)-ʕnt</i> "manicurist"	2
	<i>hʕk(w)</i> "barber"	2
Amusement	<i>hs(w)</i> "singer"	2
	<i>hs(w) n pr-dt</i> "singer of the funerary estate"	5
	<i>zb</i> "flutist"	1

	<i>hnrt</i> “member of a troop of musicians”	1
Food supply	<i>ššm(ty)</i> “butcher”	26
	<i>ššm(ty) n pr-dt</i> “butcher of the funerary estate”	1
	<i>it̄h(w)</i> “brewer”	2
	<i>nht hrw</i> “strong-of-voice, inspector of harvest of grain and fruit, tally-man, crier”	5
	<i>imy-r3 ʿb nb</i> “overseer of all cattle”	1
	<i>imy-r3 wh̄ʿ</i> “overseer of fowlers and fishermen”	1
	<i>imy-r3 wh̄ʿ (n) pr-dt</i> “overseer of fowlers of the funerary estate”	2
	<i>šd-3pdw</i> “fattener of fowl”	2
	<i>imy-r3 šd-3pdw</i> “overseer of fattener of fowl”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn̄ʿ</i> “overseer of the storehouse/labour establishment/department of stores”	2
Priestly services	<i>imy-r3 hm(w)-k3</i> “overseer of funerary-priests”	1
	<i>šhd hm(w)-k3</i> “inspector of funerary-priests”	22
	<i>imy-ht hm(w)-k3</i> “under-supervisor of funerary-priests”	1
	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	99
	<i>hm(w)-k3 imy-3bd</i> “k3-servants in monthly service”	2
	<i>hm-ntr ...</i> “ <i>hm-ntr</i> -priest of ...”	1
<i>wʿb ...</i> “wab-priest of ...”	1	
Titles connected with central institution /court/the King	<i>šhd šmsw n(w) hnw</i> “inspector of the retainers of the Residence”	1
	<i>šmsw</i> “retainer”	2
	<i>stp z3</i> “protector, court councillor”	2
	<i>stp z3 imy-3bd</i> “protector, court councillor in monthly services”	1
	<i>... pr-ḥd</i> “... of the Treasury”	1

Tab. 32 The extended household of Ty

6.2.5 Wepemnefret Wep

The tomb of Wepemnefret Wep, its architecture and wall decoration

Wepemnefret belonged to higher ranked officials dated to mid Fifth Dynasty or slightly later being a roughly contemporary to the vizier Ptahshepses.⁴⁰⁷ His tomb G 8882 with the overall dimensions of 430 sq.m. was built at Central Field in Giza (Hassan 1936: 179–201, figs. 211–

⁴⁰⁷ Some scholars date Wepemnefret Wep to the reign of Djedkare (Kanawati 1977: 19), from the middle to later part of the Fifth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 281–282(5)) or to the latter part of the Fourth Dynasty (Hassan 1936: 200).

222, pls. 64–76; Kanawati 1977: 21, 89–90; Potrer and Moss 1974: 281–282, plan 23, E-9, 34). It consists of two chapels, the more modest one measuring 5.10 × 2.28m belonged to the tomb owner himself, the other one cased with blocks of white limestone was assigned to his son Ibi (Hassan 1936: 180, 187–189, figs. 214–216, pl. LXX, respectively 189–190, fig. 217 and pls. LXXII and LXXIII, 1). The only inscribed parts of the tomb comprised the chapel entrance, both false doors and the eastern wall of the chapel (Hassan 1936: fig. 219 and pls. LXXIV and LXXV). The latter accommodated scenes of various workshop activities as *e.g.*, metal-workers beating metal, sculptors making statues, carpenter making oar, two men polishing sarcophagus or door. Apart from crafts-related scenes, we can find also every-day activities, for instance baking and brewing or women grinding corn. However, the main focus of the eastern wall of the chapel is a record of Wepemnefret’s will to allot a separate part of his tomb to his eldest son Ibi (Hassan 1936: 190, 192, pl. LXXVI). Fifteen seated individuals facing the tomb owner are considered to be witnesses as indicates the text above their figures in this well-known scene: ‘Made in the presence of many witnesses and written in his own presence.’

Wepemnefret’s rank, his close family and extended household

Wepemnefret was ranked *smr wꜣty* “sole companion” with the majority of titles connected to the court or the king holding titles *ḥrp ꜣḥ (n mrwt)*, *ḥry wꜣbw m ḥwt ꜣnh*, *ḥry-tp Nḥb* or *ḥry sꜣt3 n pr-dwꜣt*, together with priestly functions *ḥm nꜣr Ḥr Inpw ḥnty šmswt*, *Ḥr sbꜣw ḥnty pt.*⁴⁰⁸ His high social position was presumably also derived from his marriage to king’s daughter Meresankh.⁴⁰⁹

Nothing is known about Wepemnefret’s family background, the tomb iconography reveals only a close family consisting of his wife and the eldest son Ibi, Khure. However, it is possible that Wepemnefret had also a brother/s and more children as the text on the eastern wall explicitly states that: “No brother has claim to it (the chapel and burial chamber), no wife, no children have [the right] to it except my eldest son, the ritualist Ibi, to whom I have given [them].” (Hassan 1936: 180). The wall decoration captures in total 53 figures of non-kin dependents, 20 of them are distinguished by a name and/or a title. (see Tab. 33). It is especially the eastern wall of the chapel that is crucial for the reconstruction of Wepemnefret’s extended household (Hassan 1936: fig. 219)(see Fig. 66). There are four registers with seated individuals with another four registers depicting workshop activities below them. The seated individuals

⁴⁰⁸ For the titles of Wepemnefret, see S. Hassan 1936: 179.

⁴⁰⁹ For the legitimacy of dignitaries through royal marriages, see V. Dulíková 2016: 19–56.

can be divided into several thematical circles: educated individuals – specialists and household managers; priests and those who were to some extent involved in building and decorating of the tomb. The first group comprises of a physician and eye specialist (*zwnw*, *irty zwnw*), an “overseer of the house/the Steward” (*imy-r3 pr*) and a “sealer” (*htmw*). The second group consists of an inspector of *k3*-priest, an ordinary priest and (*wty Inpw* “embalmer of Anubis”). The last group is formed by craftsmen: one “sculptor” (*ksty*), “craftsmen/metal workers” (*hmwty*), “stonemason/quarryman” (*hrty-ntr*), “director of builders” (*hrp kdw*), and an individual who he was responsible for the construction of the tomb, i.e. “tomb maker” (*ir is*). The only remaining person is a “(noble) youth?” (*idw*). Four lower registers on the same wall record bread and beer preparation and predominantly various workshop activities where several craftsmen are also tagged with their professional labels, i.e., three “carpenters” (two *fnh*, one *mdh*), two “craftsman/metal workers” (*hmwty*) and also two “polishers of metal (copper)” (*zšp bi3*); three other persons are identified only by their names (Hassan 1936: 192–199).

The first fifteen enumerated individuals are considered to be witnesses of Wepemnefret’s will of which intention was to include in his own tomb a separate part for his eldest son. One might argue that these persons did not necessarily have to be members of Wepemnefret’s extended household. On the other hand, witnesses often come from a group of people in close association to the person who is composing his testament. Taking a closer look at the composition of enumerated persons, the professions present have something in common with the tomb itself, either with its construction or with the funerary services, which seems natural in this context. Quite surprising might be the absence of any scribe, merely a sealer is present, with an inclusion of two physicians among the witnesses. We might presume that the tomb owner or his son could have suffered from serious or repeated illnesses, which might have been the reason for a close relation between them and the tomb owner. Regrettably, Hassan does not provide any information about the skeletal remains of both deceased (Hassan 1936: 192–199), therefore no such information can be supported by any anthropological diagnosis.

To sum up, the extended household of Wepemnefret differs from that of other higher officials due to a strictly focused purpose of its occurrence – to witness the last will of the master. We have the unique opportunity to see what type of professions were included from his social network. It is specifically people who were involved in and responsible for the tomb construction (e.g. *ir iz* “tomb maker”), dependents who headed the household (*imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”) as well as those who played an important role beyond the funerary realm of the tomb decoration (e.g. *zwnw* “physician”). The emphasis on

crafts-related professions is repeated in the registers below the seated witnesses, where the workshop activities are extensively displayed. The scene repertoire of the tomb is thus limited to craftsmen at work and some domestic activities, that again attests a rather biased focus captured in tomb reliefs.

Wepemnefret Wep	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>sd3wty</i> “sealer”	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”	1
Organisation of labour	<i>ir iz</i> “tomb maker”	1
Craftsmen	<i>ksty</i> “sculptor”	1
	<i>zš kdw(t)</i> “outline draughtsman”	1
	<i>hrty-nṯr</i> “stonemason/quarryman”	1
	<i>hrp kdw</i> “director of builders”	1
	<i>hmwty</i> “craftsman/metal workers”	2
	<i>fnḥ</i> “carpenter”	2
	<i>mdḥ</i> “carpenter”	1
Priestly services	<i>zšp bi3</i> “polisher of metal (copper)”	2
	<i>shḏ hm-k3</i> “inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants”	1
	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -servant”	1
Specialists	<i>wty</i> “embalmer”	1
	<i>zwnw</i> “physician”	1
	<i>irty zwnw</i> “eye specialist”	1
Unclassified	<i>idw</i> “young man”	1
Only named		3

Tab. 33 The extended household of Wepemnefret Wep

6.2.6 Seshemnefer III

The tomb of Seshemnefer, its architecture and wall decoration

Seshemnefer III built his tomb G 5170 in the Western Cemetery at Giza (Bruner-Traut 1995; Bruner-Traut 1977; Junker 1938: 9–10, 33, 192–215, figs. 1, 4–5, 8b, 36–39, pls. 1–4, 12 [a–c]; Porter and Moss 1974: 153–154). It is predominantly dated to the reign of king Djedkare (see e.g. Porter and Moss 1974: 153–154).⁴¹⁰ The stone-built mastaba is composed of four rooms: a vestibule, pillared hall, chapel and a large serdab (Junker 1938: 193–199, pl. 36). It belongs to tomb with a well-preserved wall decoration which concerns the fully decorated

⁴¹⁰ For the most recent study on the chronology of the tombs of the Seshemnefer-family at Giza with a summary of different dates proposed by scholars for the tomb of Seshemnefer III, see Altenmüller 2008: 144–161.

chapel. The repertoire of scenes includes the tomb owner at the offering table, a scene with presenting a lotus flower, animal slaughter scene and the scene of presenting *ndt-hr*-offerings to the tomb owner including motives of presenting wild animals, cattle and fowl with the procession of offering bearers and funerary domains (Junker 1938: pls. 1–4).⁴¹¹ It is evident that not only the architecture of his father's tomb but also the scenes in it served as a model for his own tomb and wall decoration (Gamer-Wallert 1998: 51). For instance, the scene on the south wall in both tombs records the motive of the tomb owner receiving the lotus flower from his son.

Seshemnefer III's rank, his close family and extended household

The clan of Seshemnefers comprises of four generation of the same family, Seshemnefer III representing the third generation.⁴¹² His parents were the vizier Seshemnefer II. with his wife Henutsen (G 5080). Seshemnefer II held the supreme post in the administrative department (*imy-r3 zš ʿ(w) (nw) nswt*)(Altenmüller 2008: 150, fig. 4; Junker 1938: 204–206). Moreover, he was overseer of the two houses of weapons (*imy-r3 prwy ʿh3w*) similar to his father and held titles referring to the security and loyalty, i.e. privy to the secret of all decrees of the king (*hry sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbtnt nswt*) and the one who belongs to the foremost seat (*ny nst hntt*). Other titles, including that of the vizier, which are recorded on the south wall of his tomb chapel, belongs to his father Seshemnefer II as convincingly proved G. Pieke in her study on the scene of presenting the lotus flower (Pieke 2006: 272–274). She argues that the identity of the major figure is not the tomb owner but his father, as the lotus flower is offered by the son (the tomb owner) towards his father – the large-sized figure.

The close family of Seshemnefer III is depicted on the west wall of his tomb chapel (Junker 1938: pl.1). It consists of his wife Hetepheres, his eldest son Seshemnefer IV, perhaps two other sons both named Seshemnefer, his brother Rawer II, and nephew Rawer, in total six individuals. The decoration of the chapel features a high number of identified dependents, either related or non-kin, which is clearly visible at first sight. It is attested by the high ratio of identified dependents to anonymous ones; the non-kin dependents are represented by 40 figures, 21 of them are identified either by a title and/or by a name (see Tab. 34).

⁴¹¹ For the scene of presenting the *ndt-hr* offerings, see the article by Altenmüller (2006: 25–35).

⁴¹² For the family of Seshemnefers', see a recent article by H. Altenmüller 2008: 144–161. For his father Seshemnefer II, see Chapter 5 (Seshemnefer II).

The most significant role in Seshemnefer III's household played "overseer of the house" Inpuweser who stood at the same time at the head of the funerary priests as the overseer of *k3*-priests (Junker 1938: 208). As a man of certain importance, he appears for two times in the tomb, firstly, as a leading scribe in the first upper register on the east wall, as well as in the first lower register heading the procession of offering bearers (Junker 1938: pl. 3)(see Fig. 67). The high number of 32 funerary domains depicted on the north wall of the chapel provides us with a picture of Seshemnefer's resources that Inpuweser managed. The majority includes a name of a king, either Snofru, Chufu, Chepren, Userkaf, Sahure or Neferirkare, eight of them held directly Seshemnefer's name. The educated part of the household was, apart from Inpunefer, formed by *zš* scribes Netjernefer who probably assisted Inpunefer in his duties within Seshemnefer's cult as *shd hm-k3* "inspector of *k3*-priests". He follows Inpunefer in the procession of six scribes in the first upper register. Four other inspectors of priests appear elsewhere in the tomb; three ordinary priests complete the hierarchy of funerary priests (Junker 1938: pl. 3). Two of the inspectors might have played more important role than the others since they are placed among the group of Seshemnefer's relatives on the west wall (Junker 1938: pl. 1). As regards the household managers and servants, there occur yet the only anonymous "overseer of the cattle stall" (*imy-r3 mdt*) and an ordinary "butcher" (*sšm*), the first presents wild animals, while the second brings offerings to the tomb owner (Junker 1938: pl. 2, 3)(Fig. 67). One "craftsman" (*hmwty*) and one "inspector of singers" (*shd hsw(w)*) are also present; both were involved in the funerary cult of Seshemnefer III. The first as an ordinary *k3*-priest, the latter one as an "inspector of *k3*-priests". It has to be mentioned that there is no depiction of workshop activities in the chapel, the only identified craftsman is a mere offering bearer; on the contrary, the depiction of the "inspector of singers" reflects his profession, he occurs among the "group of singers" (*hsw(w) in hnrt*) and dancers (*ib3*) (Junker 1938: pl. 3 respective 2).

To summarize the results, the extended household of Seshemnefer III was relatively large, with the total number of 21 dependents belonging to higher officials with more numerous entourages, as e.g. Tjenty or Wepemnefret. The roles in Seshemnefer's social realm are clearly divided. The crucial person of both the household and the funerary cult was the overseer of the house and overseer of the funerary priests Inpuweser. It is evident that important persons of Seshemnefer's household were appointed to the leading position of his cult as testified by the second man in his entourage – scribe Netjernefer. An "inspector of singers" and one "craftsman" were also involved in the funerary cult of their master. As the composition of the extended household is concerned, the main bulk of professions represents priests. The occurrence of other

professions is sporadic with the exception of musicians who are frequently identified, which indicates certain emphasis on this particular segment and perhaps a special favour expressed to the inspector of singers.

Seshemnefer III	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	1
Priestly services	<i>imy-r3 ḥm-k3</i> "overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants"	1
	<i>shḏ ḥm-k3</i> "inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants"	5
	<i>ḥm-k3</i> " <i>k3</i> -servant"	3
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house/estate, the Steward"	1
	<i>imy-r3 mḏt</i> "overseer of the cattle stall"	1
Household servants	<i>sšm</i> "butcher"	1
Craftsmen	<i>ḥmwty</i> "craftsman"	1
Amusement	<i>ḥsw(w)in ḥnrt</i> "singer of the group of musicians"	1
	<i>shḏ ḥsw(w)</i> "inspector of singers"	1
	<i>sk3? bnrt</i> "singer of the group of musicians"	2
	<i>ib3</i> "dancer"	1

Tab. 34 The extended household of Seshemnefer III

6.2.7 Summary

Extended households of the Fifth Dynasty higher officials represent, unlike the previous Fourth Dynasty, a real selection of tombs. The number of dependents is relatively high, ranging from ca 20 to 50 people whose titles mostly fall into three main professional groups. Similarly dated tombs from the early Fifth Dynasty show great diversity. These are three tombs of officials Meriib, Tjenty and Kaninisut, all very well preserved and therefore suitable for comparison. While the extended household of Meriib resembles an earlier period with its small number and composition mainly consisted of priests, the extended household of Tjenty is relatively numerous, reaching almost 30 dependents whose titles derived from all three main segments. The entourage of Kaninisut is exceptional in terms of the number of dependents and the diversity of their occupations. The pinnacle in the Fifth Dynasty is represented by the tomb of high dignitary Ty, whose dependents exceeds in their number even the high values of the viziers. Nevertheless, when it comes to the diversity of the monitored titles and the level of their status,

compared to the vizier's extended households, the retinue of Kaninisut lags somewhat behind. The second half of the Fifth Dynasty is then quite stable, again featuring a relatively numerous entourage with titles encompassing the standard segments of priests, scribes and household personnel occasionally supplemented by other dependents from the fields of labour, crafts, entertainment and specialists.

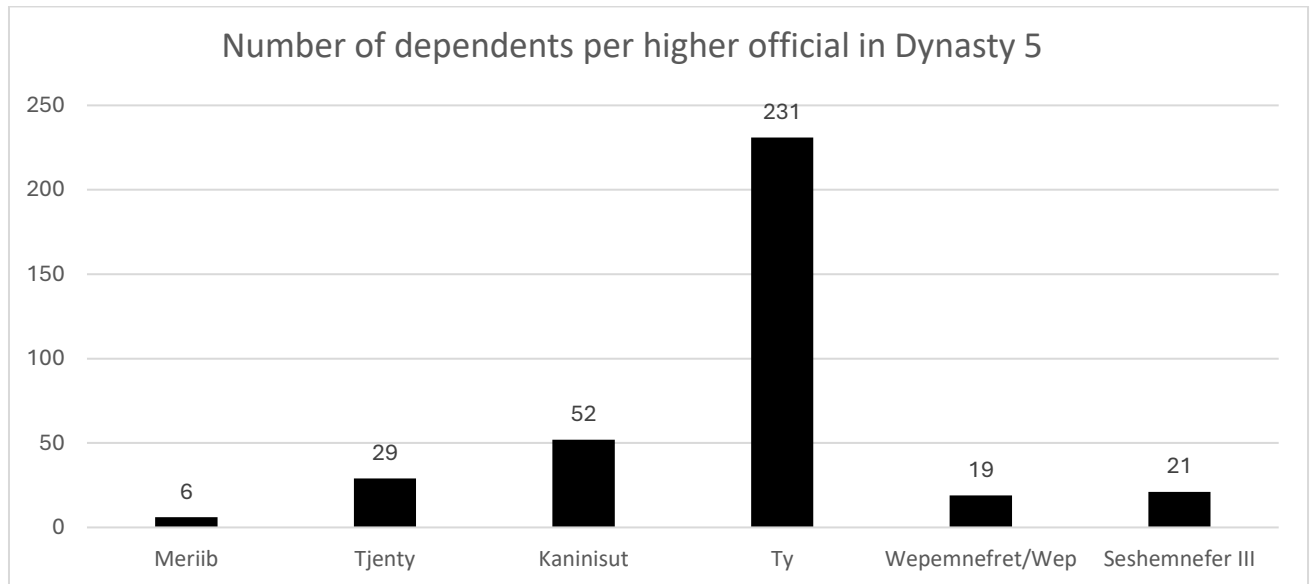


Chart 6. The number of dependents per higher official in the Fifth Dynasty

6.3 Households of the higher-ranked officials dated to the Sixth Dynasty

6.3.1 Nikauisesi

The tomb of Nikauisesi, its architecture and wall decoration

Nikauisesi is a high official known due to the recent discovery of his tomb in 1979, however only the subsequent proper excavation of both its superstructure and substructure carried out under the aegis of the joint expedition of Australian Centre of Egyptology and University of Suez Canal in Egypt resulted in a monograph (Kanawati 2000: 21). In the context of Czech Egyptology, of particular importance is the examination of skeletal remains of Nikauisesi which was undertaken among other scholars by E. Strouhal and L. Horáčková (Kanawati 2000: 22). The dating of the tomb is suggested by most scholar from the middle of Teti's reign to early Pepi I (Harpur 1987: 198, 252; Kanawati et al. 1996: 8–9; Strudwick 1981: 69–91). Most recently, N. Kanawati (2000: 17–23) in his publication dates Nikauisesi on the basis of an extensive discussion to the middle of Teti's reign which is also adopted by the present study.

The tomb of Nikauisesi that covers the area of 12.60 × 13.30 m was situated at Teti pyramid cemetery to the north of the mastaba of Kagemni in the east-west street within other elaborated mastabas of Teti's viziers (Kanawati 2000: 25). The stone-built mastaba consists of several rooms, with the main offering room (room III), a serdab (room V) and open courtyard (room VII); rooms I to IV (the latter served probably as a magazine), together with room VI were all decorated (Kanawati 2000: 25, pl. 39). The repertoire of scenes comprises usually occurring fishing and fowling scene, extensively represented scenes of animal slaughter, bringing offerings from Nikauisesi's estates, a scene of bringing the deceased in a palanquin, but also a rather unique scene depicting particular activities in a storehouse belonging to Nikauisesi's funerary estate (Kanawati 2000: pls. 47, 48, 50, 55, 57, 61). Some parts of the tomb reliefs were superbly decorated (in sunk relief, such as, e.g., the façade entrance); the inner part of the tomb is decorated in raised relief with a different quality of workmanship. While the entrance thickness is manufactured elaborately, the reliefs in room I, II and also the offering chapel are, as Kanawati finds, "moderate", and in room IV even of "poor" quality with better workmanship in general in lower wall registers (Kanawati 2000: 33).

Nikauisesi's rank, his close family and extended household

Nikauisesi belonged to higher state officials, most importantly since holding the supreme office in the labour department (*imy-r3 k3t nb(t) nt nswt* "overseer of all the works of the king" as well as the title *imy-r3 šmꜥw* "overseer of Upper Egypt" indicating his governance over this part of Egypt. Apart from these highest administrative titles he held other important functional titles that related to the department of the treasury, i.e. the title *imy-r3 wꜥbty* "overseer of two workshops" and *imy-r3 prwy-nbw* "overseer of the two houses of gold" and to the sphere of king's privacy, namely *iry nfr ḥ3t* "keeper of the head ornaments".⁴¹³ His elevated rank is attested by a full string of the highest rank titles: *iry pꜥt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *smr wꜥty*, *sd3wty-bity*, *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*. As N. Kanawati (2000: 11, 20) pointed out, this individual is presumably identical with a person of the same name and titles represented in the relief decoration of Unis's causeway (Strudwick 1985: 105) as well as in the royal decree of king Teti as a beneficiary of the profits from the temple of Khontamenti in Abydos (Goedicke, 1967: 39, fig. 3; Kanawati 2000: 11–12;

⁴¹³ For the full list of Nikauisesi's titles, see N. Kanawati 2000: 11–12.

Sethe 1933: 208, 5).⁴¹⁴ If this evidence is relevant, then Nikauisesi must have belonged to important court officials of Unas and Teti.

The family background of Nikauisesi is unknown to us. Although H. Goedicke proposed a kindred relation between Nikauisesi and the vizier Rashepses on the basis of certain similarity in their titles (Goedicke 1967: 27, fig. 3), this was disproved already by N. Strudwick (1981: 71 n. 8). The core family of Nikauisesi depicted in the iconography was very modest. No wife is depicted in the whole tomb iconography, N. Kanawati in connection with Nikauisesi's wife suggested that she might die before the tomb construction (Kanawati 2000: 12). The only relatives present are Nikauisesi's sons Nikauisesi and Meriisesi (Kanawati 2000: 12–14).⁴¹⁵

The extended household of Nikauisesi was in contrast to his close family significantly large, comprising almost 50 individuals, precisely 46 dependents tagged with 19 different professions. In contrast to the entourage of Ti, only seven dependents were unnamed, the large bulk of almost 40 individuals being personified by their names. Regarding the composition of Nikauisesi's entourage, the majority of dependents was employed in priestly professions (in total 15 individuals), almost without an exception represented by *k3*-priests. Some of them were added later, namely three priests carved on the right edge of the scene where the tomb owner views activities in the storehouse of his funerary estate (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48). It concerns also four figures of *k3*-priests that occur on the east thickness of the door between rooms I–IV that were manufactured only in paint. They were probably recorded at least in the later stage of decoration (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48)(see Fig. 68). The funerary priests of Nikauisesi were not only tagged in the titles of his dependents, but they were also addressed in the text inscribed on the east side of the façade entrance. It was claimed in the inscription that Nikauisesi supported funerary priests of his estate as their benefactor (Kanawati 2000: 34, pls. 4–5, 43–44).

Concerning the phyle organisation of the cult, A.M. Roth did not include Nikauisesi within the tomb owners who adopted this system of organisation, however her work was published prior to Kanawati's monograph (Roth 1993). There is no reference to phyle organisation in the titles of priests in the tomb of Nikauisesi, but it is reflected in the title of a

⁴¹⁴ K. Sethe reconstructed the titles as (*iry p^ct h3ty-^c*) (Sethe 1933: 208, 5), while H. Goedicke differently as (*h3ty-^c smr w^cty*) (Goedicke 1967: 39, fig. 3); the titles referred to in Unas causeway are *smr w^cty*, *wty Inpw* (Strudwick 1981: 70)

⁴¹⁵ N. Kanawati considers different names of Nikauisesi *smsu*, *Nikauisesi km smsw* and *Nikauisesi km smsw* as variants of the identical name of Nikauisesi's eldest son named Nikauisesi (Kanawati 2000: 12–14).

“scribe of the phyle” *zš n z3* that was held by two individuals Nimaatsed and Sedi.⁴¹⁶ However, the latter appears as a scribe recording the daily requirements in the storehouse, thus he may have been involved in the administration of this institution not the funerary cult of Nikauisesi. The first scribe accompanies the tomb owner in the fowling scene (Kanawati 2000: 37, 40, pls. 48, 50, 51)(see Fig. 69). Nimaatsed held also the title of the ordinary *k3*-priest. If he personally or other individual in the tomb occupied the position of the leading priest is not entirely clear. The cult does not seem to be hierarchically structured; only ordinary priests were recorded. Neither are the priests clustered in a group of five or ten, which A.M. Roth assumes to be characteristic for a phyle organisation (Roth 1993: 91). Therefore, it cannot be determined whether the cult of Nikauisesi was truly organised in phyles. However, the available evidence does not provide any convincing arguments pro rather against it.

The cult of Nikauisesi was supported by several funerary domains, the only one with an estate name referring to king Teti (Kanawati 2000: 43, 44, pls. 52, 54). Interestingly, there is depicted within the funerary domains a personification of a lake belonging to a *hwt-k3* chapel. It indicates that Teti provided Nikauisesi’s cult not only with revenues from his estate/s but also directly from his *k3*-chapel.

The tomb of Nikauisesi belongs to rare examples of tombs of higher officials where appear *hnty(w)-š* officials. Both representatives of this profession occur in room I (Kanawati 2000: 36, 40, pls. 47, 50). The first individual with *hnty(w)-š* tag was captured in the fowling scene as a small figure facing the tomb owner, the other was depicted in a scene with boatmen bringing gifts, this time attached with a title connected to the court *hnty(w)-š pr-š3*. As the latter person is named Nikauisesi, N. Kanawati assumed him to be the son of the tomb owner or some of his relatives (Kanawati 2000: 15, pl. 47)(Fig. 70). His potential involvement among Nikauisesi’s dependents is therefore rather questionable. As this title tends to cumulate among the members of a particular family, it would be interesting to look at Nikauisesi’s family if this is also the case. Unfortunately, neither Nikauisesi nor any of his sons (identified by a kindred tag) held a title associated with *hntyw-š* post.

Returning to the composition of Nikauisesi’s entourage, another large group appearing in the tomb iconography were scribes. Altogether 15 individuals were mainly engaged in juridical branch (*z3b šhd zšw, z3b zš*) and associated with the archive (*sd3wty md3(w)t, iry*

⁴¹⁶ N. Kanawati suggested the possibility that the individuals Sedi and Nimaatsed, who both bear the title *zš n z3* “scribe of the phyle” and *iry md3t*, “keeper of documents” are the same person, the first name being an abbreviated version of the latter (Kanawati 2000: 15–16).

md3(w)t; see Tab. 35). Especially two scribes who appear more than once in the tomb reliefs are of particular importance. First, it is the “juridical inspector of scribes” *shd zšw n z3b Mesi* - an important dependent who accompanies his master in a fowling scene (Kanawati 2000: 15, 39–41, pls. 18–20, 50)(Fig. 69). The same individual might have been inscribed additionally, only in paint, together with Nikauisesi’s son, who was on the contrary carved in incised relief of a poor quality, in a prominent place between the legs of the tomb owner (Kanawati 2000: 41).⁴¹⁷ N. Kanawati associates both these individuals with the inscription recorded under their figures which refers to a possible date of Nikauisesi’s burial, further deducing that these individuals were in charge of his burial (Kanawati 2000: 41). This suggestion would clarify Mesi’s open access to the tomb and his prominent position in the iconography of the respective scenes. Certain Niankhkhnum endowed with the same scribal title as Mesi belonged also to the important members of Nikauisesi’s suite. He appears twice in tomb reliefs. He immediately follows Mesi in the fowling scene while, in the other occurrence he figures, unfortunately without a title preserved, in the scene of the tomb owner carried in a palanquin (Kanawati 2000: 15, 39–41, pls. 18–20, 50, respectively 15, 44, pls. 24–25, 55).

In contrast to the numerous scribal segment the group of household managers is quite limited, comprising only three persons: two *imy-r3 ššr* “overseers of linen” Anti and Neferwedene(t)?⁴¹⁸ and one *hk3-hwt* “estate administrator”, with the head of the household management – the steward – missing (Kanawati 2000: 15, 16, pls. 47, 50, 67)(Fig. 69). Both overseers of linen were evidently dependents of particular significance since they appear three times elsewhere in tomb iconography.⁴¹⁹ An estate administrator Ibi figures on a boat delivering offerings from Nikauisesi’s estates (Kanawati 2000: pl. 47)(Fig. 70) which resembles in its content the scene of cargo ships in the tomb of Ptahshepses (see Chapter 5).

Compared to the scarce representation of household managers, professions closely connected to food processing are largely represented in reliefs (in total 12 individuals). The scene depicting the tomb owner viewing activities in a “storehouse of the funerary estate” *pr-šnꜥ n pr dt* is especially illustrative. Four registers record bread baking and beer making together with silos where grain was stored (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48)(see Fig. 68). Scribes in the latter scene with six silos - document scribes and a scribe of the phyle, were “inspecting daily

⁴¹⁷ Mesi is this time ranked *smr wꜥty*, probably reflecting his increasing position at a later stage of his life when he cooperated on the burial of his master (Kanawati 2000: 15).

⁴¹⁸ The reading of the last sign is not obvious since it is only partially preserved (Kanawati 2000: 16).

⁴¹⁹ Both overseers of the linen occur on the east thickness of the doorway between room I and V, Anty then in a fowling scene and in a boat scene (Kanawati 2000: 15, pl. 67b, respective pls. 47, 50).

requirements ”of bread and beer with the aid of a “crier of the granary” *nḥt ḥrw šnwt* who announces their amounts. Two other individuals who are processing both ingredients are involved in the same lowermost register, the first from the left tagged with the title *imy-r3 pr-šnḥ n ḥt(3)* “the overseer of the storehouse of *ḥt3*-bread”, the second *imy-r3 pr-šnḥ n ḥnkt* “the overseer of the storehouse of beer” (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48)(see Fig. 68). Probably another crier is assisting two scribes in the second lower register where figures another man involved in the management of the storehouse – a “director of grain measures” *ḥrp ḥ3w*. One would assign the variety of recorded titles to the increased specialisation of professions, however some titles referring to certain specialisation within the institution of *pr-šnḥ* were attested already in the early Fourth Dynasty (Wilkinson 1999). An intriguing official Pehernefer who held the highest position in several departments of central administration was, apart from it, involved in the manufacture of secondary products, specifically the production of bread and beer as the overseer of the storehouse of the brewers of Lower and Upper Egypt (*imy-r3 pr-šnḥ ḥtyw ḥnt*, *imy-r3 pr-šnḥ ḥtyw t3-mḥw*) as well as the director of the bakers of the *rth* and *fsw* bread (*ḥrp fsww*, *ḥrp rthw*) or the director of the women who bake *bi3* cakes (*ḥrp bnrtw*) (Wilkinson 1999: 111).⁴²⁰ Therefore, a more plausible explanation is a particular interest of Nikauisesi to describe the processes in the storehouse in detail, which was normally not the aim of other tomb owners. As attested by administrative documents, i.e. Gebelein or Abusir papyri, products stored by *pr-šnḥw* included not only various cereals but also bread and fruits, cloth, wood, incense or natron.⁴²¹ When we look at Nikauisesi’s titles, several of them deal with manufacture of particular products, i.e. title *imy-r3 wḥbty* “overseer of two workshops” and *imy-r3 prwy-nbw* “overseer of the two houses of gold” (Kanawati 2000: 11–12). It is thus probable that he as a holder of these titles might have somehow cooperated on the distribution and delivery of respective products to the storehouse. The appearance of the scene depicting activities in the storehouse of the funerary estate might as well be ascribed to a process that is observed towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty that more evidence is attested for *pr-šnḥ* as a private institution to supply local temples as well as private funerary cults (Andrassy 1993: 24, 27–28; Flores 2015: 157–163).

Other dependents engaged in the food supply of the household needs were an “overseer of fishermen and fowlers” *imy-r3 mḥw* and two “overseers of pastures” *imy-r3 mr* (Kanawati 2000: pls. 47, 51a, b)(Fig. 70). The first individual appears on a boat loaded with offerings. The

⁴²⁰ For Pehernefer see, N. Strudwick 1985: 85(46); B. Porter and R. Moss 1974: 502; Junker 1939: 68.

⁴²¹ For the full references on administrative documents, see M. Bardoňová 2019: 332–335.

overseers of pastures are portrayed on the north thickness of the doorway between rooms I and II as well as on its mirror image on the south thickness; both men heading herdsmen with bulls were tagged with carelessly scratched names (Kanawati 2000: pl. 51a, b). Almost thirty butchers were depicted in several extensive scenes of animal slaughter (Kanawati 2000: 48–50, pls. 57, 61), four of them tagged with title *sšm*, however none of them was personified by a name.

To make the list of identified dependents complete one has to mention three more individuals employed in the sphere of organisation of labour. They were recorded either in the scene of a palanquin procession, namely *imy-r3 izwt* “overseer of a gang of workmen”, *hrp izwt* “director of a gang of workmen” (Kanawati 2000: 16, 44, pl. 55) or in the scene with the procession of offering bearers, where the title *imy-r3 izwt* is attached to a dwarf who accompanies the tomb owner (Kanawati 2000: 14, 43, pl. 54). In two latter cases the individuals were labelled also by personal names, in the first case the name has not been preserved, but might have been originally recorded (Kanawati 2000: pl. 55).

Some personal names were apparently added after completing the relief decoration as indicated by roughly scratched names of an offering bearer on the west wall of room III or three individuals on the doorway thickness between rooms I and II (Kanawati 2000: 44, pls. 23, 54, respectively pls. 21, 51a, b). One of the names, Meretitef, is recorded in front of the leading persons in two adjoining registers. While the added name in the first upper register follows the direction of the line of text above the figures, the tag in the other case is oriented in the opposite direction, not respecting the general rules of tomb iconography, in which the minor figures are usually oriented towards the door entrance. The name of the same individual was supplemented for another time to an offering bearer on the east wall in room II (Kanawati 2000: 42, pls. 22, 52) which clearly demonstrates that this man had a free access to the tomb. The nature of his relation to the tomb owner is unknown to us. If his record to the men originally tagged with the title “overseer of the pastures” *imy-r3 mr* was intentional is not obvious. We can assume that he has more likely belonged to Nikausesi’s funerary priests, due to his access to the tomb after the funeral.

Not only names, but also the whole figures were added later. This concerns for instance an attendant of the tomb owner with a monkey on his head who accompanied his master in the

scene depicting activities in the storehouse (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48).⁴²² Three other figures of funerary priests under this man were recorded only in paint (Kanawati 2000: pls. 12–14, 48)(Fig. 68). When studying the reliefs in detail, it is evident that some parts of the tomb decoration were not completed. For instance, the inscriptions on the doorway between rooms I and V were manufactured only in paint (Kanawati 2000: 53, pls. 34, 67). N. Kanawati considers this part of decoration intentionally left in an unfinished state in connection with the vicinity to the burial place in order to “delay the day of the death” (Kanawati 2000: 53).⁴²³ As far as this doorway decoration is concerned, several funerary priests are painted there, together with an “overseer of linen” Neferwedenet and another overseer whose title is incompletely preserved (Kanawati 2000: pl. 34, 67).

Regarding the multiple occurrences of particular individuals, the most important were already listed above. They are both named “inspectors of scribes”, two “overseers of linen” and then Meritef – a possible “overseer of pastures” or “funerary priest” (Kanawati 2000: 14–16, pls. 50, 51 a, b, 55).

As Nikauisesi was the individual who highly likely precedes the later vizier Inumin in the office of the overseer of the Upper Egypt, the comparison of the two individual households is of particular importance. While Nikauisesi captured in his tomb in total 46 dependents tagged with 19 different professions, Inumin presented a considerably lower number of twenty dependents with eleven different professions. The emphasis in Nikauisesi’s suite is put on three professional segments, almost equally represented by priests and scribes together with occupations related to household management. Although scribes and priests do occur in Inumin’s tomb, their number considerably differs; they are much more numerous in Nikauisesi’s case. As to the people ensuring the household with food, they are present in both tombs, but the particular represented professions do not correspond at all. While Inumin employed merely five directors of the dining hall, Nikauisesi’s servants were much more diverse and numerous (see Tab. 35). On the other hand, Nikauisesi’s tomb features no individual dependents tagged with rank title, which Inumin’s does. Some common features consist in the presence of *hntyw-š* officials and, on the other hand, in the absence of any identified dependent employed in the sphere of body care, any craftsman, specialist, or official working for central administration or

⁴²² The name of this individual Mehu together with his title “sealbearer” is attached (Kanawati 2000: pls. 12–14, 48).

⁴²³ A shaft leading to Nikauisesi’s burial chamber opens in chamber V.

the court. Unlike Inumin, Nikauisesi did incorporate people employed in the organisation of labour among other members of his suite.

Nikauisesi	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>z3b šḥd zšw</i> “juridical inspector of the scribes”	3
	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	1
	<i>z3b zš</i> “juridical scribe”	3
	<i>ḥtm(w)/ḥtmty</i> “seal-bearer”	2
	<i>zš (n) z3</i> “scribe of the phyle”	2
	<i>sd3wty md3(w)t</i> “seal bearer of the books”	1
	<i>iry md3(w)t</i> “keeper of the documents”	2
Household management	<i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i> “administrator of an estate”	1
	<i>imy-r3 ššr</i> “overseer of the linen”	2
	<i>imy-r3 mr</i> “overseer of pastures”	2
	<i>ḥrp ḥ3(w)</i> “director of the grain-measurers”	1
	<i>imy-r3 mḥw</i> “overseer of fishermen and fowlers”	2
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn^c n ḥnkṯ</i> “overseer of the storehouse of beer”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn^c n ḥt(3)</i> “overseer of the storehouse of ḥt3-bread”	1
<i>nḥt ḥrw šn^c</i> “crier of the granary”	4	
Household servants	<i>ššm(ty)</i> “butcher”	1
Organisation of labour	<i>imy-r3 izwt</i> “overseer of the gang of the workmen”	2
	<i>ḥrp izwt</i> “director of the gang of the workmen”	1
Priestly services	<i>ḥm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	13
	<i>ḥnty(w)-š</i> “ḥnty(w)-š official”	1
	<i>ḥnty(w)-š pr-^c3</i> “inspector of ḥnty(w)-š officials”	1

Tab. 35 The extended household of Nikauisesi

6.3.2 Shepsiptah

The tomb of Shepsiptah, its architecture and wall decoration

Shepsiptah’s tomb was situated at Teti pyramid cemetery between other tombs of important dignitaries, e.g. the tomb of Hezi or Nikauisesi.⁴²⁴ The size of his tomb with dimensions of

⁴²⁴ As A.M.Roth demonstrated in her article, the tombs of the overseers of the treasuries clustered around the pyramid of king Teti (Roth 1988: 204), as testified by both the tombs of Nikauisesi and Sepsiptah.

20.90m × 10.20m, or 8.90m is comparable to Medunefher.⁴²⁵ His prominent place in the necropolis as well as his marriage to a royal daughter Sesheshet (probably of king Teti) are apparent markers of his elevated social standing.⁴²⁶ Rather surprising in this context is the fact that his funerary monument was built of mud-brick, not in stone as the mastabas of significant courtiers like the vizier Mereruka or Nikauisesi. The tomb owner might have been buried in a hurry as indicated by the incompletely cut recess in the burial chamber, an unfinished sarcophagus or certain chapel scenes (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 19, 24, 25); however, the initial choice of material must have reflected a lower position of Nikauisesi at the beginning of construction works. It corresponds also with a relatively small number of Shepsipuptah's titles (in total 7) in comparison to other high officials of that time, *e.g.* Nikauisesi (see above).

The tomb of Shepsipuptah consists of four rooms: two small rooms, a long corridor and a chapel – nowadays the only decorated room in the monument (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 15).⁴²⁷ The offering chamber with the dimensions of 2.05m × 4.50m was originally fully decorated. Its three walls were coated with plaster and decorated in paint; the whole west wall contained a large false door made of limestone and painted red to imitate granite (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 17). The repertoire of scenes is restricted to three types containing the offering table scene, the procession of offering-bearers and an animal slaughter scene (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 20–24, pls. 37–42).

The opinion on the precise dating of this individual rather varies. Some scholars suggest the date towards the middle of the Sixth Dynasty or later (Baer 1960: 77 [168A]; Porter and Moss 1974: 518). In contrast to this later dating, N. Kanawati prefers to date Shepsipuptah from the middle to late Teti's reign, which is mainly based on the relative dating of the construction of his tomb with regard to the monuments in the neighbourhood and partly on the architectural features and decorative elements of the tomb (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 14–15). The present author follows the dating proposed by N. Kanawati.

Shepsipuptah's rank, his close family and extended household

⁴²⁵ The dimensions of the north and south wall of the mastaba do not entirely correspond, the north wall measures 8.90m, the south wall slightly more - 10.20m (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 15).

⁴²⁶ Shepsipuptah's wife Sesheshet held titles *z3t nswt nt ht.f mrt.f* king's "beloved daughter of his body"; N. Kanawati proposed her to be the daughter of king Teti (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 12, 14).

⁴²⁷ According to J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter the entrance facade was originally decorated as well; it bore the figures of the tomb owner and his wife; a similar depiction of the couple preserved on a piece of relief decoration they found on the north wall of room I (Quibell and Hayter 1927: 23; cf. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 16)

Shepsipuptah was a high ranked official on the basis of his post of the supreme official in the segment of the treasury administration *imy-r3 prwy-hd* “overseer of the two treasuries” and the rank of *h3ty-ꜥ, smr wꜥty*, a “count, a sole companion”.⁴²⁸ His close relation to the king is expressed by his title *iry nfr h3t* “keeper of the headdress”s and *imy-r3 šwy pr-ꜥ3* “overseer of two pools of the palace”.

The close family of Shepsipuptah was formed by his wife Seshseshet, the royal daughter of king Teti (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 11–12), probably not the mother of two sons of Shepsipuptah Iarti and Rawer, both designated *z3.f smsw mry.f* “his eldest son, his beloved” (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 12).⁴²⁹ Apart from the two eldest sons, there is yet another son with the epithet “beloved one” and partially preserved name [...]anefer.

Individuals not blood-related with Shepsipuptah comprise 17 dependents with five different professions present; four individuals had only a name tag without a particular recorded profession (see Tab. 36). The absolute majority of identified dependents is formed by *k3*-priests consisting of 11 individuals. Eight of them were ordinary priests, three belonged to a higher hierarchical level of *shd hm-k3* “inspectors of *k3*-priests”. Two priests of the latter group are worth mentioning since they hold more titles. Firstly, it is a man whose name is only partially preserved ([...t...]) who was at the same time an overseer of linen (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 14) The other individual, Wedja, held the title of *hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3* an “attendant of the palace”.⁴³⁰ Both immediately follow the tomb owner’s son in the row of offering bearers on the north wall of the chapel (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 23, pl. 40). The north wall is the place with the biggest concentration of *k3*-priests in the chapel. In the lowermost register there are the priests arranged in a hierarchical order: two superintendents followed by two ordinary priests (see Fig. 71). In the second lower register another representative of priestly professions, this time a lector priest, performs the offering ceremony. The second large group of priests appears in an animal slaughter scene on the east wall, where five *k3*-priests are to be identified (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 24, pl. 42)(see Fig. 72). The professional tags are likely to be secondary inscriptions in contrast to the dialogs written in colours in the upper parts of the

⁴²⁸ The title overseer of the two treasuries was recorded by Quibell and Hayter 1927: 23, but has not been preserved till today (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 11).

⁴²⁹ N. Kanawati suggests the possibility that Rawer, the son of Shepsipuptah, may be the same individual as the famous vizier under Pepi I (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 13).

⁴³⁰ Directly the same title held the son of the tomb owner (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 13).

register at the eye level. The names and titles are written rather carelessly in smaller letters, not oriented precisely horizontally as the original inscriptions, and dressed only in black/red ink.

Mainly priestly professions that are present in Shepsiptah's tomb are accompanied by scribal titles. This concerns two individuals Shepsi and Zezi; both were ordinary scribes. Shepsi was a funerary priest at the same time, the scribe Zezi occurred perhaps two times in the chapel, on the south wall for the second time (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 13, 21, 24, 37, 42)(see Fig. 72). Both names and titles occur in the scene of animal slaughter attached rather surprisingly to figures of butchers. This fact can be explained by a later origin of the labels when the painter used the free places in front of figures that were not furnished with an identifier (name or title). It is worth mentioning that, apart from these butchers, all preserved human figures on the north and south walls were identified and thus did not provide the possibility to add a later inscription to an educated person.

Taking into consideration other professions that regularly occur in tomb decoration, primarily household managers and servants, they are present in very limited numbers. From the managerial functions only the already mentioned overseer of linen appears; servants present are anonymous butchers who are not labelled by an appropriate inscription. Other professional groups, for instance people employed in the organisation of labour or crafts, these are missing here. The tomb lacks a workshop or a boat scene that would capture such type of professions. In a similar manner, missing daily-life scenes are indicative of a lack of any household servant in Shepsiptah's entourage. Neither did occur any officials engaged in the central administration. The two scribes present were attached only with an ordinary scribal title. Moreover, there is no reference to any central institution, nor to that of the treasury whose supreme representative the tomb owner was.

Thus, the available evidence showed that Shepsiptah's suite was in the first plan represented exclusively by funerary priests, in the later stage of decoration complemented also by other professions, *i.e.* by representatives of a household management, *hnty(w)-š* profession and scribes. When compared with the extended household of Nikauisesi, it is very limited both in terms of its number and diversity in titles. The reasons standing behind that are rather hard to reveal. It can be partly ascribed to an unfinished state of certain scenes and the vanishing of scenes that may have originally covered at least room I as indicated by the mention of Quibell and Hayter (1927: 23). On the other hand, the limited number of Shepsiptah's titles in the

whole and the fact that he did not construct a stone-built tomb, but merely a mastaba made of bricks, point to rather limited resources and/or a burial in a hurry.

Shepsipuptah	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	2
Household management	<i>imy-r3 ššr</i> “overseer of the linen”	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	8
	<i>shd hm-k3</i> “inspector of k3-servants”	3
	<i>hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3</i> “a <i>hntyw-š</i> official of the royal house”	1
	<i>hry hbt</i> “lector-priest”	1
Only named		4

Tab. 36 The extended household of Shepsipuptah

6.3.3 Niankhnefertem Temy

The tomb of Niankhnefertem, its architecture and wall decoration

The mastaba of Niankhnefertem was uncovered due to recent excavations at North Saqqara undertaken by the Polish Archaeological mission under the control of K. Myśliwiec in 1997 (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010). It is situated to the west of the surrounding wall of the Step pyramid and to the south of the neighbouring tomb of the vizier Merefnebef. The mud-brick mastaba measuring 10.60 × 8m consists of a chapel (6.53m by 2.83m, with a height of 1.90m) cut in the rock approached via a courtyard common for another two mastabas. The decorated parts of the tomb are formed of the band of inscriptions on the facade entrance and the chapel itself (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 132–200, figs. 49–61). The wall decoration was inspired by the neighbouring tomb of the vizier Merefnebef, it is decorated in both mainly sunken relief with the lesser figures in raised relief; the northern part also painted, while the rest of the wall reliefs unpainted (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 138). The repertoire of scenes is limited to a scene depicting the tomb owner sitting at the offering table, the procession of offering bearers, animal slaughter, a boat scene, and a scene with dancers and musicians (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 139–200, figs. 51–61).

Niankhnefertem’s rank, his close family and extended household

According to titles recorded in his tomb, Niankhnefertem was ranked *smr wꜥty* “sole companion” (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 127–129). Though not involved in the state

administration, he derived his position from a close association with the king and the court as indicate several important titles: “inspector of the king’s house” (*shd pr nswt*) as well as “inspector of the Great House” (*shd pr-ꜥ3*). He also held the highest title within the *hry-sšt3* group “one privy to the secrets of the House of the Morning”.⁴³¹ Apart from it, he was endowed with several priestly services in the pyramid of Unas and Teti. Niankhnefertem himself is dated to the middle of Pepi I’s reign (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 280–281).

The close family of Niankhnefertem is quite large comprising his wife Sesheshet and eight offspring, namely sons Meruka, Djawy, Tjetjy and Merery (perhaps three different individuals) and two daughters Metjut and Khenut.⁴³²

The extended household of Niankhnefertem is formed of 26 non-kin individuals (see Tab. 37). They are represented primarily on the north and south wall in the scene of offering bearers, musicians and a boat scene (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: 179–180, 192–200, figs. 57, 61)(Figs. 73 and 74). The most important man within Niankhnefertem’s entourage was probably certain Djawy who headed the procession of offering bearers and was the only minor figure attached with three titles; he was an “overseer of butlers” (*imy-r3 wdpww*), “overseer of linen” (*imy-r3 sšr*) and *k3*-priest. His identity is rather questionable as one of Niankhnefertem’s sons has the same name but his titles completely differ, therefore, they are considered to be two different individuals. Two other dependents Sobekhotep and Nefer with titles “under-supervisor of the Great House” *imy-ht pr-ꜥ3* belonged probably to Niankhnefertem’s subordinates in his function of the inspector of the Great House; both are at the same time endowed with *k3*-priest title. Another three *k3*-priests followed these men in the same register (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: fig. 57). The rest of depicted dependents seems to once formed Niankhnefertem’s household. Apart from Djawy, there is one *hwp zh* “director of the dining-hall” Imaheni, two anonymous *imy-r3 whꜥ* “overseer of fowlers” accompanied by four anonymous fowlers (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: fig. 61)(see Fig. 74). The last department represented in the tomb is amusement; we can find four *hsw(w)* singers, seven *ib3* dancers and two *skr* rhythm-givers in the scene of entertaining the tomb owner. A dwarf depicted to the right of the musicians is evidently engaged in the scene as well. This individual was in charge of two animals – a dog and two monkeys, attached with a label “their master.”

⁴³¹ For the title *hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t*, see K.T. Rydström 1994: 65–68.

⁴³² For three different sons named Mereri, see the article by K. Myśliwiec 2010: 71–91.

Overall, it can be stated that the entourage of Niankhnefertem was quite modest when we take into consideration the high amount of the anonymous holders of titles connected to music and food supply (in total 19 individuals). Therefore, it is evident that only several most important men were chosen to participate in the afterlife realm of their master with one household manager and two Niankhnefertem’s subordinates in the lead who were accompanied merely by a couple of *k3*-priests.

Niankhnefertem	Titles	Number of occurrences
Titles connected to court	<i>imy-ht pr-ꜥ3</i> “under-supervisor of the Great House”	2
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -servant”	6
Household management	<i>imy-r3 wdpw</i> “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”	1
	<i>imy-r3 sšr</i> “overseer of linen”	1
	<i>imy-r3 whꜥ</i> “overseer of fowlers”	2
	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	1
Household servants	<i>whꜥw</i> “fowlers”	4
Amusement	<i>hsw(w)</i> “singer”	4
	<i>sḳr</i> “rythm-giver”	2
	<i>ib3</i> “dancer”	7

Tab. 37 The extended household of Niankhnefertem

6.3.4 Ibi

Ibi represents one of important high provincial officials. He was one of the nomarchs appointed at Deir el-Gebrawi, in the 8th Upper Egyptian nome, where he lived, was employed and buried in a large rock-cut tomb on the southern cliff (Kanawati 2007). Ibi held nearly 50 different titles; those related to provincial administration belonged to most important ones (Kanawati 2007: 11–13). He was an overseer of the Upper Egypt as well as a great overlord of 8th and 12th Upper Egyptian nomes (*T3-wr* and *dw-ft*). As N. Kanawati pointed out, “Ibi and his descendants were the only nomarchs throughout the Sixth Dynasty who were responsible for governing two provinces” (Kanawati 2007: 21). Ibi held also two of the six highest administrative titles, as enumerated by N. Strudwick (1985), i.e., *imy-r3 prwy-ḥd imy-r3 šnwty* “overseer of the two treasuries and overseer of the two granaries”. Apart from these two important titles, Ibi held several others indicating that he spent a part of his life at Memphis. Ibi was a “director of the two thrones, director of the fowlers of Horus”; moreover, he held titles and epithets referring to

his loyalty and close relation to the king, i.e., “one who is privy to the secret, confidant of the king in his every place or possessor of love” (Kanawati 2007: 20).

The dating of Ibi to the reign of Merenre and Pepi II was already proposed by N. de G. Davies (1902: 28).⁴³³ He inclined to think that Ibi was blood-related to Djaw of Abydos, probably his son (Davies 1902: 29ff). N. Kanawati, in contrast, assumes on the basis of chronological aspects mentioned in Ibi’s tomb biography (Ibi stresses his service under Merenre and Pepi II) and the royal decree addressed to Djau by Pepi II that Ibi, similar to Djau, was the son of Khuy of Abydos and that it was Ibi’s wife Khmre/Khemy who links Ibi to a successor of the nomarchal post of Upper Egyptian nome 12 (Kanawati 2007: 22),⁴³⁴

The tomb of Ibi, its architecture and wall decoration

Ibi’s tomb is the most elaborated one among the nine decorated rock-cut tombs on the southern cliff at Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati 2007: 22). Tomb chapel measures 10.30m (or 10.80 × 6.35m (or 5.95m)).⁴³⁵ All the walls in the chapel as well as the entrance thickness were covered in plaster and originally decorated in paint. The reliefs were recorded by Davies (1902) and more recently by Kanawati (2007) who mentioned that during his epigraphical works the tomb decoration had been already largely damaged.

The repertoire of scenes is highly diverse, ranging from a customarily appearing offering table scene, spear fishing and fowling, boats scenes, cattle fording, animal husbandry, works in the fields with ploughing and sawing activities, harvesting grain, desert scenes, scenes with workshop activities, gardening containing picking fruit and carrying bundles of papyrus, a scene of animal slaughter, a scene of rendering accounts and the punishment of offenders, entertaining scenes, but also scenes of more rare occurrence, e.g. a scene of washing and wringing the linen, transportation of the coffin or a cutting a carcass of a goat (Davies 1902: pls. 3–16, 23; Kanawati 2007: 26–73, pls. 2–37, 41–75).

Ibi’s rank, his close family and extended household

⁴³³ For the summary of datings suggested by different scholars, see Kanawati 2007: 19–22, esp. note 116.

⁴³⁴ For Ibi’s autobiography, see K. Sethe 1932: 142ff; for the royal decree by Pepi II, see H. Goedicke 1967: fig. 8.

⁴³⁵ The space is not precisely rectangular; north and east walls are slightly bigger than the other two walls (Kanawati 2007: 23).

Ibi's social standing was expressed by the highest rank titles *iry-p^ct* “hereditary prince, *h3ty-^c* “count”, *smr w^cty* “sole companion”, *htmty bity* “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt”. His close family consists of his wife Khemre and a number of offspring: two eldest sons Djau and Ibi together with other five sons and four daughters (Kanawati 2007: 14–17).⁴³⁶ The group of non-kin related individuals is similarly numerous, consisting of almost 30 dependents with 22 different professions (see Tab. 38). Seven dependents formed the educated group of scribes defined by three different hierarchical levels (overseer, inspector and ordinary scribes). The elevated position of the overseer of scribes among other members of Ibi's entourage is apparent in the scene where the tomb owner views different fishing techniques (Davies 1902: pls. 3–4; Kanawati 2007: pl. 67) (see Fig. 75). There are depicted eight men with projected kilt, all in a gesture of honour with one hand on their chests. The horizontal line of the text describes them as “the honoured ones before their lord” (Kanawati 2007: 28–29). Only the fourth man is identified as an overseer of scribes *M[.]t*. Another senior scribe, namely inspector of scribes Rensi, was probably the crucial dependent of Ibi since he headed his cult as an overseer of priests (Kanawati 2007: 17, pl. 58). The third important scribe, Seni, occurs in the scene where seated scribes were making records of animals (Davies 1902: pls. 9, 11.12; Kanawati 2007: 45, pl. 71). He held not only a title of an ordinary scribe, but he was also overseer of the house and bears an epithet *imy-ib nb.f* “favourite of his lord”. Other priests depicted on tomb walls were anonymous. Ordinary scribes were represented in the scene depicting workshop activities. There were four scribes and at the same time overseers of the house, who were distinguished by their epithets in the scene of recording the produce of the workshops (Kanawati 2007: 50, pl.72).⁴³⁷ Two scribes were captured also in the scene of rendering accounts of the animal production of *pr-dt* (Kanawati 2007: pls. 54, 73). One of them was identified as *zš n pr-dt* “scribe of the funerary estate”. Three more anonymous scribes appear in the scene depicting the punishment of offenders but without a respective tag (Kanawati 2007: pl. 50).

Worth mentioning with respect to the economic aspects of the household management is the attitude of Ibi to his own property. In his biographical inscription, he directly mentioned his resources for building the tomb and endowing his cult. It was partly funded from his own estates attended by *mrt*-servants and partly from royal resources, namely *htp di nswt* offerings

⁴³⁶ The complete list of Ibi's sons is recorded on the north wall of the chapel (Davies 1902: pls. 13–16; Kanawati 2007: 51, pl. 72), Ibi's daughters are portrayed to the left of the false door (Davies 1902: pl. 17; Kanawati 2007: 58, pl. 74a).

⁴³⁷ The scribes were endowed with epithets: *imy-ib n nb.f* “favourite of his lord”, *irr hst nb.f* “he who does what his lord favours” *irr wd(t) nb.f* “he who does what his lord commands”.

and a part of a land given by the king. Ibi explicitly stated that he used his own means, especially those acquired from his post of *ḥk3 ḥwt nt pr-šn*^c “chief of the estate of the storehouse/labour establishment” not the property of his father (Kanawati 2007: 53).⁴³⁸

The already mentioned scribe Seni stood at the head of Ibi’s household as an overseer of the household; his responsibility over the household accounts regarding Ibi’s property is evident in the scene where Seni makes the animal count (Davies 1902: pl. 21; Kanawati 2007: 45, pl. 71). Other five overseers of the house are anonymous – four of them are identical with the four above mentioned scribes recording workshop activities (Kanawati 2007: 50, pl. 72). The last one leads a group of dancers with a damaged tag: *imy-r3 pr, imy-r3 sšr, imy-r3 [...]* *imy-ib n nb.f* “overseer of the house/estate, overseer..favourite of his lord”, who accompanied the funerary procession (Davies 1905: pls. 8, 10; Kanawati 2007: 33, pl. 69). No other named household manager is present in Ibi’s tomb, only an anonymous *hrp zh* “director of the dining hall” is one of the butchers in an animal slaughter scene, holding the epithet “he who does what is favoured” *irr ḥzzt* (Kanawati 2007: 18, pls. 70, 71). Several individuals are designated by a caption as *imy-r3 tẓwt* “overseers of herds” in the scene of the punishment of offenders (Kanawati 2007: 36, pls. 67–70) (see Fig. 76).⁴³⁹ Those who are questioned are overseers of herds. Perhaps one of them is identified as Rensi, son of Nedjem. In contrast to the epithets of some dependents that refer to a special favour of their master, Rensi declares that he was “a hated one of his lord, a disliked of his mistress, whom the household of his lord loathes” (Kanawati 2007: 36).⁴⁴⁰ The name Rensi, son of Nedjemib, is mentioned twice in the register and Kanawati assumes that it recorded a kind of a narration about the offence and subsequent punishment of this person. Unfortunately, no information about the father Nedjemib or about the possible misdeed of Rensi is provided.⁴⁴¹

Ordinary servants are also present, although some scenes, e.g., with fishermen or reapers are anonymous, but a *nrw* “herdsman” is addressed in a spell against crocodiles above boats

⁴³⁸ For the original text, see K. Sethe 1932: 144: 10–145:3; for the translation, see N. Strudwick 2005: 364–365; J.C. Moreno García 1997: 29.

⁴³⁹ This scene resembles similar scenes in the tomb of Mereruka or Khentika at Saqqara (Duell 1938: pls. 37–38; James 1953: pl. 9).

⁴⁴⁰ For the translation of the text, see G.H. Fischer 1976: 9–12.

⁴⁴¹ N. Kanawati proposes a rather amazing suggestion that Rensy is a son of Nedjemib – an individual who is being punished in a similar manner in the tomb of Mereruka (Kanawati 2007: 36, n. 208). He further argues that both might have come from the family in which “dishonesty was common and justifies the unusual hatred shown against Rensi.” The motive of punishment the offender was indisputably inspired by similar scenes at Teti Pyramid Cemetery, but there is no evidence that would support a kin relation between the two protagonists apart from the identical name Nedjemib, which was very frequent at that time (Ranke 1952: 215, 9).

with fishing men, at least two other *mnyww* “herdsmen” were called in a caption in the scene of milking cows (Davies 1902: pls. 5–6, respectively 21; Kanawati 2007: 31, pl. 38, or 45, pl. 71). Several *mhw* “fishermen” are designated in a caption above fighting boatmen (Kanawati 2007: 29. 45–6.67).

Yet another individual associated with Ibi’s household is worth mentioning. It is an individual tagged with the title *z3-pr* “son of the house/policeman” facing the couple of Ibi and his wife Hemi. He has a projecting kilt and wears bracelets (Davies 1902: pl. 7; Kanawati 2007: 52, pl. 73).

Other professional segments are represented only by craftsmen. The north wall of the chapel accommodates three craftsmen *hmwty* making stone vessels, two *mdhw nw hnw* “carpenters of the residence” manufacturing chests together with another two carpenters of the private estate, and *imy-r3 mdhw* “overseer of carpenters” polishing a shrine (Davies 1902: pls. 9, 11, 12; Kanawati 2007: 45, pl. 71). The only craftsman distinguished by his name is a *ksty* “sculptor” named Seni. Four ordinary *mdhw* “carpenters”, one *mdh n pr-dt* “carpenter of the funerary estate”, another *hmwty* “stoneworkers” and *msw-nšd* an “ornament-maker” complete the group.

The funerary cult of Ibi was headed by two overseers of *k3*-priests. The first was an individual Weseri who appears in the close vicinity to the tomb owner standing directly below Ibi’s son and brother. He is depicted in a larger scale wearing a shoulder-length wig, a projecting kilt, a collar and bracelets on both hands. He is endowed with an epithet that indicates a special favour “one who does what his lord favours” *irr hzzt (nb).f* (Kanawati 2007: 43, pls. 71). The other overseer of *k3*-priests, the above mentioned Rensi, who was *shd zš(w)* inspector of scribes, was designated as the son of Ibi and endowed with an epithet *irr hzzt nb.f*, one who does what his lord favours (Kanawati 2007: 17, pl. 58). The only ordinary priest, Snofru, appears to have served Ibi’s wife Hemi, not to Ibi himself (Davies 1902: pl. 9; Kanawati 2007: 39, pl. 71). By contrast, directly engaged in the cult of Ibi was the *hm-k3 n dt* “*k3*-priest of the funerary estate” Djaw who appears in the scene of performing the ceremony associated with the funerary meal (Kanawati 2007: 37, pl. 74a). Yet another man named Šemai was of a particular importance for the funerary cult of Ibi. He was captured in a large scale immediately in front of the tomb owner and performs the censuring for him (Davies 1902: pls. 9, 11–12; Kanawati 2007: 44, pl. 71). He is tagged by a rather unusual title *imy-r3 hbyt* “overseer of offerings” complemented by the same epithet as Weseri (Davies 1902: pl. 19; Kanawati 2007: 61, pl. 75a).

Not only funerary priests, but also a *hry-ḥbt* “lector priest”, a *sm*-priest and *wty* “embalmers” appear in the iconography. A lector priest Iiy tagged with an epithet “he who does what his lord favours”, belonged to important dependents since he occurs several times in tomb reliefs (Davies 1902: pl. 17; Kanawati 2007: 35, 57, pls. 49, 55, 69, 74a). He appears twice among other priests, in the scene performing ceremony with funerary meals and in the scene of coffin transportation to the cemetery. In the first scene he figures with an embalmer and the already mentioned *ḥm-k3 n pr-dt* “*k3*-priest of the funerary estate” Djaw. In the latter scene the funerary priest was replaced by a *sm*-priest. The funerary procession was accompanied also by female mourners, one of them identified as *dryt*.

An unusual frequent use of epithets was a specific feature in the tomb of Ibi. Several dependents were tagged with them, including lector priest Ibi or overseer of the house Seny. The epithets were quite surprisingly recorded on several places in the tomb attached to anonymous figures with a conglomerate of two or more titles, e.g., overseer of the house, overseer of linen, overseer of [...] or scribe and overseer of the house (Davies 1902: pls. 8, 10; Kanawati 2007: 33, pl. 69). Perhaps the name should have been added, but for some reason that eludes us, it was not. Otherwise, it would not make much sense to attach an epithet which personifies the relation of the dependent to the tomb owner and indicates a man of certain importance.

To conclude, the extended household of Ibi consisted of dependents from all three main professional segments - priestly, scribal and household managerial. The only other group that was recorded are craftsmen, but, with the exception of sculptor Seni, they are anonymous representatives of their profession. No specialists, dependents employed in the organisation of labour or body care were captured on tomb walls. Of 30 identified dependents of Ibi only around one third was also labelled by a personal name. It became clear that the crucial person of the property management of Ibi's household was inspector of scribes Rensi who also headed Ibi's funerary cult, followed by overseer of the house and scribe Seni. A more personal link to the tomb owner is provided by epithets that were quite frequently attached to a selected group of individuals. They were denoted as loyal dependents of their master. The only person, a certain Rensi, was, on the contrary, considered to be disrespected or even hated one by his master, mistress and the whole household, which is very exceptional and rather surprising in the funerary context. Ibi seems to have sensitively perceived his own household and its revenues. In his biographical inscription he clearly distinguishes between his own means, those of his father and the royal support.

There is no comparable tomb of a higher official on Memphite cemeteries dated to the reign of Merenre-Pepi II, we are very limited by the preserved sources (see The Methodology). Still, this tomb, similar to the vizier's tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle, attests to the continuity of building decorated tombs that capture the owner's social network on their walls.

Ibi	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal professions	<i>shḏ zš(w)</i> "inspector of the scribes"	1
	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	4
	<i>imy-r3 zš(w)</i> "overseer of scribes"	1
	<i>zš n pr-dt</i> "scribe of the funerary estate"	1
Household management	<i>ḥk3 ḥwt nt pr-šn^c</i> "chief of the estate of the storehouse/labour establishment"	1
	<i>ḥrp zḥ</i> "director of the dining hall"	1
	<i>imy-r3 zḥ</i> "overseer of the dining hall"	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house"	5
	<i>imy-r3 ššr</i> "overseer of the linen"	2
	<i>imy-r3 tẓwt</i> "overseer of herds"	1
	<i>z3-pr</i> "son of the house/policeman"	1
	<i>imy-r3 ḥbit</i> "overseer of offerings"	1
	<i>imy-r3 ...</i>	1
Craftsmen	<i>imy-r3 mdḥw</i> "overseer of the carpenters"	1
	<i>mdḥw nw ḥnw</i> "carpenters of the Residence"	1
	<i>mdḥ n pr-dt</i> "carpenter of the funerary estate"	1
	<i>ḥmwty</i> "craftsman, stoneworker"	1
	<i>ḥrty-ntr</i> "stonemason"	1
Priestly services	<i>ḥm-k3</i> "k3-servant"	1
	<i>ḥm-k3 n pr-dt</i> "k3-servant"	1
	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> "lector priest"	2
	<i>imy-r3 ḥmw-k3</i> "overseer of k3-servants"	2
	<i>wty</i> "embalmer"	1
	<i>dryt</i> "mourner"	2
	<i>n dt</i> "one attached to (his) estate"	1
	<i>mḥnk</i> "rewarded"	1
Epithets	<i>imy-ib nb.f</i> "favourite of his lord"	1

Tab. 38 The extended household of Ibi

6.3.5 Pepinakht Heqaib II

The tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib II (QH 35d), its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib II (QH 35d) may be viewed as an exemplary case to demonstrate that the identified dependents were still recorded in provincial tombs during the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty, even at the very end of Pepi's II reign. The tomb of Pepinakht belongs to “double tombs” incorporating a separate part of the tomb – a chapel with a burial chamber for another individual, often closely related to the tomb owner; for instance, Mehu and his son Sabni I were buried in a joint tomb QH 25, 26 (Vischak 2015: 58–67). Pepinakht Heqaib 2 shared his tomb with his probable son Sabni 2 (35e). The tomb is dated to the later phase of Pepi II (year 50 to the end) (Vischak 2015: 236) and belonged to the latest Old Kingdom group of tombs as stated by the same author (2015: 30). This rock-cut tomb lies far north from the tomb of Harkhuf near the northern end of the cemetery (Vischak 2015: 102–123). It is accessed via a staircase leading to the exterior courtyard shared by several tomb owners Pepinakht Heqaib 1, Pepinakht Hekaib 2 and Sabni 2. Pepinakht Heqaib 2 has his own courtyard with two columns lined with an enclosing wall (Vischak 2015: 107–123, figs. 40, 41). The tomb is divided into two separated parts, the southern part for Pepinakht Heqaib, the northern one for Sabni 2. The tomb façade as well as the chapel with two pillars is fully decorated. The tomb decoration of all Qubbet el-Hawa tombs substantially differs from the traditional iconographic style and repertoire of Memphite tombs. It almost exclusively consists of panels with subsidiary figures; the content of scenes is limited mainly to the depiction of offering figures, daily-life scenes are largely missing (Vischak 2015: 208–209). Furthermore, it incorporated not only isolated figures of the dependents, but the primary focus lies in the depiction of the whole families. The dependents were usually accompanied by their wives and offspring who regularly follow the head of the family. Only several tombs, feature scenes and motives that appear on Memphite necropoleis. The tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib is distinguished by an extensive tomb decoration, but daily-life scenes were not incorporated, in contrast to neighbouring tomb of Sabni 2 who included an iconic fishing and fowling scene (Vischak 2015: 46, 109, 130, pl. 60).

Pepinakht Heqaib II's rank, his close family and extended household

Pepinakht Heqaib II was a high ranking official as testifies the highest rank title *iry-pst* hereditary prince.⁴⁴² Similar to other tomb owners at Qubbet el-Hawa, he did not hold a nomarchal titles. Instead, he held titles reflecting the controlling role of Elefantine leaders over

⁴⁴² He was the only holder of this title of all tomb owners at Qubbet el-Hawa necropolis (Vischak 2015:

the southern border of the land as well as titles referring to conducting expeditions. He was *imy-r3 h3swt* overseer of foreign land, *imy-r3 i3w* overseer of Egyptianized Nubians. Apart from these titles characteristic for Elefantine, he had also titles related to the royal mortuary temples of Merenre (Vischak 2015: 267–277). The close family of Pepinakht Heqaib 2 is very modest consisting of a single son.⁴⁴³ No wife or other family members preserved in reliefs. In contrast to the small size of his core family, the retinue of Pepinakht is fairly extensive. The iconography of his tomb encompasses 132 subsidiary figures which is the highest number in the whole cemetery (Vischak 2015: 191).⁴⁴⁴ Only ten of them were not identified, further five of which can be linked to another person. It is not entirely improbable that the remaining five figures might have been originally identified as well, but it cannot be confirmed because of a particular damage to the figures.⁴⁴⁵ This evidence demonstrates that exclusively individuals familiar to the tomb owner (*i.e.*, those distinguished by a name and a title) might have been initially recorded without an anonymous herd of people included, which is unparalleled in other necropoleis. This specific feature can be associated with the emphasis put on the identity of particular members of the community at Qubbet el-Hawa together with the omission of daily-life scenes (Vischak 2015: 209).

When analysing the composition of Pepinakht’s extended household, the most numerous professional group in the tomb is represented by household managers (in total 31 individuals), especially those related to food supply, *i.e.* “directors of the dining hall” who appear for twenty times (see Tab 39). A half of them held several additional titles, mainly priestly, *e.g.* inspector or *k3*-priest, “*k3*-priest who is before the khent”, or priests related to phyle organisation. To name other household managers, they are five representatives of the overseers of *pr-šn*^c, one of whom was a woman and four overseers of linen. Closely associated with food supply was a “keeper of emmer” and a “brewer” (Vischak 2015: 267–277). Other dependents involved in the property management of the household were nine female sealers. Identified women are represented yet by one wet nurse and one mistress of the house. The leading position within Pepinakht’s household held *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house” Heqaib Seni who appears for three times in the tomb (Vischak 2015: 194). He seems to be an important person as demonstrates his rank title a royal chamberlain of the great house. Another three overseers of the household are recorded, all holding scribal titles – one of them the highest title in the field of the judiciary as

⁴⁴³ For a possibility that Sabni 2 was a son of Pepinakht Heqaib 2, see Habachi 1981: 11–27.

⁴⁴⁴ Several other dependents were inscribed later.

⁴⁴⁵ For the precise numbers of recorded individuals and their titles, see Vischak 2015: 193.

the *imy-r3 zš(w) n z3b* “overseer of the scribes of the judiciary”; other two being ordinary scribes. Altogether six scribes appear in the tomb completing the literate part of the Pepiankh’s extended household; the three left over are ordinary scribes as well. Apart from scribes, there has to be mention yet sealers – a group of one male and nine female representatives of this profession.

Household servants rarely appear, they consist of only one *sšm* “butcher” and one *iry bdt* “keeper of emmer” (Vischak 2015: 194).

Another numerous group of dependents is formed by a priestly staff, in total 26 individuals. The overseer of the *k3*-priest Seni stood at the head of Pepinakht’s cult. He was a person of certain importance since holding several other functional titles – overseer of linen, Djet priest and sealer. He appears only once in the tomb, but at a prominent place facing the figure of the tomb owner, furthermore, in a relief style similar to that of the tomb owner (Vischak 2015: 193, fig. 44) see Fig. 77). A step lower in the hierarchy were two inspectors of *k3*-priests Shemai and Hehu. The latter individual was depicted with his wife and he was probably identical with a priest with the same name and titles appearing in the cult of Sabni 2 (Vishak 2015: 193). Ten other persons were employed as ordinary *k3*-priests in the tomb of Pepinakht. A high concentration of priests figures especially on the east wall of the chapel where a half of them occurs (Vishak 2015: 193, fig. 50) see Fig. 78). Five *k3*-priests are specified with an attribute “who is head of the khent”. As D.Vischak mentions the position of these persons within a priestly hierarchy is not obvious, however she suggests them to be of a higher rank than ordinary priests due to their responsibility for valuable objects (Vischak 2015: 194). A considerably high number of 10 individuals were involved in the phyle organisation. According to D. Vischak they can be either associated with the priests of the deceased Pepinakht, but titles such as “controller of the phyle” or “overseer of the phyle in his tomb” might be related to other group of workers even unrelated to cult (Vischak 2015: 194)(see Tab. 39).⁴⁴⁶ It could be institutions such as the private *pr šnꜥw* that might be overseen by a phyle division as indicated by the inscriptions in the magazines of Mereruka’s tomb (Duell 1938: pl. 199)(see the discussion in Chapter 5).

To continue enumerating the priestly personnel of Pepinakht it has to be mentioned yet an *šhd wt(yw) shy-ntr* “inspector of embalmers in the divine booth of Anubis/place of

⁴⁴⁶ For the phyle organization of a group of workers, see Ch. Eyre 1987: 11–13; A.M. Roth 1991: 119–144.

embalming” and two *hry s3t* “libationers”. They all are burning incense in front of the tomb owner elsewhere in the tomb (Vischak 2015: 267–277, pl. 16).

Apart from the above-mentioned professional segments, there can be recognised also dependents working in the sphere of organisation of labour (two *imy-r3 izwt* “overseers of crews”) and several craftsmen (one *hrty-ntr* “stone mason”, one *mdh* “carpenter”).

Some of the enumerated persons are distinguished from the others by their dress or attributes. For instance, the inspector of embalmers in the divine booth of Anubis Khenu wears a long-pointed skirt (Vischak 2015: 270, pl. 13). The overseer of *pr-šn* Djewsen or director of the dining room Sedi, was dressed in a similar manner (Vishak 2015: 121, 277, pls. 18, 51). Several other important individuals are depicted in a short-pointed kilt, as e.g. director of the dining hall and inspector of *k3*-priests Shemai or overseer of the scribes of the judiciary and overseer of the house Wadj who carries a scribal palette under his arm (Vischak 2015: 270, 273, pls. 13, 15). It can be observed that these more significant individuals are distinguished, apart from their characteristic official’s dress, also by the attached epithets. There are altogether 27 epithets, which means that every third individual expressed his special relation to the tomb owner. The only important man without an epithet added was overseer of the house Seny who is attached with a rather high rank title “royal chamberlain of the great house” (Vischak 2015: 275, pl. 52). It appears to be clear that the rank title was so crucial identifier in this case that there was no need to distinguish this person in other way.

On the whole, the extended household of Pepinakht Heqaib II was enormously large consisting of 67 individuals, but the professions represented are far the same that were detected in other Sixth Dynasty tombs. The majority of depicted dependents are members of Pepinakht’s household and his *k3*-cult, the latter often recruited from the first. Scribes providing an administrative support can be also found with only a couple of individuals engaged in other professional segments, namely the organisation of labour and craftsmen. A characteristic feature in Pepinakht’s tomb is undoubtedly a frequent occurrence of epithets that demonstrate strong personal relations between the tomb owner and particular persons of his social milieu.

Pepiankh Heqaib II	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	5
	<i>imy-r3 zš(w) n z3b</i> “overseer of scribes of the judiciary”	1

	<i>htmty</i> “sealer”	10(9 of them are females)
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr-šn^c</i> “overseer of the storehouse/labour establishment”	3
	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	20
Household servants	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house”	4
	<i>imy-r3 ššr</i> “overseer of the linen”	4
	<i>sšmty</i> “butcher”	1
	<i>iry bdt</i> “keeper of emmer”	1
Craftsmen	<i>mdh</i> “carpenter”	1
	<i>hrty-ntr</i> “stonemason”	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	8
	<i>hm-k3 hry-hnt</i> “k3-priest who is head of (i.e. in charge of) the khent-box”	5
	<i>shd hm(w)-k3</i> “inspector of k3-priest”	2
	<i>imy-r3 hmw-k3</i> “overseer of k3-servants”	1
	<i>mty n z3</i> “controller of the phyle servant”	1
	<i>mty n z3 imy is</i> “controller of the phyle in the tomb”	1
	<i>shd n z3</i> “inspector of the phyle servant”	3
	<i>imy-r3 n z3</i> “overseer of the phyle servant”	1
	<i>imy-r3 z3 m is.f</i> “overseer of the phyle in his tomb”	1
	<i>shd wt(yw) shy-ntr</i> “inspector of embalmers in the divine booth of Anubis/place of embalming”	1
	<i>hry s3t</i> “libationer”	1
	<i>stw</i> “libationer”	1
	Organisation of labour	<i>imy-r3 iswt</i> “overseer of crews”
<i>imy-r3 rmtw.(f)</i> “overseer of people/workers”		2
Rank titles	<i>hry-tp nswt n pr-^c3</i> “royal chamberlain of the great house”	1
Epithets	<i>imy-ib nb.f</i> “favourite of his lord”	1
	<i>irr mrrt nb.f</i> “one who does what his lord loves”	1
	<i>irr hsst nb.s</i> “she who does what her lord praises every day”	8
	<i>mrr nb.f</i> “one who his lord loves”	1
	<i>mrr nb.f hss nb.f</i> “the one who his lord loves, the one who his lord praises”	2
	<i>hssy n nb.f irr mrrt nb.f</i> “the one praised by his lord, he who does what his lord loves”	1
	<i>hsy n nb.f mrr(w)</i> “praised by his lord, one who is beloved”	1
	<i>mrry hsst nb.f (r^c nb)</i> “the beloved of his lord, he who does what his lord prizes”	2
	<i>n(y) st-ib</i> “favourite of his lord”	1
	<i>hsy.f nb.f</i> “his favourite one”	1

<i>ḥsw nb.f irr ḥsst nb.f</i> “praised by his lord, he who does what his lord praises”	4
<i>imy ib n nb.f im3ḥw ḥr nb.f mry nb.f</i> “favourite of his lord, one honoured before his lord, beloved of his lord”	1
<i>irr ḥsst nb.f</i> “he who does what his lord praises”	1
<i>irr ḥsst nb.f mrr(w) nb.f</i> “he who does what is praiseworthy”	1
<i>im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʿ3</i> “one honoured before the great god”	1

Tab. 39 The extended household of Pepiankh Heqaib 2

6.3.6 Summary

All monitored tombs from the Sixth Dynasty had a relatively numerous and diverse extended households. The number of dependents ranged from 17 to 67 people. Especially the reign of Teti featured elaborate tombs with a high number of identified dependents as evidenced by the tomb of Nikauisesi. All three main segments of priests, scribes and household managers were recorded in his tomb. In addition, people from the field of organization of labour also appeared but these remained anonymous. Hierarchical division is clearly visible within the segment of scribes; the organization of the mortuary cult is not entirely clear. Only ordinary priests and *ḥntyw-š* officials appeared, without any mention about phyle system of their organisation. It is two scribes whose titles refer to the phylae system (*zš z3*), however, they could have been involved in the organization of some other institution, perhaps a private storage, as indicated by the depiction of one of these scribes in the scene recording the activities in the storehouse. It seems that Nikauisesi, as the person in charge of distribution and delivery of certain products, paid due attention to recording of these activities within the wall scenes.

Towards the end of the reign of Teti and during the reign of Pepi I, the number of identified persons decreased, but with all three main segments still represented. Within them, however, the vertical stratification is limited, in case of Shepsiptah to the priestly profession, in case of Niankhnferem to the household management. In other professional segments, the ordinary positions clearly prevailed.

From the reign of Merenre onwards, no tomb of a higher-ranking official that captured identified dependents can be found in the Memphite necropoleis. On the contrary, in the provinces, the nomarchs and overseers of Upper Egypt build lavish tombs in which the members of their extended households are recorded. As evidenced by the tombs of Ibi of Gebrawi and Pepinakht Heqaib II of Qubbet el-Hawa, the servants and other men who worked for the tomb owners were more or less the same as in the residential necropoleis derived

predominantly from three main professional spheres, i.e. priestly, scribal and household managerial occasionally complemented by individuals from other professional segments such as the organisation of labour (Pepinakht Heqaib II) or craftsmen (Ibi, Pepinakht Heqaib II). However, what distinguishes these provincial households from their predecessors in the residential necropolies is the frequent presence of epithets. These do not occur in isolation but together with functional titles attached to men of certain importance indicating a more personal link between the deceased and a selected group of most loyal dependents.

Worth mentioning is yet a relatively frequent mention of phylae in the titles of recorded dependents. Several “overseers, inspectors and controllers of the phyle” (*imy-r3 n z3, shd n z3, mty n s3*) appear in the tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib II. In two cases, the phylae are related directly to his tomb by using the attribute “in the tomb/in his tomb” (*imy is/ m is.f*). We cannot be sure what exactly these titles refer to if directly to the organisation of the mortuary cult, but the absence of scribes and priests of the phylae rather points to an institution outside the mortuary cult, perhaps to a private storehouse as indicated by several overseers of the storehouse who occurred in the tomb as well.

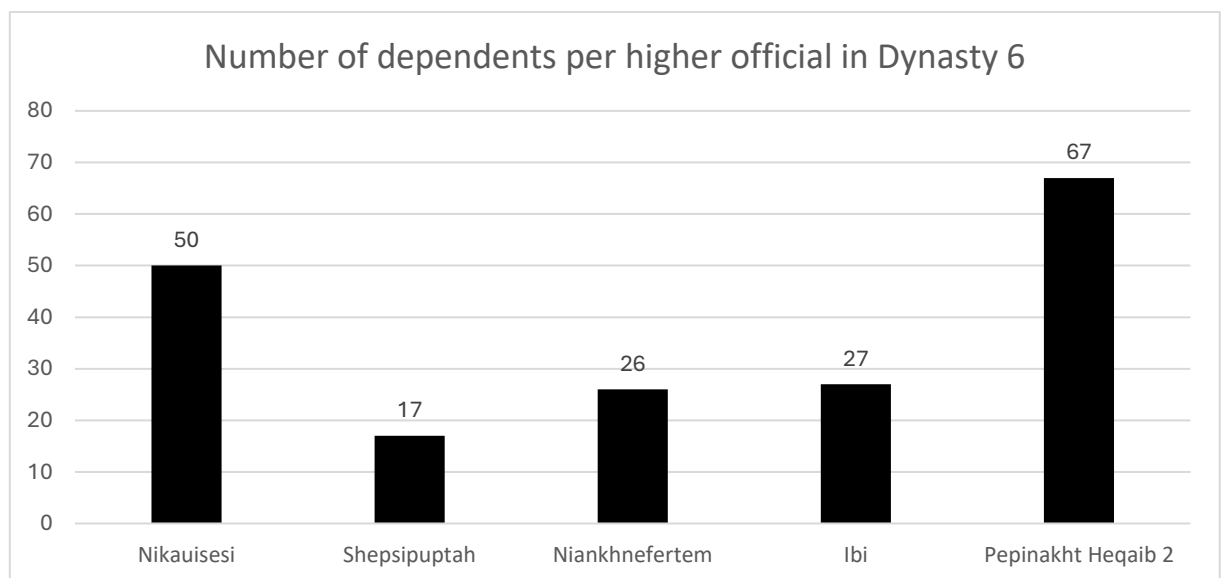


Chart 7. Number of dependents per higher official in the Sixth Dynasty

6.4 Summary of households of the higher-ranked officials dated from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasty

When analysing recorded dependents in the selected tombs of higher officials, following different phases can be observed with regard to their number and diversity of their titles: 1) the first half of the Fourth Dynasty; 2) the period between the reign of king Khafre and the end of the Fourth Dynasty; 3) early Fifth to early Sixth Dynasties; 4) second part of the Sixth Dynasty. The first major change appears during the reign of Khufu-Khafre. While in the first half of the Fourth Dynasty the tomb owner is accompanied solely by his family, for instance in the tomb of Rahetep (Harpur 2001), from the reign of Khafre there began to be recorded also non-kin dependents (see The extended household of Nefer). Possible trends in the size of particular extended households to the end of the Fourth Dynasty are recognizable on attached graphs (Chart 8) It is apparent that the number of dependents oscillates between 1 to 5 dependents (if they are identified at all); the only exceptional is the retinue of Nefer reaching 22 non-kin individuals. As far as the composition of individual extended households is concerned, it consists primarily of funerary priests. If other professions are depicted, we can recognize scribal titles and titles associated with household management/service. The ordinary positions within the career ladder prevail, namely simple scribes, *k3*-priests or household servants, whereas managerial posts and titles connected to state administration are very limited or almost missing. The only testimony of a hierarchical structure of certain professional group comes from the tomb of Kaunesut, where appears, apart from ordinary priests, yet an overseer of *k3*-priests (Hassan 1936: fig. 88). An interesting excursus to the background of particular extended households provides the available evidence from Nefer's tomb. Two of his dependents, both attested by the archaeological evidence, were definitely not of a modest rank as indicates their title "property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance" (*iry ht nswt*) that ranks them among higher echelon of Egyptian society.

The third phase comprises the period from the early Fifth Dynasty to the early Sixth Dynasty. The higher officials show a substantial increase in size of particular extended households in contrast to previous dynasty, and this trend of relatively numerous entourages continues till the reign of Teti. It can be observed a strong representation of non-kin dependents already from the beginning of the dynasty, specifically, in the tombs of Tjenty and Kaninisut (29 and 52 dependents), reaching its peak in the outstanding entourage of Ty in the mid-Fifth Dynasty (232 dependents). The number of Ty's dependents is exceptional and has no parallel in selected tombs under the study, the tombs of the viziers not excluding. A gentle decline in size

of the high officials' entourages can be noticed during the second part of the Fifth Dynasty (Wepemnofret/Wep (19 dependents), Seshemnefer III (21), but with all important segments (priestly, scribal, household managerial, related to craft or amusement) represented in the tombs, therefore, they are still included in the same phase. As far as the early Sixth Dynasty higher officials are concerned, the size of the extended households of both selected officials Nikauisesi and Shepesuptah reaches high values (50 respectively 17 dependents) well comparable to the highest numbers of dependents in the Fifth Dynasty tombs.

Although all the tombs from this phase feature quite high number of dependents, a more detailed analysis shows significant differences in size of particular entourages even in tombs of roughly the same date, i.e. the tombs of Tjenty and Kaninisut, Ty and Wepemnefret as well as Nikauisesi and Shepsipuptah. This fluctuation in the number of dependents appears to be a characteristic feature of this period and clearly attests that no higher officials' suite is identical.

The higher officials' entourages dated to this phase are approximately half the size in comparison to the vizieral retinues (see The households of the viziers), nevertheless they still maintain quite a high standard with regard to the identified dependents. Apart from the exceptionally modest retinue of Merib (6 dependents) that resembles the Fourth Dynasty entourages and the extraordinary large suite of Ti (232 dependents), the majority of extended households ranges from 17 to 52 members, with the average size of an entourage comprising 24 individuals. The recorded professions are largely the same as those already recorded in the tomb of Nefer in the Fourth Dynasty, consisting of priestly, scribal and household related titles, but with their number substantially increased. Other professional segments are represented selectively with their representatives mainly anonymous; some tomb owners incorporated individuals related to labour establishment (Kaninisut, Wepemnefret Wep, Nikauisesi, Tjenty), crafts (Wepemnefret Wep, Seshemnefer III), amusement (Seshemnefer III, Nyankhneferterem) or specialists (Wepemnefret Wep). Individuals closely associated with the funerary cult of the deceased, i.e., the brothers of the funerary estate (*sn(w) dt*) and dependents employed in the phyle organisation appear already in the early Fifth Dynasty, although the evidence of the cult of Tjenty organised in phyles is rather ambiguous (see The household of Tjenty). If the evidence truly refers to Tjenty's own cult, it would be attested earlier than in the viziers' tombs (see Chapter 5, esp. Ptahshepses, respectively Senedjemib Inty for *sn(w) dt* individuals). *Hnty(w)-š* officials appear in small numbers in both early Sixth Dynasty tombs, i.e. that of Nikauisesi and Shepsipuphah, but they are missing in selected provincial tombs of Ibi and Pepinakht Heqaib 2.

The size of Ty's extended household is so enormous (232 dependents) that it needs to be dealt separately, not to distort the statistical results. The outstanding number of dependents is partly explainable due to extremely well preservation of the tomb decoration and by an elevated rank of Ty. His titles indicate that he has almost reached the supreme position of the vizier. He stood a step lower in the carrier ladder holding two highest posts at the head of the labour and scribal department of central administration as *imy-r3 k3t nbt (nt) nzw* "overseer of all works of the king" and *imy-r3 zš (w) (nw) nsw* "overseer of scribes of the king's documents". Moreover, he was involved in king's private sphere, awarded with titles connected to secret matters as a trusted official of the king and held supreme functions in the pyramids and sun temples of several Fifth Dynasty kings (see The extended household of Ty above). However, neither his exceptional position at the court nor the extraordinary state of preservation of his tomb, in my opinion, entirely clarify the large size of Ty's extended household. We can find also other well-preserved tombs of high officials or even the viziers, specifically the tombs at Teti pyramids cemetery that are rich in identified dependents (e.g. the tomb of Mereruka), but they still do not surpass the others in so high extent. Possible answer may consist in the composition of Ty's entourage in which more than two third of the captured dependents are identified only by their profession (see The extended household of Ty). This high degree of depersonalisation considerably diminishes the overall picture of his extended household, although 72 individuals tagged with both the name and the title is still a remarkable number.⁴⁴⁷ Another notable factor is a big diversity in titles of Ty's dependents; altogether 46 different titles are recorded. Apart from already mentioned professional segments, i.e., priestly, scribal, labour, crafts and entertainment together with property and household management, we can observe further extension of captured professions to the sphere of the body care, police as well as the segment of the central administration/ court /the king. However, when we take into consideration only the individuals personified by their name, it remains precisely a half of them, i.e., 23 different professions. It seems as if Ty strived to record an "ideal" extended household, which would secure all his needs in the afterlife, but his "real" dependents formed a considerably lesser group. Despite this fact, there is still displayed one segment, strongly represented with a full hierarchical structure including an overseer, several inspectors, under-supervisors and almost a hundred of ordinary workers, i.e. the priests. Such hierarchical distinction points, on one hand, to the main focus of the wall decoration in general, but it also indicates a complex, highly hierarchized structure of Ty's funerary suite and, by extension, of the entire household,

⁴⁴⁷ It includes the multiple occurrences of an identical person, thus, the total number of dependents is even slightly lower than 72.

resembling thus the entourages of the most significant viziers, namely the vizier Ptahshepses. On the whole, Ti's extraordinary entourage demonstrates that the reign of king Niuserre was exceptional in the way how it highlighted the most intriguing dignitaries, not only the viziers, i.e. Ptahshepses, but also other high state officials. As a result, the reign of Niuserre belongs to one of the milestones in the number of dependents recorded in private tombs as well as in the diversity of their titles.

While the early Sixth Dynasty tombs are very similar in the number and composition of their entourages to the Fifth Dynasty tombs, the reign of Pepi I represents a turning point in the development of extended households in Memphite tombs, an exemplary case to be the tomb of Niankhneferem. His retinue is more modest than before. Even though it reaches 26 dependents, a high number of anonymous individuals (18) rather diminishes its significance. In this respect, it provides a picture of a small circle of seven closest dependents, recruited again from the main three professional segment, i.e. priestly, household-related and scribal; the educated part of the entourage was, in this particular case, formed, instead of scribes, by Niankhneferem's subordinates – two under-supervisors of the Great House (see the respective households).

The last phase encompasses the second half of the Sixth Dynasty. From that time on, the development at the Memphite and provincial necropoleis began to differ. Whereas we lack any decorated tomb with identified dependents at necropoleis around the Residence, we can find a plenty of richly decorated tombs of higher officials in the provincial necropoleis (see the introduction to this chapter). The absence of officials' entourages in the centre appears to be counterweighted or even replaced by wealthy provincial courts. Two chosen officials Ibi of Gebrawi and Pepinakht Heqaib 2 of Kubbet el-Hawa apparently demonstrate that the tradition of funerary monuments with a splendid wall decoration carried on outside the Residence at that time. The extended households of high provincial dignitaries are numerous and diverse as testifies the evidence from the tombs of both selected individuals. While Ibi's extended household comprises of 30 dependents and features a high diversity within the titles present, i.e. 22 different professions, Pepinakht's extended household was even bigger numbering 67 individuals with a lower degree of diversity within their professions (17 different professions).

Some common features with the Memphite tombs can be traced in the composition of these entourages. The emphasis is, in a similar way, put on priestly, scribal and household managerial segments. *Hnty(w)-š* officials are not mentioned, while a reference to the phyle system of organisation can be found in the tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib II. However, in none of

the cases, it directly indicates to a private cult organized in phyles, rather to a group of workers responsible for some private institution, highly likely private *pr šn^c* (see Nikauisesi or Pepinakht Heqaib II in this chapter). The other groups of professions, *e.g.* craftsmen, remained largely anonymous (see the tomb of Ibi). The only exception is the sculptor Seny who is personified by his name (Davies 1902: pls. 9, 11, 12; Kanawati 2007: 45, pl. 71), which supports the Ch. Eyre's opinion on sculptors' elevated position among other craftsmen (Eyre 1987: 5–47; see also Chapter 5 (Ptahshepses)). The tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib is, on the contrary, very specific in personifying almost all recorded dependents which is characteristic feature of almost all Old Kingdom tombs at Kubbet el-Hawa (see Pepinakht Heqaib II in this chapter).

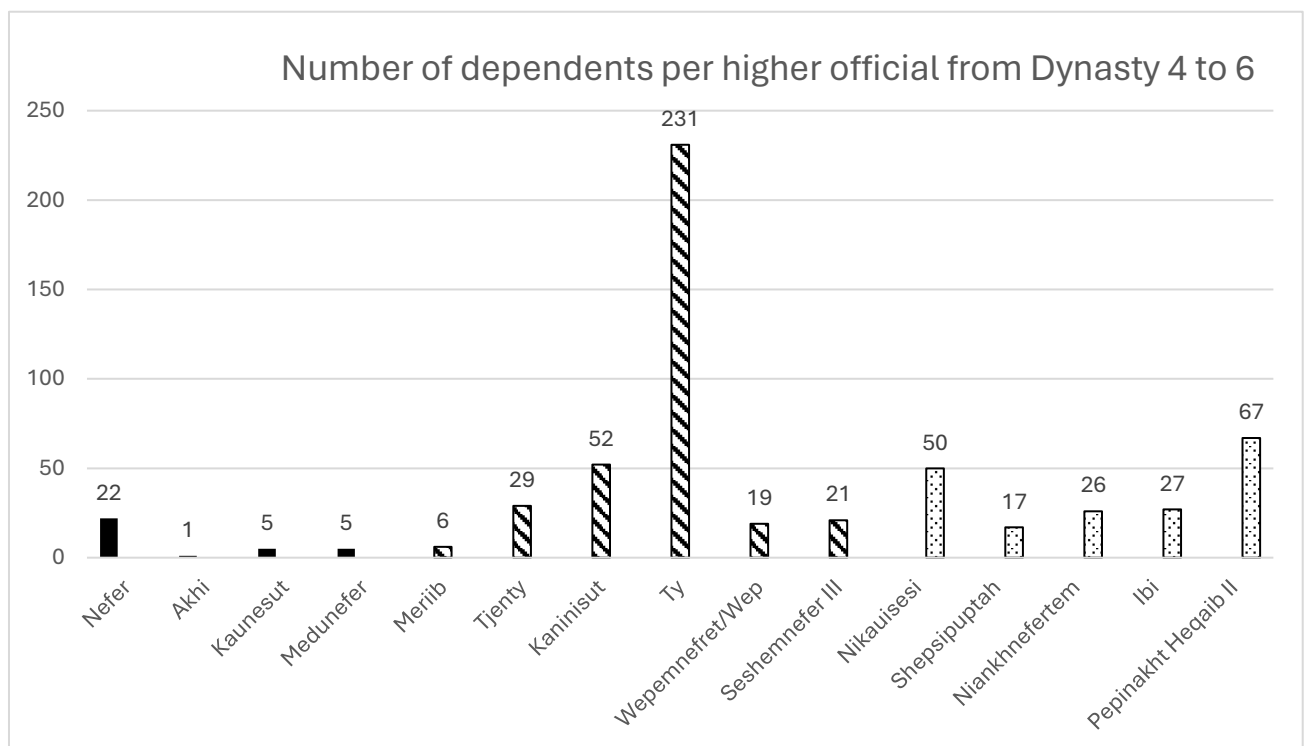
A distinctive feature of provincial extended households appears to be a frequent occurrence of epithets, which accompanies functional titles. This may indicate, on one hand, a more personal relation between the individual and his master, specifically in a largely different system of recording the dependents in the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa.⁴⁴⁸ However, the frequent occurrence of epithets can also be associated with the increasing appearance of rank titles in labels of dependents in the viziers' tombs during the second half of the Sixth Dynasty (see Chapter 5) that probably refers to certain devaluation of functional titles to the end of the Old Kingdom (Helck 1954: 111–119).

When comparing the extended households of the viziers and higher officials, we can detect a major difference in both its size and diversity of titles. The higher officials' entourages are approximately half the size in comparison to the vizierial retinues; similar values can be observed in the diversity of titles. While the total number of all different titles of dependents recorded in selected viziers' suites are 120, it reaches only 70 in the case of the higher officials. This distinction is attested by the composition of particular entourages. The extended households of the viziers are complex and diverse including a big variety of professional segments, *i.e.* titles related to labour, craft, amusement, body care or specialists. The entourages of the higher officials are in contrast to them, mainly limited to three sectors, *i.e.* priestly, scribal and household-related professions, with highly specific fields of occupation, as *e.g.* the body care, specialists or professions related to the central administration/the court rarely included or almost completely missing.⁴⁴⁹ Another distinctive feature is the social status of recorded dependents. We can find a wide range of titles with full hierarchical levels present in the viziers' tombs, while in the tombs of higher officials, there is primarily represented the lowest rank of

⁴⁴⁸ For a specific iconographic style and repertoire of tombs at Kubbet el-Hawa, see Vischak 2015.

⁴⁴⁹ For the exceptions, see Ti or Wepemnefret Wep in this chapter).

a particular profession, which means that ordinary priests, scribes, etc prevail.⁴⁵⁰ The last notable difference consists in the length of the period in which the owners did include the identified dependents within their tombs at Memphite necropoleis. The viziers encompass a period from the reign of Khufu (Kawab) to the middle of the Pepi II's reign (Pery Shenay), whereas the period when we detect identified dependents in the tombs of higher officials is a bit narrower - from Khafre's to Pepi I's reign. It points to accumulation of more wealth and power in the hands of the viziers, which permeated their social environment, and affected, by extension, on one hand the complexity of their entourages, on the other hand their earlier appearance in the afterlife dwellings and perhaps also higher resistance to the upcoming social change.⁴⁵¹



Charts 8 Number of dependents per higher official from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasty

⁴⁵⁰ The only exception is the tomb of Ti, which is more complex in both the diversity of titles and the hierarchical distinction within particular segments (see Ti in this chapter).

⁴⁵¹ For the Old Kingdom's demise, see *e.g.* M. Bárta 2019; N. Kanawati and J. Swinton 2018 or R. Müller-Wollermann 2014 and 1987.

7 Households of the middle-ranked officials

The Egyptian state underwent a profound change in many spheres at the end of the Fourth and the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. It included fully developed central institutions, newly introduced intensive control over provinces, and reorganised administration of royal mortuary and sun temples, to name some of the major innovations.⁴⁵² It placed enormous demands on the creation of a bulk of educated and capable men who began to occupy these recently established posts in state administration. As a result, we discern a proliferation of officials of non-royal origin of different rank, from the highest dignitaries to more modest ones who occupied minor posts in state administration. The number of scribes who went through a turbulent rise at that time or more frequent evidence of titles closely associated with the royal court such as “mouth of Nekhen of the king” (*r Nhn n z3b*) or “keeper of the secrets” (*hry-sšt3*) shows the enormous increase in educated individuals during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.⁴⁵³

The category of middle-rank officials as defined by N. Kanawati belonged to this newly established elite that generated enough wealth to build elaborate afterlife dwellings Kanawati (1977: 23–27, 38). According to him, particular individuals in this social group are distinguished mainly by titles related to the judiciary and the management of king’s scribes and singers. Especially characteristic are titles associated to the administration of *hnty(w)-š* officials at all hierarchical levels, from the highest posts of the overseers to ordinary *hnty(w)-š* individuals. The middle-ranked officials, in general, represent the least numerous group of all social categories dealt with in the present study, as they comprise merely 54 individuals (Kanawati 1977: 23–27). For the present study, this group was extended by another 13 individuals published in the monographs by A.M. Roth (1991), Ch. Ziegler (1990) and W.K. Simpson (1976).

The detailed analysis of individual households has shown that only a tiny portion of the available evidence was appropriate for the present research, since the majority of tomb owners incorporated on the walls of their tombs solely the family members. Therefore, the tombs dealt below represents not a selection of suitable candidates, but a list of all owners who did include

⁴⁵² For the changes in state administration and the growth of the bureaucratic apparatus, see e.g. K. Baer 1960 M. Bárta 2013: 153–117; W. Helck 1954: esp. 29–44, 106–119 and Helck 1975; N. Kanawati 1977: 38 and Kanawati 2003; J.C. Moreno García 1999 and Moreno García 2013: 107–151.

⁴⁵³ For the scribes in the Old Kingdom, see P. Piacentini 2002, for the title “mouth of Nekhen of the king”, see V.G. Callender (2000: 361–380); for the title “keeper of the secrets”, see K.T. Rydström 1994: 86–89.

individuals not related by blood in the funerary realm of their tombs, which is in sharp contrast to preceding two categories of the viziers and higher officials. The only exception forms the *hntiw-š* individuals. There are altogether four tomb owners in the book by A.M. Roth (1994) who meet the criteria for the present work. All four, i.e. the tomb of Kakhent (G 2088), Neferkhui (G 2098), Kapi (G 2091), and Nefermesdjer Khufu (G 2240) come from the same cemetery, all are very close chronologically and the owners held, moreover, the same characteristic title of the “overseer of the *hntiw-š* officials of the Great House” (*imy-r3 hntiw-š pr-š3*). It is worth mentioning at this place to briefly describe the extended household of Neferkhui (G 2098) since he is the only *hntiw-š* official who captured in relief a specialist, namely physician Haief, and his entourage, with one overseer of the house, two scribes, one funerary priest and one physician belonging to the most complex at that cemetery.⁴⁵⁴ Unlike it, three other tombs correspond better one to each other (G 2091, G 2088 and G 2240) all featuring non-kin dependents that are distinguished by more simple entourages with a prevalence of funerary priests. Kapi was deliberately selected as their representative for the present work work.

Worth mentioning is the fact that the following list of selected tombs does also include another bulk of officials who worked as *hntiw-š* individuals at different hierarchical levels, either as inspectors or ordinary employees, but were derived from necropoleis other than G 2000, i.e. the cemetery of palace attendants. In fact, *hntiw-š* individuals have substantially contributed to the list of selected owners, they make up more than one half of it.

As far as the provincial officials of the same rank are concerned, they rarely became to be buried outside the residential necropoleis from the Fifth Dynasty onwards; however, their tombs are often modest with the focus laid on the family members which is a prevalent feature as attested e.g. by several tombs in the necropolis of Deir el-Gebrawi or by tombs E1 to E4 at the cemetery of Meir ((Kanawati 2005; Kessler 1982: col. 15–16; Blackman-Apted 1953: 58–60, pls. 47–49). Quite often we also encounter tombs that are completely undecorated, for instance, the tombs 7C-7G in Deshasha or several tombs in Zawieyt el-Meitin (Kanawati and McFarlane 1993; Bussmann et al. 2016: 38–41).⁴⁵⁵ Worth noting is also the fact that the

⁴⁵⁴ For the scene with identified dependents, see Roth 1991: 145, 148, pls. 102b, 103c, 191 and also the website of the Harvard University with better resolution of wall reliefs: <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/3250/full/> and an unpublished manuscript by A. Reisner from year 1942 mentioning the physician (<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/unpubdocs/46716/full/>).

⁴⁵⁵ There are hundreds of tombs or shafts belonging to provincial officials of a lesser rank at various provincial sites, for the reference see either the older publications as for instance the monograph by G. H. Fischer 1968 or

scholarly attention is paid mainly to the elaborate, finely decorated tombs of nomarchs or chief priests of local temples (see, e.g., Thompson 2014 or Kanawati 2012, 2014 and 2015). Therefore, no provincial tomb of a middle-ranked individual could have been included in the group of tombs that are examined below.

Regarding the dating of the selected tombs, the chosen officials come exclusively from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty reflecting thus the development of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Egyptian state. To be more precise, the chronological limits of the tombs belonging to the middle-ranked owners are defined by N. Kanawati (1977: 23–27) slightly narrower from the reign of Userkaf to the beginning of Pepi I's reign.⁴⁵⁶ The tombs with non-kin dependents are chronologically even more limited, since the first attestation comes from the reign of Niuserre.⁴⁵⁷ It concerns the tombs of Iymery (G 6020) and Kahai (the tomb of Nefer and Kahai), both dated to the reign of that king. The selection comprises further seven tombs dated to the subsequent period from the reign of Niuserre to the end of the Fifth Dynasty: tombs of Nekhetka (G 8957), Kapi (G 2091), Sekhemka (G 1029), Itisen (G 8410), Khufuankh (G 4520), Nefretnesut (G 8220) and Setka (the tomb of Setka and Ptahhetep).

Not one of almost 30 Sixth-Dynasty officials enumerated by N. Kanawati accommodated in his tomb identified dependents outside the family realm (Kanawati 1977: 26–27).⁴⁵⁸ Despite this fact, the present selection was enlarged by three individuals: Methethi dated to the reign of Pepi I and two additional officials Idu (G 7102) and Qar (G 7101) from the

W.M.F. Petrie 1898 as well as numerous recent publications by N. Kanawati 1980–1992; 1993–1995 or N. Kanawati and A. McFarlane 1980–1992; 1993.

⁴⁵⁶ As Kanawati pointed out after the reign of Pepi I the officials of the middle rank were no longer capable and wealthy enough to build their own tombs (Kanawati 1977: 39, 69, 79).

⁴⁵⁷ Two tombs on N. Kanawati's list, namely the tomb of Khufuankh (G 4520) and Itisen (G 8410), which feature apart from family members also dependents not related by blood he dates to the he dates to the reign of Userkaf to Sahure (Kanawati 1977: 23–24). However, the dating proposed by N. Kanawati needs to be refined. The dating to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty seems to be more plausible when we consider the funerary equipment found in the tombs (see individual households below). Regrettably, the dating of several other tombs proposed by N. Kanawati to the period Sahure-Niuserre appeared not to be reliable as well. For instance, Ch. Ziegler dates the tomb of Sekhemka (Saqqara C19) on a basis of the statue style to the reign of Niuserre or even later (Ziegler 1997: 128–141). Different dating to late Fifth Dynasty (Niuserre to Djedkare) has been proposed for the tomb of Senedjemib (Saqqara D 28) by Porter and Moss (1981: 463). This modified dating may be confirmed by the appearance of Osiris in the offering formula that began to occur on a more regular basis just around that time (Bárta 2013: 268; Bárta 1995).

⁴⁵⁸ N. Kanawati sets the majority of these tombs to the very beginning of the Sixth Dynasty or even to the end of the previous dynasty, i.e. the time span between Unas – Pepi I. There was listed no tomb for the period after the reign of Pepi I.

monograph published by W.K. Simpson; the first tomb dated to the reign of Pepi I, the second to Merenre or even to the early reign of Pepi II (Ziegler 1990: 120–151; Simpson 1976).⁴⁵⁹

When comparing the architecture of individual tombs, the majority of them form multi-roomed mastabas, i.e. the tombs of Iymery, Kahai, Itisen, Nekhetka, Setka, Idu and Qar. The remaining three are more modest, and each significantly differs. Although Khufuankh's large tomb incorporated an L-shaped chapel, with two false doors as the only decorated part of the sepulchre, Sekhemka's small tomb, in contrast to it, features a fully decorated chapel. The last selected tomb of Nefretnesut has a false door directly embedded in the eastern facade without accommodating any tomb chapel at all (see particular households below). As far as the tomb of Methethi is concerned we know completely nothing about its layout, it can only be stated with certainty that the discovered fragments provide a testimony of a spacious chapel and tomb entrance decorated with reliefs characteristic of high quality of craftsmanship (Ziegler 1990).

Some prevalence can also be observed when considering the location of these tombs in particular. With the exception of Kahai and Methethi, all tombs under the survey are situated in Giza cemetery, namely at Central Field (Itisen, Nekhetka, Nefretnesut) and the Western Cemetery (Kapi, Sekhemka, Setka and Khufuankh), with the last two tombs built at the Eastern Cemetery (Idu and Qar). Kahai is one of the two representatives of the Saqqara Cemetery. His tomb is located to the south of the Unas causeway in North Saqqara; the same can be said about the location of Methethi's tomb, which was presumably also built somewhere there (see The extended household of Kahai; Methethi). The predominance of Giza necropoleis is already apparent in the list of middle-ranked dignitaries presented by N. Kanawati (1977: 23–27). This implies that Giza belonged especially during the second part of the Fifth Dynasty to the prevailing burial places of the middle and lower ranking officials, while the highest ranking dignitaries followed the kings to Saqqara and Abusir.⁴⁶⁰

To summarize the individual social standing of the owners studied in the following text, we can describe them as well-off officials who were employed either at the royal court or in the central administration of the state. Iymery worked as the royal majordomos (*imy-r3 pr (n) hwt-3t*). Itisen was the king's courtier closely connected to the judiciary, similar to Setka who reached the supreme office in the organization of juridical scribes (*imy-r3 zš (n) z3b*) and was

⁴⁵⁹ N. Kanawati mentions the chronology of these two latter tombs and the middle-ranked social standing of their owners only in the addendum of his book since they were published by W.K. Simpson at a roughly same time as his own work (Kanawati 1977; Simpson 1976).

⁴⁶⁰ Similar observation was made for the group of lower-ranked officials, see the respective chapter of the thesis.

closely associated with the legal and advisory councils of the royal residence as indicated by his titles (*z3b jmj-r3 zšw* and *wḏ^c-mdw št3(w) n ḥwt-wrt*). Nekhetka was involved in the central administration, in particular the administration of the granary. The farthest majority of the officials of the analysed group were employed as *ḥnty(w)-š* official of the Great House. Nefretnesut held a middle-level post of the inspector of *ḥnty(w)-š* individuals, while Kapi was the senior official – the one who stood at the head of the department. This person, on top of that, held important posts in the management of the Great House. Another official Sekhemka headed the department of *ḥnty(w)-š* officials at roughly the same time as Kapi (i.e. the reign of Niuserre to Djedkare) or perhaps slightly later. The group of *ḥnty(w)-š* individuals has to be complemented by Khufuankh who worked as the ordinary *ḥnty(w)-š* official of the Great House (*ḥnty(w)-š pr-ḥ3*), but headed the group of royal singers and flautists (*imy-r3 ḥsw pr-ḥ3*, *imy-r3 sbiw*) at the same time. Finally, Kahai was similar to Khufuankh but several decades earlier employed in the segment of amusement, as testifies his title of the overseer of singers of the two houses (*imy-r3 ḥsww prwy*).

In contrast to the Fifth Dynasty officials, the Sixth Dynasty dignitaries Methethi, Qar, and Idu appear to be ranked some steps higher than their predecessors. The functional titles of Qar and Idu refer to their involvement in the upper floors of the central administration. Idu was similar to Setka associated with the administration of the Great House, but endowed with a more elevated rank of the overseer (*imy-r3 ḥwt wrt*). Idu further held several titles connected to juridical and scribal matters, and on top of that, he was endowed with priestly titles. Qar worked for a state department different from Idu, that is, the administration of labour. To be more precise, he was employed as the “overseer of all the works” and the “overseer of scribes of all the works” (*imy-r3 k3t nbt* or *imy-r3 zš(w) n k3t nbt*). Certain distinctions in the social status of these dignitaries further disclose their rank titles. Both officials bore the title *ḥry tp nswt* “king’s liegeman/royal chamberlain, he who is under the head of the king”; Qar was even higher ranked as a “sole companion” (*smr w^cty*). Methethi was in his leading position in the *ḥntiw-š* department furnished with the title of king’s “liegeman/royal chamberlain” (*ḥry-tp nswt*), instead of the title of the property custodian of the king (*iry ht nswt*) that prevailed in titulary of his Fifth Dynasty predecessors in the same post. This piece of evidence confirms a typical late Old Kingdom phenomenon that was described already by W. Helck as “Ranginflation” (Helck 1954: 111–119).

The evidence provided by the provincial tomb owners of an intermediate status features modest wall decoration usually restricted to the tomb owner as demonstrates, e.g. the simple

tomb with a small rock-cut chapel (Tomb 22) of the overseer of the department of *ḥntiw-š* officials Hepi in the necropolis of Sheikh Said dated to the reign of Pepi I (Davies 1901: 34–35, 43, pl. 27–31; Martinet 2019: 970, n. 15HE.CS.VI.4). In this particular case, the rank title/s regrettably did not preserve, but further evidence demonstrated that there came to the shift in rank titles of the provincial lower elite as well. Since these provincial tombs did not encompass individuals outside the family realm, none could be included in the list of tombs enumerated below.

7.1 Households of the middle-ranked officials dated to the Fifth Dynasty

7.1.1 Iymery

The tomb of Iymery (G 6020), its architecture, and wall decoration

The tomb of Iymery (G 6020/LG 16) – the so-called ‘Tomb of Trades’, belongs to one of the most extensively decorated tombs in the Western Cemetery at Giza (Weeks 1994; Porter and Moss 1974: 170–174, plans 13, 29; Reisner 1942: 289–290 [2], 314 [top, a]). Four generations of the same family were buried close to each other in the cemetery G 6000, with Iymery's father Shepseskafankh to be the founder of the family cluster, followed by his descendants Iymery, Neferbaupthah, and Neferseshemthah.⁴⁶¹ The two-niched mastaba of Iymery is of type IX a, it is a large stone-built tomb with dimensions 20.25 × 11.1 m (224.78 sq. m). The exterior chapel consists of three rooms, a serdab and an open courtyard that totals 346.02 sq m (Weeks 1994: 71, figs. 1–8; Reisner 1942: 363).⁴⁶² An exhaustive repertoire of scenes adorns the chapel.⁴⁶³ Apart from traditionally appearing scenes of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table, a procession of offering bearers or animal slaughter scene, we encounter elaborated daily life scenes starting from the depiction of fishing and ploughing, pastures scenes, fruits picking, wine pressing, cereals depositing to scenes capturing various workshop activities (Weeks 1994: figs. 25–46).

Iymery's rank, his close family and extended household

Iymery's social standing can be derived from his title as a “property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance” (*iry ḥt nswt*) which, together with his functional titles, ranks him among the middle ranked officials. He comes from a family of royal majordomos (*imy-r3 pr (n) ḥwt-ʿ3t*),

⁴⁶¹ For the family of Iymery, see the article by Reisner 1939.

⁴⁶² N. Kanawati provides us with a slightly different numbers, i.e. 182 sq. m. without the serdab and the court, altogether 289 sq. m. (Kanawati 1977).

⁴⁶³ The list of individual scenes is provided by Junker 1938: 41–42 [31], fig. 8(a).

the first to be his father Shepseskafankh followed in the office by Iymery and his offspring – son Neferbauptah and grandson Ptahneferseshem, Iymery himself devoted his career to the service at the royal court. In addition to the post of “steward of the great estate”, he held the title of a “scribe of the archives” (*zš pr-md3t*) and was “king’s wab priest” (*w^cb nswt*). On top of that, he performed priestly services in the funerary cult of four kings as *hm-ntr* of Khufu, Sahure, Neferirkare, and Niuserre)(Weeks 1994: 5, 13–19).

Iymery was buried within a circle of his close family adjacent to the tomb of his father Shepseskafankh (G 6040) from the north and surrounded by the tombs of his son Neferbauptah (G 6010) and his brother in-law Ity (G 6030) from the south.⁴⁶⁴ Both latter individuals were already portrayed in the tomb of Iymery, together with his wife Nikauhathor and other offspring Shepseskafankh Nedjes, Iymery, Meretites, and Mit.⁴⁶⁵ Worth mentioning are Iymery’s two siblings Weseretka and Kaimeny who are also attested in the tomb. Some scholars consider Seshemnefer, the owner of G 5080 to be another brother of Iymery, although no evidence of this person comes from any of the tombs at the cemetery G 6000.⁴⁶⁶ The last family member to be named is Iymery’s grandson Neferseshemtah, who was not recorded in the tomb of Iymery but his son Neferbauptah (G 6010).

The entourage of Iymery is extremely numerous comprising 34 identified individuals of the total amount of 436 dependents recorded in the tomb iconography (12.8%)(see Tab. 40). Iymery’s funerary cult was headed by *imy-r3 hm-k3* Ankhaef, who is depicted as the first scribe in the scene of presenting offerings from the towns of Iymery’s funerary estate *pr-dt* (Weeks 1994: 71, fig. 27)(see Fig. 79). The figure of Ankhaef who records the offerings is followed by his own son, an ordinary *hm-k3* Khenu, and another priest Ipy, who was, at the same time, attached by a scribal title (*hm-k3 zš Ipy*).⁴⁶⁷ Five additional inspectors of *k3*-priests served under the leadership of Ankhaef. They were inspectors of *k3*-priests Kaikhersef, Nikare, Khenunefer, Tjenty, and Ipy (Weeks 1994: figs. 27, 30, 31, 36, 40, 42, 44). While the first three appear in the tomb only once, Ipy three times and Tjenty probably even four times, which might refer to certain differentiation in their importance and a particular supremacy of the latter two

⁴⁶⁴ Ity was director of music of the Pharaoh – probably an associate of Iymery within the court services and a husband of Iymery’s sister Weseretka (Weeks 1994: 5).

⁴⁶⁵ For the discussion on Iymery’s family, see K. Weeks 1994: 4–8, which is based on the article by G.A. Reisner 1939: 25–35. The family tree of Iymery is reconstructed by K. Weeks 1994: chart on page 7.

⁴⁶⁶ For a discussion on the relationship between Iymery and Seshemnefer, see K. Weeks 1994: 7.

⁴⁶⁷ The name and title of Ipy seems to be added later as it is only his figure which is in contrast to other inscriptions in the scene attached by incised not carved labels, see K. Weeks 1994: 71: fig. 27.

individuals over the rest.⁴⁶⁸ Most of the inspectors had another “civil” profession: Nykare was the “inspector of builders” (*shd kd*), Ipy was not only an “inspector of funerary priests” but also a “scribe” (*zš*) and Tjenty, who appears to have been one of the most important persons in Iymery's household, was endowed with two titles associated with household management: an “elder of the house” (*smsw pr*) and “director of the dining hall” (*hrp zh*).⁴⁶⁹ The importance and seniority of Tjenty was further underlined by his clothing, a long pointed kilt and scribal equipment.⁴⁷⁰

The funerary cult of Iymery consisted apart from these senior priests of 12 ordinary priests. Seven of them were distinguished merely by a priestly title (ordinary *hm-k3*); their role within the household of Iymery is not clear if they once carried any. They were all recorded as offering bearers not involved in any activity related to domestic services (Weeks 1994: figs. 44–46). Other priests were endowed with an additional title (Weeks 1994: figs. 30, 39, 42). For instance, the funerary priest Nykhefetkay held a scribal title. This profession is clearly reflected in the depicted activity, he is portrayed while reporting about the agriculture surplus to the tomb owner (Weeks 1994: fig. 39)(see Fig. 80). Iymery further awarded a couple of excellent craftsmen, namely the metal worker Kaemankh (*st3t*), inspector of metal workers Ny[ankh]ptah (*shd st3t*) or inspector of workshop Rawer (*shd ist*) with daily portions from his funerary cult by appointing them to the priestly posts (Weeks 1994: 30, 42).

To proceed in the description of Iymery's extended household, it is important to mention educated members, namely scribes. The scribal profession was represented by five individuals, specifically two already mentioned funerary priests, Ipy and Nikhefetkay, an ordinary scribe Hetep and “scribe's assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of the document, archivist” *iry md3t* Niankhre – each of them depicted with a scribal equipment recording or reporting about Iymery's property (Weeks 1994: figs. 27, 30, 32)(see Figs. 79 and 81). Ipy appears for three times in reliefs; his portrayal with a writing board, pen, and a long skirt assigns him to be a

⁴⁶⁸ We cannot be sure about the precise number of Tjenty's appearances since the titles of Tjenty slightly differs; see an elaboration of the topic further in the text.

⁴⁶⁹ Tjenty appears at several places in tomb iconography: 1) he burns incense for Shepseskaefankh and Iymery in the scene of bringing gifts from the funerary estates of the deceased; 2) he pours oil in the scene depicting mixing and storage of oil (in both occurrences depicted as *shd hm-k3*); 3) he heads offering bearers who are presenting food offerings to the deceased (depicted as *smsw pr*, *hrp zh*, *shd hm-k3*); 4) he partially preserved in the scene of the tomb owner viewing snaring birds from Delta marshes (*smsw pr*, *shd hm-k3*); 5) he immediately follows his master Iymery in the scene of presenting the lotus flower (Weeks 1994: fig. 27, 29, 30, 36, 40, 43, pls. 13–14).

⁴⁷⁰ He is reckoning objects in the scene of carrying the deceased Shepseskafankh in a palanquin (*zš*, *shd hm-k3*); he follows the overseer of priests Ankhaf in the procession of scribes (*zš*, *hm-k3*); he records the storage of oil in the scene depicting oil manufacture where he appears only with title *zš* probably due to an insufficient space (*shd hm-k3*)(Weeks 1994: fig. 27, 30, pls. 13–14).

literate dependent of a particular importance (Weeks 1994: 27, 30, 32). The only anonymous representative within the group of scribes is the scribe of the granary (*zš šnwt*) who is captured recording quantities of grain (Weeks 1994: fig. 38). His person completes this professional category.

The craftsmen formed the second most numerous group of dependents in the tomb of Iymery, which is quite natural considering the large number of scenes depicting workshop activities.⁴⁷¹ The senior posts in various craft-related activities held *shd ist* “inspector of the workshop/*iz(t)*-chamber/office” Rawer and his colleague whose name has not preserved up to now; both occur in the scene displaying workshop activities (Weeks 1994: 34, fig. 30)(see Fig. 81).⁴⁷² Rawer appears in the tomb iconography altogether three times, once again in an agriculture scene where he drives the herd, and finally leads an ox in the scene of presenting offerings (Weeks 1994: figs. 39, 41–42; pls. 23–28).⁴⁷³ Other master craftsmen who appear in wall reliefs are as follows: two “inspectors of the metalworkers” Kay (*shd st3t*) and Niankhptah (*shd st3t, hm-k3*), the “inspector of the builders” Nikare (*shd kd, shd hm-k3*), and finally the “director of the workshop” Kay (Weeks 1994: 35, 52, figs. 30, 40–42, pls. 26–28).⁴⁷⁴ Ordinary craftsmen are represented by “metal worker” Kaemankh (*st3t, hm-k3*) who occurs twice, three anonymous “carpenters” (*mdh*), and the “architect” (*kd*) Nihutptah (Weeks 1994: figs. 30, 43, pl. 29). The latter person appears in the scene of presenting the lotus flower to Shepseskafankh, where the closest circle of the family and the most prominent dependents are recorded (Weeks 1994: 53, fig. 43).⁴⁷⁵

The labour department is another professional segment recorded in wall reliefs. A gang of workers of Iymery’s funerary estate is mentioned in particular in a label that represents two agriculture scenes. The first describes “ploughing by his gang of the funerary estate” (*sk3 m sh3t in iswt.f nt pr.f n dt*), while the second in a similar way denotes “hoeing by the gang of workmen” (*b3 in iswt.f nt pr.f n dt*) (Weeks 1994: 49, figs. 39–40; pls. 23–25). Apart from this

⁴⁷¹ It is precisely these scenes that gave the tomb the name “Mastaba of Trades”.

⁴⁷² Weeks prefers to read the title in this particular scene as the “inspector of workshop” not the “inspector of the crew(s)” (*shd iz*) as translate it D. Jones 2000: 916, 3363, considering it to be more appropriate in the context of respective scene (Weeks 1994: 18, fig. 30).

⁴⁷³ The name and profession tag of Rawer seems to be added additionally at least in the latter two instances, while the inscription is carved in smaller signs that the surrounding text and it is carved rather crudely in the last occurrence (Weeks 1994: figs. 39, 41–42; pls. 23–28).

⁴⁷⁴ All the identifying inscriptions of craftsmen are crudely carved.

⁴⁷⁵ There is certain possibility that Nihutptah was one of Iymery’s sons since the line of the text above the individuals in the respective register refers to them as to his (Iymery’s) children (*msw.f*) headed by Neferbaupth, however, already the second individual is anonymous which may indicate a cut in the sequence of Iymery’s sons who are followed by important officials?

general designation of a group of workers, there occur several individuals attached with titles directly engaged in labour department, i.e. “director of the crew(s), director of a gang of workmen/boat crew” (*hrp iz(w)t*)(Jones 2000: 700, 2559), respectively *shd iz* “inspector of the crew(s)/a gang of workmen/boat” (Jones 2000: 916, 3363), both describing a senior official heading a group of workers. The title *hrp iz* allows for two different interpretations as Weeks proposed, he prefers the reading “director of workshop” especially in the context of scenes depicting workshop activities which makes perfect sense (Weeks 1994: 18, figs. 39, 42).⁴⁷⁶ Such a reading would categorize this title within the segment associated with craftsmen instead of the labour department. However, when carefully tracing the meaning of the title “director of workshop” it only denotes a person who headed a group of craftsmen. In this context, it is not off-topic to mention that D. Jones does not list this title in his Index at all (Jones 2000).

When describing the household of a high dignitary, it is usually an overseer of the house who was in charge of its daily running. There is also a representative of this profession named Sankhniptah in the tomb of Iymery, however, the analysis of Iymery’s extended household proved that the elder of the house Tjenty likely played a more important role. Tjenty accumulated several functional titles. He was not only the elder of the house but also the director of the dining room, and at the same time, he was engaged with a senior priestly title (inspector of *k3*-priests). Moreover, Tjenty appears five times in the tomb in contrast to Sankhniptah, who was recorded only once. At least two of Tjenty’s depictions record him as an important dependent in a prominent place following Iymery in the scene of presenting a lotus flower to Shepseskafankh or with an incense burner leading the offering bearers in the scene of bringing gifts (Weeks 1994: 36–37, 43, 45, 49, 53, figs. 31, 37, 40, 43).⁴⁷⁷ Further three depictions were probably added later as they are crudely incised or only painted (Weeks 1994: 9). This points to a possible free access of this person to the tomb during his service for the deceased.⁴⁷⁸

In addition, three individuals worked as household managers as can be detected from the present analysis. The first is an anonymous “overseer of fowlers” (*imy-r3 wh^c*) involved in the scene of netting birds, while two “hunt assistants/participants” (*iry nw*) Niankhre and Nyptah figure in the scene of the tomb owner carried in a palanquin (Weeks 1994: figs. 32, 40, pl. 16). The ordinary servants who accompanied the managers are represented by two butchers

⁴⁷⁶ This particular title is not listed in Jones’s Index (Jones 2000).

⁴⁷⁷ The overseer of the house Sankhniptah appears in the same scene of presenting lotus flower as Tjenty, but he follows not Iymery himself, but his son Neferbaupthah, (Weeks 1994: fig. 43).

⁴⁷⁸ For a similar situation, where a priest added several inscriptions to the original ones, see for instance The household of Ty.

displayed in an animal slaughter scene. One of them named Khnumhetep is designated as “the best of the butchers” (*stp sšm*) which refers to his unique position among other representatives of this profession who remained anonymous and helps to clarify his additional title of a funerary priest (Weeks 1994: 56, fig. 44, pl. 30).

The last professional sphere to mention is the amusement. All depicted figures of musicians are anonymous, only their activities are depicted. Six individuals either sing, dance, play the harp, or clap to the rhythm (Weeks 1994: fig. 43).

In summary, Iymery came from a well-off family of officials who carried out a high managerial function of the royal steward; several generations of Iymery’s family worked at this position. His multi-chambered tomb, extraordinarily large and splendidly decorated, clearly reflects his solid position at the royal court. Similarly, the official wealth is mirrored in a large entourage consisting of 34 dependents and all three main professional segments, i.e. priests, scribes, and household managers. Some of the most capable and loyal servants, especially the household managers and scribes, were evidently entitled to share provisions from the funerary cult. Scribe Ipy and household manager Tjenty were the most important ones who benefited from the cult. Quite unusually, several craftsmen were also endowed with *k3*-priest titles, though mainly ordinary. Nevertheless, one of them, the inspector of the builders Nikare, was granted with a higher authority as an inspector of *k3*-priests. The emphasis on craftsmen illustratively corresponds with a strong representation of this profession within the tomb reliefs. It represents a group equally numerous as managers and servants of Iymery’s household! Altogether the funerary cult of Iymery was provided with almost twenty *k3*-servants divided into three different hierarchical levels with an overseer at the top. Broadly speaking, Iymery’s tomb displays an unusually numerous, complex and hierarchically structured extended household compared to officials of equal or very similar social standing.

Iymery	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	3
	<i>iry mḏ3t</i> “scribe’s assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of the document, archivist” <i>iry mḏ3t</i> ”	1
	<i>zš šnwt</i> “scribe of the granary”	1
Priestly services	<i>imy-r3 ḥm-k3</i> “overseer of <i>k3</i> -priests”	1
	<i>šḥḏ ḥm-h3</i> “inspector of <i>k3</i> -priests”	5
	<i>ḥm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -priest”	12

Household management	<i>hrp zh</i> “director of the dining hall”	1
	<i>imy-r3 wh^cw</i> “overseer of fowlers”	1
	<i>smsw pr</i> “elder of the domain”	1
	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of household/estate/the Steward”	1
	<i>iry nw</i>	2
Household servants	<i>sšm</i> “butcher”	1
	<i>stp sšm</i> “the best of the butchers”	2
Craftsmen/department of labour	<i>shd ist</i> “inspector of the workshop/iz(t)-chamber/office; inspector of the crew(s)/a gang of workmen/boat”	2
	<i>hrp ist</i> “director of the workshop/iz(t)-chamber/office; director of the crew(s)/a gang of workmen/boat”	1
	<i>shd st3t</i> “inspector of metal-workers”	1
	<i>shd kd</i> “inspector of the builders”	1
	<i>kd</i> “architect”	1
	<i>st3t</i> “metal-worker”	1
	<i>mdh</i> “cartpenter”	1
Amusement	<i>skr m bnt</i> “playing the harp”	1
	<i>hs(w)</i> “singer”	1
	<i>ib3</i> “dancer”	3
	<i>m3ht</i> “female clapper”	1

Tab. 40 The extended household of Iymeri

7.1.2 Kahai

The tomb of Kahai, its architecture and wall decoration

Kahai is one of two middle-rank officials within the analysed group who built his tomb not in Giza cemetery but to the south of the Unas causeway at North Saqqara (Lashien 2013; Moussa and Altenmüller 1971). It was built as a joint tomb for Nefer and his father Kahai, with later added burials intended for other family members (Moussa and Altenmüller 1971: 11). The superstructure of the tomb measures in total 20 sq.m..⁴⁷⁹ (the corridor 8.45 × 1.98m; the alcove 1.05 × 2.00m; the serdab 1.50 × 0.79m)(Lashien 2013: 23). It consists of an outer court, a rock-cut L-shaped chapel with a serdab, and a superstructure containing more than ten burial shafts for various members of the Kahai family. The chapel itself comprises two individual parts, a corridor belonging to Kahai and an alcove hewn to the east allocated for Nefer. Both

⁴⁷⁹ The corridor measures 8.45 × 1.98m, the alcove 1.05 × 2.00m and the serdab 1.50 × 0.79m. The area of the outer court is not recorded, see Lashien 2013: 23.

architectural elements were decorated with extraordinary quality and vivid colours; the corridor in raised relief, while the alcove in low relief or merely in painting.⁴⁸⁰ The repertoire of scenes was quite wide containing most of all various daily life scenes, such as marshland, pastures and agriculture scenes including a clap net, wine pressing, bread baking, or papyrus pulling but also scenes depicting dancers and artisans performing music, people playing senet game, workshop scenes or scenes depicting fighting boatmen (Lashien 2013: pls. 7–17, 21–27, 78, 81–82). The artistic features of the tomb decoration served as the basis for the dating of Kahai’s tomb to the reign of Nyuserre (Harpur 1987: 274 [439]; Cherpion 1989: 77–79).⁴⁸¹ Kahai was thus a roughly contemporary of Iymery.

Kahai’s rank, his close family and extended household

Kahai’s professional sphere is rather different from that of Iymery although both worked at the royal court. Three generations of the Kahai family occupied the office of royal singers. Kahai was employed as “overseer of singers of the two houses” (*imy-r3 ḥsww prwy*), his sons Nefer, Werbau, Senitef and Ikhi together with grandsons Khenu, Werneb, Ptahwer, Rawer and Nikauptah were all the “inspectors of singers” with the exception of Khenu who was “director of singers in the Two Houses” (*hrp ḥsww m prwy*). Kahai’s rank is the same as that of Iymery expressed by the title “property custodian of the king/king’s acquaintance” (Lashien 2013: 17).

The family of Kahai could be fully reconstructed from inscriptional evidence of the tomb. The couple of Kahai and his spouse Meretites had a daughter Senetites and at least four sons: Ikhy, Nefer, Werbau, and Senitef. Not only did the sons, with the exception of Ikhy, insert their own false doors in the western wall of the corridor, but even their wives held prominent positions, since they were depicted equal in size to their husbands (Lashien 2013: 14).⁴⁸² The family of Kahai further included at least 14 grandchildren, among others the sons of Nefer - Werneb, Ptahwer, Rawer, Khenu, the Elder; offspring of another Kahai son Werbau – grandsons Nihathor, Nefersedjemptah, Qemakhnumtjetet and granddaughters Nikauhathor, Nithathor, Nefertnetites, Satmeret, Seheb, and finally the sons of Senitef – grandsons Nikauptah and Shepsesptah (Lashien 2013: 17–22).⁴⁸³ Altogether they represent almost 25 members of the same family.

⁴⁸⁰ The tomb decoration has been recently examined by A. Oser 2011: 1–45 and M. Westerlund 2014: 1–12.

⁴⁸¹ For the dating, see also the recent work by M. Lashien 2013: 16–17, pl. 77 or N. Kanawati 1977: 153 [170].

⁴⁸² Nefer’s wife Khunsu is the only woman recorded in a smaller size than her husband, the figures of Kahai’s wife Meretites, Werbau’s wife Khentkaues and Senitef’s wife Khenmet were in contrast to it represented equally high (Lashien 2013: 15).

⁴⁸³ Five unnamed children are possibly to be added, see M. Lashien 2013: 21.

The extended household of Kahai is almost as numerous as the family comprising 24 identified individuals of the total amount of 152 figures of dependents (6.3 %)(see Tab. 41). Most of the identified dependents, 19 individuals, are only named without any professional tag attached. Only a few dependents were also identified by their profession. They are, on one hand, household managers and priests, on the other hand, possible Kahai subordinates. The most important person in charge of household matters was *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house” Nefer who appears in the scene of bringing the gifts (Lashien 2013: 26, 41, pls. 2, 6a, 49–56, 57a, 81, 85)(see Fig. 82). A particular supremacy of the “overseer of the house” Nefer over other members of Kahai’s entourage can be derived not only from the fact that he was the only dependent attached with two titles, but also because his name and titles were carefully carved in sunken relief – a clear evidence that they belonged to original inscriptions, in contrast to the names and titles of other dependents that were only cursorily painted.

Apart from Nefer, the only other representative of a priestly profession occurs on the false door cut for Sanitef. Certain Neferkherenptah is making *s3ht* glorification, but labelled only by his name without any other identifier (Lashien 2013: 22–23, 41, pls. 49–56, 57a, 85). In contrast to rare representation of priestly personnel, the household staff was more numerous comprising two “estate managers”, Nefer and Hetep, and several ordinary household servants, who are captured in a drag-net scene. Seven fishermen are identified only by their names (Lashien 2013: pls. 7b, 8, 9a, 81). The same applies for herdsmen, who were only named, but without any professional label attached (Lashien 2013: 29, pls. 13–15, 81–82).

No other profession associated with body care, amusement, craft, or labour is recorded elsewhere in the tomb, only five men engaged in a boat building are named without mentioning their occupation (Lashien 2013: 29). In a similar manner, it is only personal names that are attached to figures of two scribes whose profession is indicated by the attributes they hold, i.e. the scribal palette in their hands and pens behind their ears.

Two more non-kin individuals are worth mentioning, both possible subordinates of the tomb owner. The first person named Khet is an “overseer of ten men of the Great House” (*imy-r3 md pr-ꜥ3*) who is depicted reading from a document in the scene of rendering accounts by estate chiefs (Lashien 2013: 23, 29). He is distinguished from other individuals by a long kilt similar to other important dependents - the “overseer of the house” Nefer. However, the title of this individual was in contrast to that of Nefer only painted as the rest of other name and professional tags, but in this particular case much carefully made resembling a draft of a carving that has not yet been finished (Lashien 2013: pls. 4, 12)(see Fig. 83a, b). The last dependent

named Tjenty is of a particular importance for two reasons. He held three titles, one of which was the ranking one *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king/king’s acquaintance”, which is unique within the context of other dependents. His functional titles were connected to the management of the royal court as demonstrated by his titles of the “overseer of commissions of the Great House” (*imy-r3 wpt pr-ꜥ3*) and the “under-supervisor of the Great House” (*imy-ht pr-ꜥ3*). It is not insignificant that both Kahai and his son Nefer were closely associated to the service at the royal court, the latter as its senior manager - *shd pr-ꜥ3* the “inspector of the Great House”. Therefore, it is not improbable that Tjenty was Kahai’s colleague or a friend from work and Nefer’s future subordinate.

The web of relationship of Kahai may be further enlarged by two individuals, Nikaure and Kaihai. The evidence from the tomb iconography provides no information about their titles, but their depiction is particularly indicative in the case of the latter person. Kaihai is portrayed as one of two scribes in the scene where scribes are reporting to the tomb owner (Lashien 2013: 29, pl. 78). N. Kanawati suggests that this Kaihai may be identical with the owner of a recently uncovered tomb in the Teti cemetery in Saqqara who was *zš pr-md3t ntr* “scribe of the house of documents of the god” of the same name (Kanawati 2013: 348–362). The other individual Nikaure is depicted among three other offering bearers in the offering table scene situated at the western wall without any reference to his possible job (Lashien 2013: pl. 79). Despite the absence of any link to his possible profession, A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller (1971: 18) proposed that Nikaure may be identical to the owner of Saqqara mastaba D 50 who worked as the “inspector of singers” similar to Kahai.⁴⁸⁴ Although the real identity of both individuals remains unclear, the presented possibilities demonstrate how manifold the social ties may have originally been.

Overall, Kahai comes from a family of royal singers that is attested by three subsequent generations, he personally being the most powerful of them. His tomb is one of two Saqqara representatives of a middle-ranked monument featuring non-kin dependents. The iconographical evidence provides a picture of a relatively large entourage, although it does not reach the high values of Iymery’s retinue. The total number of almost 25 individuals needs to be reduced at least to certain degree because the vast majority of dependents were only identified with their names, which makes the composition less diverse with regard to recorded professions. The overseer of the house Nefer, together with two estate managers, belongs to few

⁴⁸⁴ For the mastaba D 50, see A. Mariette 1889: 313.

exemptions. The first of them was a key person in Kahai's household who was as capable and loyal dependent of his lord endowed with revenues from the funerary cult, in contrast to his assistants, who were not evenly privileged. The educated members of Kahai's entourage complement two of his collaborators or possible friends from the royal court Tjenty and Khet, with two further persons, Nikaure and Kaihai, who may also come from the same professional circle. Although their relationship to the tomb owner based on a professional tie is quite apparent, their direct involvement in household matters is rather unclear. Ordinary household servants, i.e. fowlers, fishermen or workmen, formed the rest of the identified individuals; whether any offering bearer should represent a dependent with more elaborate profession as was proposed for Nikaure could not be discerned.

Kahai	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-priest"	1
Household management	<i>hk3-hwt</i> "estate manager"	2
	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of household/estate/the Steward"	1
Central administration/the royal court/the king	<i>imy-r3 md pr-ꜣ3</i> "overseer of ten men of the Great House"	1
	<i>imy-r3 wpt pr-ꜣ3</i> "overseer of commissions of the Great House"	1
	<i>imy-ht pr-ꜣ3</i> "under-supervisor of the Great House"	1
Rank titles	<i>iry ht nswt</i> "property custodian of the king/king's acquaintance"	1
Only named		19

Tab. 41 The extended household of Kahai

7.1.3 Kapi

The tomb of Kapi (G 2091), its architecture, and wall decoration

The stone-built tomb of Kapi (G 2091) of type VIIIc is located in the Western Cemetery in Giza within other tombs of palace attendants (Roth 1995). The tomb was built in three stages, with the total area at the end of construction works measuring almost one hundred square metres (precisely 97.28 sq.m.)(Roth 1995: 97). It consists of a long corridor and a chapel with one pillar and two false doors of type 7c. Not only the chapel itself but also the corridor appears to be originally covered with reliefs, as indicate the copies of wall decoration made by N. de G. Davies, which were later published by W.S. Smith (1949: figs. 184, 212). Regrettably, the

scenes are now almost completely lost since the plaster layer on which they were applied fell off (Roth 1995: 100).⁴⁸⁵ In contrast to the painted decoration in the corridor, the chapel reliefs that were carved directly into the stone surface were preserved in a better state. The repertoire of scenes is quite diverse ranging from scenes depicting the tomb owner viewing marshland activities, herdsmen leading animals, scenes with desert animals, cranes, driving cattle, offering bearers, dancers and musicians, boatmen, food preparation or harvesting scene to the scene of presenting the lotus flower or the conventional offering table scene (Roth 1995: pls. 41–62). Although R. Porter and B. Moss proposed the dating of the tomb to the late Fifth Dynasty or the Sixth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 69–70), A.M. Roth more recently specified the date based on iconographical features to the reign of Nyuserre or Djedkare, which allows to make the comparison of Kapi’s entourage with similarly dated tombs of Iymery and Kahai (Roth 1995: 35, 100, 103).

Kapi’s rank, his close family, and extended household

Kapi was an official who can be distinguished by his service at the royal court. He was “inspector and under-supervisor of the Great House” (*shd pr-ꜥ3, imy-ht pr-ꜥ3*), and in addition “major-domo of the Great House” (*hry-pr pr-ꜥ3*). He was also employed as an *hntyw-š* official occupying different career stages from an ordinary “*hntyw-š* official of the Great House”, an “inspector of *hntyw-š* officials of the Great House” (*shd hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3*) to the head of the group as the “overseer of the department of *hntyw-š* officials of the Great House” (*imy-r3 st hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3*). Kapi’s intimate relationship with the king and his involvement in legal matters attest to the titles of the “overseer of commissions of the Great House and overseer of tens of the Great House” (*imy-r3 wpt pr-ꜥ3, imy-r3 mdw pr-ꜥ3*). Kapi was ranked *iry ht nswt* “one who is known to the king, king’s/royal acquaintance, one who is concerned with the things of the king, custodian of the king’s property” and *iry-ht nswt pr-ꜥ3* “custodian of the king’s property (in) the Great House/ royal acquaintance of the Great House”. He was further endowed with the title “wab-priest of the king” (*wꜥb nswt*), which probably belonged to his latest promotion together with the highest stage of *hntyw-š*-office (Roth 1995: 102, 104).

⁴⁸⁵ A.M. Roth included in her study not only the still visible reliefs from the chapel, but also the evidence from the corridor recorded by W.S. Smith in his publication, see A.M. Roth 1995: pls. 41d, 42a–b, 43a, 155, 156, 158, 159.

The close family of Kapi comprises seven/eight persons, primarily his wife Khamerernebtj and three, respectively, four daughters Tjezet, Meretites, and Neferkhuathor, together with brother Nefermin and sister Wepet.⁴⁸⁶

The extended household of Kapi consists of nine individuals of the total number of 51 recorded dependents (17.6 %)(see Tab. 42). Despite the extensive wall decoration, only the false doors and the pillar contain identified dependents. Three of them are depicted on the south face of the pillar (Roth 1995: 102, pls. 48a–b and 162b)(see Fig. 84). They are Nikhasutnesut (without title), *imy-r3 st* “overseer of the storehouse/department”⁴⁸⁷ Kares and *hsw pr-ʿ3* “singer of the Great House” Nefernetjer. A possible family relation of these individuals to Kapi is uncertain; they were more likely his collaborators mutually related with business ties. Other identified dependents are recorded on the southern false door (Roth 1995: 102, pls. 53a–b and 164 left)(see Fig. 85a). Apart from an individual named Kepamesu whose title is missing, two *k3*-priests are present: one male and one female, both tagged with a personal name. Another group of *k3*-priests are recorded on the northern false door (Roth 1995: 103, pls. 54a–b and 164 right)(see Fig. 85b). Two male priests are making a libation ritual with censuring incense, two female *k3*-priests are bringing offerings. No identified scribe is recorded, but an anonymous holder of this profession is writing on a tablet with a pen behind his ear on the chapel south wall (Roth 1995: 102, pls. 50, 51, 52a–b, and 163). Only a bulk of anonymous dependents, e.g., herdsmen or dancers with musicians, can be found in the tomb (Roth 1995: pls. 52, 56–59). Other professions as craftsmen, individuals connected to body care, or specialists are completely missing.

In total, Kapi was a well-off individual who held several important posts at the royal court, as e.g. the “manager of the Great House”, “overseer of commissions” and the “overseer of the department of *hntyw-š* officials of the Great House”, the latter one belonging to the most important of them. His tomb, although richly decorated, incorporated identified dependents only on the chapel false doors and the pillar; the rest of the decorated tomb environment remained anonymous. The size of Kapi’s suite is almost ten members. The majority of recorded dependents formed funerary priests who are complemented by four other persons. Two of them were only named without a professional specialisation given, one person was engaged in the

⁴⁸⁶ The name of one of the daughters cannot be identified due to a certain damage to the scene (Roth 1995: 101, 104, pls. 41d, 42a–b, 158, and 159). It is not clear if another (the fourth) daughter is depicted or one of the already mentioned ones was intended to be recorded twice.

⁴⁸⁷ As indicated by other titles including the *st* “department/storehouse”, it was predominantly connected with a particular institution of the Residence, either the *hntiw-š* office, *st-df3* of *pr-ʿ3*, see D. Jones 2000.

segment of entertainment, and the last individual headed the storehouse. There is, rather surprisingly, no evidence of any household manager; if this segment was not represented by the individuals distinguished only by their names, regrettably there are no clues pro or contra such assumption in the tomb reliefs. Neither can be any profession connected to the sphere of body care, no craftsman or specialist detected. Therefore, based on available evidence, the composition of Kapi's extended household is limited mainly to a group of funerary priests completed with rare representatives of the central administration and the segment of amusement.

Kapi	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>ḥm-k3</i> "k3-priest"	6
Central administration	<i>imy-r3 st</i> "overseer of the storehouse/department"	1
Amusement	<i>ḥsw pr-ꜣ3</i> "singer of the Great House"	1
Only named	Without a title	2

Tab. 42 The extended household of Kapi

7.1.4 Itisen

The tomb of Itisen (G 8410), its architecture, and wall decoration

The tomb of Itisen⁴⁸⁸ (G 8410) is situated at the Central Field in Giza to the north of the tomb of Queen Bunefer (Hassan 1944: 261–278, figs. 118–139, pls. 33–51; Porter and Moss 1974: 252–253, plans 23, D-6, 32). It is partly a rock-cut tomb partly built of limestone blocks, measuring in total 210 sq.m. (Kanawati 1977: 86). Its entrance opens to an antechamber leading to an almost 15m long passage to which a small room to the south and a serdab to the east are attached (Hassan 1944: 261–263, fig. 118). The chapel opens to the west with dimensions 10.20 × 3.12 m. It has originally been fully decorated in raised relief; however, some scenes suffered from certain damage due to a decayed layer of plaster, in particular the southern wall (Hassan 1944: 270). The northern wall with the offering table scene was preserved, in contrast to it, in almost intact state (Hassan 1944: 269–270). The relief carving is of excellent quality, as S. Hassan stressed, it features "originality of detail and a surprising naturalism of drawing that is quite unusual in Egyptian Art" (Hassan 1944: 277). The list of scenes is provided by B. Porter and R. Moss (1974: 252–253). It is especially the east wall of the chapel which is amply

⁴⁸⁸ Although S. Hassan reads the name Tesen (Hassan 1944: 261), the present work follows the reading in the monograph by B. Porter and R. Moss 1974: 252.

decorated with a wide variety of scenes that included, apart from anonymous, also identified dependents. A large part of its southern half occupies a large fowling scene adorned with various animals and plants in a papyrus thicket; several registers to the right comprise a boat scene, a scene of force-feeding geese, and three registers of pasture scenes (Hassan 1944: 267–268, figs. 123, 124; pls. 36, 37). A clap-net scene with fowlers is situated above the entrance (Hassan 1944: 268, fig. 124; pl. 37); four registers with herdsmen leading gazelles and other wild animals are to the left on a pilaster, with an animal slaughter scene on the north part of the wall (Hassan 1944: 269, fig. 123; pl. 39). Finally, the deceased carried in a palanquin or a procession of offering bearers and servants leading animals are depicted to the left of the chapel entrance, where also the most significant scene with regard to the identified dependents appears, namely the scene with a procession of scribes (Hassan 1944: figs. 122, 123 on page 266, 267).

Itisen's rank, his close family and extended household

The available evidence from the tomb iconography provides us with seven different titles attached to the tomb owner. All are more or less connected to the judiciary and an advisory council of the king, specifically *wr md šmꜥw* the “greatest of the Ten of the Upper Egypt”, *hry-sšꜥ n hwt-wrt* “master of the secrets of the Great Court”, *imy-rꜥ zš (n) zꜥb* “juridical overseers of scribes”, *hrꜥ zš m wsꜥt* “director of the scribes in the great hall” or *hm-nꜥr Mꜥꜥt* “priest of the goddess Maat” (Hassan 1944: 261). A relatively high rank of this courtier is proved by his well-equipped tomb, though robbed, containing a limestone sarcophagus and canopic jars together with alabaster model vessels and a headrest (Hassan 1944: 274, fig. 136).

N. Kanawati's dating of Itisen to the reign of Sahure differs considerably from the dating to the mid Fifth Dynasty or later proposed by B. Porter and R. Moss (Kanawati 1977: 24; Porter and Moss 1974: 252, plans 23, D-6, 32). N. Kanawati based the dating mainly on a positive identification of Itisen with the son of the owner of adjacent tomb - Neferherenptah/Fefi, nevertheless, there are at least two reasons contra. First, the title of Itisen, the son of Neferherptah/Fefi, i.e., the “master butcher of the Great House” (*kbꜥ hwt-nmt pr-ꜥꜥ*) that is preserved inscribed on a statue found in the serdab of the tomb (Hassan 1944: 284)⁴⁸⁹ completely differs from titles recorded in Itisen's own tomb G 8410 (see above). Second, Neferherenptah/Fefi is dated by B. Porter and R. Moss to the Fifth Dynasty or later not to the reign of Menkaure as supposed by N. Kanawati, which would alter the dating of Itisen under

⁴⁸⁹ S. Hassan incorrectly proposed the reading of the title as *kbꜥ hwt-mdꜥꜥ pr-ꜥꜥ* and translate it as “he who distributes libations in the place of cult of the Great House” (Hassan 1944: 284). For the proper reading see, D. Jones 2000: 996 [3689].

the condition that he was his true son (Porter and Moss 1974: 253; Kanawati 1977: 24).⁴⁹⁰ Based on these pieces of evidence as well as on his elaborated false door with a torus moulding and a concave cornice, the present author tends to date Itisen to the second part of the Fifth Dynasty at the earliest following B. Porter and R. Moss 1974: 252.⁴⁹¹

The family background of Itisen is not clear. His possible father might be Neferherenptah/Fefi, as suggested by Kanawati (1977: 24), but the identity of Itisen as his son is rather questionable considering that the titles of both individuals do not correspond at all. The close family of Itisen is based on the reliefs in his own tomb formed by his wife Nimaathap and his offspring – a son and a daughter whose names have not been preserved if they have originally been inscribed at all (Hassan 1944: 263–266, fig. 122a, b).⁴⁹²

Only several minor figures recorded in the extensive wall decoration are distinguished by a name and/or a title (6 of 113 dependents, approximately 5.3 %)(see Tab. 43). They are primarily recorded in the scene depicting the procession of scribes who, according to the text in the heading, are ‘inspecting the estates of *pr-dt*’ (Hassan 1944: 267). The first man in the register, the “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward” *imy-r3 pr*, is followed by three ordinary scribes (*zšw*), one “scribe’s assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of the document, archivist” (*iry-md3t*) with the last figure in the procession attached by the tile “strong of voice/crier” (*nht-hrw*) (Hassan 1944: 267, fig. 122, 123)(see Fig. 86).⁴⁹³ Regrettably, the lower part of the register is lost; therefore, it is not entirely clear if these individuals originally bear also a personal name, but it is quite probable. The only other label denoting a particular profession comes from the scene depicting the list of offerings with a *k3*-priest performing the *wdn ht* ritual. (Hassan 1944: 270: fig. 126). The lower part of the register is again lost, but the placement of the title almost at the ground level indicates that there was originally no name tag added. Worth mentioning yet is a reference to a particular profession in the headings of the register capturing the fowling scene and the scene of animal slaughter. The accompanying text in the fowling scene designates the action as: 'Directing the capture, by the fowlers' (*Rdit sht in whcʿw*) (Hassan 1944: 267, fig.

⁴⁹⁰ N. Kanawati does not provide any explanation for the dating of Neferherenptah, but it was perhaps derived from the sacerdotal service of Neferherenptah as a “priest of Menkaure” (*hm-ntr Mn-k3w-Re*) (Hassan 1944: 282–283, pl. LIII, A). However, such evidence represents only the terminus post quem.

⁴⁹¹ For the typology of Old Kingdom false door, see e.g. E. Brovarski 2006: 71–118; Kh. Daoud 2005 or N. Strudwick 1985.

⁴⁹² Nimaathap accompanies his husband on the chapel entrance depicted in the same size (Hassan 1944: 263–266, fig. 122a, b).

⁴⁹³ The latter individual (*nht hrw*) appears for instance in the tomb of Nikauisesi where he announces amounts of bread and beer during the inspection of *pr-šnʿ* (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48; see also Chapter 6).

123). The butchers are mentioned four times, in a similar manner, in the animal slaughter scene (Hassan 1944: 271, fig. 125).

In the rest of the decoration only anonymous dependents are depicted. The northern wall covers the offering table scene with three registers of offerings, while the fourth register consists of ten anonymous offering bearers and ten butchers designated only by an accompanied inscription in the scene of animal slaughter in the lowermost register (Hassan 1944: 269–270, fig. 125; pls. 40, 41). The western wall is partly damaged; however, the original decoration consisted of a depiction of offerings can be clearly distinguished (Hassan 1944: 270). The western wall consists of two large false doors. To the right of the northern one there is a table with a list of offerings presented by a *k3*-servant as indicates the accompanied inscription (Hassan 1944: 271, fig. 126; pls. 42, 43). Between the false doors are situated six registers of offering bearers, none of whom are distinguished by their name or title. Only in front of the latter individual, in the lower register part of the tag customarily attached to a lector priest beginning with words “glorifying” preserved. According to his shoulder-length wig and a papyrus scroll in his hands this individual probably represents a lector-priest, however, neither name nor the profession tag remains (Hassan 1944: 270, 126).

In general, Itisen belonged to the courtiers of the king with the dominant field of activity related to the judiciary. His close family and the entourage were not large consisting of three family members and six non-kin individuals. His household was headed by the overseer of the house with other four individuals, i.e., three scribes, an “archivist” and a “crier” assisting him to fulfil his duties specifically to take care of Itisen’s estates. The entourage of Itisen completes a single *k3*-priest engaged in the service for his funerary cult. One would propose that this composition of an extended household comprising a priest, scribe, and overseer of the house with his assistants is well sufficient to secure one’s afterlife existence or that it represents the minimum needed. But the identification of these dependents exclusively by their profession without a personal name given makes the participation of a specific group of people in the afterlife realm of the deceased owner open to doubt.⁴⁹⁴

Itisen	Titles	Number of occurrences
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⁴⁹⁴ For the role of unnamed dependents distinguished solely by their professional tag, see the Methodology.

Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	3
	<i>iry md3t</i> “scribe’s assistant, letter-carrier, keeper of the document, archivist”	1
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-priest”	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of household/estate/the Steward”	1
Household-related titles	<i>nht-hrw</i> “strong of voice/crier”	1

Tab. 43 The extended household of Itisen

7.1.5 Nekhetka

The tomb of Nekhetka (G 8220), its architecture, and wall decoration

The stone-built tomb of Nekhetka (G 8220) was situated similar to the tomb of Itisen, at Giza Central Field, but his tomb lies to the south of the causeway of king Rakhef (Hassan 1953: 22). Its overall dimensions are 155 sq. m. (Kanawati 1977: 105–106). The entrance of the tomb opens immediately to a two-pillared hall, to the south of which is an aperture to two superposed serdabs (Hassan 1953: 22), while to the west is the access to the L-shaped chapel measuring 20.60 sq. m. and accommodating two false doors (Kanawati 1977: 106). The tomb chapel is fully decorated in raised relief (Hassan 1953: 24, figs. 18–22, pls. 18–21). Its wall decoration contains several scenes and motives that appear customarily, namely the animal slaughter scene, the scene of the deceased viewing offering offerings, a scene with musicians and singers, an offering table scene, and scenes of daily life with herdsman leading cattle (Hassan 1953: 24–32, figs. 20–22, pls. 17, 19, 20–21).

Nekhetka’s rank, his close family and extended household

Nekhetka was an official ranked *iry ht nswt* “one who is known to the king, king’s royal acquaintance, one who is concerned with the things of the king, custodian of the king’s property”.⁴⁹⁵ He was primarily employed in the central administration, engaged in the department of granary and in the scribal department in particular as attests his titles *shd zš(w) šnwt* “inspectors of scribes of the granary” and *shd zš(w) ʿ(w) (nw) nswt šnwt* “inspector of the scribes of the royal documents of the granary”. In addition, he held another scribal title, *shd zš(w)* “inspector of scribes”. Apart from scribal titles, he was granted with two priestly titles, namely the title *hm-ntr Š3hw-Rʿ* “priest of Sahure” and *wʿb nswt* “wab-priest of the king”. The social standing of Nekhetka is also reflected in his funerary equipment containing several

⁴⁹⁵ For the full list of Nekhetka’s title, see Hassan 1953: 21.

precious objects, i.e., strip of golds and gold-plated sticks within other pieces, such as alabaster and copper model vessels or faience beads and clasps which help to specify the dating of his tomb to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty of later (Kanawati 1977: 105–106; Porter and Moss 1974: 240).⁴⁹⁶

The close family of Nekhetka consists merely of his wife Hetepheres, who is depicted accompanying her husband already at the right entrance thickness of the tomb (Hassan 1953: 24, fig. 18, pl. XVIII).⁴⁹⁷ No Nekhetka offspring is recorded elsewhere in the tomb. The extended household of Nekhetka is equally modest as his family. It comprises the only person, the inspector of *k3*-priest Ipy who presents as the first offering bearer a duck to the tomb owner (Hassan 1953: fig. 21 on page 29, pl. 17c)(see Fig. 87). He represents the only identified dependent of 38 minor figures in the tomb (2.6 %)(see Tab. 44). The rest of recorded dependents, mainly offering bearers, but also herdsmen, butchers, or musicians, were left anonymous (Hassan 1953: 29–32, figs. 21, 22, pls. 17, 20, 21A); no person with scribal equipment or any household manager or servant is identified by his name or title.

Overall, Nekhetka belonged to one of well-to-do state officials connected specifically to the administration of scribes and granary who was at the same time endowed with several priestly titles. Despite the extendedly decorated chapel of Nekhetka, we encounter only a large number of anonymous dependents, offering bearers, dependents engaged in daily life activities, slaughterers or musicians. Not even a tag denoting a profession can be detected. The extended household of Nekhetka is confined to a single man, the inspector of priest who secured the funerary realm of his master. As Nekhetka did not have any children, the emphasis put on this sphere seems to be easily understood. More surprising is the absence of any dependent engaged in the household management, either overseer of the house or some scribe. It does not necessarily mean that Nekhetka did not employ such people during his life, some steward or a servant in a similar function who was in charge of his household and property, but Nekhetka for some reason apparently did not involve them within his pictorial tomb environment.

Nekhetka	Titles	Number of occurrences
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⁴⁹⁶ For Nekhetka's funerary equipment, see S. Hassan 1953: 32–33, pls, 22A, 22B.

⁴⁹⁷ The left-hand entrance thickness was only smoothed, but unfinished (Hassan 1953: 22).

Priestly services	<i>shd hm-k3</i> “k3-priest”	1
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Tab. 44 The extended household of Nekhetka

7.1.6 Sekhemka

The tomb of Sekhemka (G 1029), its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Sekhemka (G 1029) is located in the Cemetery G 1000 at the Western Cemetery in Giza near the large mastaba G 2000. It is quite a small mastaba of type VIII c (2) measuring in total 60 sq. m., precisely 9.80 × 6.10 m (Porter and Moss 1974: 53; Reisner 1942: 256, 362–363, figs. 14, 90, 155). It consists of a corridor chapel of type 5a with two false doors (4.93 sq. m) and a large serdab. All the walls of the chapel, except the northern one, have been decorated in raised relief of good quality that was carved on a layer of plaster. The wall decoration was completed successfully, except for the scene of animal slaughter that remained unfinished. A wide variety of scenes comprised those depicting a daily life at Sekhemka’s estates, which include a procession of scribes, fighting of boatmen, fishing, ploughing, bird-trapping, threshing cereals by donkeys or leading of cattle, as well as scenes depicting offering bearers, dancers, and musicians, or the traditional offering table scene with offerings and animal slaughter (Simpson 1980: 1–6, pls. I–XI, figs. 1–8).

Sekhemka’s rank, his close family, and his extended household

Sekhemka belonged to middle-rank officials as indicated by his titles, primarily the one associated with *hnty(w)-š* office.⁴⁹⁸ He headed the department of *hnty(w)-š* officials of the Great House as *imy-r3 st hnty(w)-š pr-š3*. He further served in the sun temple of Nyuserre (*hm-ntr Šsp-ib-R*), was the “priest of Khufu” (*hm-ntr Khu-fw*) and the “w^cb-priest of the king” (*w^cb nswt*) (Simpson 1980: 5). Sekhemka lived probably in the second part of the Fifth Dynasty, taking into consideration the reference to the sun temple of Niuserre within his titles as the terminus post quem. A. Reisner’s date for Sekhemka is the Fifth Dynasty after the reign of Niuserre (Reisner 1942: 256) which is followed by W.S. Simpson or A.M. Roth who proposed dating from the middle to the late Fifth Dynasty (Simpson 1980: 1; Roth 1995: 281–290). This work follows the dating of these scholars.

The family of Sekhemka comprises his wife (without a name preserved) and son Pehenptah (Simpson 1980: 5, figs. 3–5). No other person is recorded in the tomb, still we have

⁴⁹⁸ For the titles that are characteristic for the officials of a middle rank, see N. Kanawati 1977: 23.

to include one more member of the family realm, namely the father of Sekhemka. As G. Pieke demonstrated in her article, the large sized figure in the scene of receiving the lotus flower is the father of the tomb owner, while the son is the minor figure who presents the flower (Pieke 2006: 272–274; Simpson 1980: fig. 6). The tomb of Sekhemka belongs to Giza tombs with this specific scene content (Pieke 2006: 268, 277 (15)). On the basis of this evidence, we can deduce that the father of Sekhemka bears the same name and a very similar title, he was instead of *imy-r3 st hnty(w)-š pr-ꜥ3* “overseer of the department of *hnty(w)-š* officials” only *imy-r3 hnty(w)-š pr-ꜥ3* “overseer of *hnty(w)-š* officials”.⁴⁹⁹

The extended household of Sekhemka seems to be even more modest than his close family. Although a high number of 108 non-kin dependents are recorded in the chapel, only a single one of them is identified, which represents less than 1% of all dependents (see Tab. 45). Besides, this particular individual is only distinguished by his title *imy-r3 mdt* “overseer of cattle stalls” without a personal name added (Simpson 1980: fig. 4)(see Fig. 88). Two headings designating a group of farmers in the scene of pulling flax and reaping barley as the “crew of Sekhemka’s funerary estate” (*iswt in pr-dt*) are the only other reference to a particular professional group in the tomb (Simpson 1980: 2, fig. 4). The remaining bulk of the minor figures displayed is merely anonymous.

In the whole, Sekhemka social standing can be distinguished especially by several priestly titles he held; he was employed in the sun temple of Nyuserre, as the priest of king Khufu, and most importantly he headed the department of *hnty(w)-š* officials at the court. Despite the fact that Sekhemka built an amply decorated chapel with more than a hundred of dependents, we almost lack any identified dependent there. Numerous scenes of daily life, processions of scribes and offering bearers or animal slaughter scene captured merely anonymous members of Sekhemka's entourage, which resembles the tomb of Nekhetka that also accommodated a single identified dependent (see The extended household of Nekhetka above). The reason why Sekhemka did incorporate only one of his servants even though a man of his standing was highly likely encompassed by a dozen of subordinates and employed a negligible amount of household servants regrettably eludes us.

⁴⁹⁹ For another evidence of such type of a scene recording the father and his son of the same name, see Chapter 5 (Seshemnefer II) and Chapter 6 (Seshemnefer III).

Sekhemka	Titles	Number of occurrences
Household managers	<i>Imy-r3 mdt</i> “overseer of cattle-stall”	1

Tab. 45 The extended household of Sekhemka

7.1.7 Nefretnesut

The tomb of Nefretnesut (G 8957), its architecture, and wall decoration

The tomb of Nefretnesut is a modest stone-built mastaba with dimensions 42 sq. m. that is located similar to Nekhetka in the Central Field at Giza to the south-west of the mastaba of Kaunisut (G 8960)(Hassan 1936: 87–95; figs. 92, 95–100; Kanawati 1977: 105–106). The tomb has no internal chapel, the only decorated part forms two false doors that were embedded in the eastern wall of the mastaba, with the southern one robbed (Hassan 1936: 88). Fortunately, the northern false door is well preserved with good craftsmanship in sunken relief (Hassan 1936: 88, fig. 94 and Pl. XXVII).

Nefretnesut’s rank, his close family and extended household

Nefretnesut was a middle-ranked official employed at the royal court as an inspector of *hntyw-š* officials of the Great House (*shd hntyw-š pr-ʿ3*). He also held a lesser title in the field - an inspector of *hntyw-š* officials (*shd hntyw-š*) (Hassan 1936: 87). He was ranked similar to Nekhetka with the title *iry ht nswt* “one who is known to the king, king’s/royal acquaintance, one who is concerned with the things of the king, custodian of the king’s property”. Both B. Porter and R. Moss proposed the dating to the Fifth Dynasty; S. Hassan specified the period to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 281; Hassan 1936: 95) while N. Kanawati prefers slightly later date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty (Kanawati 1977: 26). The dating of Nefretnesut to the second part of the Fifth Dynasty is supposed for the present work.

The false door in the northern part is the only source of evidence for the Nefretnesut’s family and his dependents. His close family is quite numerous consisting of seven members: wife Khenutjezet, three sons, Khui, Nefernesutnedjes, and Niankhptah, the former being the eldest one, then two daughters Perenka, and another one whose name has not preserved; these individuals were complemented by a son of one of the daughters Kaemrehu (Hassan 1936: 87–88). The same false door further accommodated five identified non-kin dependents (see Tab. 46). Two of them, the *k3*-priests Waarehu and Mereri figure on the outer right and left jambs; the first is portrayed while bringing offerings, the second is burning incense (Hassan 1936: 90–

92, fig. 94)(see Fig. 89). A smaller figure of a *k3*-priestess stands in front of the latter priest. Other three female figures are recorded in the lower register on the inner jamb and also on the central niche; two of them are designated as *k3*-priestess. The third female figure could have been originally designated as a *k3*-priestess as well, regrettably, it cannot be confirmed due to a damaged surface in front of her. The decoration of the false door, specifically the portrayal of the family group formed by a priest/priestess followed by his/her offspring resembles the panels in the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa in Asuan, where the whole families of a particular dependent are often recorded.⁵⁰⁰

Overall, Nefretnesut is similar to Sekhemka or Kapi, another individual ranked among middle officials on the basis of his *hntyw-š* title, he particularly holding the post of the inspector. His tomb belongs to the smallest of the group, the cult place limited to two false doors embedded in the eastern facade of the mastaba. The modest space of the false door enabled to capture primarily his close family; a minor part was reserved for five non-kin dependents who were all funerary priests. Some of them could have been originally loyal household managers or servants later endowed with priestly functions, but their “civil” profession if they ever had one was not recorded. If the extended household of Nefretnesut once consisted of more dependents, they were apparently excluded from the shortlist of individuals selected for the tomb decoration because of the limited space.

Nefretnesut	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -priest”	5

Tab. 46 The extended household of Nefretnesut

7.1.8 Khufuankh

The tomb of Khufuankh (G 4520), its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Khufuankh (G 4520) was built in the Western Cemetery at Giza (Kanawati 1977: 23, 24, 111, 154 (no. 242); Reisner 1942: 503–508, 215–216, fig. 204, pls. 65, 66, 67a-d). His large stone-built tomb of type VII with an overall area of 225.72 sq. m. consisted of a vestibule and an interior chapel of type 4a. The only decorated part comprises of two false doors

⁵⁰⁰ For the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, see D. Vischak 2015.

embedded in the western wall of the chapel; especially the southern one is an elaborate limestone stela of excellent workmanship quality.

Scholars do not entirely agree on the date of the tomb. The first group, with the excavator of the tomb A. Reisner, leading the list, proposed dating to the reign of Userkaf (Reisner 1942: 215, 216, 503–507), while the other group of Egyptologists prefer the late Fifth Dynasty (e.g., Baer 1960). The author of the present work follows the later dating mainly due to the composition of the burial equipment found in the tomb, which consisted of pottery, headrest, copper tools, as well as miniature alabaster and pottery jars – the full set of grave goods typical for the second part of the Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁰¹ Moreover, later dating can be confirmed by the type of funerary repast scene with reed leaves at the offering table.⁵⁰²

Khufuankh's rank, his close family, and extended household

Khufuankh's social position is defined by his functional titles associated with a service at the royal court. He was "*hnty(w)-š* official of the Great House" (*hnty(w)-š pr-ḥ*) as his father. He was also engaged in the amusement at the royal court as the overseer of singers of the Great House, as well as the "overseer of flautists" (*imy-r3 ḥsw pr-ḥ imy-r3 sbiw*). Khufuankh was distinguished by his rank title as the "property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance" (*iry ht nswt*).

Khufuankh's family background is known from the inscriptions on the southern false door, as well as a small limestone false door endowed for his parents found in the vestibule. It was his father Iahunisut who held the same rank *iry ht nswt* and his mother Iupu, both employed as *hnty(w)-š* officials. His wife Djefatka is inscribed sitting at the offering table on the tablet of the southern false door. His offspring, son Menkaure-ankh and daughter Meretites, were included on the outer jambs (Reisner 1942: 65b).⁵⁰³

Although the lower part of the stela incorporated the family members, the dependents were recorded on the right and left parts of the tablet (Reisner 1942: 215–216, 503–507, pls. 65, 67)(see Fig. 90). There can be identified probably seven individuals not related to the tomb owner (see Tab. 47). Three figures on the left are entitled 'bringing the offerings by the *snw-dt*'

⁵⁰¹ Personal communication to L. Jirásková – a specialist on Old Kingdom stone vessels, and the pottery specialist K. Arias Kytarová.

⁵⁰² For the discussion on the meaning of bread loaves and reed leaves at the offering table, see M. Bárta 1995: 30–31; A. Kahlbacher 2013: 2–20; Ch.E. Worsham 1979: 7–10.

⁵⁰³ Members of Khufuankh's family were embodied in a seated family group statue of Khufuankh, his wife and the son (14-3-4a = MFA 14.1445.1 + 14-3-4b = MFA 14.445.2; A. Reisner 1942: pls. 506–507.

(*int prt-hrw in snw-dt*: Kap, Khufumerinetjeru and Iumenib).⁵⁰⁴ The first of these individuals, Kapi, might be identical to the owner of the adjacent tomb G 4522.⁵⁰⁵ Further evidence about his name and titles is available from two limestone pair statues one inscribed for Kapi and his wife Hy, the other for Kapi and his wife Niankhathor (14-3-16, 14-3-23 and 14-3-32 = MFA 21.2602; 14-3-31 = MFA 14.1461). The inscriptions recorded on the statues identify Kapi as *iry-htmt n pr-ꜥ3*, *hntj-š*, *hntj-š n pr-ꜥ3*, *rh nswt* “he who is in charge of the sealed goods of the Great House, palace attendant, palace attendant of the Great House, and royal acquaintance”. We can propose a professional relationship between Kapi and Khufuankh on the basis of these titles, Kapi could have been Khufuankh’s colleague in the *hnty(w)-š* office, but we cannot completely exclude the possibility that he was one of his relatives.

There are three other dependents depicted on the right flange of the tablet. It is a mirrored image of the offering bearers on the left side of the tablet. They are recorded in the horizontal line of text identified as: *int prt-hrw in hm(w)-k3* ‘bringing the offerings by the *k3*-priests’; their names are Khabaukhufu, Medidineti, Sutiuf. Nothing is known about their titles or place of burial. Their relation to the tomb owner is nowhere indicated.

The last individual to be named is a woman named Ity (see Fig. 91). She stands in front of Khufuankh’s wife Djefatka followed by his daughter Meretites. She is designated as *sn(t)-dt* a “sister of the funerary estate”. She probably belonged to non-kin dependents, otherwise she would have been inscribed as *s3t.f* ‘his daughter’ similar to other Khufuankh’s offspring in the lower part of the false door – she is the only individual there not identified by a family relation tag.⁵⁰⁶

Altogether, Khufuankh belonged to one of several middle-ranked officials dated to the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty who included several of his non-kin dependents within the decoration of his tomb. He was an official closely associated with a service at the court being in charge of its entertainment, specifically directing singers and flautists; furthermore, he worked as the *hnty(w)-š* official as many other selected officials of this group. His large tomb with magnificently decorated false door incorporated, apart from family members, also people engaged in funerary service of the deceased. They are, on the one hand, funerary priests, on the

⁵⁰⁴ It was J.C. Moreno García who has recently analysed the *sn-dt* individuals, including Khufuankh (Moreno García 2007).

⁵⁰⁵ For the tomb G 4522, see <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1063/full/>.

⁵⁰⁶ We cannot completely exclude the possibility that she was blood-related to the tomb owner as there is such an evidence in several Old Kingdom tombs, see the discussion in Moreno García 2007; however, no indication of family relationship preserved in this particular case.

other individuals who participated in the cult as well, the brothers of the funerary cult with one sister among them. The exact relation between the latter individuals and the owner has been so far not entirely explained since the *sn-dt* individuals might have represented, on one hand, the individuals not related by blood, but also more or less distant relatives. Either of the possibilities is true, and we can conclude that Khufuankh concentrated in his tomb only those identified individuals clearly connected to securing of his afterlife, which is a common feature for several other tombs of a middle or lower rank officials (e.g., Nefretnesut or Setka).

Khufuankh	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly services	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-priest"	3
	<i>sn-dt/sn(t)-dt</i> "brother/sister of the funerary estate"	4

Tab. 47 The extended household of Khufuankh

7.1.9 Setka

The tomb of Setka, its architecture and wall decoration

The funerary monument of Setka is situated to the south-east of the tombs belonging to the family of Seshemnefers at the Western Cemetery in Giza; it is a joint stone-built tomb that accommodates the burials of two individuals Setka and his son Ptahhetep (Junker 1944: 192–228, figs. 83–90, pls. 36–37, plan after pl. 40; Porter and Moss 1974: 160–161, plan 27). The part assigned to Setka measures 85 sq. m. (Kanawati 1977: 119–120). The tomb is entered from the north through a two-pillared court, it incorporates an L-shaped chapel with two false doors and a serdab (Junker 1944: 195, fig. 83). The only inscribed part of the tomb is the western wall of the chapel with two limestone false doors (Junker 1944: 202, fig. 85–87, pl. 36a-b). The repertoire of scenes is summarized by H. Junker (1943: 212 and 1938: 41 [30a]). The scenes limited in number are predominantly associated to a burial and rebirth of the deceased. We encounter the offering table scene with offering bearers and offering list, the scene with bringing of cattle and wild animals and scenes of animal slaughter.

Setka's rank, his close family and extended household

Setka belonged to functionaries who were engaged in the central administration, he himself especially focusing on juridical matters. We can trace different stages in his career path at the end of which he reached the supreme post in the management of juridical scribes *imy-r3 zš (n) z3b*. Apart from it, he was closely associated with juridical and advisory councils of the royal residence as indicated by his titles *z3b jmj-r3 zšw wdꜥ-mdw št3(w) n hwt-wrt* "juridical overseer

of scribes of the secret judgements of the Great Court/who judges the secret words of the Great Court”, *hrp zšw m d3d3t wrt* “director of scribes of the Great Council”, *hrp zšw m d3d3t wdꜥmdw sšt3 n hwt-wrt* “director of scribes in the Council who judges/arbitrates the secrets of the Great Court”, *n(y) nst hntt* “(who he belongs to)the foremost seat, (possessor) of a preeminent seat”, *wr mđ Šmꜥw* “great one of the ten of Upper Egypt (greatest/magnates of the southern Tens/Great one of the tens of Upper Egypt)”, *z3b ʿd-mr* “juridical district/border official” (Junker 1944: 198). Setka did not hold any priestly title, although his probable father, the owner of G 4761, was amply endowed with them (Junker 1943: 31). Setka’s rank was distinguished by the title *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain” (Junker 1944: 198). The dating of Setka was proposed by B. Porter and P. Moss to the Sixth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 160). Although N. Kanawati (1977: 26, 154) prefers earlier dating to the reign of Unas and K. Baer (1960: 293 [475]) even the period V C (reign of Djedkare), the probable family relation with Nefer (owner of 4761) who is dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or even later as well as the funerary equipment found in the tomb confirm the later dating of the tomb.⁵⁰⁷ Therefore, the present work follows the dating suggested by B. Porter and P. Moss to the Sixth Dynasty.

Setka is one of few Egyptian officials whose family background is well known. He is supposed to be a son of Nefer and Hetepmaat (Porter and Moss 1974: 160; Junker 1943: 192–222). The son named Setka appears twice in the tomb chapel of his father (tomb G 4761) as a “juridical inspector of scribes” *z3b šhd zšw* (Junker 1943: 37, figs. 5, 15, 60). Setka himself had the only son Ptahhetep who is depicted several times with his father and was buried in a separate part of his father’s tomb (Junker 1944: 194–196, respectively, 210–213, figs. 83, respectively, 87). No evidence of any other family member, including Setka's wife, is preserved in the tomb walls.

There are 33 minor figures recorded in reliefs; 10 of them are distinguished either by a title or both a name and a title (in total 30,3 %)(see Tab. 48). All identified figures are priests. They are depicted in three different scenes: the offering table scene, the scene of animal slaughter, and the procession of offering bearers. The first mentioned scene represents a double depiction of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table and his Ka in a mirrored image on chapel west wall (Junker 1944: 221, fig. 87) (see Fig. 92). Several priests, three of which are denoted as *hry-hbt* “lector priests”, perform a ritual of making glorifications (*s3ht*). Another

⁵⁰⁷ For the dating of the tomb G 4761, see <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1132/full/>. Canopic jars, miniature alabaster and stone vessels as well as the pottery uncovered in the tomb of Setka and Ptahhetep are characteristic for the late Fifth or the Sixth Dynasty (personal communication to K. Arias Kynarová and L. Vendelová Jirásková).

identified dependent appears in the register below, he is a *w^cb*-priest who supervises butchering animals. The butchers are left anonymous, and the *w^cb* priest is only identified by his profession without a name tag (Junker 1944: 216–217, 219, fig. 87). The last group of identified dependents is recorded on the northern part of the same wall (Junker 1944: 220, fig. 88)(Fig. 92). The procession of offering bearers in the third lower register is headed by *shd hm(w)-k3* “inspector of *k3*-priests” Rower who is accompanied by seven other priests. Five of the figures are attached with ordinary *k3*-priest title; the rest two may have originally been marked with the same title, but it cannot be proved as the surface in front of the figures was damaged (Junker 1944: fig. 88, pl. 36b). No other dependent elsewhere in the tomb was identified.

To sum up, Setka was a well-off state official who stood at the head of juridical scribes and held important posts over the judgement released by *hwt wrt*. Setka’s entourage is the most extensive after that of Iymery, however, its composition consisting of 10 people is rather monothematic with all members formed by priests. The *k3*-priests who took care of the cult of the deceased were of a well-defined hierarchy with an inspector standing at the head. All funerary priests were distinguished by their names in contrast to other priests, i.e., lector-priests and a *w^cb*-priest who were only unnamed representatives of their profession. No other professional segment nor any dependent identified by a personal name is represented within the reliefs, the funerary realm is the only field reflected there. With the exclusive focus on securing the afterlife existence, it resembles the Fifth Dynasty tombs of Khufuankh and Nekhetka.

Setka	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -priest”	4
	<i>shd hm-k3</i> “inspector of <i>k3</i> -priests”	1
	<i>hry-hbt</i> “lector-priest”	3
	<i>w^cb</i> “wab-priest”	1

Tab. 48 The extended household of Setka

7.2 Households of the middle-ranked officials dated to the Sixth Dynasty

7.2.1 Methethi

The tomb of Methethi, its architecture, and wall decoration

Scholars are not entirely sure of the original location of Methethi's tomb. North Saqqara near the pyramid of Unas seems to be the most plausible provenance (Ch. Ziegler 1990: 120). Many fragments of the original wall decoration that preserved up to now are currently deposited at the Louvre (inv. N. E. 25507–25549; Ch. Ziegler 1990: 120–151). The lintel of the tomb was carved in low relief, while the reliefs in the chapel were painted brightly on a layer of plaster.⁵⁰⁸ The repertoire of scenes was remarkably rich consisting of the offering table scene, fishing and fowling scene, pastoral motives, harvest scene, animal slaughter, leading animals, netting birds, musicians, herdsman crossing canal, procession of offering bearers and funerary domains, scene with the deceased carried in a palanquin, or playing a senet game. The tomb is dated to the Sixth Dynasty, more precisely to the reign of Pepi I on the grounds of iconographical criteria (Harpur: 1987: 143 n. 93, 274 n. 426; 305, 340).⁵⁰⁹

Methethi's rank, his close family and extended household

The Methethi's titles can be reconstructed from the fragments of the preserved wall decoration. His main field of occupation appears to be in the management of *hntiw-š* individuals where he held the senior post of *imy-r3 st hntiw-š pr-ʿ3* “overseer of *hntiw-š* officials of the Great House”. He was a loyal subject of the king associated to the management of linen, as attest the titles *hry sšt3 nswt m swt.f nb.f* “privy to the secret/secretary of the king in all his cult places” and *hry-tp d3t* “supervisor of linen/the wardrobe”. He also held rank titles *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain” and *šps nswt* “noble of the king”.

The close family of Methethi consisted of his wife, the eldest son named Ptahhetep, further three sons Ptahsabu, Ihy, and Khuensobek together with one daughter Ire Sobek and perhaps two other ones depicted as musicians (Ziegler 1990: 128; frg. inv. N. E 25 515, 519, 532–534).

The extended household of Methethi comprised 10 identified individuals of 53 minor figures (5.3%)(see Tab. 49). It was first and foremost formed by funerary priests. Two inspectors of priests are complemented by one ordinary priest – all recorded as offering bearers following in the procession the sons of the tomb owner (Ziegler 1990: 143, fig. 20; frg. Inv. N. E 25 509 – 25 510)(see Fig. 93).⁵¹⁰ Three named lector priests (originally four according to the typical

⁵⁰⁸ For the techniques applied for the tomb decoration, see Ch. Ziegler 1990: 123.

⁵⁰⁹ For the most recent work on the dating of the tomb, see Z. Hawass, J. Houser and J.W. Wegner 2010: 85–139.

⁵¹⁰ Further two individuals are identified, but merely by their personal names.

dress of the fourth damaged figure) are performing the *wdn ht* ritual of consecration of food offerings for the deceased (Ziegler 1990: 146; fragment Inv. N. E 25 517 – 25 541)(see Fig. 94). The scribal segment is represented by the “document scribe of the Great House” (*zš md3t ntr pr-ꜥ3*) Iry and an anonymous “scribe of the funerary estate” (*zš (n) pr-dt*) who is managing the meat offering for the *hry-hbt* “lector-priest” who will perform the rituals (Ziegler 1990: 128; frg. inv. N. E 25 515, 519, 532–534). No other profession occurs in relief fragments, surprisingly, nor a one individual engaged in a domestic realm, which can be ascribed to the fragmentary state of preservation of the chapel walls.

In total, Methethi is one of the few Sixth Dynasty individuals classified as officials of an intermediate rank based on the title of the overseer of the department of the *hntiw-š* individuals. He stood at the head of this department at the court with other titles associated with the service for the king. His extended household depicted in the iconography of his tomb is neither large nor modest consisting of ten dependents with the majority of them involved in priestly services. Two types of priests are recorded, the funerary as well as lector-priests, all distinguished by their personal names. Two different hierarchies of funerary priests were detected in the row of offering bearers – the inspectors followed by the ordinary priests.⁵¹¹ The only other profession that is encountered are educated scribes, one connected to the private estate of the owner, and another one associated with the state institution of archive. The occupation of two individuals who were distinguished merely by their personal names cannot be revealed; they might be derived from the household staff, but there is no proof for that.

Methethi	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal profession	<i>zš (n) pr-dt</i> “scribe of the funerary estate”	1
	<i>zš md3t ntr pr-ꜥ3</i> “document scribe of the Great House” ⁵¹²	1
Priestly services	<i>hry-hbt</i> “lector-priest”	3
	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-priest”	1
	<i>shd hm(w)-k3</i> “inspector of k3-priests”	2
Only named		2

Tab. 49 The extended household of Methethi

⁵¹¹ There were originally presumably more priests identified, however due to the fragmentary preservation we cannot say it with certainty, see fragments Louvre Inv. N. E 25 509 – 25 510.

⁵¹² The evidence of title *zš md3t ntr* scribe of the god’s book is attested for the first time from the reign of Ninetjer (Piacentini 2002: 50–51).

7.2.2 Idu

The tomb of Idu (G 7102), its architecture, and wall decoration

The tomb of Idu is situated at the Eastern Cemetery in Giza, specifically in Cemetery G 7000 (Simpson 1976: 19). Traces of masonry in the northwest corner are the only preserved part of the tomb's superstructure. A.G. Reisner suggested that the original mastaba was relatively large consisting of several architectural compartments cut in the rock, that is, stairs leading to a middle level court with a destroyed western chamber, the lower level court with Idu's chapel and serdab both accessed via lower stairs.⁵¹³ The chapel of Idu was the principal part of the tomb that bore decoration, including a biographical inscription (Simpson 1976: fig. 33, pl. 17). The other tomb compartments seem to be originally undecorated with the exception of the western room at the middle level, where several relief fragments originally came from (fragments 25-1-118 to 25-1-124; Simpson 1976: 19; see below). The wall decoration of the chapel was carved in raised relief on a layer of plaster, in contrast to the architrave and entrance jamb cut in sunken relief (Simpson 1976: figs. 15 b, c; 16 d, e; 17 a, b; 18 a). The repertoire of scenes is summarized by B. Porter and R. Moss (1974: 185, 186), and it consists of extended depictions of a burial, including lamentation of mourners, representation of a purification tent, embalming house (*w^cbt*) or dragging of the sarcophagus on a sledge (Simpson 1976: 21, 22, fig. 35, pls. 18–20),⁵¹⁴ complemented with boat and aquatic scenes (Simpson 1976: 23, figs. 36–37), and the indispensable offering table scene with a procession of offering bearers (Simpson 1976: 28, fig. 41).

Idu's rank, his close family, and extended household

Idu was a middle-ranking official who was mainly connected to the administration of legal and scribal matters. The first segment represents the titles: *imy-r3 hwt wrt. mdw rhyt, hm-ntr M33t, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw* “staff of the rekhyt people, priest of Maat, privy of the secret in determining disputes” (Simpson 1976: 30–31). The most important title connected to the scribal department were *zš ^c(w) (nw) nswt, zš ^c(w) (nw) nswt hft hr* “king's document scribe, king's document scribe in the presence” or *imy-r3 zšw mrt* “overseer of the meret-people”. Idu also held priestly titles, those associated with several pyramids of kings Khufu, Khafre, and Pepi I., e.g. *shd w^cbw 3ht-Hwfw, shd w^cbw Wr-H^c.f-R^c, hnty(w)-š Mn-nfr Ppy* “inspector of the *w^cb*-priests of Khufu and Khafre, *hnty(w)-š* official of Mennefer Pepi I”. He was ranked with the title *hry-tp nswt* “royal

⁵¹³ For a detailed history of the excavation of Idu's mastaba, see Simpson 1976: 19; with the plan of the mastaba on pls. XV, XVI.

⁵¹⁴ For the ceremonies encompassing a burial, see J.A. Wilson 1944: 201–218 or J. Settgast 1963: 15–16.

chamberlain". As far as the dating of Idu is concerned, the name of Pepi I within the titles of Idu represents the *terminus post quem*. The present work follows the date proposed by N. Strudwick from early to middle of Pepi I's reign (Strudwick 1985: 70 (23)).

The family of Idu comprises of seven members; it is primarily his wife Meretites, sons Qar,⁵¹⁵ Idu and Hemi together with daughters Bendjet, Iry and a granddaughter of the same name Iry (Simpson 1976: 31). If the adjacent tomb of Qar (G 7101) truly belongs to his son, its iconographical evidence reveals further three persons blood related to Idu, i.e. the son named Nakhty, the daughter Tjetut and Idu's first/second wife – the mother of Qar (Simpson 1976: 18).

The extended household of Idu, which comprises around 30 individuals, is more numerous than his close family (Simpson 1976: 31)(see Tab. 50). It is not an easy task to establish a precise number of recorded dependents, as several individuals have the same name as Idu's sons Qar and Idu. Thus, it is not entirely clear whether the respective figure represents any of Idu's sons or a non-kin dependent. Moreover, the individuals of the same name, i.e. Qar or Idu appear each time with a completely different title, which makes the identification even more difficult. For example, the individual named Qar is depicted with three different groups of titles. The first with family tag *s3.f* and the titles *s3b zš šhd zšw* "juridical scribe, inspector of scribes", denotes the son, while the second group with the title *imy-r3 pr* "overseer of the house/estate, the Steward" represents perhaps a dependent.⁵¹⁶ The third group is the most enigmatic. This Qar portrayed in larger size is attached with the titles *imy-r3 wpt htp-ntr m prwy*, *imy-r3 hnw*, *hry tp nswt*, *imy-r3 zšw n ʿprw*, *imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6*.⁵¹⁷ His figure preserved on several loose blocks with relief fragments of jambs found in the western chamber at the middle-level court (loose blocks 25-1-118 to 124; Simpson 1976: 19–20, 31, fig. 42, pl. 34 a, b, 16 c)(see Fig. 95). Some of the titles in this latter case correspond with titles of Qar, the owner of tomb (G 7101), e.g. *imy-r3 hnw* or *hry tp nswt*. However, the most important title, the supreme post in the department of Great Mansions *imy-r3 hwt wrt 6* is recorded nowhere in the tomb G 7101 which is rather startling if he is really the same person. It is not recorded in a full string of titles of the owner that appears in G 7101 several times, nor on the walls of his sarcophagus where usually the most important and most recently achieved titles occur (Simpson 1976: figs. 28,

⁵¹⁵ Whether one and the same individual is represented elsewhere in the tomb and is at the same time identical with the owner of G 7101 cannot be established.

⁵¹⁶ W.K. Simpson identifies Qar with title "overseer of the house" with the owner of stela from G 7432 (Simpson 1976: 31).

⁵¹⁷ The latter title *imy-r3 hwt wrt 6* is according to N. Strudwick closely connected to vizier's titulary – all holders of the title were viziers, which would indisputably rank this individual among the most powerful man in the land (Strudwick 1985: 178).

32).⁵¹⁸ W.K. Simpson provided an alternative solution that this individual is a close relative or another son of Idu not the owner of G 7101 and that the original placement of these fragments is their findspot in the western chamber at the middle level which represents his own chapel (Simpson 1976: 19–20). However, it seems to be rather improbable for a person of such an importance to have only a separate chapel in the tomb of his father, while his brother of a lower standing would build his own tomb. Unfortunately, neither of these explanations is completely satisfactory. In this context, a fragment of wall reliefs with a part of a figure and Nakhti's titles found within one of the shafts of Qar's tomb complex is of certain importance. W.K. Simpson supposes that the fragment comes from a chapel of Nakhti nearby (Simpson 1976: 12, 13, figs. 1, 9 a, b, pls. 34 c). He is considered a brother of Qar and therefore a son of Idu, but he is not recorded in the tomb of his possible father, only in the tomb of his brother. Together with the fact that the mother of Qar is not identical with the wife of Idu in his tomb G 7102, it points to very unclear relations within the family. We can only suggest that the uncovered relief fragments indicate the existence of a more extensive family complex than the one so far limited to the well-known tombs of Qar and Idu.

The difficulty in identifying particular members of Idu's family and extended household also confirms several minor figures designated as Idu. In one instance, it is Idu's son of the same name Idu with the titles *z3b zš* "juridical scribe" who appears on the west wall, while in another appearance the individual named Idu, who is referred to as *msw.f* according to the text in the heading above, bears completely different titles *imy-r3 pr* and *shd hmw-k3* which is rather confusing (Simpson 1976: 31). In two other occurrences the individual Idu holds either the title of *imy-ht hmw-k3* "under-supervisor of *k3*-priest" or is recorded without a title (Simpson 1976: 31, figs. 2e, 3a, b). W.K. Simpson included two latter individuals among Idu's dependents but their identity and exact relations to Idu are still doubtful.

Leaving apart possible family members named Qar and Idu, there are around 30 dependents recorded in Idu's tomb (see Tab. 50). Priestly personnel forms the most numerous group consisting of eight individuals divided hierarchically into a level of "inspectors of *k3*-priests" (Pehen[wikai], Idu), "under-supervisors of *k3*-priests" (*imy-ht hm(w)-k3*)(Idu) and ordinary priests (Ankhnef, unnamed), with the above-mentioned "inspector of *k3*-priest" Idu to be perhaps one of the sons of the tomb owner (Simpson 1976: 31). Funerary priests are complemented by one lector-priest (*hry-ht*), one embalmer (*wty*) and two mourners (*dryt*) - all

⁵¹⁸ For the evidence of the highest title recorded exclusively on the walls of the sarcophagus, see e.g. The household of Inumin.

appearing in the scenes depicting Idu's burial, specifically in the scene recording the dragging of the sarcophagus and the transport of a shrine by boat (Simpson 1976: 22, fig. 35). Idu's *mrt*-serfs (both male and female) are mentioned in the extensive scene of mourners' lamentations, explicitly referring to one of his most important titles *imy-r3 zšw mrt* "overseer of scribes of *mrt*-people".

The group of household managers is less numerous and comprises three representatives, all with the title "overseer of the house/estate/the Steward".⁵¹⁹ They occur either as offering bearers at the prominent place following Idu's sons on the west wall, or they are engaged in the preparation of food and drink on the south wall (Simpson 1976: 24, figs. 38, 39)(see Fig. 96 and 97). Another three individuals worked for the household of Idu as ordinary servants associated with meal, i.e., "butlers" (*wdpw*) who appear in the latter mentioned scene.

The last professional formation to mention is a group of scribes. It is primarily the already mentioned inspector of priests Pehen[wi kai] who was a scribe at the same time. Additionally, two scribes Nakhty and [..]sn were involved in the management of Idu's household as its stewards. It has to be added yet three ordinary scribes appearing elsewhere in the tomb without holding any additional title (Simpson 1976: 31, figs. 38, 39)(Figs. 96 and 97). There are possibly two more ordinary scribes recorded in tomb reliefs, one holding additional title of an inspector of priests, the other of a steward; however, their names were lost and we cannot be sure whether they are not identical with the already mentioned dependents or even sons (Simpson 1976: figs. 39, 41).

To return back to enumerating various professions present in the tomb iconography, the only profession not mentioned so far that was distinguished by an appropriate label are musicians. All representatives are recorded on the south wall of the chapel where the tomb owner views games and music performed in honour of the goddess Hathor (Simpson 1976: 24, fig. 38, pls. 24–26)(Fig. 97). The musicians are represented by four *ib3* "dancers", four *m3ht* "clappers", three *h3y* "singers", two of whom were at the same time *sk* 'plucking the harp' with one more individual identified as a "flute player" (*s3b*). Only three of the musicians were also distinguished by their names, but all belonged to Idu's close family: his daughters Bendjet and Iry with his granddaughter Nebet.

⁵¹⁹ Two more individuals attached with the same title are probably Idu's sons since designated in the heading as his children (*m3w.f*) (Simpson 1976: 23, 28, figs. 39, 41).

To sum up, Idu represents one of three middle-ranked individuals dated to the Sixth Dynasty who did include members of his extended households in his funerary monument. His professional life was devoted to legal and scribal administration as indicated by his most important title *imy-r3 ḥwt wrt* “overseer of the great hall”. The size of Idu’s extended household is compared to other entourages of the same social group very numerous comprising approximately 30 individuals. A specific feature in the tombs of Idu (G 7102) and his possible son Qar (G 7101) consists of a high number of individuals who were attached by the same name as the owners Qar or Idu, but were attached with very different titles, casting certain doubts with regard to the identity of these persons and, consequently, the precise number of Idu’s dependents. Furthermore, a high number of 18 people were not personified by a particular name. As far as the complexity of represented professions is concerned, three professional groups can be distinguished, i.e. priests, scribes, and household related dependents, both managers and servants. Priests were further hierarchically structured in the level of inspectors, under-supervisors, and ordinary priests. Other professions and occupations, i.e. specialists, officials connected to central institutions/ court/the king, administration of labour or body care do not occur in the tomb. Only the segment of amusement represented in quite a high number completes Idu’s extended household, but all except a pair of female family members were anonymous holders of a particular art performance. The overall number and composition of Idu’s entourage significantly resemble the entourage of Iymery with the three main professional segments and a pyramidal structure of the management of priestly personnel. The main difference lies in the absence of any identified craftsman and especially in certain depersonalisation of recorded individuals, who often lack their name tag.

Idu	Titles	No. of occurrences
Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	6
Priestly services	<i>ḥm-k3</i> “k3-servant”	2
	<i>imy-ḥt ḥm-k3</i> “under-supervisor of k3-servants”	1
	<i>shd ḥm-k3</i> “inspector of k3-servants”	1
	<i>hry-ḥbt</i> “lector-priest”	1
	<i>wty</i> “embalmer”	1
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> “overseer of the house/estate, the Steward”	3

Household servants and other related titles	<i>wḏpw</i> "butler, attendant, steward, cupbearer"	3
	<i>ḏryt</i> "mourner"	2
	<i>mrt</i> "mrt-people"	One label depicting 10 persons
Amusement	<i>ḥsw(w)</i> "singer"	3
	<i>m3ḥt</i> "clapper"	4
	<i>skr</i> "rythm-giver"	2
	<i>ib3</i> "dancer"	3
	<i>šk</i> "plucking the harp"	2
	<i>s3b</i> "flute player"	1

Tab. 50 The extended household of Idu

7.2.3 Qar

The tomb of Qar, its architecture (G 7101), and wall decoration

The tomb of Qar (G 7101) with the adjacent tomb of Idu (G 7102) lies north of the first row of double mastabas in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza (Strudwick 1985: 142 (135); Simpson 1976: 1–31; Porter and Moss 1974: 184–185). The tomb consists merely of the substructure, as the superstructures of both tombs are no longer extant (Simpson 1976: 1; see also The household of Idu). The subterranean part of the tomb is approached via upper and lower stairs in the shape of the letter L leading to an open courtyard C (Simpson 1976: 2, figs. 1–2, pls. 2–3). To the south of the court there is situated an inner chamber with another two rooms, one to the west with a large stela and a serdab (main offering room E), one to the east (additional offering room F). Except for the last room (probably belonging to Qar's wife), which is unfinished and undecorated, the walls that run down the stairs and the courtyard, the inner chamber D, and the chapel E are decorated.⁵²⁰ The reconstruction of the mastaba size is according to W.K. Simpson 11.85 m × 7.5 m, in total 88.87 sq. m (Simpson 1976: 1). The dating of the tomb was proposed by N. Strudwick to the period from the reign of Merenre to early Pepi II (Strudwick 1985: 132).

The wall decoration is manufactured mainly in raised relief with certain architectural features exclusively in sunken relief, e.g. the entrance façade or pillars in the open court (Simpson 1976: figs. 1–14). The repertoire of scenes is quite wide including a fowling scene, an offering table scene, a harpooning and aquatic scene, a butchering scene, a scene of the tomb

⁵²⁰ Only the east wall of the court bears no inscriptions.

owner viewing the produce of his estates, a boat scene, a funerary procession with a representation of a purification tent and *w^cbt*, or the scene with the deceased carried in a palanquin (Simpson 1976: 2–11, figs. 15–32, pls. I–IX).

Qar's rank, his close family, and extended household

The social standing of Qar is defined primarily by his rank titles *smr w^cty* and *hry tp nswt* “sole companion and he who is at the head of the king/royal chamberlain”, and functional titles connected to the department of labour (*imy-r3 k3t nbt*, *imy-r3 zšw n k3t nbt*, *hry sšt3 n k3t nbt*, overseer of all the works, overseer of the scribes of all the works, counsellor of all the works). He also held several priestly titles, for example, *shd w^cbw Wr-H^cf-R^c* “inspector of the wab priest of Wer-Khafre”, *hnty(w)-š Mry-R^c-mn nfr* “*hnty(w)-š* official of Meryre-mennefer”, as well as titles related to scribal administration, for instance, *imy-r3 zšw* “overseer of scribes”, *zš^c nswt hft hr* “king’s letter scribe in the presence” (Simpson 1976: 18).

Qar’s close family consists of seven people. The father of Qar is probably Idu of the adjacent tomb G 7102; he had one brother, Nekhty (G 7101 B), and perhaps the son named Idw (Simpson 1976: 1–2, 18). The female members of Qar’s family comprise the mother Khenut, the wife Gefy, and the sisters Tjetut and Bendjet (buried in G 7215).

The extended household of Qar is made up of 36 individuals more numerous than that of his father Idu (see Tab. 51). The largest group of dependents is formed by scribes, with the majority of them appearing in the offering table scene on the west wall of the court (Simpson 1976: fig. 25)(see Fig. 98). Two ordinary scribes both named Idu (perhaps the same individual) are complemented by *zš md3t ntr m3^c pr-^c3* “true(?) document scribe of the Great House again named” *Idu*, who might be represented again in the two following registers, but as the name is in one case lost, we cannot be sure. The last scribe, Hety, presents a scroll to the tomb owner carried in a palanquin (Simpson 1976: 8, fig. 27)(see Fig. 99).

As far as the priestly personnel is concerned, it is represented almost exclusively by *hry-hbt* lector priests. An enormous number of 13 different depictions are recorded especially in the scenes depicting rituals related to the burial, e.g. the scene with a transport of a coffin/sarcophagus (Simpson 1976: 5, 6, 9, 22, 24, 27, 29, pls. 7 and 8). The priests appear while performing the *wdn ht* ritual of dedicating offerings and the *s3ht* ritual of making glorifications. They are accompanied by five *wty* “embalmers” and five *dryt* “women mourners”. The coffin in the procession is guarded by *imy-r3 wtyw* an “overseer of embalmers” (Simpson 1976: 5, 6, fig. 24). Only two or perhaps three lector priests in the offering table scene

on the west wall of the court are identified also by their names,⁵²¹ all other lector-priests, all embalmers and female-mourners elsewhere in the tomb remained anonymous (Simpson 1976: fig. 25). It is evident from the high number of lector priests and the extensive wall area devoted to scenes depicting the burial that Idu put exceptional stress on the rituals associated with the burial, but also on everyday *s3h* rituals, as indicates the text in the offering table scene. (Simpson 1976: fig. 25)(see Fig. 98). Special attention paid to rituals performed by lector priests is attested by a depiction on the door jambs in the west wall of room D where Idu himself appears as a senior lector priest with a sash across his breast holding a scroll and according to the accompanied text performing *wdn ht* and *s3hw* rituals (Simpson 1976: 9, pls. XI c, XII a, b, fig. 28).⁵²² In stark contrast to amply represented lector priests and embalmers, no dependent attached with *hm-k3* title occurs in the tomb. Only the brother of Idu Nakhty bears the title *imy-r3 hm(w)-k3* “overseer of *k3*-priests” in one of his depictions (Simpson 1976: fig. 25). He was probably the person in charge of Idu’s funerary cult, but it is hard to reveal why he is not accompanied by any ordinary priest to serve in the cult of his brother. We can only presume that the lector priests might have carried out some of the duties instead.

Household managers are another professional group represented in the tomb of Qar. It comprises *hrp zh* “director of the dining room” Rensy who is preparing food and anonymous *imy-r3 wh^cw* “overseer of fowlers” recorded in the already mentioned fowling scene (Simpson 1976: 9–10, figs. 29, respectively 15, pl. V c).

Two more individuals are worth mentioning. The first is a man named Nisuhor with rare title *imy-r3 pr n rwt* “overseer of the portal” (Jones 2000: 121[484]; Simpson 1976: 8, fig. 27, pl. XI b)(see Fig. 99). This title is associated with a temple denoting a temple gateway (Spencer Temple 196ff) or with *hwt wrt* (Jones 2000: 907 [3333]). Either of the possibilities is true, this man is apparently someone outside the household who worked at the Residence and was related to the tomb owner with a professional tie as indicate his titles. He must have belonged to respected officials on the basis of his depiction as a corpulent man with a pointed skirt and by holding a prominent position in the procession of offering bearers. The second individual is the foremost offering bearer recorded to the left of the false door (Simpson 1976: 11, fig. 32). He bears the title *[hk3] hwt-^c3t, hry tp nswt* “chief/manager of a great estate/district, king’s

⁵²¹ Two names are lost.

⁵²² Simpson proposed this individual to be the son of Qar, but it is highly improbable for several reasons. First, the figure of the individual is equally big as other depictions of the tomb owner. All other tomb jambs bear a figure of the tomb owner, not a son or any other dependent. Finally, on the left jambs the individual Qar is addressed as *im3hw* which would make no sense if the figure did not represent the deceased tomb owner, see Simpson (1976: figs. 21, 28).

liegeman/royal chamberlain, he who is under the head of the king”, regrettably without a name preserved. He seems not to be identical with either of Qar's sons, as the titles do not correspond at all.⁵²³ Therefore, he might have been one of Idu's subordinates and, as indicates his rank title, a man of certain importance.

Musicians are the last professional group we can encounter in the tomb. They appear in the procession with the coffin, namely three *ib3* “dancers” (females) and one *m3ht* “female-clapper” – all four designated in the heading above as *h3t in šndyt* ‘mourning by the two acacias’ (Simpson 1976: 5, 6, 9, 22, 24, 27, 29, pls. 7 and 8). In the subregister below, the acacia house is mentioned again, this time denotes two individuals as *hnmsw šndyt* ‘friends of the acacia house’.⁵²⁴

In general, Qar was an official closely associated with the organisation of labour and scribes. His extended household numbering 36 dependents exceeds other entourages of officials within the same category of middle officials. Its size is even greater than the size of the complex entourage of Iymery. In contrast to him, the number of individual dependents distinguished not only by their profession but also by a personal name is much lower - only 8 dependents were in that manner personified. In other words, these eight persons were important enough to be distinguished by a personal name. Others were only unnamed representatives of a particular profession without further specification. The entourage of Qar also differs from the entourage of other officials by its composition. First of all, there is an almost complete absence of *k3*-priests who regularly formed an essential part of each tomb environment. The only representative of this profession was not his dependent, but the brother of the tomb owner. The tomb is characterized, in contrast to it, by an unusually frequent occurrence of lector priests (13 depictions) who seem to have replaced the *k3*-priests at least to a certain degree. Anonymous embalmers and also female dependents: mourners, dancers, and clappers are included within the bulk of scenes connected to the activities and rituals performed during the burial. Other professions that habitually occur in decorated tombs, i.e., scribes and household managers, do appear in the tomb of Qar as well. Two more individuals not directly related to the running of Qar's household were probably Qar's subordinates from his work at the court.

⁵²³ For the titles of Qar's sons, see W.K. Simpson (1976: 18).

⁵²⁴ For the meaning of acacia house, see E. Edel (1970: 16).

Qar	Titles	Number of occurrences
Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> "scribe"	3
	<i>zš md3t ntr m3c pr-c3</i> "true(?) document scribe of the Great House" ⁵²⁵	2
Priestly services	<i>hry-hbt</i> "lector-priest"	13
	<i>wty</i> "embalmer"	5
	<i>imy-r3 wtyw</i> "overseer of embalmers"	1
Household management	<i>hrp zh</i> "director of the dining hall"	1
	<i>imy-r3 whcw</i> "overseer of fowlers"	1
Household related titles	<i>dryt</i> "mourner"	5
	<i>hnmsw šndyt</i> "friends of the acacia house"	2
Amusement	<i>ib3</i> "dancer"	3
	<i>m3ht</i> "female clapper"	1
Titles connected to central/land administration	<i>imy-r3 pr n rwt</i> "overseer of the portal"	1
	<i>[hk3] hwt-c3t</i> , "chief/manager of a great estate/district"	1
Rank titles	<i>hry tp nswt</i> "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, he who is under the head of the king"	1

Tab. 51 The extended household of Qar

7.3 Summary

The middle-ranked officials represent a bulk of less distinguished people than were two preceding groups of the viziers and higher officials, who typically occupied minor posts in state administration. The formation of this specific social group can be associated with the administrative reforms at the turn of the Fourth and the Fifth Dynasty, as was already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. However, the identified dependents began to appear in the tombs of these social strata with a certain time lag only in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty. Memphite holders were investigated to obtain a picture of their extended households.⁵²⁶ The selection for the study comprises eleven entries of owners whose extended households

⁵²⁵ The evidence of title *zš md3t ntr* scribe of the god's book is attested for the first time from the reign of Ninetjer (Piacentini 2002: 50–51).

⁵²⁶ Possible provincial holders were also examined, however none of the officials enumerated by E. Martinet (2019) in her extensive catalogue of the provincial elite meet the criteria for the present research.

accommodated at least one non-kin individual. A closer analysis of individual entourages brought to light several notable observations that will be presented below.

First and foremost, already the fact that the final sample of tombs of the middle-ranked officials is so limited draws a completely different picture in comparison to what revealed the examination of the uppermost layers of Egyptian society. It demonstrates how markedly the social status of the owners influenced the way a particular social group perceives and displays oneself. The analysis of the previous two groups proved that it was kind of an everyday reality for the viziers and higher officials to portray a numerous entourage in their own funerary monuments, while the middle-rank officials used such a form of a pictorial record only occasionally. The considerable difference between both mentioned groups, i.e., the top elite members on one hand and the officials standing at the opposite side of the social spectrum is also illustrated by a more limited chronological scope encompassing the tombs with recorded entourages. The middle-rank officials who included non-kin dependents can only be monitored in the period from the middle of the Fifth to the middle of the Sixth Dynasty, respectively, in one particular case to the early reign of Pepi II (the tomb of Qar).⁵²⁷ In contrast to it, the entourages of the viziers and higher officials can be traced back during the second part of the Fourth Dynasty and continuously monitored till the second part of the Sixth Dynasty (see Chapter 5 and 6).

Not only were the particular extended households depicted in tombs with much less frequency than in the previous two groups of high officials, but also the number and composition of individual entourages widely differ, with the main distinction residing in a less numerous group of dependents endowed with less complex titles. The identified dependents began to be recorded in the tombs of the middle-ranked officials during the reign of Niuserre, as testify the tombs of Iymery and Kahai, which are both elaborately decorated and furnished with dependents attached with quite wide variety of professions. Their tombs represent a peak with regard to the number of non-kin individuals and the diversity of their titles. It is especially the tomb of Iymery, which exceeds other tombs of the same social status with its large tomb

⁵²⁷ The modified dating of the tombs of Khufuankh (tomb G 4520) and Itisen (G 8410) that were included in the selection has already been explained in the introduction of the chapter and are dealt in detail in the description of respective households. There was proposed a more probable date for both tombs to the end of the Fifth Dynasty instead of the beginning of Userkaf's reign as proposed by N. Kanawati for Khufuankh (tomb G 4520) and the reign of Sahure for Itisen (G 8410) (Kanawati 1977: 23–24). As a result, no tomb dated to the first part of the Fifth Dynasty complies with the prerequisites for the present work.

and splendid wall decoration that included almost 35 individuals.⁵²⁸ All three main professions that can be found in the tombs of higher officials, namely priests, scribes, and household managers/servants, appear also in Iymery's reliefs. Apart from them, the identified craftsmen and musicians broaden the repertoire of recorded occupations. A complex hierarchy can be found within the management of funerary priests with almost twenty representatives headed by an overseer, several inspectors, and complemented by ordinary priests. Craftsmen feature similar but only two-level hierarchical division.

The extended household of Kahai is slightly less numerous than that of Iymery, but still included more than 20 different individuals labelled as household managers, priests, and subordinates of Kahai – courtiers associated with the management of both the legal and royal court.⁵²⁹ A scribal profession was not missing in the tomb, but unexpressed by an appropriate professional tag only indicated by scribal attributes, i.e., pens and palettes. A specific feature of the entourage consists of a large number of individuals identified solely by their names who are recorded in daily-life scenes as fishermen, fowlers, herdsman, or craftsmen involved in a boat-building.

Further seven tombs belonging to Kapi, Nekhetka, Itisen, Sekhemka, Khufuankh, Nefretnesut and Setka represent the subsequent period from the middle to late Fifth Dynasty, with the latter four individuals probably set at the very end of the dynasty. The size of particular extended households oscillates between one to ten dependents. An indisputable prevalence of priests represents a common feature for most of the entourages; in some cases, priests are not only prevailing profession, but also the only specified by a professional tag (Nefretnesut, Nekhetka, Khufuankh, and Setka). The tomb of Itisen is not the case. It is distinguished by a predominance of scribal professions, but we can find representatives occupied with a priestly profession and involved in the domestic realm as well. Only Sekhemka's tomb differs substantially with regard to the composition of his entourage. He captured no funerary priest or any other dependent who would be identified by a personal name, merely an unnamed household manager related to cattle farming. The absence of any funerary priest and the presence of the only identified dependent in general is in his case even more surprising given the fact that the wall decoration incorporated more than one hundred of minor figures!

⁵²⁸ The overall area of the tomb measures 289 sq.m. slightly surpasses the average tomb size of 251 sq.m. proposed by N. Kanawati for middle ranked officials of that date (Kanawati 1977: 38).

⁵²⁹ Altogether, there are more than 150 figures of dependents (precisely 152) recorded in the tomb.

We rarely monitor other professions than priests depicted in the analysed tombs, namely scribal-related titles (Itisen) and household managers/servants (Itisen and Sekhemka). Of certain importance is the house of Kapi who captured apart from priests, yet his close subordinates who were engaged at the royal court engaged in the management of a storehouse and in the entertainment at the royal court. No specialists, craftsmen, workers employed in the organisation of labour or person connected with body care were captured elsewhere in these monuments.

When dealing with various professions of recorded dependents, it is not irrelevant to carefully examine also the titles defining the identity of the tomb owners themselves. Four of the seven tomb owners selected for the second part of the Fifth Dynasty held various positions in the management of *hntyw-š* individuals (Kapi, Sekhemka, Nefretnesut, and Khufuankh).⁵³⁰ This is of course quite natural since the post of a *hntyw-š* individual belongs to one of the titles characteristics for the middle-ranked officials (Kanawati 1977: 23). However, it provides an opportunity to compare individual extended households of owners who held the same profession. Kapi, who stood at the head of the department of *hnty(w)-š* officials, has incorporated the most numerous and diverse extended household consisting of nine dependents who belonged partly to priestly personnel and partly to his subordinates. Nefretnesut, who occupied a lower hierarchical level of the same profession, i.e. of an inspector of *hntyw-š* officials of the Great House (*šhd hntyw-š pr-č3*) captured five priests in the decoration of his tomb. Khufuankh, who was ordinary *hntyw-š* officials of the Great House (*hntyw-š pr-č3*) displayed nine non-kin members, all engaged in priestly services, although their possible family relationship cannot be entirely excluded. Finally, Sekhemka, who held the same post as the overseer of *hnty(w)-š* officials as Kapi, incorporated only a single identified dependent. Based on this comparison, no direct correlation can be discerned between the position within the management of *hnty(w)-š* officials and the size and composition of his extended household. The higher status of the tomb owner evidently played an important role only to a certain degree.

The tombs of the remaining four individuals, Nekhetka, Sekhemka, Itisen, and Setka, were also investigated in detail. Nekhetka's entourage resembles the extended household of Sekhemka in terms of size, but instead of the household manager he recorded a representative of the priestly profession. The size of Setka's extended household reaches ten individuals; however, its composition is not as diverse as that of Itisen – all the dependents depicted are

⁵³⁰ Nekhetka was associated to the management of scribes and granary and Itisen to judiciary similar to Setka (see individual households above).

occupied with priestly services. The tomb of Setka also provides an interesting insight into one's family history of an individual who became a man of a higher rank than his father Nefer (see the following chapter). The comparison of their tombs shows quite substantial differences: The tomb of Setka, consisting of several rooms including a pillared court, is almost twice as big as that of his father. The extended household of Setka also exceeds that of his father. He incorporated ten representatives of the priestly profession instead of a single one, as his father did. When we further advance one generation, a part of Setka's tomb was reserved for his son Ptahhetep. The accelerating trend noticeable from the father to the son, i.e. Nefer to Setka, apparently did not continue to the following generation. We can discern certain impoverishment in all preserved elements, starting with Ptahhetep's titles, the size of his part of the tomb and his extended household, not a single non-kin-dependent person was recorded. Thus, this microstudy displays a rapid increase in rank of one family member replaced by equally sudden fall in next generation.

To continue summarizing the extended households dated to the late Fifth Dynasty, it has to be emphasized the already mentioned entourage of Itisen which was more diverse than other suites of that time. He captured six dependents distinguished by names and titles of priests, but without any hierarchical division within particular professional segments, which points to a decreasing complexity of analysed extended households.

N. Kanawati who analysed the financial resources expended on the construction of tombs during the Fifth Dynasty, pointed out a levelled-off trend in size of the tombs dated from the beginning to the middle of this dynasty (Kanawati 1977: 39–40). According to him, the tombs dated from the first part of the Fifth Dynasty had an average size of around 250 sq. m., a measurement that began to decrease gradually from the reign of king Niuserre onwards reaching the overall tomb dimensions at the beginning of Pepi I's reign around 30 sq. m. on average.⁵³¹ After that time, this group of officials was no longer capable of building a tomb due to a lack of resources (Kanawati 1977: 38, 69, 79). The observations based on scrutinizing the extended households recorded in the tombs of the middle-ranked officials show a considerably different picture. Not a sporadic occurrence of the tombs with identified dependents was detected for the first part of the Fifth Dynasty. This trend can be observed in the analysed sample only from the reign of Niuserre onward. At the same time, the mid-Fifth Dynasty belongs to one of the hallmarks with regard to the number of dependents and the diversity of recorded

⁵³¹ Kanawati (1977: 39–40) proposed a fall about 55 sq. m. for a tomb in one generation.

professions. The size of particular extended households surpassed ten individuals and the professions were more varied, not limited to priests. Beforehand we entirely miss the non-kin dependents, while during the subsequent period till the end of the Fifth Dynasty the individual extended households are largely composed of priestly personnel but occasionally complemented by some scribes (or other educated individuals recruited from the subordinates of the tomb owner) or household managers/servants. Other professional segments represent an extreme minority.⁵³² Specialists were completely excluded from the tombs of intermediate-ranked officials except for the only physician displayed in the tomb of official Neferkhui from the cemetery of the palace attendants G 2000 (see The extended household of Kapi).

The middle-ranked officials dated to the Sixth Dynasty show a completely different picture than outlined by the owners from the end of the Fifth Dynasty. A scarcity of tombs with identified dependents monitored in the Sixth Dynasty is compensated by a large size and elaborate composition of their extended households. Only three tombs were ascertained from that period of Egyptian history, all three are worth noting. All three masters (Methethi, Idu and Qar) are distinguished by different rank titles than bore the middle-ranked officials from the previous dynasty. The title *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance” that often appeared during the Fifth Dynasty was now replaced by the title of *hry tp nswt* “king’s liegeman/royal chamberlain, he who is under the head of the king” (Setka and Idu), the last individual Qar was even ranked *smr wꜥty* “the sole companion”. Elevated rank could have influenced the size of the extended households. The size of the entourages of Idu and Qar is considerably bigger in comparison to the preceding period, the only comparable with 10 dependents is the tomb of Methethi. Idu has 30 dependents, while Qar’s suite has 36 dependents, which means that they were almost equal in number to the outstanding suite of Iymery from the mid-Fifth Dynasty, which consisted of 34 dependents. The composition of their extended households with regard to the diversity of recorded titles also resembles the entourage of Iymery. We encounter priests, scribes, household/estate managers/servants, and identified but unnamed musicians. Qar, on top of that, incorporated subordinates associated with central and land administration. Despite the fact that both entourages look quite complex, it must be mentioned that almost two thirds of Idu’s dependents were distinguished only by a professional label without a personal name attached; similarly, Qar personified only eight dependents. This makes the circle of the closest servants and collaborators considerably smaller compared to the

⁵³² We shall not forget to mention one dependent of Kapi (G 2091) with title “singer of the Great House” who was probably his subordinate or perhaps a distant relative (see The household of Kapi).

extended household of Iymery, who distinguished 23 of 34 dependents by a personal name (see the extended household of Iymery). Although the size of Qar's retinue is the most numerous of all middle-rank officials, a careful examination of minor individuals displayed in tomb iconography has shown that it is the Iymery's entourage that hardly stands in comparison with the diversity of recorded professions.

Overall, the extended households of the middle-ranked officials are chronologically defined by the middle of the Fifth to middle of the Sixth Dynasty. They are mainly distinguished by the characteristic appearance of priests who represent either the majority or the one and only profession recorded in respective tombs. The size of particular entourages often does not reach ten individuals; nevertheless, in several isolated instances, the number of dependents surpassed 20. A big difference in size and composition of analysed suites belongs to a specific feature of this group of officials. While on one hand there are tombs that feature only several priests, no matter if they have modest or more elaborate tomb decoration, we can also observe a couple of important dignitaries who depicted a more complex team of dependents. However, they are limited to two time periods, first represented with one cluster of officials dated to the reign of Niuserre, and the second one set in the reign of Pepi I and Merenre/early Pepi II.

Compared to the upper layers of the Egyptian elite, the study of officials of an intermediate rank revealed a considerable shortlist of available candidates and, in fact, the small size of the group in general. Evaluating further the size and diversity of particular extended households, one notices rather modest tombs with the entourage of the owner limited to several dependents predominantly identified as priests. Only five of 14 middle-ranked tombs with non-kin individuals feature more numerous and diverse suite at least remotely resembling the tombs of higher officials. As a result, one monitors a substantial difference between the middle-ranked officials on one hand and their wealthier counterparts on the other in every studied aspect, starting with chronological range of the tombs to the size and complexity of displayed extended households, quite naturally in favour of the latter ones.

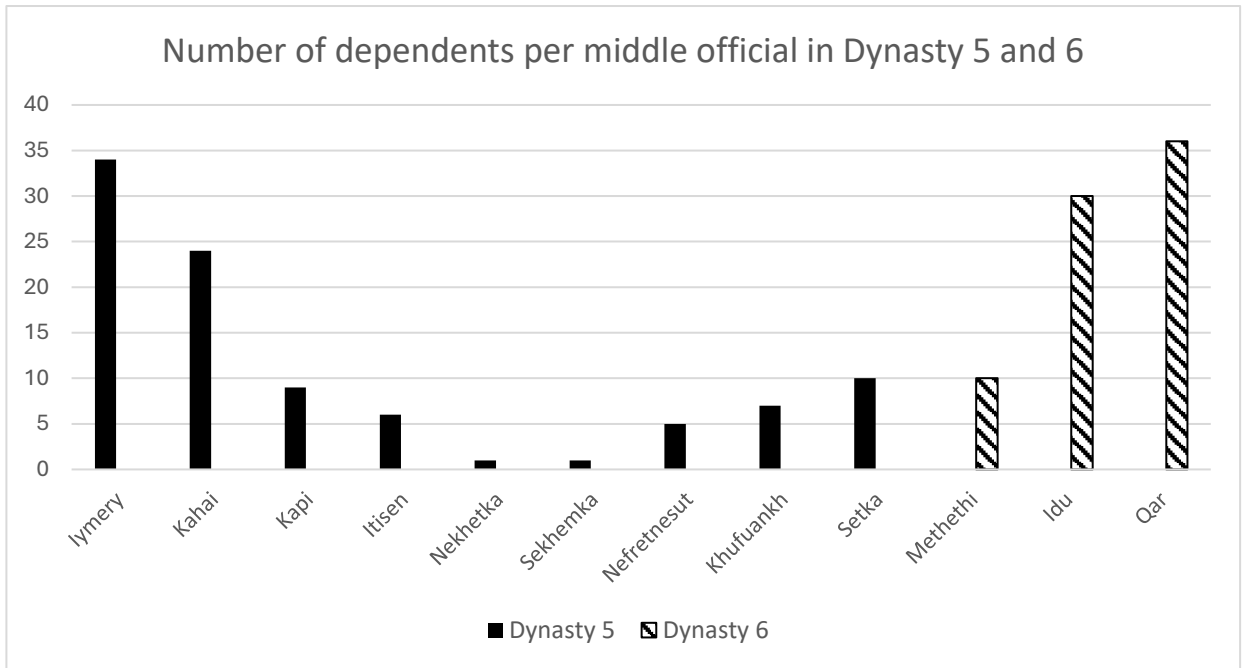


Chart 9 Number of dependents per middle official in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty

8 Households of the lower-ranked officials

The administrative reforms at the end of the Fourth Dynasty had a significant impact on the formation of Egyptian 'middle classes' (cf. Chapter 6). These modest categories of individuals characterised by intermediate or lower rank, typically the subordinate officials displayed in elite tombs, were entitled by J. Baines as subelites (Baines 2009-2010: 134). This author highlighted their role as important intermediaries between the inner elite and the rest of society. According to N. Kanawati, the lower echelon of Egyptian administration gained enough power to build a tomb already during the reign of Khufu and their economic capacity appeared to be exhausted at the end of the Fifth Dynasty or slightly later (Kanawati 1977: esp. 27–34, 39–40, 69, 73). This does not mean that the category of lower officials as such no more existed during the Sixth Dynasty, the opposite is true since there is ample evidence of increasing number of tombs belonging to intermediate or middle categories of officials as attest tombs both in Memphite necropoleis and in the provinces (Kanawati 1977: 73). These tombs are in many cases only mentioned, not properly excavated or published.⁵³³

The category of lower-ranked individuals is predominantly characterized by titles related to minor administrative posts in the state or to leading roles in the management of a private property of some high official, but it also encompasses the service in the funerary realm of both the king and non-royal dignitaries. Kanawati enumerates 23 titles characteristic for this social class including managerial titles from the field of private belongings often related to food supply (*imy-r3 pr*, *imy-r3 pr-šn^c*, *imy-r3 ḥ3w*, *ḥrp zh*), scribal positions not excepting those connected to some state institution (*zš šnwt*, *z3b zš*, *zš pr-ḥd*, *zš ḥry wdb*) or senior posts in labour administration (*imy-r3 ist*, *imy-r3 idw pr-^c3*) (Kanawati 1977: 28). Further fields of occupations, such as those connected to crafts, embalming or leading of expeditions need to be added as well (e.g. *imy-r3 ḥmwt*, *ḥrp wtiw pr-^c3*, *imy-r3 mš^c*).

The earliest dated tombs of lower-ranked individuals, for instance, the tomb of Yeni (G 1235) or the tomb of Kanefer (G 1203) from the reign of Khufu accommodated slab stelae where a depiction of the tomb owner seated at the offering table with his name and titles is the only decorated element in the tomb (Manuelian 2003). Slab stelae or modest tomb chapels that focused exclusively on the tomb owner and his family had prevailed in tombs in Memphite

⁵³³ N. Kanawati mentions among other works concerned with Memphite tombs references to unpublished reports by Reisner and Abu Bakr (Kanawati 1977: 73). For the provincial tombs, see one of his most recent works by N. Kanawati (2018) as well as an article by E. Martinet (2020: 71–95). Worth mentioning in particular are necropoleis at Sheikh Said (Davies 1901), Hawawish (Kanawati 1940–1983, 1985–1989, 1992) or Meir (Blackman-Apted 1953: 58–60, pls. 47–49; Kessler 1982: col. 15–16).

necropoleis up to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.⁵³⁴ From that time on, tombs with more elaborate layout and decoration began to appear; this phenomenon lasted until the middle of the Sixth Dynasty. The second part of the Sixth Dynasty features a significant change, it came to a considerable economisation of tombs of all rank. We often encounter very small tombs with a rounded top part and two niches for the false door embedded in the eastern façade, the so-called 'stéle-maisons'.⁵³⁵ The tomb of Hebai built in the cemetery of Pepi II in South Saqqara belongs to one of the illustrative examples of this type. The owner was a lower-ranking official, an overseer of linen and inspector of *k3*-priests (Jéquier 1929: 15, fig. 128).⁵³⁶ Such a type of tombs with limited decoration returns our attention back to the Fourth Dynasty when the tomb owner and his close family remained the main focus excluding thus entirely any kind of social or economic ties outside the family realm.

As far as the provincial necropoleis are concerned, a substantial increase in their number is witnessed only from the Sixth Dynasty; in the previous period the officials were rarely buried outside Memphis. The tombs have been published with different intensity largely depending on the type of tomb. Earlier works focused mainly on large and elaborate tombs of nomarchs or expedition leaders; their contemporaries of lesser rank did not stand at the forefront of scholarly interest which considerably limited the selection of potential tombs for the present work. The less elaborate tombs of intermediate-ranked owners became properly published only recently. Rare exceptions represent works by N. Kanawati, for instance his volumes on the tombs at Hawawish that encompass apart from the tombs of nomarchs and high officials also dozens of tombs of middle- and lower-ranked individuals (Kanawati 1980-1992).

A characteristic feature of the tombs of the lower elite strata in general is, apart from their small size, also a significant reduction of the wall decoration. In the vast majority of cases, it is the inscribed surface of the false door that is the only decorated part of the tomb. As a result, we are provided mainly with the identity and status of the tomb owner himself, which is only occasionally supplemented by any additional information about the owner's family, for example, in the tomb C9 of the steward and inspector of the *hm-ntr* priests Iy/Mry/Idy (Kanawati 1987: 14–17, figs. 7, 8a). The evident absence of wealth must have markedly influenced the manifestation of their suites within the tomb walls. Therefore, when assembling

⁵³⁴ For the development of tomb architecture and wall decoration, in general see e.g. P. de Manuelian 2003; N. Kanawati 2001; P. Jánosi 2005 and 1999; Y. Harpur 1987.

⁵³⁵ For the tombs of that type, see e.g. Jéquier 1929: tomb M III and M IX, pls. II and VIb is.

⁵³⁶ G. Jéquier stated that he found the same type of monument around the tomb of queen Wedjebten (Jéquier 1929: 112; Jéquier 1928: 27–30; Jéquier 1926: 54).

the available sources, I was unable to identify a tomb of a lower-rank official that would incorporate the owner's entourage outside the family realm in the provinces. At that point, especially when analysing the tombs of the sixth Dynasty, we have to consider a gradual devaluation of rank titles to the end of the Old Kingdom (Helck 1954: 111–119). Therefore, it is perhaps not unfounded to consider the extension of Kanawati's list of specific titles for lower rank officials, including typical rank titles *iry ht nswt* or *šps nswt*, by those who express a slightly elevated rank such as *hry-tp nswt*.⁵³⁷ Despite the proposed extension, the number of tombs featuring non-kin dependents has not significantly increased. Only two tombs with identified individuals outside the family realm Meni of Meir (tomb E1, Sixth Dynasty or later) and Qereri of Hawawish (tomb Q 15; Pepi I) were included in the list of lower-ranked tombs – that are examined below.⁵³⁸

The Memphite tombs where non-kin dependents figure are chronologically limited to the Fifth Dynasty. Nine tombs that are dealt with below did not form a representative sample of the available monuments as was the case for the group of the viziers and higher officials, but they represent a list of all monuments that appeared to be appropriate for the present research, similar to the middle-rank officials. Wehemka (D 100) dated to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty is the earliest of Memphite residents (Kayser 1964). He was omitted in N. Kanawati's list of lower-ranked officials, but added by the present author with respect to the recorded titles that he held (see The extended household of Wehemka below). Wehemka is chronologically followed by official Nefertjezet dated to the reign of Neferirkare (Hawass 2018: 179). Further two officials Niudjaptah and Khuta are dated to the mid-Fifth Dynasty or later, while the tombs of Fetekti, Iy, and Rahotep were presumably built slightly later chronologically limited by the reign of Djedkare Izezi to Unas. Finally, Neferen and Nefer are dated to the very end of the Fifth Dynasty, if not later (see respective households below). All examined tombs of lower-rank officials are situated in Giza, with the majority occupying the Western Cemetery (Wepemnefret, Niudjaptah, Nefer, Neferen), two additional monuments located in the Central Field (Iy and Khuta) and a single tomb in the upper cemetery of tombs belonging to the pyramid builders' (Nefertjezet). Only two of the selected officials, Fetekti and Rahotep, were buried in the

⁵³⁷N. Kanawati considers this title to be characteristic for the group of middle-ranked individuals, he, however, did not take into account any development of individual titles during the Old Kingdom, neither the loss of value of rank titles to the end of the Old Kingdom (Kanawati 1977: 23).

⁵³⁸ Both individuals were selected based on their rank title *hry-tp nswt*. For the reference of Meni, see A.M. Blackman and M.R. Apted 1953: 58–59, pls. 47, 1, 2; 48, 2; the tomb of Qereri was published by N. Kanawati (Kanawati 1986: 47–51, pls. 3a–b, 8a–c, 9, figs. 20–22). E. Martinet enumerates both individuals in her catalogue (Martinet 2019: Kereri under the identity label 9HE.EHAW.VI.42 on page 876; Meni is listed under no.14HE.ME.VI.4 on page 959).

Saqqara-Abusir necropoleis. Their monuments are distinguished by considerably larger sizes than their Giza counterparts. Both were built as spacious joint-tombs for two individuals. The monument of Fetekti and Meti measures over 100 sq.m., while the tomb of Rahotep and Izeziseneb is slightly smaller covering an area of approximately 73 sq. m. In contrast to these two monuments, all other tombs of lower-ranked individuals are considerably smaller, their areas ranging from 9 sq.m. (the tomb of Neferen) to 45 sq.m. (the tomb of Nefer).⁵³⁹ Provincial tombs are equally modest; the tomb of Meniu of Meir measures 6.5 sq.m. while the tomb of Qereri of 5 sq.m.

As far as the professional spheres of the tomb owners under survey are concerned, titles related to private property management and priestly services are mainly evinced. Iy, Nefer, and Nefertjezet held the title of the “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward”, Neferen was “overseer of storehouse and corn-measurers”, similar to Fetekti, who was responsible for the redistribution of offerings in the *wsh*-hall in the royal mortuary temple, while Khuta’s main title of “inspector of young men of the Great Estate” (*shd idu(w) hwt-ʿ3t*) was more associated with the organisation of labour. Rahotep’s field of work was closely related to the king and the royal court. Khuta, Nefer, and Nyudjaptah held leading positions within the management of private funerary cults similar to Fetekti who was on the top of that *hm-ntr* “priest of the king”. Nefertjezet and Nefer were “*wʿb* priests of the king”. Kereri was “inspector of *k3*-priests” and *shd hm(w)-ntr* “inspector of priests of the king”. Three following individuals Iy, Neferen, and Rahotep differ from the others, since they did not hold any priestly titles at all. The majority of the analysed officials, with the exception of Niudjaptah and Neferen, were distinguished by a lower ranking title *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance”. Both selected provincial owners held the title *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain”, both served as inspectors of priests in a local temple. The Meni of Meir bore several other titles, both functional and rank.⁵⁴⁰

8.1 Households of the lower-ranked officials dated to the Fifth Dynasty

8.1.1 Wehemka

The tomb of Wehemka, its architecture, and wall decoration

⁵³⁹ For the area of particular tombs, see respective households; the average area of the tombs of lower-ranked individuals is according to N. Kanawati’s research 17 sq.m. (Kanawati 1977: 40).

⁵⁴⁰ For the reference to enumerated titles, see individual households below.

The tomb of Wehemka and his extended household was already dealt with within the analysed group of higher officials as he was a kea person for running Kaninisut's household (see The household of Kaninisut). Therefore, only the most important features will be summarized at this place. The stone-built tomb of Wehemka is located close to the tomb of his master Kaninisut in the Western cemetery in Giza, stretching on a small area of 12 × 6m with a modest chapel (1,20 m × 2,30 m with 2,35 m height) (Porter and Moss 1974: 114–115; Kayser 1964: 20; Junker 1938: 37–38 [22]; Roeder 1927).⁵⁴¹ The chapel is fully decorated in raised relief with a quality of craftsmanship that is surprisingly better than those cut in the tomb of Kaninisut's son (Kaninisut II) as observed by H. Junker (Junker 1931: 16). Various scenes can be found on the walls of the chapel. It is among others several offering table scenes as well as scenes with offering bearers, complemented by a scene of animal slaughter and scene of rendering accounts by scribes.

Wehemka's rank, his close family and extended household

Wehemka's social standing was derived primarily from his position as the head of the household of a higher official, he was the “overseer of the house/estate” (*imy-r3 pr*). He was an educated man as attest two scribal titles *zš pr md3(w)t* “scribe of the archives/department of documents” and *zš nfrw* “scribe of recruits”. In addition, he was granted by rank title *iry ht nswt* property custodian of the king/royal acquaintance (Kayser 1964: 25, 51, pls. 10–11). The family background of Wehemka is well known. He recorded 12 relatives including his parents, and probably his son-in-law counting several probably female relatives designated as *mitrt* lady, concubine (Kayser 1964: 24, 32, 33, 36). Altogether, five generations of the family are captured in reliefs. The analysis of the titles of particular family members revealed that the same or very similar office became hereditary within his family. It concerns the office of *imy-r3 pr* (Wehemka's grandfather Kaemneferet, father Ity, Wehemka) as well as different post in archive management such as *nht-hrw pr-md3t* “‘tally-man’ of the archive” (Wehemka's father Ity) or *zš pr md3t* “scribe of archives/document department” (grandfather Kaemneferet, Wehemka and son Rahetep).

The extended household of Wehemka is extraordinary numerous comprising of 70 identified dependents which highly exceed entourages of all other individuals of the same rank (see Tab. 51). Highly exceptional is also the fact that only four of 70 non-kin minor figures in tomb iconography were left anonymous. Of that number, 16 dependents were only

⁵⁴¹ The chapel of Wehemka is currently deposited in the Museum of Hildesheim 2970.

distinguished by their personal name, the remaining 50 individuals encompassed 17 various professions. The segment covering household management (17 individuals) is most frequently represented by several managers, i.e., an “elder of the house” (*smsw pr*), a “supervisor of linen” (*hry-tp sšr*) and three “chiefs” *hk3* and a bulk of household servants comprising butlers, butchers, herdsmen or brewers (see Tab. 51). The most important person was the “elder of the house” Neferaf, a bearded, bald-headed man who heads two registers of offering bearers on the chapel’s north wall (Kayser 1964: 33–34, 72)(see Fig. 100). It should be mentioned that the household was not led by an “overseer of the house”, but by an individual with less important title *smsw pr*. This indicates a lower position of the entire household in contrast to the wealthier household of a high-rank dignitary, as was that of Wehemka’s master Kaninisut.

The educated part of Wehemka’s entourage was formed by four ordinary scribes, all named, with Nisuweseret being more important than the others since appearing twice in tomb walls (Kayser 1964: 36, 46, 52)(see Fig. 102). Not only ordinary scribes, but also three *zš(w) pr md3t* “scribes of the archives/department of documents” can be found in reliefs (Kayser 1964: 59). Nisuweseret was a person of particular importance because he probably occurred four times elsewhere in the tomb.⁵⁴² Taking into consideration the fact that Wehemka himself held the identical title, these men were highly likely his subordinates or perhaps even his relatives, as the title seems to become hereditary within the members of the same family (see above). In addition, the attached label points to these persons as to *sn-dt/msw-dt* “brothers/children of the funerary estate” – an important individuals involved in the cult of the deceased. Wehemka engaged altogether 10 *sn-dt* individuals – “brothers/children of the funerary estate” who encompassed both family members (e.g., the already mentioned son-in-law Neferhernemty but also people outside the family realm). Funerary priests were less frequently represented; only three individuals were detected in the tomb. We are not able to assess whether directly someone of the loyal household members was awarded a *k3*-priest title or not. The funerary priests Perneb, Seneb, and Neferqed were distinguished solely by their priestly title.

Apart from the already mentioned professional spheres, we encounter in wall reliefs, rather surprisingly, another two segments that appear almost exclusively in the extended household s of viziers or higher official. It is a woman employed in the body care services as a

⁵⁴² We cannot be entirely sure if in all four instances an identical person was depicted as the titles of Nisuweseret do not completely correlate. He is depicted twice on the west wall with title *zš* scribe, while on the south wall, he is labelled by title *zš pr-md3t* scribe of the library. Finally, person Nisuweseret appears without any title on the chapel’s east wall (Kayser 1964: 35).

“female hairdresse”r *irt-šn*^c, and an individual engaged in military sphere – a “recruit” *nfr* (Kayser 1964: plates on pages 32 and 36)(see Figs. 101 and 102).

Notable is also the extraordinary frequent representation of female professions. Almost ten of the identified dependents in Wehemka’s tomb were women (mainly female sealers, but also a female hairdresser and funerary priestesses), which appears to be a specific feature otherwise underrepresented in the entourage of the tomb owner. In this particular instance, female members account for 12 % of all identified dependents.

Last but not least, a relatively high number of identified dependents who appear several times in the tomb is of particular importance. A multiple appearance of an individual refers to his significance within the group of depicted people. In the tomb of Wehemka, it was the individual Nisuweseret with four occurrences who stood at the top; other 11 dependents were recorded at least twice. Of that number, we can recognise on one hand educated members as e.g. scribes, but also some of the ordinary servants, typically butlers or butchers, who were commemorated for their loyal work by their engagement in the funerary realm of their master as well. Already, the fact that almost all minor figures were distinguished by a personal name and/or the title represents a unique feature within other Memphite tombs resembling merely the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa (see the introductory part to Higher officials). We can propose an intention of the owner to use the chapel walls primarily to “immortalize” his entire extended household, taking into account the high number of recorded individuals.

Overall, Wehemka was a well-off person who worked for a wealthy dignitary Kaninisut. He was not an ordinary majordomus, but a capable and educated man, as attests his engagement in the state department of documents. The entourage of Wehemka astonishes for its high size of dependent individuals and a big diversity of recorded professions which covers not only three main segments, i.e. scribal, priestly, and domestic service, but also individuals from rarely appearing spheres of the body care or military service. Rather unique is the extraordinary numerous representations of female workers, respectively, a frequent depiction of women in general. Last but not least, many of the dependents, even the ordinary ones, appear several times in the tomb, putting stress on each individual member of Wehemka's house, giving the impression of their importance and loyalty to the tomb owner.

Wehemka	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> “k3-priest”	4 (of that 1 woman)

	<i>šn/ms-dt</i> “brothers/children of the funerary estate”	10
	<i>wty</i> “embalmer”	1
Household servants	<i>wdpw</i> “butler, attendant, steward, cup-bearer”	9 (of that 1 woman)
	<i>wdpw n hnty-wr</i> “attendant/steward of the great cellar”	2
	<i>sšm</i> “butcher”	3
	<i>kbh šnwt (= kbh nmt)</i> “butcher of the slaughterhouse”	1
	<i>ʕfy</i> “brewer”	2
	<i>mnyw</i> “herdsman”	4
Household management	<i>smsw pr</i> “elder of the house/estate”	1
	<i>hry-tp sšr</i> “supervisor of cloth”	2 (of that 1 woman)
	<i>hrp zḥ</i> “director of the dining hall” Khetemi, Nenekau p. 59	2
	<i>hk3</i> “chief”	3
	<i>šmsw</i> “retainer”	1
Scribal profession	<i>zš</i> “scribe”	4
	<i>zš pr md3t</i> “scribe of the archives/department of documents”	7
	<i>htmty</i> “sealer”	9 (of that 5 woman)
	<i>hrp htmw</i> “director of sealers”	1(2) child
Military/police	<i>nfr</i> “recruit”	1
Body care service	<i>Ir-šnʕ</i> “hairstylist”	1 (woman)
Only named		16

Tab. 51 The extended household of Wehemka

1.1.1 Nefertjezet

The tomb of Nefertjezet, its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Nefertjezet has been recently published by Z. Hawass (Hawass 2018: 165–180). Although very small, with a total area of 30 sq. m., the tomb did contain amply inscribed false doors that provide a rich source of information with regard to the tomb owner, his family, and attendants. Nefertjes has built his tomb in the upper cemetery of pyramid builders’ tombs in Giza near the workmen’s barracks.⁵⁴³ The tomb was made of white limestone with an eastern façade that accommodates three false doors accessible through a narrow passage from the south (Hawass 2018: 167).

Nefertjezet’s rank, his close family, and extended household

⁵⁴³ For the discovery of workers village, see e.g. Lehner (2016).

Nefertjet was an official who held rather modest titles *w^cb nswt* “wab-priest of the king”, *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house”⁵⁴⁴, *smsw pr* “elder of the house” and *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king” (Hawass 2018: 167). The latter title ranked him among lesser officials as M. Bárta convincingly proved in his article dealing with Old Kingdom holders of the title (Bárta 1999: 78–89). Regarding the dating of the tomb, Hawass suggests the Fifth Dynasty mainly on the basis of one of the dependents whose name includes king’s name Neferirkare (Hawass 2018: 179).

Based on the inscriptional evidence from the southern and middle false Nefertjet married two wives, the principal one Neferhetepes, with whom he had daughters Nyankhhathor, Hetepheres and sons Ptahshepses and Nyankhre. Another son of Nefertjes Nykamenkaurenetjer is probably followed by his wife Nyankhhathor, son Irenptah and Iankhmin, together with daughter Neferhetepes nedjes – the latter three were likely Nefertjes’ grandchildren (Hawass 2018: 169).⁵⁴⁵ The southern false door also contains non kin individuals on the lowest part of the inner jambs (Hawass 2018: figs. 3 and 4)(see Fig. 103). They are represented by two men engaged in bread making, one of them is designated as *hm-k3* funerary priest Beby, the other one attached with a professional tag of an *nd* miller Inet. The middle false door is dedicated partly to the second wife of Nefertjes Nyankhhathor and their six children, sons Nimaatre, Nymaatptah, Hetepy and Neferiretenes together with two daughters Nymaathathor and Hathorshepses, partly to the principal wife Neferhetepes (Hawass 2018: 171, fig. 5). The inner left jambs includes yet another two individuals, the standing one was a *hm-k3* priest, the second kneeling one resembles by its posture the servant on the south false door representing a miller, however the original text is illegible (Hawass 2018: 173, fig. 5). The northern false door, the main false door in the tomb designed for the tomb owner, again depicts the tomb owner with his principal wife Neferhetepes and their children, respectively, ‘her eldest son’ Niheptah and his son Ankhmakhty, who burn incense for his father accompanied by another two sons Nisuweser and Ankhmakhty depicted touching their father’s staff (Hawass 2018: 175, fig. 7). The latter false door provides insight into bread and beer making through servants in a separate lower register (see Fig. 104).⁵⁴⁶ Two servants, male and female are depicted by their names

⁵⁴⁴ Holders of the title *imy-r3 pr* are scrutinized in the Excursus of the present work.

⁵⁴⁵ The false door on which are these family members depicted is rather untypical. It is not symmetrical, the outer left jambs are missing (Hawass 2018: figs. 3, 4), moreover the son with his family is facing to the right not to the deceased father which seems rather disrespectful, and I am not aware of any parallel for such depiction.

⁵⁴⁶ Z. Hawass points out that he does not know any of such scenes depicting daily-life, i.e. bread baking and wine pressing that would be recorded on a false door (Hawass 2018: 179). He explained their occurrence on the false door as a result of a lack of space within the modest tomb. I would argue that there is, in fact, some vacant surface to decorate between individual false doors, see, Z. Hawass (2018: fig. 2). The present solution rather seems to

Khenut and Ankhkakai. The beer making group of two people is anonymous. The two offering bearers who accompany his master on the inner left and right jambs must be mentioned to enumerate the non-kin members of Nefertjezet’s house in its completeness. Both individuals are *hm-k3* priests named Nikauptah and Beby, the latter being perhaps identical with the priest of the same name on the southern false door (Hawass 2018, Figs. 3 and 4). No person distinguishes from the others by any attribute of a scribal profession or by a characteristic garment of a lector priest.

Overall, Nefertjezet was a lower ranked official engaged in the management of a private property of some higher ranked official. No title indicates his service within the state administration. His small tomb accommodated three decorated false doors that captured primarily his close family whose size was twice the size of Nefertjezet’s extended household. Twenty family members consisted of two wives, several sons, and daughters together with grandchildren, complemented by eight non-kin individuals. Six of them were identified by either a title or by their personal name. Funerary priests made up the majority of depicted dependents; only a single representative of household servants was included according to preserved titles; further two were based on their depiction. No clues of possible profession are provided about the remaining two dependents identified solely by their personal names.

Nefertjezet	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -priest”	3
	<i>nd</i> “miller”	1
Only named	Without a title	2

Tab. 52 The extended household of Nefertjezet

8.1.2 Niudjaptah

The tomb of Niudjaptah(G 8733), its architecture, and wall decoration

The tomb of Niudjaptah is located in the Western Cemetery in Giza, in the so-called Abu Bakr Cemetery, where several tombs of lower rank individuals are located (Brovarski 2021; Abu Bakr 1953: 103–120, figs. 90–95, pls. 57–65). His tomb lies west of the tomb of Neferherentah and belongs to the most significant tombs in the east part of the cemetery (Abu Bakr 1953: 103).

express an effort for economisation of the cult by recording all necessary elements for the afterlife in condense form on the stone stelae. Similar simplification was used for the decoration of the Sixth Dynasty stele-maisons at South Saqqara (e.g. Jéquier 1928: 27–30; 1929).

It consists of a rock-cut chapel with three false doors embedded in the west wall. The chapel with the total area of 9.50 sq.m. is amply decorated with the exception of the south wall. The western wall accommodated several statue-niches and elaborated wall decoration (Abu Bakr 1953: 108–120, figs. 95A–95E, pls. 61 B, 62 A, 63 A, 64; Kanawati 1977: 99–100). We can find scenes depicting the deceased couple surrounding by their offspring, the deceased owner sitting at the offering table or a procession of offering bearers, but also scenes and motives that customarily appeared in the tombs of higher-ranked officials, namely daily-life scenes depicting baking and brewing, grinding corn, sifting flour, or heating pots.

B. Porter and R. Moss dated the tomb to the Fifth Dynasty or later (Porter and Moss 1974: 62–63). N. Kanawati (1977: 30) refined the dating to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or slightly later which is followed by the present work.

Niudjaptah's rank, his close family and his extended household

Niudjaptah belonged to a lower-rank official as can be deduced from his modest titles. He probably worked for some high dignitary as the majordomus (*imy-r3 pr*) and he was also a chief person who looked after the funerary cult of his master as an “overseer of *k3*-priests” (*imy-r3 hm-k3*).

Niudjaptah had quite a large family comprising his wife Kaemnehet, the eldest son Rawer with further three sons Nihetepptah, Rediptah, and Nesptah and three daughters Neferhetepes, Meresankh, and Kaennebty (Abu Bakr 1953: 107, figs. 94, 95 B, C). Niudjaptah captured apart from the members of his family also 17 members of his extended household (see Tab. 53). It has to be emphasized that all of them are identified only by their names; no titles were attached. Some of them were depicted as offering bearers. It concerns five individuals in the register below the central scene of the deceased couple accompanied by their children (Fig. 105). Another four people were carved directly on the third false door to the north. The remaining minor figures, six of whom were women, did housework. Various activities from grinding grain, baking, or cooking to brewing were depicted (Abu Bakr 1953: 114–120, figs. 95C, 95D, pl. 63 A)(Fig. 106).

It might be suggested that apart from these household servants, one individual depicted on the northern false door could represent a priest deducing from an incense burner in his hand (Abu Bakr 1953: fig. 95D)(see Fig. 106). The individual standing below him brings a piece of linen, therefore, he might be considered an “overseer of linen” with some degree of uncertainty.

No individual is depicted as a scribe with a reed pen and scribal equipment, which can refer to the absence of a scribal profession in the Niudjaptah's extended household in general.

Apart from the above-mentioned minor figures, a couple portrayed on the tablet of the third false door to the north needs to be mentioned. Despite the fact that both the lintel and the drum are inscribed for the tomb owner Niudjaptah the persons depicted on the tablet are a man named Nebishet and woman Teti (Abu Bakr 1953: 116, fig. 95D, pl. 63A)(see Fig. 106). The possible relationship between these individuals and the tomb owner is not expressed by any family relation tag elsewhere in the tomb. However, given the prominent placement on one of the false doors, we can presume that they might represent either a sister or a brother with their spouse. Abu Bakr noticed that the original name that probably belongs to Niudjaptah's wife Kaemnehet was later overwritten by the name Teti (Abu Bakr 1953: 119, note 4).⁵⁴⁷ It refers to the original intention of dedicating this false door to the deceased couple. Why it was later changed in favour of another family member is far from clear.

In total, Niudjaptah was an official with rather modest titles related to household management and administration of private funerary cult (*imy-r3 pr, imy-r3 hm-k3*). His small tomb with a decorated chapel displayed not only his large family, but also 17 members of his extended household, each distinguished by his name. Although their professions are unexpressed, it can be revealed from the content of scenes that eight of them were highly likely employed as household servants, another one as an overseer of linen, and finally, one priest. Therefore, we can define Niudjaptah's extended household to be limited to several servants / managers of the household and one priest who should take care of the funerary cult of Niudjaptah.

Niudjaptah	Titles	Number of occurrences
Only named		17

Tab. 53 The extended household of Niudjaptah

8.1.3 Khuta

The tomb of Khuta (G 8733), its architecture, and wall decoration

⁵⁴⁷ He mentioned signs belonging to word *nht* that could have originally composed the name of Niudjaptah's wife Kaemnehet.

The tomb of Khuta is located in the Central Field in Giza (Hassan 1941: 41–46, figs. 38–41, pls. 18–19).⁵⁴⁸ It has an almost squire layout with dimensions 6 × 5.65 × 2.95 m high. The tomb consists of a rock-cut chapel with an entrance door panel, both lintels and drum inscribed and decorated with a depiction of Khuta and his wife sitting at the offering table (Hassan 1941: fig. 39, pls. 18, 19). Apart from two false doors inside of the chapel, one for Khuta and the other for his wife, the entrance represents the only piece of decoration in the tomb. The inscriptions are made in sunk relief of a good quality of craftsmanship (Hassan 1941: 43). The tomb is dated to the middle Fifth Dynasty or later (Porter and Moss 1974: 279); N. Kanawati specifies the date to the latter part of Djedkare’s reign (Kanawati 1977: 32, tomb no. 252).

Khuta’s rank, his close family and extended household

According to preserved inscriptions in Thuta’s tomb, the owner belonged to the lower echelon of Egyptian officials. He was ranked by the title *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king” and held several priestly titles: the priest of Menkaure (*hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R*), inspector of *k3*-priest (*shd hm-k3*), as well as ordinary *k3*-priests (Hassan 1941: 41). Khuta also served as the “inspector of young men of the Great Estate” (*shd idu(w) hwt-3t*) and held a quite rare title “supervisor/master of wood” (*hry htw*). Information is not given about the family background of Khuta. His close family comprises only his wife Neferkhanisut and the only female offspring Nikauhathor.

The scene repertoire limited to the modest offering table scene largely predetermined the size of Khuta’s extended household (see Tab. 54). It consists merely of two *k3*-priests Khnumhetep and Niankhthovt who presented offerings to the tomb owner (Hassan 1941: fig. 39)(see Fig. 107). No other dependents either identified or anonymous are recorded on the entrance panel or elsewhere in the tomb.⁵⁴⁹ Of a particular importance is only a fragment of a statuette found in front of the chapel representing a person engaged in grinding corn (Hassan 1941: 45).⁵⁵⁰ A similar find comes, for instance, from the tomb of Niudjaptah, where a statue of a woman grinding corn was placed in a serdab together with a statue of the eldest son of Niudjaptah (Abu Bakr 1953: 106, pl. 60; cf. The extended household of Niudjaptah). Such

⁵⁴⁸ The overall area of the mastaba is 33 sq.m, with the chapel measuring 5.30 sq.m. (Kanawati 1977: 111–112).

⁵⁴⁹ S. Hassan unfortunately provides no clear information about the decoration of the two false doors inside the chapel (Hassan 1941). He only states that the northern false door that belongs to Khuta’s wife ‘appears to have been left unfinished, as its upper part...was left vacant’, while the southern one cut for Khuta ‘is in a perfect state of preservation’ without any mention about recorded inscriptions (Hassan 1941: 45).

⁵⁵⁰ Regrettably, no photo of this object is involved in S. Hassan’s study (Hassan 1941).

pieces of evidence seem to be precursors of later First Intermediate and Middle Kingdom wooden models that became a customary part of tomb equipment.⁵⁵¹

To conclude, Khuta was a representative of lower-ranked officials distinguished by the characteristic rank title *iry ht nswt*, as well as by several functional titles related to the organisation of labour or particular agrarian products. Khuta also occupied several priestly positions. The wall decoration in his modest tomb was limited to an offering table scene with two identified priests. Given that the owner apparently did not have a male heir who would take care of his cult, the appointment of two priests is only natural. No other profession was highlighted, neither household servants nor scribes. Despite this fact, a statue of an individual who is depicted grinding grain is an important testimony that the household-related occupations, or more precisely their 3D representations with the meaning of symbolic workers, became equally important as were the tomb equipment or daily offerings. Although the extended household of Khuta is very limited in number, similar to his family, it needs to be mentioned that all minor figures depicted in the tomb were identified, which is far from a rule in large extended household of high-rank officials full of anonymous servants. One can consider this to be a sign of economization.

Khuta	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-priest"	2

Tab. 54 The extended household of Khuta

8.1.4 Fetekti

The tomb of Fetekti (AS 5 (BB)), its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Fetekti was partially discovered and published already by K.R. Lepsius (1859: figs. 3.9–3.11; pls. 40, 81–83, 96), later in 1991 it was uncovered again and properly excavated by the mission of the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology (Verner 2017a: 213–215; Bárta 2006: 136–139; Bárta 2002c: 20–23; Bárta 2001: 75–123). The tomb is located in South Abusir on the family cemetery of priests and officials serving at the royal court. The overall area of the joint tomb built for Fetekti and other individuals named Meti exceeds 100 meters with precise

⁵⁵¹ For the Middle Kingdom tomb models in general, see e.g. J.H. Breasted 1948, A. Tooley (1999), for particular finds, e.g. the tomb of Meketre (H.E. Winlock 1955), or the tomb of Herishefhetep from Abusir (F. Kamp-Seyfried 2004: 153–161); for a database of First Intermediate and Middle Kingdom models, see the web page <http://mk-tomb-models.net>.

dimensions of 14.30 × 7.30 m (Bárta 2001: 107). It is a brick-built tomb consisting of a pillared court, corridor chapel of type 5a, a serdab, and two burial chambers for each individual (Bárta 2001: 109; Reisner 1942: 185, 256). The tomb entrance, pillared court, and chapel have once featured splendid wall decoration. The reliefs were applied to a plaster layer and painted in vivid colours, as testify to Lepsius's coloured drawings (Lepsius 1859: figs. 3.9–3.11; pls. 40, 81–83, 96). Regrettably, the decoration of the pillared court was preserved mainly thanks to the documentation made by Lepsius, as it was almost completely damaged. The wall reliefs of Fetekti contained a wide variety of scenes, starting with the boat scenes depicting the journey to the west, burial rituals with a transport of burial equipment, carpenters at work, pastoral scenes, wildlife and desert hunting scenes, sailing boats with fighting fishermen to wine production and production of linen with the transport of linen to the Treasury. The tomb is well known for its extensive market scenes that allow us to reconstruct the mechanism of the Egyptian economy on this everyday level (Bárta 1998: 19–34). The tomb dates to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, the reign of Djedkare to Unas in particular (Bárta 2001: 121).

Fetekti's rank, his close family, and extended household

Fetekty's professional sphere was primarily associated with the funerary service of the deceased king. He was engaged in the management of the offerings for the funerary temple of the king, taking charge of the magazines as *imy-r3 pr-šn* "overseer of the magazines" and carrying out duties in the *wsht*-hall of the mortuary temple as *hrp wsht* "inspector of the *wsht*-hall" (Bárta 2001: 118). The tomb reliefs also show his connection to the royal weavers' workshop and its textile production. Fetekti was further endowed with a lower-ranking title *iry ht nswt* "property custodian of the king". His involvement in the funerary cult of the king and several private individuals is indicated by the evidence originating from several other contemporary monuments which is based on corresponding dating and identical titles.⁵⁵² He is known from the funerary monument of both royal and private provenience. The first group of evidence represents the papyrus archive of king Neferirkare that mentions twice a servant of gods (*hm-ntr*) Fetekty (Posener-Krieger and de Cenival 1968: pls. 5 ae, 6 Ab; c, d, 6B; 7 Af, i). Also, two private tombs incorporated individual Fetekty in their wall decoration. Fetekty appears three times in the tomb of famous brother manicurists Niankhkhnun and Khnumhetep, each time bearing titles of a "funerary priest" (*hm-k3*) and "under-supervisor/assistant-leader" (*imy-ht*)

⁵⁵² For the reference of individual sources, see M. Bárta (2001: 119–121).

(Moussa and Altenmüller 1977: 45, pl. 6, scene 2.1; pl. 34, scene 15.3).⁵⁵³ In the tomb of Ptahhetep II, Fetekti appears twice, in both instances portrayed as an offering bearer attached with titles of a “funerary priest” (*hm-k3*) and “inspector of seal bearers” (*shd htmt(yw)*).

The wall decoration of Fetekti’s tomb provides us with rare evidence of his close family. No wife is mentioned in tomb inscriptions, with the exception of an unnamed woman carved on his false door. Two sons are recorded, the eldest one named Fetekti and another one Kaimen (Bárta 2001: 109, 136, pls. 38b, 84a). The tomb became a burial place for neither of these sons, but accommodated a burial for an individual Meti, whose precise relationship with Fetekti is unclear.

The tomb walls were extensively decorated with a variety of dependent people: offering bearers, herdsman, carpenters, and a large number of other servants engaged in a domestic realm; total 114 individuals (see Tab. 55). Only ten were distinguished by a personal name and title or by both. The scene hierarchy revealed that one of the most important dependents of Fetekti was an “overseer of the house”. His figure is depicted reporting about the household’s accounts to the tomb owner in the third register from the bottom on the east wall of the pillared court (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.13)(Fig. 108). He was followed by one, originally perhaps more scribes; the preserved one was labelled as a “juridical scribe” (*z3b zš*). In two registers below, other members of Fetekti’s household are depicted, namely two “keepers of linen” (*iry sšr*). Whether the same individual is recorded twice in scenes depicting the packing and transport of linen or if two different people are portrayed is not entirely clear.⁵⁵⁴ Another title associated to linen production was detected, one of the loose blocks found in the courtyard (No. 3) that originally came from the same scene (Bárta 2001: 89, fig. 3.14). It is the title “overseer of the house of the weavers/weaving woman” (*imy-r3 pr-in^ct/htswt*). The inscription highly likely denotes a female figure dressed in a long tight dress packing linen.

Wine production is another extensively depicted field of activity in the tomb of Fetekti (Bárta 2001: figs. 3.16, 3.18). Nevertheless, only a single individual among many occupied with filling, sealing, or transporting of wine was distinguished by his name and title. It is a partly preserved figure of a man who probably supervised the works, as can be deduced from a

⁵⁵³ Fetekti was depicted twice in a boat scene when navigating and pulling a boat, and for the third time, riding on a donkey.

⁵⁵⁴ Since neither of the individuals is identified by a personal name it is not even certain if the image is supposed to capture a concrete individual. We can only notice that both are distinguished by a pointed skirt that usually wear more important dependents as for instance the overseer of the house in the register above, see Bárta (2001: fig. 3.13).

damaged title *imy-r3* [...] “overseer of [...]”. (Bárta 2001: 95, fig. 3.16). Animal husbandry is represented in the tomb by a herdsman designated by the title *iry-ht* “assistant (of herdsman)” (Bárta 2001: 103, fig. 3.18). The last two identified individuals appear in market scenes (Bárta 2001: 98, fig. 3.17)(Fig. 109). One of them is probably the main authority over the market as indicates his long stick and pointed kilt. This person *imy-r3* “overseer (of the market)” is one of the few who was identified with a personal name. The other person is *Iwnk3* – one of the sandal sellers.

Two more identified individuals are recorded in the first lower register of the same scene. First, it is the man who led the procession of servants carrying the boxes with linen on poles. He was responsible for the transport as the “inspector of sealers” (*shd htm(w)*) (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.13)(see Fig. 108). The man with a box filled with linen on his shoulders who closes the procession is denoted as *iry-ht pr-ḥd* “custodian of property/administrator of the Treasury.” According to the accompanied inscription, he probably supervised the selection and transport of linen to the Treasury as an official involved in its management (Bárta 2001: 91, fig.3.13). He might have been a Fetekti’s subordinate.

Two other institutions are worth mentioning with regard to Fetekti’s tomb inscriptions. First is *d3d3t* a “body of magistrates/accessors” (Jones 2001: 1009, no. 3742; 1010, no. 3743) Different groups of *d3d3t* could have been intended, one associated with land management (*d3d3t nt 3ht* “accessors/magistrates of the fields, ‘field/land’ council”), another to the funerary estate (*d3d3t n(t) pr-dt* “magistrates/accessories of the funerary estate”), and the third to the Treasury (*d3d3t nt pr-ḥd*).⁵⁵⁵ The original reliefs were lost at that part, but taking into account the scenes where linen are stored and transported, the third possibility is more probable. The second institution is represented by the house of weavers (*pr-in^ct/htswt*) recorded on loose block no. 2 (Bárta 2001: 88, fig. 3.14, pls. 39a, 84b). It can be associated with the scenes of packing and transporting of cloth in the two lowermost registers of the same wall and perhaps falls under the responsibility of Fetekti in his capacity as the overseer of magazines (*imy-r3 pr-šn^c*).

None of the other professional segments is recorded in tomb reliefs; no identified craftsman, no person engaged in the department of labour, nor any specialists or someone who took care of the body of his master. These professions do not frequently appear in the tombs of the lower echelon. More surprising is the lack of any funerary priest in otherwise quite diverse

⁵⁵⁵ For the reference, see Bárta 2001: 92.

extended household of Fetekti. We may ascribe it to a bad preservation of scenes; however, not a one priest was recorded already by R. Lepsius (1859).

Overall, Fetekti was one of the state officials who was closely associated with the storage, transport, and redistribution of offerings. He was involved in the funerary service not only of the king Neferirkare, but of at least two private cults of high-ranking individuals. Despite the rather lower status of Fetekti, his extended household features quite high diversity of titles. Most frequently represented are professions related to a domestic realm, i.e. several household managers who were in charge of the household accounts, management of linen, animal husbandry and wine production. Scribal professions and those related to central administration of the treasury were also represented. Unique is the title, presumably related to the supervision of the market. The quite diverse entourage of Fetekti is diminished by the lack of funerary priests; otherwise, it would resemble the suites of more elevated persons. The reasons for omitting the priests are unclear, but they were presumably included in the original wall decoration plan that has not been preserved.

Fetekti	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priests	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-priest"	3
Household management	<i>imy-r3 pr</i> "overseer of the house/estate, the Steward"	1
	<i>iry sšr</i> "keeper of the linen"	1 or 2
	<i>imy-r3 ...</i> "overseer of [..]"	1
	<i>iry-ḥt</i> "assistant of (herdsmen)"	1
Scribal profession	<i>(imy-r3 pr-in^ct/ḥtswt</i> "overseer of the house of the weavers/weaving woman"	1
	<i>z3b zš</i> "juridical scribe"	1
	<i>shḏ ḥtm(w)</i> "inspector of sealers"	1
Central administration	<i>iry-ḥt pr-ḥḏ</i> "custodian of property/administrator of the Treasury"	1
Unclassified	<i>imy-r3 ...</i> "overseer of [the market?]"	1
Only named		1

Tab. 55 The extended household of Fetekti

8.1.5 Iy

The tomb of Iy (G 8911), its architecture and wall decoration

Iy's tomb is situated at the Central Field in Giza, south of the tomb of Ptahsedjefa Fefy (G 8926) (Hassan 1932: 101–104, figs. 171–175, pl. 66; Porter and Moss 1974: 285). The tomb is composed of two narrow chambers, the innermost serving as the corridor chapel with a decorated false door with an overall area of 43 sq. m. (Kanawati 1977: 81–82). The only preserved is the offering table scene at the tablet of the false door, which is repeated again on its lintel. According to the preserved inscription on the entrance lintel and the false door, the tomb was dedicated by the owner's wife (Sethe 1933: 227 [5(145)c]. It is dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later by B. Porter and R. Moss 1974: 285) while N. Kanawati slightly shifted the dating to the latter part of Djedkare's reign (Kanawati 1977: 32).

Iy's rank, his close family, and extended household

Two titles of Iy are preserved on both the entrance lintel and the false door. It is the rank title *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king” and the functional title *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward” that reveal his social status (Hassan 1932: 101–104, figs. 171–175). The family of Iy is very modest consisting of his wife Heknu and the eldest son Iynefret who presents offerings to his father on the outer left jamb of the false door. The extended household of Iy is limited to two individuals (see Tab. 56). Both are recorded on the false door, one of them facing the deceased couple on the tablet, the second standing on the right outer jamb (Hassan 1932: 102–104, figs. 173, 175)(Figs. 110 and 111). The first individual is the *imy-r3 hm-k3* “overseer of *k3*-priests” who was in charge of Iy's cult. The second non-kin dependent was apparently a scribe. Despite the effaced inscription in front of him, the traces of signs indicate the title of a “juridical scribe” (*z3b zš*) and the scribal equipment, i.e. reed pens above his ears and a scribal palette in his hands attest his profession without any doubt. As far as the names of both individuals are concerned, it cannot be said for sure if they were originally attached or not.

Overall, the official Iy was a lower-rank individual - a steward who highly likely managed a household of some higher-rank official. The small mastaba of Iy belongs to monuments that feature only several decorated architectural elements. The preserved inscriptional evidence mainly points at the close family of the tomb owner. Only two individuals were derived from outside the family realm. It is a representative of the priestly profession highly likely accompanied by a scribe – both essential persons for the management of Iy's household when alive and after death. No other identified or anonymous servants were included in the tomb, in other words, all recorded individuals were distinguished by their names or titles similar to the depictions in the tomb of official Khuta.

Iy	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>Imy-r3 hm-k3</i> “overseer of <i>k3</i> -priests”	1
Scribal profession	[<i>z3b zš</i>] “juridical scribe”	1

Tab. 56 The extended household of Iy

8.1.6 Rahetep

The tomb of Rahetep (AS 4 (DD)), its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Rahetep adjoins the tomb of Hetepi and the tomb of Fetekti and Mety in South Abusir (Bárta 2001: 62–75, fig. 3.1; Verner 1994: 300–305, 8–9, pl. 50b, 51). It was built as a joint tomb for Rahotep and Izeziseneb, who shared the entrance passage and an open courtyard, with two separate chapels reserved for each individual. The overall area together with the adjacent tomb of Hetepi measures 7.20 × 20.30m (Bárta 2001: 62), the tomb of Rahotep and Izeziseneb counts for approximately one half of that number, i.e. 73 sq.m. The only decoration in the tomb bears the false door of Rahotep that was embedded in the west wall of the L-shaped corridor chapel of Reisner type 5c (Bárta 2001: 65; Reisner 1942: 185, 257).

Rahetep’s rank, his close family, and extended household

Rahetep was a lower-ranking individual closely connected to the service at the royal court. He was a chamberlain (*imy-hnt*), court councillor (*imy-iz*) as well as the “master of the king’s largess in the mansion of life” (*hry-wdb m hwt-ḥh*). He also held several titles associated with the king’s body care and the care of the royal wardrobe and accessories, ie a “keeper of the headdress” (*iry nfr h3t*), “officiant of Hor” (*sm3 Hr*), “priest of the goddess Wadjet” (*hm-ntr W3dt*) and “inspector of the workshop/domains (of the Red crown)” (*hrp hwwt Nt*) (Bárta 2001: 72-75). Besides that, he was the chief manager of the royal palace as *hrp-ḥ* “inspector of the palace”. Rather surprisingly, Rahetep was not employed in the funerary cults of Abusir kings, in contrast to the other tomb owners in the cemetery, for example, Hetepi or Fetekty.⁵⁵⁶ The dating of the tomb is proposed to the late part of the Fifth Dynasty between the reign of Izezi to Unas (Bárta 2001: 140).

⁵⁵⁶ For the titles of the tomb owners, see M. Bárta 2001: 136.

The close family of Rahetep can be revealed from the inscriptional evidence recorded on the partially preserved false door. As far as we know, the family was very modest consisting of his son Rahotep and wife Khenut, who probably shared with her husband the last resting place in the burial chamber not having her own place of cult nor place of burial (Bárta 2001: fig 3.8). The relationship to the individual Izeziseneb who possessed an own chapel in the tomb remains a mystery (Bárta 2001: 134).⁵⁵⁷

Rahetep’s entourage comprises slightly more individuals than his family (see Tab. 57). We encounter six dependents carved on the outer jambs of the false door, all depicted as offering bearers (Bárta 2001: fig 3.7)(see Fig. 112). Four of them are only identified by their personal name; further two additional individuals were labelled “funerary priests” (*hm-k3/hmt-k3*). Both male and female dependents are equally represented.

In summary, Rahetep belonged to state officials of a lower social rank whose work was entirely devoted to the service at the court. He was surrounded by several individuals whose profession is not entirely obvious, with the exception of priests. Those who were distinguished merely by their names could have served in his house, but the possibility that they were some more or less distant members of his family cannot not be entirely excluded.

Rahetep	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -priest”	2
Only named		4

Tab. 57 The extended household of Rahetep

8.1.7 Neferen

The tomb of Neferen, its architecture, and wall decoration

The tomb of Neferen is situated at the Western Cemetery in Giza in the south-west corner of G 2100-I (Kanawati 1977: 103–104; Porter and Moss 1974: 120–121; Junker 1943: 198–204, figs. 51, 73–74, 76, pls. 16 [b], 18 [a, right], plan after p. 273). It is a very tiny tomb with a total area of 9 sq.m., and an L-shaped chapel with two false doors. The decoration is limited to several architectural features, that is, the entrance lintel and false doors (Junker 1943: 198–201, fig. 76). No tomb scenes cover the walls of the chapel. The dating of the tomb was proposed by

⁵⁵⁷ Izeziseneb’s stone-built chapel and traces of original wall decoration indicates a well-off being of this individual, but surprisingly there was found no burial of him (Bárta 2001: 134, fig. 3.1).

Porter and Moss (1974: 120–121) to the Sixth Dynasty, while N. Kanawati (1977: 32–34) prefers earlier date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, which is followed by the present author.

Neferen's rank, his close family and extended household

Neferen's profession has been closely related to grain production and storage. His career began at the position of an ordinary "corn measurer" (*h3w*), further reaching the highest post in the field as "overseer of corn measurers" (*imy-r3 h3w(w)*). Besides, he held the title "overseer of the storehouse" (*imy-r3 pr-šn^c*) (Junker 1943: 201). Apart from these titles involved in the administration of agricultural production, cereals in particular, Neferen was involved in basketry as the "overseer of weavers" (*imy-r3 in^c(w)t/h^cts(w)t*).

The family of Neferen had several members, but only some of them were unequivocally affiliated to the tomb owner. We can be sure about the wife of Neferen Iyty and son Wery. Scribe and property custodian of the king (*zš, iry ht nswt*) Djat was highly likely the eldest son of Neferen.⁵⁵⁸ Two other individuals could be Neferen's sons, but no relationship to the tomb owner is indicated (Junker 1943: fig. 76). An individual Mery is designated as his son (*s3.f*), but it is not entirely clear if he is related to the figure of Hetepre seated above him, Djat, the main figure on the left jamb or directly to the tomb owner Neferen. Two females Inet and Pepi could have been either the family members or household servants. Both possibilities must be taken into consideration.

The non-kin dependents are highly likely depicted in three superposed registers on the left jamb of the southern false door and on the inner jamb of the northern one (Junker 1943: fig. 76)(see Tab.58 and Fig. 113) There are recorded three priests with the most important "overseer of *k3*-priests" (*imy-r3 hm-k3*) Wernebmaat and two ordinary priests Hetepibef and Hetepi who appear on both false doors.

In general, Neferen was a lower-rank official engaged in the management of food processing and storage, as well as in basketry. The false door in his small tomb is the only decorated element in the tomb where the identified non-kin individuals, namely priests, were captured. The presence of two hierarchical degrees in the organisation of Neferen's funerary cult is quite unusual. In fact, priests represent the only dependents in the examined group of lower officials that have a hierarchical structure within one segment. Otherwise, the extended

⁵⁵⁸ Djat is recorded on the left jamb of the southern false door (Junker 1943: fig. 76).

household of Neferen resembles the ones analysed above with the exception of Niudjaptah, whose social network differs considerably (see the Summary).

Neferen	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>Imy-r3 hm-k3</i> “overseer of <i>k3</i> -priests”	1
	<i>hm-k3</i> “ <i>k3</i> -priest”	2

Tab. 58 The extended household of Neferen

8.1.8 Nefer

The tomb of Nefer (G 4761), its architecture and wall decoration

The tomb of Nefer (G 4761) is a small stone-built tomb with a total area of 45 sq. m. located in the Western Cemetery in Giza (Kanawati 1977: 101–102; Porter and Moss 1974: 137–138; Junker 1943: 26–77, figs. 3–18, 18a, 44, pls. 1–5). Its decorated chapel, the only room in the tomb, contains a rich repertoire of scenes, beginning with the traditional offering table scene, scene of presenting offerings, animal slaughter scene, the scene of presenting a lotus flower with two registers of musicians and dancers, servants leading cattle and wild animals to agriculture scenes depicting ploughing, fishing and fowling, pulling flax, rapping corn, sowing, but also boat scenes.⁵⁵⁹ As far as the dating of the tomb is concerned, scholars are almost in agreement; the majority dates Nefer to the end of Fifth or beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (Kanawati 1977: 32, 153; Porter and Moss 1974: 137; Junker 1943: 26–28).

Nefer’s rank, his close family, and extended household

Nefer was a lower-ranked official ranked by the title *iry ht nswt* “property custodian of the king” as the majority of analysed officials. Priestly administration was his main field of work. He held several priestly titles as the “priest of Khufu” (*hm-ntr Hr mddw*, *hm-ntr mddrnbtj*), but also as the “royal *wcb* priest” (*wcb nswt*) and “overseer of *k3*-priests” (*imy-r3 hm-k3*). His last preserved title is related to household administration as its chief manager (*imy-r3 pr*).

The genealogical tree of Nefer was reconstructed by H. Junker (1943: 32). He describes the four generations of Nefer’s family starting with his parents Khentika and Tjetit, followed by Nefer with his wife Hetepmaat, the oldest son Setka, and grandson Ptahhetep. Nevertheless, the reconstruction needs to be corrected at least to a certain degree. The south wall of the chapel

⁵⁵⁹ The scenes are summarized by Porter and Moss (1974: 137–138) and H. Junker (1938: 39 (25)); the size of the chapel is 5.40 sq.m.(Kanawati 1977: 101–102).

accommodates a scene presenting the lotus flower, a type of scene that was scrutinized by G. Pieke who found out that the main figure in the scene who receives the lotus flower is the father of the tomb owner, not him himself (Pieke 2006: 268–277). Therefore, it can be proposed that the parents of Nefer (I) were his namesake “royal *w^cb* priest” Nefer and his wife Hetepmaat. The affiliation of the couple Khentika and Tjetit with Nefer is nowhere expressed. They are displayed seated at the offering table on a panel of the northern false door in the chapel (Junker 1943: 49, fig. 11). The three men depicted on the entrance jambs are highly likely the sons of Nefer, though not designated as “his son” (*z3.f*). It is an “inspector of juridical scribes” (*shd zš n z3b*) Setka who appears also on the east wall of the chapel standing in front of the tomb owner holding his staff (Junker 1943: figs. 14, 15). The second possible son is the “juridical scribe” (*z3b zš*) Iha whose false door found in the debris of the chapel is supposed to be originally placed on the south end of the west wall (Junker 1974: 74). The third presumable son “inspector of *k3*-priest” Wery (*shd k3-priest*) is identified by H. Junker as the owner of an unnumbered tomb to the north of G 4560 who held the same name and priestly title (Junker 1943: 32, 195).

Altogether 85 dependents are depicted in the wall decoration of Nefer’s tomb with the only one of them identified by his name and title (see Tab. 59). It is the *shd hm-k3* “inspector of *k3*-priests” Kaaper who is censuring for the tomb owner on a tablet of the northern false door (Junker 1943: 39, fig. 7)(see Fig. 114). H. Junker mentions the possibility that this individual may have been one of Nefer’s sons, but, as he correctly pinpointed, we cannot be sure about it (Junker 1943: 32). One might rather presume that Kaaper did not belong to Nefer’s sons, otherwise he would have been involved in the scene in the right entrance jamb where Setka and other two possible sons of Nefer are recorded (Junker 1943: fig. 5).

Apart from priests no other professions are represented by the identified non-kin dependents. Scribal profession is limited to Nefer’s sons. Ordinary household servants, although amply appear in the scenes as reapers, cattle breeders or butchers remained anonymous. The same is valid for musicians and dancers who are inscribed only by labels denoting their activity as *ib3* ‘dance’, *hswt* ‘singing’ or *skr bnt* ‘striking the harp’ (Junker 1943: fig. 13). But a band of text refers to a *hnrt* “member(s) of a troupe of musicians”. In a similar manner, “his crews/gangs of the funerary estate” (*izwt.f nt pr dt*) is mentioned in the harvesting scene (Junker 1943: fig. 14).

In summary, Nefer’s titles, especially the rank title *iry ht nswt* “king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property”, as well as his functional titles “overseer of the

house and overseer of ka-priests”, fit him well into the lower ranked group of officials. Although his tomb differs from other officials so far enumerated by a wealthy repertoire of scenes, their focus lies in presenting his large family. He is also one of few officials whose family background is well known. Of certain importance may be the fact that his son was Setka of Giza buried in the tomb of Setka and Ptahhetep, who is distinguished by a more elevated rank (Junker 1944; cf. Chapter 7). In contrast to the emphasis put on family members, Nefer has identified merely a single priest of more than 80 preserved dependents. We can ascribe it to his personal choice and preference, but it still does not entirely explain such a limited number. However, the small size of his household as well as a lack of diversity in the recorded titles match well with other analysed entourages of the social group of lower officials.

Nefer	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>shd hm-h3</i> “inspector of <i>k3</i> -priests”	1

Tab. 59 The extended household of Nefer

8.2 Households of the lower-ranked officials dated to the Sixth Dynasty

8.2.1 Qereri

The tomb of Qereri (Q15), its architecture and wall decoration

The afterlife dwelling of Qereri is a small rock-cut tomb built in the necropolis of ancient Akhmim (Vandier 1936: 33–44). The tomb is modest, with the overall area measuring 2.62 × 1.90 m. Its decorated chapel cut into native rock is the only room in the tomb. The repertoire of scenes is limited to the offering table scene and the offering bearers bringing offerings (Kanawati 1986: 47–51, pls. 3a-b, 8a-c, 9, figs. 20–22; Vandier 1936: 33–44). The tomb is safely dated on the grounds of the bibliographical inscription to the reign of Pepi I (Kanawati 1986: 49, pl. 3B, 8c, fig. 20c).

Qereri’s rank, his close family, and extended household

Qereri belonged to one of two representatives of lower-rank officials buried at provincial sites. Judging from his biographical inscription, Qereri performed senior priestly duties in the local temple of Min (Kanawati 1986: 49, pls. 3b, 8c, fig. 20c). Apart from his title *shd hm(w)-ntr* “inspector of ka-priests” that refers to his involvement in the funerary cult, he held the rank title of “king’s liegeman/royal chamberlain” (*hry-tp nswt pr-ꜥ3*).

The wall decoration in his tomb provides us with the information about his wife Hepi and his son Khaefmin. His extended household consisted of six offering bearers, four men, and two women, who were identified by their names (see Tab. 60). Unfortunately, no professional tag was added, and neither their depiction is helpful in revealing their field of occupation – all are depicted as offering bearers (Vandier 1936: 33–44, fig. 2).⁵⁶⁰

In short, Qereri was one of the senior priests who took care of the Min cult in ancient Akhmim. His family and extended household were both rather limited without disclosing the professions encompassing his household. However, his tomb and the tomb of Meniu, which are discussed below, demonstrate how rare examples of the owner’s suite of a lower-rank individual in the provinces may have looked.

Qereri	Titles	Number of occurrences
Only named		6

Tab. 60 The extended household of Qereri

8.2.2 Meniu

The tomb of Meniu (E1), its architecture, and wall decoration

The rock-cut tomb of Meniw (E1) is one of nine Old Kingdom tombs situated in the steep rock to the west of the village of Meir (Blackman 1914: 4–5, 7, no.2). The small tomb E1 with dimensions of 3.25 × 2 m is the southernmost one, consisting of a single chamber – a chapel with roughly decorated ink drawings on the eastern wall (Blackman and Apted 1953: 58–59, pls. 47, 1; 48, 2; 66, 2, 4). Only several scenes of daily life are recorded, namely a scene of cooking a goose and grinding grain.

The dating of the tomb by K. Baer to the Sixth Dynasty is followed by this work (Baer 1980: 78 [177]; cf. Polet 2008: 90, 93).

Meniu’s rank, his close family and extended household

Meniu’s social standing is derived from functional titles related to priestly services for the king and the local Hathor cult on the one hand (*ḥm-ntr ḥwt-ḥr nbt Kis, šhd ḥm(w)-ntr*) and several rank titles, including archaic ones on the other (*ḥry-tp nswt, smr pr, iwn knmwt, šps nswt*).⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰ The names of the offering-bearers are enumerated by J. Vandier but they are not visible on the figure (Vandier 1936: fig. 2).

⁵⁶¹ For the archaic titles, see e.g. W. Helck 1954: 111–112, n. 5.

No family member identified by a personal name and/or title preserved in tomb decoration, merely two anonymous figures, one male and one female, who probably belonged to Menui's relatives (Blackman and Apted 1953: 58–59, pls. 47, 1; 48, 2). Menui's suite is as humble as his family. The only identified non-kin individual in the reliefs is *k3*-priest Hapidjefa (see Tab. 61; Fig. 115)

In general, the preserved evidence of the owner Menui is highly fragmentary. His small tomb and recorded titles are indicative of an official of modest rank. Although we do not know almost nothing about his family and extended household, the inscriptional evidence proved that at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or even later according to the dating of S. Polet (2008), at least some of the lower-ranked local officials were wealthy enough to build a small tomb and decorate it with symbolical offerings on one hand and several dependents responsible for performing the rituals on the other. Regrettably, no detail about the social ties of Menui nor about the economic background of his work is provided.

Menui	Titles	Number of occurrences
Priestly profession	<i>hm-k3</i> "k3-priest"	1

Tab. 61 The extended household of Menui

8.3 Summary

The examination of individual retinues of lower-rank officials showed some distinctive features in comparison to the entourages of higher-rank dignitaries. First, it must be emphasized that the list of analysed tombs does not represent a selection of the most appropriate candidates, but it enumerates all tombs that meet required criteria, as was already the case for middle-ranked officials. Only five of the 109 tombs of lower-ranked individuals listed by N. Kanawati (1977: 28–34) provide evidence of the owner's entourage, the rest display the owner of the tomb surrounded merely by his close family or show a picture of the owner's social environment full of anonymous servants. The tombs from the Fourth Dynasty, especially from the reign of king Khufu, had the decoration often limited to a slab stela (Manuelian 2003). These restrictions were evidently applied not only to tombs of high officials, but quite naturally to more modest monuments of lower-ranked individuals as attest, for instance, the tombs of Yeni (G 1235) or

Kanefer (G 1203)(Manuelian 2003). As the Fourth Dynasty advanced, tombs with more elaborate decoration incorporating non-kin dependents began to appear, but the identity of these individuals remained largely anonymous. To name several examples, it is, for example, the tomb of Hesy or Khenu (Hassan 1950: 163–168; Hassan 1936: 158–168). It was only from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty onwards when the tombs of lower-ranked officials feature also the non-kin dependents identified with their names or titles.

The analysis of nine Fifth Dynasty tombs has shown that the size of individual entourages is very modest, not reaching ten individuals in most cases.⁵⁶² The presence of at least one *k3*-priests in eight out of nine cases represents a recurrent pattern in the tombs under study. Ordinary *k3*-priests prevail in five out of nine cases, but occasionally also higher hierarchical levels of *k3*-priests, such as the “inspector of *k3*-priests” in the tomb of Nefer or the “overseers of *k3*-priests” in the tomb of Iy and Neferen. The entourage of the latter individual is the only one that features two different hierarchical posts of this profession in one tomb.

A closer examination shows that the majority of analysed tombs displayed exclusively funerary priests (Khuta, Nefer, Neferen, and Rahotep). It does not necessarily mean that the lower-ranked individuals did not employ household servants or did not use services of scribes to manage their property, but their financial resources were probably so limited that the wall decoration fulfilled in the majority cases only the basic purpose of securing the cult of the deceased.

The sporadic appearance of other professions can be observed in the attached tables (see individual households above). It is specifically the presence of people engaged in household matters, typically in the case of tombs of Wehemka and Fetekti but also in the tomb of Nefertjezet. Niudjaptah’s entourage, with 17 individuals the most numerous, does not provide any information on the professions or occupations of the dependents derived from the titles, but the depictions of the activities the dependents perform also point to their employment as household servants at least in several instances.

The scribal profession is represented only in more extensive entourages of Wehemka and Rahotep, and according to a depiction of scribal equipment attached to one individual, it can also be presumed for the suite of Iy.

⁵⁶² The only exemption is the entourage of Niudjaptah who incorporated 17 individuals in wall reliefs of his tomb (see The household of Niudjaptah).

The absence of funerary domains in the tombs of middle- and lower-rank officials might also be of particular importance. It can underline the lack of economic capacity of the owners, which is further confirmed by a declining trend in the size of their tombs (Kanawati 1977: 27–34). As a result, we can find only very restricted professional segments, often expressed not by attached titles but only by a depiction of a characteristic attribute or activity. The entourages feature low numbers of depicted non-kin individuals with their profession often limited to priestly one only occasionally complemented by household servants and even more rarely by scribes. They appeared to be even more modest than the extended households of the intermediate-ranked officials.

Rare examples of the tombs of Wehemka and Fetekti show a picture of a more complex web of relations. Their tombs distinguish substantially from the rest of the analysed sample. Both tomb owners served high-ranking officials, Wehemka was the steward of prince Kaninisut, and Fetekti served to brother manicurists Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep as well as to Ptahhehetp II, and both received revenues from their cults as *k3*-priests. In addition to that, Fetekti was engaged in the distribution and storage of important non-agrarian products. These factors were likely to have a significant impact on the size and composition of their own households. Each of the officials features a relatively complex entourage that contained not only the three main segments, i.e. priestly, household managerial and scribal, but also another one or two professional spheres, namely the central administration in the case of Fetekti, and the military together with body care services in the case of Wehemka.

To proceed with the evaluation of the size and diversity of individual entourages, the comparison between the extended households of Iy, Nefertjezet, Niudjaptah and Nefer is of particular importance since all four individuals held the same title “overseer of the house/estate/the Steward” that bore Wehemka several generations earlier. All four named individuals have built very small tombs, but their internal structure and wall decoration differ considerably. While the tombs of Iy and Nefertjezet contain only several architectural elements decorated in reliefs, primarily the false door, the tombs of Niudjaptah and Nefer each consist of a fully decorated chapel with quite wide repertoire of scenes (see respective tombs above). As far as their entourages are concerned, they do not follow and correspond with this distinction. The extended households of Niudjaptah and Nefer do not exceed in number of dependents and diversity of their titles two other individuals as one would expect. In the instances when the wall decoration is limited to the false door, almost each of the depicted non-kin individuals displayed in the tomb was identified by his name or title (the tombs of Nefertjezet and Iy).

However, completely opposite evidence was observed in the tomb of Nefer, where only one person out of 85 was personified! It clearly shows that the amount of decorated surface does not necessarily correlate with the size of the individual household. Furthermore, the tomb of Niudjaptah provides us with the evidence of a high degree of individualism in the layout of the tomb, the repertoire of scenes, and also in the size of the owner's suite. Despite the extensive decoration on all four walls of the tomb chapel of Niudjaptah, the depiction of identified dependents was restricted to the west wall. Their relatively high number does not go hand in hand with a great diversity of recorded professions. The opposite is true - none of the 17 individuals identified by a personal name is attached with a professional tag.

Although the social standing of all four compared tomb owners is based on the titles they held very similar, their suites differ to a certain degree. Three entourages, namely that of Iy, Nefertjezet, and Nefer, were very modest, consisting of one to six members, primarily priests, which seems to be a characteristic pattern for the whole group of lower-ranked officials. The entourage of Niudjaptah is more numerous, but still without a wide variety of professions. In sharp contrast to it, there is the extended household of Wehemka who held the same title of the "overseer of the house/estate/the Steward". There is nothing in common between the entourages of the so-far analysed stewards and the extraordinary numerous and diverse entourage of Wehemka. A huge difference in size and composition of these suites might only be partially explained by a slightly higher rank of Wehemka who was granted with scribal titles, especially one related to the archive (*zš pr md3(w)t* "scribe of the archives/department of documents") which had been inherited for several generations in his family. A more probable explanation lies in the high social status, influence, and financial support of Kaninisut, a wealthy patron he served. Such financial 'back-up' has probably had a strong impact on the elevated position and increased wealth of his major-domos Wehemka, which was subsequently manifested in the complexity of his entourage. Thus, it became clear that the main occupation of the tomb owner, in this particular case that of the steward, was an important indicator for the size and composition of his suite, but other circumstances, such as the support of a wealthy patron, may have played a significant role as well.

To conclude, the extended households of lower-rank officials were in the vast majority not included in the tomb environment, as attested by more than 100 tombs enumerated by N. Kanawati (1977: 27–34). The focus of these tombs lies exclusively on the tomb owner himself, alternatively accentuating his family. Only a very small portion of the tomb owners, less than a percentage, have also recorded people outside the family realm. If a non-kin person was

incorporated in the wall decoration at all, it was a priest in the majority of cases. In other words, the essential function of the tomb to guarantee a blessed afterlife was underlined. However, the tombs only exceptionally provided information about the social network of the deceased. Some indicators of how a lower-ranked household may have looked like can be found in the tombs of Nefertjezet and Niudjaptah, where ordinary servants, such as millers, bakers, brewers, or cooks, were identified by their names. They probably represented the core of the household – a basic work force that has preserved not only in the form of 2D depictions of servants in the wall decoration, but also in the burial chambers in the form of 3D sculptures, the so-called servant statues.

Worth mentioning is also the fact that the titles of the dependents in the tombs of this social stratum mainly refer to the lowermost positions in individual professional segments. No senior or managerial posts preserved. First and foremost, there is no “overseer of the house in the selection, with the exception of Fetekti's tomb, which records only an anonymous holder of this profession. Similarly, we encounter a “linen keeper or supervisor” (*iry sšr, ḥry-tp sšr*) instead of an “overseer of linen”. Only ordinary servants appear, such as butlers, butchers, or herdsmen. The fact that no head of the household (*imy-r3 pr*) and rarely any scribe is included in the tomb reliefs may indicate that the households of these individuals were so modest, and it was probably the master himself, or his sons, who performed the managerial responsibilities. In a similar manner, the wife of the master could have been in charge of the housemaids or other female members of the household. Given the fact that merely Wehemka of all the tomb owners held scribal titles, it is also probable that the scribes may have been hired and paid for the duration of their commitment and as such they may not have belonged to the regular household staff of the lower-ranked officials.

None of the entourages of the lower-ranked officials, the households of Wehemka and Fetekti not excluding, features such a delicate profession as was the medical one or less specific segments as, e.g., the labour department.

All these findings confirm the limited sources of the owners of the tombs manifested in the restricted size and composition of the owner's retinue predominantly formed by ordinary household servants.

When tracking the diachronic development of the households of lower-rank officials, leaving aside the isolated complexity of Wehemka's extended household at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, there is a clearly noticeable period when lower-rank officials incorporated non-

kin more regularly. It is the second part of the Fifth Dynasty that stands out among other periods with the endeavour of the lowermost echelon of state officials to adopt the same models as the higher layers but adjusted to poorer conditions. Both the execution of reliefs and the scene repertoire, as well as the number of recorded dependents, are much more modest in contrast to tombs of the nobility, and all these circumstances together point to a significant gap between the higher and lower social stratum in general.

Not much information is known about the entourages of the lower-ranked individuals dated to the Sixth Dynasty. Regarding the Memphite necropoleis, such knowledge completely eludes us, as it is not recorded in tomb reliefs. Rare examples of provincial tombs with a traditional repertoire of scenes including the daily ones show that their owners were well acquainted with the palatial models of wall decoration in residential tombs, or they have adopted them from the wealthy tombs of local magnates. What can be stated with certainty is that the lower elite in the provinces continued to record funerary priests to perpetuate the cult of the deceased. However, the tombs no longer provide information about the social environment of the owners during their life.

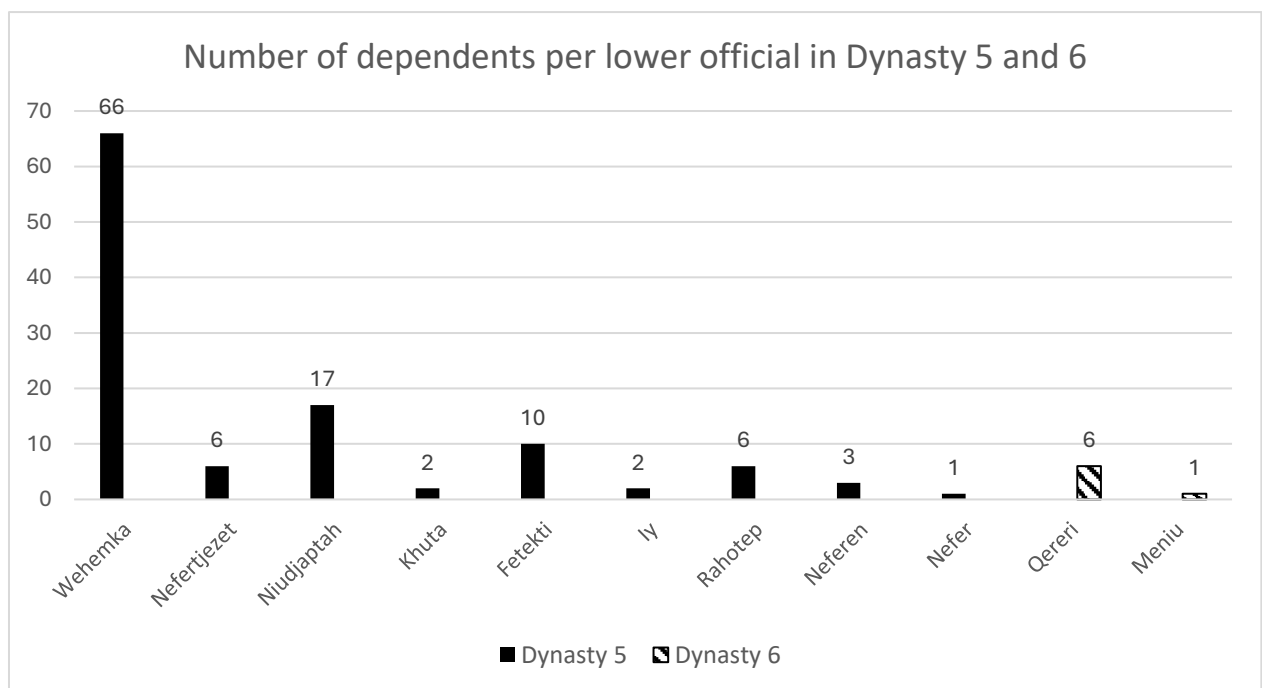


Chart 10 The number of dependents per lower official in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty

9 Discussion

A total number of 375 tombs of Egyptian officials were examined in detail with respect to the minor figures in their wall decoration that were identified by a personal name and/or titles. Altogether 57 out of them were selected as a representative sample. The chosen tombs were subsequently analysed in terms of the number of identified individuals outside the family realm and their titles, which were categorized according to professional areas. Subsequently, the diachronic development of individual 'extended households' that embodied the network of all social and economic relations around the person was monitored. Each of the chapters traced different social groups which were divided according to N. Kanawati into viziers, high, middle, and lower officials (Kanawati 1977). In the development of their extended households, elements can be observed that were common for all social layers, but individual social strata also feature certain specificities, which will be further summarized in the text.

The process of depicting and identifying the minor figures that were derived from the deceased's wider circle probably started during the Third Dynasty; however, the first attestation comes from the tomb of Hetepi of Abusir only at the turn of the Third and Fourth Dynasty. In this period, it seems to be an episodic occurrence; with other examples, we come across only later during the Khufu-Khafre reign.

The number of preserved and published tombs that served as a source base for the selection of tombs most suitable for the present research considerably differs depending on the person's status. The smallest group consisted of the tombs of middle-ranking officials (67), followed in number by viziers (82), lower (109) and higher officials (117). With the officials dated to the Fourth Dynasty, we reached the limits of the wall decoration that have only developed at that time, together with the related habit of recording people from the social environment of the tomb owner on the walls of his afterlife dwelling. It was also due to poor preservation of the tombs and the restrictions imposed on the family members and subjects of King Khufu that, until the late reign of the same king, not even a single tomb incorporated identified dependents outside the family realm in its wall decoration. As a result, none of the tombs met the criteria necessary for this study. The deceased was usually recorded surrounded by family members as, e.g., in the tomb of Rahetep, and the decoration of the tombs was often limited to slab stelae, which concerns mainly the tombs of higher and lower ranking officials (Manuelian 2003). Only several viziers and higher officials from late Khufu-Khafre reign

onwards began to record non-kin individuals and identify them by their personal name and title. Their number is very limited, reaching hardly ten individuals, with the exceptional instance of the high official Nefer, whose entourage surpassed 20 dependents. In contrast to the low number of identified dependents, a steep growth in the number of anonymous dependents is clearly observable in both the tombs of the viziers and higher-ranking officials.

The Giza cemetery proved to be a dominant burial ground common to both groups, although higher ranked officials were buried in abundance at the western Cemetery and in a minority of cases at the Central Field while the viziers as royal sons built their tombs at Giza Eastern Cemetery (Jánosi 2005). In this respect, it well corresponds with the findings already noted by A.M. Roth, that from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, the high state officials began to build their tombs as a rule near the pyramid of the king whom they served, in contrast to previous periods when private tombs were built at a distant place away from the royal necropolis (Roth 1993: esp. 48–50).

When it comes to the size of the entourages and individual professions of the dependents, the number of identified minor figures is small, usually less than ten people. Emphasis is placed on the priestly profession, thus ensuring the main purpose of the tomb to guarantee the blessed afterlife. At the same time, it is the only profession that appears in all analysed tombs. Other professions occurred rarely. The tombs of the vizier Khufukhaef I and the high dignitary Nefer, both with more numerous network of individuals incorporated in their tombs (9 or 22 individuals), seem to foreshadow further development. One encounters three different professional segments in their tombs, i.e. priests, scribes, or persons whose titles refer to work within the state administration, apparently representing subordinates of the tomb owner. The last appearing group included the individuals who were in charge of the property of the deceased, i.e., the household managers or servants. Only exceptionally are people who participated in the construction and decoration of the tombs included, whether it was an inscription of craftsmen who decorated the tomb of the vizier Nebemakhet, a kind of autograph hidden from the eyes of ordinary visitors (Hassan 1943), or a builder's graffito of the commanders of the construction crew discovered in the tomb of Duaenra (Smith 1952).

The random occurrence of identified individuals in tombs changed radically with the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. Political, social, and religious changes had an impact on the growth of the bureaucratic apparatus (Bárta 2017; Helck 1954; Moreno Garcia 2013). For the first time, individuals of non-royal origin began to hold important positions in the state administration (Bárta 2013; Baer 1960; Helck 1954; Strudwick 1985;). As a result, they became

wealthy enough to build a tomb on one of the residential necropoleis. The number of tombs increased significantly, not only that of the viziers and higher-ranked officials, but also of the officials of intermediary and lower status. As the wealth and self-confidence of the officials grew, the modestly decorated chapels were gradually transformed into elaborate multi-chambered tombs decorated with high-quality reliefs (Bárta 2005; Harpur 1987; Jánosi 1999). Along with the sharp increase in the number of tombs (Kanawati 1977), a depiction of the official's suite became not a random but a common feature. Only with the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, the list of analysed tombs thus represents a real selection from several options and not a mere enumeration of all tombs with identified non-kin dependents as it was in the previous dynasty.

In addition to the appearance of identified dependents in wall decoration of tombs on a regular basis, one also observes a significant increase in the number of these persons, which counts during the Fifth Dynasty not in the order of units but to several tens, oscillating thus between ca 20 to 70 individuals per one vizierial tomb and between 6 to 52 per a tomb of a higher ranked official. As a rule, the size of the extended households in the viziers' tombs seems to be approximately twice as big as in the tombs of higher officials. The only exception is the high dignitary Ti, whose number of dependents is unparalleled.

Not only the number of the identified members, but also the variety of professions in the Fifth Dynasty, is incomparable to the previous period. Three basic professional groups, i.e. priests, scribes, and the domestic staff - both managers and ordinary servants - appear regularly, newly complemented by other professional sectors: organization of labour, entertainment, body care, craftsmen, and also specialists in the form of ordinary doctors but also eye specialists. In addition, clear vertical stratification is evident in individual professional spheres. Mostly, two to three different degrees for each area are recorded. A total of six different vertical levels were identified, from ordinary workers, through assistants, controllers, supervisors, inspectors to overseers standing at the head.

A fundamental divide is clearly visible between the viziers and higher-rank officials on the one hand and the middle- and lower-ranked individuals on the other. They differ in several aspects. One of the characteristic features is the prevalent choice of their burial ground. Viziers and high officials followed the king and have themselves buried at the Saqqara-Abusir necropoleis while middle and lower officials remained to be buried in Giza as evidenced already by Kanawati's list of tombs (Kanawati 1977). In the Fifth Dynasty, Saqqara-Abusir

necropoleis became the new burial ground for the ruling kings, and the prominent place in the vicinity of the royal tomb has been evidently reserved for the upper layers (cf. Roth 1993).

Further differences lie in the composition of the individual entourages. The high number of non-kin dependents and diversity of their titles in the tombs of the viziers and higher officials are in stark contrast to poor representation and limited number of professions in the tombs belonging to the opposite side of the social spectrum. To be more precise, the number of dependents in the tombs of the intermediary and lower-ranked officials surpassed 10 individuals only in some exceptional cases. The titles of the dependents cover exclusively three main professions: priestly, scribal, and household managerial; in case of lower officials it was often limited to the priestly one. Furthermore, the dependents are usually identified either by their personal name or by a particular profession without a name attached. The titles mostly mention ordinary priests and servants, persons higher on the professional ladder are almost absent. In contrast to it, the tombs of the viziers and higher officials feature numerous suites of the deceased consisting of several tens of identified individuals (from 19 to 70), exceptionally surpassing one hundred. More than three professional segments are often represented, including individuals engaged in the sphere of body care, amusement, organisation of labour, craftsmen or specialists, approximately from 10 to 30 different professions per one tomb. Moreover, in the viziers' tombs in particular, quite frequently appear the individuals closely associated with central administration, highly likely important subordinates of the viziers in respective offices.

The chronological scope of tombs with identified dependents is another factor that distinguishes the upper and lower social layers. The occurrence of the members of individual households of middle-ranked officials in tombs is traceable from the middle of the Fifth to the middle of Sixth Dynasty, respectively to early reign of Pepi II, while in case of lower officials the time span is limited only to the Fifth Dynasty, complemented by several Sixth Dynasty examples from the provinces. The Fourth Dynasty and the second part of the Sixth Dynasty are thus represented merely by tombs of the viziers and higher-ranked officials.

If we search for certain milestones in the development of individual households with the most complex ties, it is clearly the period of Niuserre's rule, which shows the highest values both in the number of identified individuals and in the greatest variety and hierarchical differentiation of titles. It is the vizier Ptahshepses, the high dignitary Ti, the overseer of the great estate Iymery or the well-off official and priest Fetekti, to name the most important ones. The first represents the peak in the variety of professions of the personified individuals. About 50 different professions were observed, and he is one of the foremost in terms of the total

number of persons recorded in a single tomb (130 individuals). The high dignitary Ti clearly displayed the highest number of identified dependents (around 230), but many of them were not personified, only their occupation was recorded. However, his extended household ranks among the most complex. Iymery's entourage contained almost 35 people, which is the highest number for a given social group in the Fifth Dynasty, and Fetekti's with 10 people achieved one of the highest values as well. Both extended households of the latter two officials are also relatively diverse, containing, in addition to the main three professional groups, several others.

Worth mentioning is also the whole period of the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, when the identified dependents become a stable part of the tomb iconography; most extended households are preserved from this period.

In the Sixth Dynasty, the trend of recording loyal dependents continues in the decoration of tombs, now predominantly built in the North and later also in the South Saqqara. But this applies exclusively to the two highest social strata. The number of their tombs has even increased. On the contrary, the lower officials became so impoverished that they stopped recording their suites in the tombs built at Memphite necropoleis. Middle-ranked officials feature identified dependents in their tombs only selectively. The reign of King Teti represents the second peak both in terms of the number of individual dependents and in terms of the variety of posts that the dependents occupied. The Teti pyramid cemetery is exceptional in this respect, as many high-ranking officials are buried here, with a complex network of relationships recorded in their tombs. The tomb of Mereruka with almost one hundred of identified dependents, or the tomb of Nikauisesi with ca 50 non-kin individuals can be considered illustrative examples selected in the present study. The complexity in the services provided by the dependents and support and care on the part of the tomb owner is demonstrated, among other things, by the extraordinary high number of priests. The total of 50 priests were supposed to work for the funerary cult of a single vizier – that of Mereruka!

During the reign of Pepi I, there is a significant decrease both in the number of identified minor figures and in the level of complexity of individual extended households, which is expressed by the dependents now derived solely from the three main professional segments. It may reflect the problems with maintaining the royal authority connected with possible conspiracies around the royal throne (Kanawati 2003), that are also manifested in the permanent effort to reorganize the state by introducing a number of administrative reforms throughout the Sixth Dynasty (Kanawati and Swinton 2018).

The decreasing trend of depicting the extended households in the tomb decoration had still intensified during the reign of Pepi II. At that time, similar to the Fourth Dynasty period, the tomb owner with his family again became the exclusive centre of attention. The elaborate multi-chambered tombs ceased to be built at the Residential necropoleis and the tomb decoration is often limited to the false door or a new type of tomb which developed around this time, the so-called steles-maisons. The limited space of the tombs undoubtedly influenced the underrepresentation of people outside the family realm. They are reduced to a handful of the most capable and loyal. The emphasis returns to the primary role of the tomb, i.e. to ensure the afterlife existence, so the priests again play a primary role. For the higher ranked officials, we no longer find suitable candidates from the second half of the Sixth Dynasty, but the tombs of the viziers, although not sufficiently preserved, do contain several identified dependents as testified by the badly damaged tomb of the vizier Pery Shenay of South Saqqara (Jéquier 1929).

Although one observes a gradual loss of the complexity of the social networks created around wealthy dignitaries in their tombs at the Memphis necropolises, the situation in the provinces is just the opposite. The representatives of the provincial elites have gradually gained more power. While during the reign of Pepi I the tombs of provincial magnates are rather modest, one encounters a rapid increase in multi-chambered tombs during the reign of Pepi II. One of the illustrative examples of the provincial elite, Pepiankh the Middle from Meir with 105 recorded dependents and 40 different professions, resembles the suites of the king's sons-in-law Ptahshepses or Mereruka in their heyday.

The tombs at Meir, Kubbet el-Hawwa, or other provincial sites clearly show that the tradition of recording persons bound to the deceased by all possible types of ties, however severed in the centre, still continues in politically and administratively important provincial sites. It is evident even from the analysis of several selected tombs (e.g., Pepiankh, the Middle of Meir or Pepinakht Heqaib II of Kubbet el-Hawwa) that the high number and variety of mutual ties between the patron and his dependents persists. We can only observe a shift of the state dynamics from the Residence to the provinces where the local elite became a rather independent, wealthy and influential entity.

10 Conclusions

The present study focused on the growth in the complexity of Egyptian state from the First to the Sixth Dynasty. The work consists of two parts, each of which reflects a different type of sources, but its focus is the same. The first part mapping of the Early Dynastic Period focused on the phenomenon of retainers' graves and attempted to trace the group of people who were buried with the deceased nobleman in order to serve him in his afterlife. The second pivotal part concentrated on tomb iconography and texts analysed the group of persons chosen by the tomb owner to symbolically accompany him in the netherworld by immortalizing them in the wall decoration.

Based on the present research, several interesting outputs for both parts can be put forward. As for its first part, the effort to identify the deceased buried in the subsidiary burials surrounding the large mastabas of wealthy Egyptian dignitaries on the ground of deposited burial goods, as outlined in Emery's work (1954), has proven to be very limited. The detailed study of ca 230 subsidiary graves in total showed that although the number of the objects differed from grave to grave, most of them contained a relatively uniform equipment including a few pieces of ceramic and stone vessels. Other objects such as copper or flint tools appeared quite rarely. All of these fall into the category of functional objects that served as containers for food, drink, or cosmetic oils and were placed in the burials in order to secure the needs of the deceased. Personal belongings, which mainly include jewellery, were preserved in a small number of graves, similarly to objects expressing the status of the deceased, above all staffs or sceptres. This research has shown how problematic it is to mark the same objects that served to ensure eternal sustenance of the deceased as those that point to the profession of the deceased. The only exception are items of personal belongings and the so-called social status symbols. Only some of these types of objects are specific enough to indicate the occupation of the deceased. To name some of the examples, there were found pins with a specific design referring to the profession of a dancer, a staff/sceptre which indicates a supervisory role, hence a higher status, and scribal palettes pointing to a scribe or a similar profession. Even more rarely, some owners were identified by the title carved on a stone stela; however, this mainly concerns occupants buried in the vicinity of royal tombs (Martin 2011). It is thus possible to identify the owners of less than two percent of graves associated to private tombs in this way. The remaining graves contained burial equipment of common repertoire without any specific items added.

As for the tomb S 3503 in particular, the Emery's interpretation of the uncovered items of grave goods as those directly indicating the original occupation of the deceased, in most cases as craftsmen of different specializations, cannot be confirmed either (Emery 1954). Typologically, the same objects are found here as in other tombs. What led Emery to his argumentation were probably other circumstances, such as the large quantity of a given type of objects in case of pottery, a specific placement of a copper tool inside a stone vessel, or an unusual find of sherds of a ceramic vessel with traces of a colour. Even in these cases, however, an alternative explanation can be found that casts doubt on Emery's presumption. On the top of this, if we look at the parallels from the royal context, here the craftsmen are only a minority issue represented by a single piece of evidence (Martin 2011). Therefore, Emery's assumption that a large number of the occupants of subsidiary graves around Saqqara tomb S 3503 were artisans is highly unlikely.

Based on the preserved data, it is difficult to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this part of research and scrutinize the ties between the owner of the principal mastaba and people buried around him. Examination of the burial equipment did not reveal much in this regard. In terms of age and gender, the recent re-evaluation of the skeletal remains on the North Saqqara necropolis made it clear that most of the deceased were adult males (72 %), although females, children and older people also occurred but in much lesser amount (Campbell 2019: 212–218, tab. 9–11). It is not certain whether this representation also prevailed on other cemeteries, the necessary data are missing. However, the information from the recent French excavations at Abu Rawash shows that specifically there the percentage of female burials could be higher (e.g. Tristant 2016; Tristant 2008). Even so, it is clear that men of productive age predominate here as well.

Unlike the royal retainers, it has not been proved that the people buried in the subsidiary graves around private tombs have been deliberately killed at one moment in order to serve the deceased, as shows the study by R. Campbell (2019: 296), although the use of poison prior to the death cannot be ruled out (Emery 1954: 143). In the case of burials of children and the elderly, it is likely that they were family members who died of natural causes.

The main group of adult male individuals were apparently linked by social or economic ties to the person buried in the central tomb, however, the preserved attestations of archaeological and inscriptional evidence are not much conclusive in this regard. The rare evidence revealed that the deceased in the subsidiary burials derived from: 1) a group of scribes/property administrators; 2) persons who overseeing the works or other segment of occupation; 3) guards; 4) those who were engaged in the entertainment. Nevertheless, the

majority of the buried individuals were probably formed by ordinary servants, however problematic it is to prove.

If we compare the occupants of subsidiary graves around private tombs with royal retainers, we would expect priests to be among the dead as well. Nevertheless, they cannot be identified based on preserved archaeological evidence. If the priests truly appeared among the deceased in the subsidiary graves, they must have used the same repertoire of grave goods as the other dependents which seems very likely given the relative uniformity of burial equipment in later periods. Another explanation may lie in possible difference in the organisation of royal and private funerary cults. While the evidence from the stelae uncovered at the royal cemetery at Abydos point to numerous burials of priests, one may pose a question whether the priests as a professional group were in charge of private cults. It is possible that it was exclusively the family of the principal owner of the tomb who was responsible for the maintenance of the cultic services.

As already mentioned in the introduction, the phenomenon of human sacrifice is observable only for a limited period of Egyptian history and, as in case of royal retainers, the number of secondary graves gradually decreases towards the end of the First Dynasty. It is therefore not possible to trace any fundamental change except for the downward trend in the number of subsidiary graves. The highest number of graves comprises several dozen, with North Saqqara grave S 3504 surrounded by 62 subsidiary burials being the most numerous, down to graves that had only one subsidiary burial, i.e. S 3111, S 3505 and S 3500.

When it comes to the general development of ancient Egyptian society in the Early Dynastic Period and the increase in its complexity, it is clearly the period of King Den that stands out above the rest. It was only during his reign that the large tombs surrounded by the subsidiary burials were not limited to a single burial ground, but they occupied three of four studied cemeteries, *i.e.* North Saqqara, Abu Rawash and Tarkhan, and the number of the subsidiary tombs is also higher. The increased construction of tombs for the Egyptian nobility signals the expansion of the state and extension of its administrative apparatus.

Much less evidence in general preserved for the Second Dynasty than for the First; the same can be said about sources related to household issue which is hardly traceable. Although the tradition of burying high state officials at North Saqqara continued, the subsidiary graves were no longer built around them. Valuable inscriptional evidence is provided by the cylinder seals found in Naga ed-Deir or by the so-called ceiling stelae uncovered in large quantities at Helwan; however, these inform us about the deceased person himself, his name and titles, not about the members of the dead entourage (Köhler and Jones 2009; Reisner 1908). This type of

information is missing in contemporary sources. Nevertheless, developed long-distance trade, more extensive use of wood and resin even in burials of middle status officials as indicated by wooden coffins that were adopted for all social classes, or the use of stone to a greater extent as a building material for royal monuments all point to a flowering of the state despite the scarcity of available evidence (Bard 2000; Bard 1992; Wilkinson 1999).

The main part of the thesis concentrating on the household reflected in the Old Kingdom tomb iconography and inscriptions provided without dispute a more detailed picture of individual households than the previous period. The analysis of the representative sample of tombs built for the viziers, higher, middle and lower ranked officials has demonstrated substantial differences in the number of dependents and diversity of their titles when tracing the diachronic and spatial development. Another factor that had a significant impact on the size of the household represents the social status of the owners. The results of the present thesis more or less correspond with M. Bárta's claim that "the greater master's wealth, the more people were involved in administering it, the more people worked for him and the more dependent he and his family were on these people" (Bárta 2011: 275). In other words, the higher the social status of the tomb owner, the higher the probability that the person in question built a large tomb with a more extensive decoration and more identified persons recorded in it. After all, it was already A.M.Roth who had confirmed the connection between the social status of the tomb owner and the size of the tomb (Roth 1993). Of course, this does not apply without exception. For instance, Ptahshepses of North Saqqara – a prominent Egyptian magnate who married Khamaat, the daughter of king Unas, and is well known for his biographical inscription, has recorded not a single identified dependent although he built an elaborately decorated tomb at North Saqqara with a number of minor figures, as testified by recent excavations conducted by the Czech Institute of Egyptology.⁵⁶³ It has to be stressed that neither the high status of the tomb owner nor the large decorated tomb guaranteed that many dependents with names and titles would be depicted in it. Various other factors, such as personal preferences, must also be taken into consideration. Despite a high degree of individualization, the trend of depicting more complex wall decoration with increasing number of scenes and both anonymous and identified individuals recorded in them have been confirmed in the analysed sample as the Old Kingdom advanced.

⁵⁶³ The biographical inscription of Ptahshepses with the grammatical and structural analysis of the text was published by P.F. Dorman 2002.

If we pay close attention to diachronic development of Egyptian households as reflected in tombs, the Third Dynasty represents a certain precursor of the following development. The newly created chapels in private tombs became a crucial place of the funerary cult, centred on the deceased by memorializing his name and titles, but they still remain silent about the people who were close to the tomb owner. The relief decoration only gradually began to adorn the tombs' walls. At the first place, it was objects and commodities essential for securing the blessed afterlife as is attested by the tomb of Hesire (Quibell 1913). Step by step, during the Third Dynasty a testimony of the social milieu surrounding once the deceased has been also revealed. Primarily the depictions of family members appeared, as witnessed by the decoration in the tomb of high-ranking official Khabausokar who recorded his wife Neferhetepthor (Mariette 1889; Murray 1905; Reisner 1936). The figures of the close family, mainly tomb owner's consorts and children, began to be accompanied by individuals outside the family realm. The images are initially anonymous, only later the tags containing a personal name and titles were attached.

The earliest evidence of a non-kin individual with a label bearing his name and title comes, to my knowledge, from the tomb of Hetepi of Abusir dated to the end Third/beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010). Quite interesting is the fact that the first identified individual was a majordomus – a person in charge of running the household of a high dignitary and not a priest who should take care of the cult of the deceased.

Although Hetepi's tomb represents a watershed in the depiction of the identified non-kin dependents of the deceased, only very slowly did other identified non-kin people get on display. During the course of the Fourth Dynasty still only few dependents outside the family realm had the privilege to be recorded in the tomb of their master and their number increased slowly. It was only in the reign of kings Khufu and Khafre, when the identified non-kin dependents reappeared in the tombs of viziers and higher officials; for the first time their number exceeds 10, and subsequently 20 individuals although it has to be mentioned that the tombs with labelled minor figures outside the family realm still represent the minority. On the contrary, the number of anonymous dependents that were captured in reliefs gradually increased in time. While few tens of dependents were observed at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, their number reached around 150 non-kin dependents at its end as illustrated by the sample of vizier's tombs.

Another hallmark in the development of officials' entourages represents the turn of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty. The Fifth Dynasty iconography of the officials' tombs provides a

more elaborated and diverse picture of the official's entourages than before. The first profound shift consists in the total number of identified dependents recorded in the tomb. While in the Fourth Dynasty the number of occurrences hardly reached ten and in one exceptional case 20 individuals, during the Fifth Dynasty it usually counts several tens of people, exceptionally exceeding one hundred dependents (in case of the vizier Ptahshepses or high dignitary Ti). One can observe not only an increase in their number, but also a more regular appearance of these individuals in contrast to the previous dynasty with random occurrence. Another major change is represented by the fact that not only the highest echelon of Egyptian society but also the officials of intermediate and lower status could afford to build a tomb, as evidenced by the number of tombs that grew up in all the main burial grounds of the time (Kanawati 1977). These officials, however, incorporated identified dependents in the iconography of their tombs with certain delay only in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

The third significant observation lies in increasing diversity of professions of the dependents. The professions displayed in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty can be distinguished into several groups. Apart from family members, the first category of dependents that appeared were priests - a crucial force for perpetuating the rituals performed in the tomb chapels. Given to the cultic context, the *k3*-priests dominated, accompanied by lector priests or embalmers; the latter two usually depicted performing rituals in the offering table scene while *k3*-priests often portrayed as offering bearers. Priests as a type of profession in general prevail in tombs regardless of the social status of their owners; in the Fourth Dynasty, only few funerary priests appear in each tomb, later on several dozen could have been recorded in the tombs of higher social strata. Priests associated to the king or a particular god/goddesses are only exceptionally recorded in private tombs, probably due to the funerary perspective of tomb reliefs.

The research of the tombs also shed light on who from the social milieu around the tomb owner participated in the mortuary cult of the master and revealed the organization of private funerary cults. Evidence from the tombs of the vizier Ptahshepses or high official Ty shows that they were selected persons from among the loyal household members and professional associates of the tomb owner. The preserved reliefs from the tombs of Ptahhetep, Akhethetep and Akhethetep Hemi mentioning the top-down structure of the hierarchy of the persons in charge of the funerary cult enumerate not only *k3*-priests of different hierarchy from inspectors, under-supervisors to ordinary priests, but also "scribes of phyles" and "directors of the dining hall" involved in the cult. The question of the existence of private funerary cults organized in phyles has not been answered completely convincingly; it would be necessary to study a more extensive sample of tombs, but the examples from tombs of Ptahhetep and Ankhmahor where

persons with titles mentioning names of individual phyles were preserved indicate that the private cults of at least the highest dignitaries were similar to the royal ones highly likely organized in phyles (cf. Roth 1995).

Apart from priests, another large group of persons who regularly occurred in the official's tombs were individuals who were in charge of owners' property and estates, *i.e.* household managers, most often an overseer of the house, overseer of linen, director of the dining hall, overseer of herds/cattle-stall or an estate manager. All these officials were responsible for running of the household from different points of view; some were in charge of food and linen supply, others in the administration of estates or household accounts.⁵⁶⁴ The overseer of the household who stood at the head was especially important among the others. Within his responsibilities we may include a supervision of food products transported from estates, an inspection of tribute of cattle and wild animals or keeping and presenting household accounts to his master. The leading household managers were often accompanied by ordinary servants whose occupations were primarily connected to food supply, namely butchers, bakers, wedepu servants, herdsmen or peasants. These dependents were rarely labelled by a particular name, most often only by their profession and in the vast majority of cases they were left entirely anonymous.

The educated part of the dependents recorded in tomb decoration consisted mainly of scribes of different hierarchy but also of people engaged in the central administration, most typically associated with granary, treasury or *hwt wrt*; complemented with the professions connected to the administration of the royal court (overseer of the palace, court councillor or elder of the court). These individuals occur especially in the viziers' tombs. They can be considered direct subordinates of the officials, being at the hand of their superiors in various activities.

All these above enumerated groups of dependents were already recorded in tombs dated to the Fourth Dynasty. But in the tombs of the Fifth Dynasty we can monitor for the first time other types of professions that were either completely missing in previous dynasty or their appearance was sporadic. Organisation of labour is one of the newly appearing segments. Dependents with titles referring to labour forces are depicted mainly in scenes displaying the

⁵⁶⁴ The complete list of duties and responsibilities of the overseer of the house are dealt with in the Excursus of this thesis, as well as in the article by the same author (Nováková 2019).

transport of tomb owner's statues or in a boat trip scene, where directors, inspectors or overseers in charge of certain crew/gang of workmen are portrayed.

Scenes depicting workshop activities became the principal field for recording particular craft-related professions. Before that only rather unusual depiction of craftsmen responsible for building and decorating the tomb preserved in the tomb of the vizier Nebemakhet (Hassan 1943: fig. 78). A common practice in the Fifth Dynasty was to describe a particular activity or profession itself. Distinguishing craftsmen by their personal name is less frequent, we encounter it mainly connected with senior posts.

A rather limited group of people s represented by hairdressers, barbers, or manicurists who were responsible for the body care. Some of them held titles of ordinary workers others were according to attached attributes (*pr-ꜥ3* or *nswt*) involved in the services for the royal court or directly for the king.

Similarly random occurrence featured the individuals who were active in the field of entertainment, such as dancers or musicians. Despite quite frequent depiction of dancers and musical performers in Fifth Dynasty tombs (Kinney 2008), this group of professions, like craftsmen, were left anonymous in the majority of cases. Dancers or musicians were occasionally identified by a label describing performed activity of singing, clapping or playing the harp; however, a personal name was mentioned only exceptionally, and it was mainly not in scenes of amusement of the tomb owner, but as personified offering-bearers among other significant members of the owner's entourage. It is worth noting that the tomb owner's female family members, most often daughters, were quite often recorded in this field. It was apparently their task to make their father's leisure time more enjoyable.

The last group of people recorded in tomb iconography can be described as specialists. They belonged to well-educated individuals, often to the most educated ones within the social milieu of the deceased. The group encompasses physicians of different type, such as dentists or eye-specialists but also ordinary doctors and their higher ranked colleagues with a different sphere of authority either exercised at the royal court or in the whole country. They appear quite frequently in the viziers' tombs; other social strata largely lack such evidence, with rare exception of a doctor recorded in the tomb of middle ranked official Neferkhui (G 2098; Roth 1995).

Not all these groups were represented in tombs of all social layers and throughout the observed period. The largest and most diverse were as a rule the extended households of viziers

and higher officials, while, in the tombs of middle and lower officials, dependents from only three professional areas usually appear. Priests, scribes and the household personnel were most often represented. Persons from other professional segments are hardly represented in the extended households of lower social strata.

In addition to this diversity of particular professions, another indicator of the growing complexity of Egyptian society reflected in the titles of identified persons is the vertical structure of the organization of individual professions. The appearance of a multi-level hierarchical structure was observed especially for priestly and scribal profession, but different degrees of seniority were detected also for the organisation of labour forces, craftsmen, and the sphere of body care. Six-degree stratification consisted of the overseers (*imy-r3*), inspectors (*shd*), controllers (*hrp*), assistants (*iry-ht*), under-supervisors (*imy-ht*) and ordinary servants.

The analysis of the tombs revealed that the greatest variety in professions and at the same time the highest degree of vertical stratification of individual professions are shown by tombs from the reign of Niuserre across the social spectrum. It concerns not only the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses and high dignitary Ti, but also entourages of middle ranked individuals Iymeri, and Kahai. The former two are exceptional in the great variety of recorded professions; while the latter two also feature more varied entourages than the rest of middle ranked officials limited to professional groups of priests, scribes and those employed in the domestic sphere. All these tombs also stand out among others for the number of identified persons. In case of Ptahshepses and Ty it reached the peak; Ptahshepses incorporated around 150 dependents while Ty even more than 230. Similarly, among the middle-ranked officials, Iymeri and Kahai recorded 34 and 24 dependents, respectively, while the others hardly reached ten.

If we trace the further development of the officials' suites, the following period of Djedkare's reign is also strongly represented in all monitored parameters. This situation lasted until the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, when the reign of Teti represents another peak in terms of the size of the extended households. However, the entourages of the mid-Fifth Dynasty officials still remain at the forefront in terms of the complexity of recorded professions. A number of individuals employed in the sphere of body care, numerous household servants and craftsmen including the presence of specialists, all this makes their entourages unequalled.

The beginning of the Sixth Dynasty with Teti Pyramid Cemetery in particular, represents another great blossom of the monitored phenomenon both in residential necropoleis and for the first time also in the provinces, which corresponds with the turbulent development of important

administrative centres at Meir, Gebrawi or Kubbet el-Hawa (Kanawati 2003). From the reign of Pepi I, the size of individual households drops sharply, and the repertoire of recorded professions significantly decreases to three basic groups, i.e. priests, scribes and household members, resembling the period of the Fourth Dynasty. As for the two lower social classes of officials, information about their households has gradually disappeared in the available evidence or is preserved very selectively. Lack of resources and wealth in the residence is counterbalanced by increasing influence and power of provincial officials (Bárta 2011: 212–220). The dynamics of development shifted from the centre to the provincial areas, which in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty became the only place with elaborate tomb decoration full of identified dependents. In this respect, at the end of the Sixth Dynasty the provincial officials reached the high standards set by officials from the centre, and no rapid decline with regard to observed complexity took place at this time.

To summarize, based on the study of the phenomenon of retainers' burials and households captured in the tombs of Egyptian elites, the present author is able to define the periods when the complexity of social ties observed on a microlevel of individual tombs was the highest and vice versa.

Despite the limited period of time when the phenomenon of retainers' burials was practised in Egypt, it is possible to define one remarkable period for Early Dynastic Egypt. It is the reign of king Den when cemeteries experienced a boom in the construction of tombs and the analysed phenomenon is the most spatially widespread. The number of tombs is relatively high, and a certain social differentiation is evident both in the location of the tombs and in the burial equipment.

When one follows the development of households during the Old Kingdom period, several turning points deserve to be mentioned. These breakthrough moments allowed several distinct phases to be defined across the Old Kingdom.

Phase 1. Third Dynasty to reign of Khufu.

This period follows on from the previous traits in formation of tomb chapels. Their decoration is only gradually taking new shape and extent. The depiction of minor figures other than the tomb owner or his close family is exceptional, however, if they do appear, they are anonymous in the vast majority of cases. Despite this fact, the earliest evidence of identified dependents recorded in tomb iconography comes from this period.

Phase 2. Late reign of Khufu to end of the Fourth Dynasty

It is only from the late reign of king Khufu when a significant shift in the tomb decoration permitted the tomb owners to incorporate scenes with identified dependents selected to symbolically accompany the master to the netherworld. Primarily priests were represented. Subordinates with titles related to state administration and those associated with property management appear only sporadically. The whole period is characterized by the random occurrence of identified dependents.

Phase 3. Early Fifth Dynasty to reign of Niuserre

For the first time, people of non-royal origin and also of lower social status, i.e. officials designated as middle and lower ranked in the present thesis, began to incorporate dependents distinguished by a name and/or a title in the scene repertoire of their tombs. Identified dependents became a common feature for tombs of all well-off officials, not only for the highest echelon but also for the lower standing ones. A steep increase in the number of recorded dependents is observed hand in hand with the bigger diversity in attached titles no more limited to three main professional groups. During the reign of King Niuserre, the complexity of individual households reached its peak both in the number of recorded dependents and in the variety of their professions.

Phase 4. Djedkare to end of the Fifth Dynasty

The second half of the Fifth Dynasty is a period of massive expansion of recording of the identified dependents in the wall decoration; by far the most tombs are characterized by this phenomenon. However, from Djedkare's reign the number slowly declined until the end of the Fifth Dynasty. This is only a slightly decreasing trend, when all monitored values, including the number of dependents and the variety of their titles, are high.

Phase 5. Teti to end the Sixth Dynasty

The reign of Teti belong to the second milestone although it stands slightly behind in all monitored parameters compared to the reign of Niuserre. From the reign of Teti onwards, one observes two different traits of the development: 1) a dramatic reduction in the complexity of recorded occupations and in the size of individual entourages in top elite tombs at Memphite necropoleis. The intermediate and lower ranked officials ceased to record their dependents in wall reliefs at all. 2) The exactly opposite trend can be seen in the provincial sites, where the viziers and nomarchs adopted traditional scene repertoire from Memphite necropoleis along

with the habit of recording themselves embedded within their social milieu. This gradually upward trend in the provinces increased until the second half of the reign of Pepi II, when the number of persons and the complexity of their titles reached another maximum.

It is no coincidence that the turning points defined for the development of the Egyptian household correspond with the main social and political changes of the Old Kingdom period. Similar landmarks can also be found in the study of Egyptian kingship published by M. Bárta (2017; 2015) or in the recent Ph.D. dissertation focused on Old Kingdom material culture by L. Vendelová Jirásková (2021). The present study contributed to our knowledge of the history of the Old Kingdom from the perspective of the smallest social unit and its diachronic development, and was able to define the periods when the level of complexity according to the number and types of social ties was the highest for the Old Kingdom, i.e. the reign of Niuserre and Teti for the Residence, and the reign of Pepi II for the provinces, clearly indicating the future course of development. At a micro level, the dissertation revealed what Egyptian household in the Old Kingdom might have looked like, how many members did it have and what was the scope of responsibilities of the leading persons in its day-to-day running.

11 Excursus. The title *imy-r3 pr* ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ during the Old Kingdom

Until now, a general evaluation concerning the office of *imy-r3 pr*⁵⁶⁵ has been almost absent from scholarly publications (except for particular comments, see *e.g.* Junker 1929: 30–1; Helck 1958: 92; Vasiljević 1995: 80; Grajetzki 2012: 69–70), since obviously not much attention was paid to titles which were not at the very top of Egyptian administrative structure. Only the high Middle Kingdom title *imy-r3 pr wr* ‘high steward’ has been minutely studied by W. Grajetzki (2000: 67–8, 80–105; 2012: 69–80) or by D. Arnold (1991: 7–14). When studying Egyptian households in this work, it proved necessary to include a case study on the office of the overseer of the house – a key person in the every-day running of the household. The aim of this Excursus is to scrutinize the office of the ‘overseer of the house’ from three main perspectives: providing the enumeration of its responsibilities and duties, specifying the social status together with drawing relations to other household members and outlining the diachronic development over the course of the Old Kingdom with the prospect for the subsequent periods – the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom.

Due to the large quantity of iconographic evidence available from Old Kingdom tombs in which the ‘overseer of the house’ occurs (as one of the household members), a sample of representative types of the depictions of this person has been chosen and illustrated by several examples in order to assess the main spheres of activity of the ‘overseer of the house’ and to point out this person’s position within other members of a particular household. The core sample includes well published decorated tombs on main Memphite necropoleis (Giza, Saqqara and Abusir), complemented with their provincial counterparts in Meir, Qubbet el-Hawa, Balat, etc; the time span ranges from the Fourth to the late Sixth Dynasty.

The second part of the treatise concentrates directly on the tombs belonging to the ‘overseers of the house’. For the purpose of the study, the available data concerning the tombs was assembled to ascertain the social status of their owners. The focus is laid on complementary titles in these tombs (including rank titles), which are instrumental not only in specifying the social standing of their holders but can also be indicative of the competences and responsibilities that were required for such a position. The data regarding the titles has been statistically evaluated and supplemented with tables.

⁵⁶⁵ For the title, see D. Jones 2000: 114, n. 461.

Subsequently, the development of the status of the ‘overseer of the house’ during the Old Kingdom is demonstrated on the change of rank titles designating the *imy-r3 pr* officials. To trace the dis/continuity of the development, the evidence from the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom is also taken into consideration. The data from this time span is especially acquired from the study on the most important court officials of that time (Grajetzki 2000: 2012) and derived from the wall decoration of the tombs on fundamental central and provincial Middle Kingdom necropoleis (e.g. Arnold 2007; Griffith and Newberry 1894; Newberry 1893; Willems *et al.* 2007).

Introduction

Members of a particular household are represented on the walls of Egyptian tombs as personal attendants, household servants, priests, offering bearers, etc. Besides funerary priests, who were essential for maintaining the cult of the deceased, and scribes who were keeping accounting records for the tomb owner, it is the person with the title *imy-r3 pr* ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ who is another important individual regularly occurring among the members of a particular household. This person is known from the Fourth Dynasty wall decoration, where he was often portrayed as a scribe or an offering bearer in the front row of lower officials underneath the image of the tomb owner. At that time, he functioned mainly as the head of the household of a higher official, managing his estates (see below); he according to W. Grajetzki never appears in the central administration or in the royal service during the Old Kingdom (Grajetzki 2012: 69). The first occurrence of an individual with title *imy-r3 pr* to my knowledge comes from the tomb of Hetepi at Abusir dated to the end of the Third/beginning of the Fourth Dynasty (Bárta 2011: 117–120; Bárta 2006: 122–145; Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová *et al.* 2010: 3–56;). It is a man called Nakhti – a person who is depicted with the tomb owner and his sons on the tomb entrance (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová *et al.* 2010: 18–23, figs. 2.22–2.23, pls. 18, 23–26).⁵⁶⁶ During the subsequent Fourth Dynasty when the tomb owner used to be displayed mainly within the context of his family, the appearance of the ‘overseers of the house’ is still rather rare.⁵⁶⁷ Only from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty onwards the depiction of these individuals became much more frequent which probably reflects the development of the

⁵⁶⁶ This individual probably belongs to first attestations of an identified dependent recorded in the wall reliefs (see Chapter 4).

⁵⁶⁷ For Fourth Dynasty representatives, see e.g. overseer of the house Nedjemib in the tomb of property custodian of the king Merib (Ziegler 1990: 104–107, no. 16).

decorative programme of the tombs (see e.g. Harpur 1987; Seidlmayer 1987: 211; Staring 2011: 132–137). In the Fourth Dynasty, the majority of the holders can be found in Memphite tombs, only from the end of the same dynasty they occasionally began to appear also in the tombs at provincial sites in Hammamija, Tehna or Hawawish, for instance Mry of Hammamija (Martinet 2019: 363, no. 10HE.E.Ham.IV/V.1.3.d).

Not only the time span but also the social status of the tomb owners had an impact on multiple presence or absence of *imy-r3 pr* officials. The tombs of lower-class officials usually include a single person with this title, if any at all, whereas the tombs of viziers or high officials may have contained more. For example, four different overseers of the house are present in the tomb of the Vizier Ptahshepses (Verner 1986), three in the tomb of the Vizier Ptahhetep (Hassan 1975; Latifa-Mourad 2015) and no less than ten overseers are recorded in the tomb of high dignitary Ti from Saqqara (Épron and Wild 1939). In total, c. 130 holders of the title *imy-r3 pr* are known from the Old Kingdom (for particular references, see Hannig 2003: 93–95).⁵⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it is worth noting that an *imy-r3 pr* official is completely missing from numerous tombs or at least the title is not preserved (e.g. the tombs of Viziers Nebemakhet and Seshemnefer II or the tomb of the high official Shepsipuptah).

Iconography – Memphite necropoleis

In the iconography of the tombs, where preserved, individuals with the title *imy-r3 pr* are shown in quite a wide range of scenes, but what most attracts the attention when certain hierarchy is apparent, it is a privileged role of the *imy-r3 pr* within the depiction of various household members. His person regularly occupies the foremost position in the close vicinity of the tomb owner or heads the procession of other servants. In the tomb of Wepemnefret, for example, ‘overseer of the house’ Nefersedjem is depicted in the front row of the officials, heading a group of scribes directly in front of the standing tomb owner (Hassan 1930-31: fig. 219)(see Fig. 66). Similarly, in the tomb of princess Mersyankh III, ‘overseer of the house’ Khemetnu reports to his mistress and he is the person to whom scribes and village leaders are rendering accounts (Dunham and Simpson 1974: 15, 18, 20, figs. 3b, 7, 12, pls. 8 b, d, 10, 12c). A close relationship to his master is evident also in scenes of spearfishing, where the ‘overseer of house’ figures directly behind the tomb owner as one of his personal attendants, for instance in the tomb of Inumin (Kanawati 2006: fig. 44). Such type of depictions shows importance of his role he

⁵⁶⁸ The number of provincial holders is provided by E. Martinet (2019: 362, Tab. 26) who listed 58 bearers of that title.

played with regard to his master but also points to the position he held with regard to other dependents. He undoubtedly belonged to a close circle of tomb owner's collaborators as is clearly visible in the tomb of Vizier Ptahshepses, where 'overseer of the house' Wetka is portrayed in a scene of the seated tomb owner accompanied by his subordinate officials: scribes, officials employed in the central administration or a physician (Verner 1986: pls. 51, 52)(see Fig. 11).

An apparent significance of this person might be expressed by the size of his figure as can be seen, for example, in the tomb of princess Mersyankh III, where 'overseer of house' Khemetnu is represented at a larger scale than any other servant in the tomb (Dunham and Simpson 1974: 15, 18, 20, figs. 3b, 7, 12, pls. 8 b, d, 10, 12c) or by his dress – a long kilt worn by important and respectable officials.⁵⁶⁹ Similar to scribes, he belonged to well-educated individuals often portrayed with scribal equipment which is, for instance, attested in the tomb of Ti, where the overseer of the house reports to the tomb owner about the animal count (Steindorff 1913: pl. 167).

Importantly, the tomb iconography provides us also with the evidence of various responsibilities the overseer of the house once held. It is primarily the overall responsibility over the household economy. He is often depicted reporting to the tomb owner about his property. The connection with the estates is clearly visible in the scene where three 'overseers of the house' are depicted as the commanders of boats transporting various products from the estates into the tomb of the Vizier Ptahshepses, responsible for providing food to the vizierial household (see Fig. 13). Hints of a supervisory function regarding the estates are detectable also in a scene depicting scribes and an *imy-r3 pr* official to whom the estates managers are rendering accounts (see Fig. 31). This official was responsible not only for cattle and farm products from the estates that were depicted in the aforementioned examples, but he was also directly involved in the cattle count as testified by the already mentioned scene in the tomb of Ty (Steindorff 1913: pl. CLXVII). His key role in the animal husbandry is demonstrated by the scene in the tomb of Akhethetep where he is assisting the tomb owner when inspecting the tribute of antelopes and sacrificial cattle (Davies 1901: pl. XVIII). The supervision of activities in

⁵⁶⁹ Usually, only the most important individuals from the tomb owner's entourage were depicted with a calf-length kilt, for instance juridical scribe and inspector of priests Hemathy in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, *k3*-priest Hepy in the tomb of Ankhmahor or scribe Hetepka in the tomb of Seshathetep Heti (Brovarski 2001: 75, 80, pl. 16, 17, Fig. 27; Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 42, pls. 8,9, 13, 48; respective (Junker: 1934: pl. XVIa; Kanawati 2002: pl. 9a, 7b).⁵⁶⁹

workshops probably belonged to another sphere of his wide range of tasks. Such depiction can be found for instance in the tomb of Mereruka within the scene of the weighing of lumps of metal (see Fig. 30).

A crucial role of the overseer of the house that is reflected in the daily-life scenes can be seen in a similar way in the scenes of cultic meaning. *Imy-r3 pr* individual often appears in the almost ever-present procession of offering bearers in a prominent position as one of the first in the line of the offering bearers or even heading the procession, such as in the tombs of Seshathetep Heti or Ty (Kanawati 2006; Steindorff 1913). The scenes of animal slaughter accentuate his supervisory role in the preparation of food offerings for the deceased tomb owner. In the tomb of Inumin, for instance, *imy-r3 pr* Nyhetepptah is engaged in this activity by heading the register with the animal slaughter ((Kanawati 2006: pl. 52) (see Fig. 37). In the next type of scenes with a cultic context in which the ‘overseer of the house’ is drawn, he played a rather different role. Typically in the offering table scene the ‘overseer of the house’ is pictured while following the priest passively observing the performed ceremonies as in the rare example coming from the tomb of Ti, where an *imy-r3-pr* official stands together with priests who burning incense near the serdab opening (reference). As testified by attached *k3*-priest titles (see The social standing of *imy-r3 pr* below), the overseers of the house were evidently involved in the cult of their deceased master, but they were never depicted actively performing funerary ceremonies in residential necropoleis (but see below the Iconography of provincial tombs).⁵⁷⁰

Iconography – provincial necropoleis

In contrast to Memphite necropoleis, where individuals with the title ‘overseers of the house’ regularly appear on the main burial grounds of Giza, Saqqara or Abusir, the occurrence of the ‘overseers of the house’ in the provinces significantly differs one necropolis from another. While the walls in the tombs on certain burial grounds feature a high occurrence of the title ‘overseer of the house’ in the individual tombs, as is typical e.g. of the tombs of Meir (as many as twenty-two different individuals bear the title in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle, see Blackman 1924; Kanawati and Evans 2012), persons tagged with such title are almost absent from the necropoleis of Tehna, Quseir el-Amarna, el-Hawawish or Gebrawi (with the exception of the tomb of Nomarch and Southern Vizier Ibi, see Kanawati 2007: 11–22). This uneven distribution of the title *imy-r3 pr* within a particular provincial necropoleis is attested by the

⁵⁷⁰ For instance, the overseer of the household Wetka in the tomb of the Vizier Ptahshepses was endowed by the title of the funerary priest, see (Verner 1986: pls. 51 and 52, Insc. No. 142).

recent study by E. Martinet (2019: 362, Tab. 3.1) who points to the fact that it predominantly concerns nomes 1 and 14, *i.e.* Qubbet el-Hawa and Meir. The above-mentioned necropolis of Meir is the most important in terms of the appearance of the ‘overseers of the house’. At the same time, it is the only provincial necropolis with *imy-r3 pr* officials amply represented, which makes possible to make a comparison to Memphite necropoleis.⁵⁷¹

The repertoire of scenes on the necropolis of Meir featuring the ‘overseer of the house’ is similar to that of Memphite necropoleis, but more diverse. ‘Overseers of the house’ appear in scenes rendering their importance by proximity to the tomb owner, leaning on a staff or reading from a papyrus roll, for example in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle (Kanawati and Evans 2012: figs. 84–5, pls. 37–47a, pls. 47b–51a). They are also engaged in spearfishing scenes portrayed standing directly behind tomb owners’ sons (Kanawati 2012: pls. 79, 80; see Fig. 46). The same individuals are quite often depicted in scenes showing their supervisory role over crop farming, animal husbandry, but also keeping household accounts, *e.g.* scenes of supervising ploughing activities while following the tomb owner (Kanawati and Evans 2012: figs. 81–82, pls. 26–33), overseeing activities in the marshlands or a scene of animal count (Kanawati and Evans 2012: fig. 82, pls. 26–33). Apart from that, they are regularly portrayed in scenes with cultic significance depicting offering bearers, which can be seen *e.g.* in the tomb of NyankhPepi Kem at Meir (Kanawati *et al.* 2015: pls. 14–23, 67–8). Rare depictions show, for instance in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle, the overseers of the house portrayed pouring libation water, holding a censer and throwing incense or performing ceremonies associated with funerary meals – scenes in which this individual only passively observes the activity in Residential necropoleis (Kanawati 2012: pl. 78). The involvement of *imy-r3 pr* individuals in the funerary ceremonies here is indicated merely by their *k3*-priests titles, not implicitly recorded in scenes.

The last type of scenes in tombs at provincial burial grounds where *imy-r3 pr* occurs represents scenes picturing the entertainment of the tomb owner. A unique depiction from Meir shows that *imy-r3 pr* official could have been an appropriate companion for playing the senet game with the tomb owner (Kanawati *et al.* 2015: 23).

An interesting piece of evidence comes also from the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, where the iconography of most of the tombs is characterized by the absence of traditional

⁵⁷¹ The evidence from other necropoleis outside the Residence is insufficient to draw indisputable conclusions. For an occurrence of *imy-r3 pr* in particular provincial nomes, see Martinet (2019: Tab. 26 on page 360–362).

Memphite iconographic repertoire: the walls are not decorated continuously, but as separated panels with independent scenes.⁵⁷² This probably influenced the variety of iconographic depictions of *imy-r3 pr* officials. These individuals appear in five of the twelve tombs under consideration, pictured mainly as offering bearers and, in one case, burning incense (a depiction that is rather typical of ‘*k3*-priests’ and is absent for the *imy-r3 pr* in Memphite tombs; Vishak 2015: 67). Local tradition probably had an impact also on the composition of the household members who are represented in the tombs. A large number of individuals with the title *hrp zh* ‘director of the dining hall’,⁵⁷³ unparalleled on other burial grounds, could indicate that at least some of the duties of the *imy-r3 pr* (those concerning the food supply) were devolved to this cult official.

Of particular importance is then an attestation of *imy-r3 pr* Khnumhetep who served to two high officials, Khui (QH 34E) and Tjeti (QH 103), accompanying them on expeditions to Byblos, Punt and Retjenu, as proclaimed by his biographical inscription in Khui’s tomb (Vishak 2015: 185). His prominent position within other dependents is attested by the presence of his own cult space with a false door in the tomb of his superior (Vishak 2015: 187). Moreover, it points to an important role of this individual in the suite of his master representing a kind of a travelling companion, who might have been responsible for the arrangements needed for successful expedition.

Rare attestations from other provincial burial grounds accentuate the link of the ‘overseer of the house’ to agricultural produce, animal farming and household accounts management which imitates the images in Memphite tombs. To name at least some of them, it is for instance the *imy-r3 pr* official reporting to the tomb owner in the scene of animal count in the tomb of Nomarch Kaihep (Tetiiker) in el-Hawawish, or *imy-r3 pr* supervising the cutting of grapes and the pressing of wine in the tomb of Iteti Shedu in Deshasha (Kanawati 1980: fig. 9, 21; respectively Kanawati and McFarlane 1993: pls. 20, 53).

The evidence of the “overseer of the house” from another provincial necropoleis the Dakhla oasis is also worth mentioning. He is not attested directly from the iconography in tombs of the governors but in hieratic on clay tablets found within the complex of the governor palace at Balat (Soukiassian *et al.* 2002: 331–60). Two separate tablets (unfortunately only partially preserved) record two different individuals bearing the title ‘overseer of the house’. The first

⁵⁷² For a detailed analysis of the decorative programme of Qubbet el-Hawa tombs, see Edel 2008; Vishak 2015.

⁵⁷³ Almost 50 holders of the title “director of the dining hall” appear on the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa exceeding even the number of “*kA*-priests” (Vishak 2015: 45).

record (tablet no. 3487) includes a list of 18 people, each identified by name and title, but the purpose of the list is unclear. The authors of the publication suggest that it might have been part of an accounting document consisting of a list of officials who served in one of the numerous *k3*-chapels at the locality, since several *hm-ntr* priests are enumerated there (Soukiassian *et al.* 2002: 340–2). The second tablet provides evidence of an administrative letter dealing probably with some problematic issue regarding a religious domain under the competence of the local government. The *imy-r3 pr* official apparently expects a decision in the matter (Soukiassian *et al.* 2002: 358–60). Although the exact reason for making out both documents is hidden, their context indicate that the *imy-r3 pr* official was apparently involved in the funerary cult of the deceased governors and played certain role in the local administration by managing domains in the surroundings.

Altogether, wall decoration revealed the main tasks the overseer of the house was occupied with in a household of his master. He was apparently responsible for household accounts, oversaw crop and cattle farming, may have been his master’s companion in his leisure time but also during expeditions. As a crucial person in the suite of his master during his life, he evidently played an important role in his afterlife as testified by the iconographic evidence, i.e. scenes of cultic meaning where he presents offerings or took part in performing funerary ceremonies – all supported by the above-mentioned written evidence from Dakhla oasis, and last but not least by additional titles of *k3*-priests with which overseers of the house were occasionally tagged (see below).

Social status of *imy-r3 pr* – Memphite necropoleis

Tombs built by individuals with the title *imy-r3 pr* are crucial for examining the social status of their owners. The tombs provide evidence in the form of a complete list of titles, including rank titles, in contrast to the tomb decoration of high officials’ tombs, where these persons are in most cases designated only with the title *imy-r3 pr*. Senebuka, for example, is in his own tomb G 8462, labelled with the titles *iry ht nswt* “king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property”, *imy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house” and *imy-r3 hm(w)-k3* “overseer of *k3*-servants” in his tomb, whereas in the tomb of princess Hemetra, he is depicted only with his functional title “overseer of the house” (see Hassan 1950: 67–71; Hassan 1975). Similarly, Wehemka is in his own tomb distinguished not only by the title *imy-r3 pr* but also by titles such as *iry ht nswt* “king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property”, *zš pr-md3(w)t* “scribe of the

archives/department of documents”, *zš nfrw* “scribe of recruits” as well as several epithets (*nb im3ḥw ḥr nṯr* and *nb im3ḥw ḥr nṯr ʿ3*) (Roeder 1927; Kayser 1964).

Individuals who held the title *imy-r3 pr* appear as subordinates in the tombs of higher officials from late Third/beginning of the Fourth Dynasty onwards (see Iconography – Memphite necropoleis), but the evidence of *imy-r3 pr* as owners of tombs is not attested until the second half of the Fourth Dynasty or even early Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁷⁴ Twenty-nine tombs of owners of this title from Residential necropoleis (exclusively from Giza) dated to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties have been analysed (see Tab. 62).⁵⁷⁵ Statistical evaluation shows that out of the titles enumerated in the tombs belonging to ‘overseers of the house’, the most frequently attested was the title *iry ḥt nswt* ‘king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property’ (17 of 29 owners; 58,6 %). Interestingly, this rank title was regularly depicted as most important in the line of titles, often followed by the title *imy-r3 pr* in the second place (e.g. Hassan 1950: 69, fig. 51; Kayser 1964). According to M. Bárta (1996: 79–89) the title *iry ḥt nswt* was originally introduced for persons who were in some way associated with the duties or service to the king at his court. It might seem contradictory in this context, since the stewards never appeared in the central administration or in the services at the royal court, but the title ‘property custodian of the king’ underwent a substantial change during the Old Kingdom, occurring in two different periods (Bárta 1996: 89). In the first stage down to the end of the Fourth Dynasty, it was associated with high-ranking officials involved in the service to the king, in contrast to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties when the title was connected with lower-ranking officials. The evidence from the tombs of *imy-r3 pr* holders dated to the Fifth and Sixth dynasties proves that these individuals were closely associated with funeral services for the deceased king. It is apparent from their string of titles, which relatively often comprises the titles *wꜥb nswt* ‘wab priest of the king’ (10 of 29 owners) and *ḥm-nṯr* ‘ḥm-nṯr-priest, god’s servant, “prophet” (7 of 29 owners), associated mainly with kings Khufu, Khafre or Menkaure (see Tab. 62). Moreover, a piece of evidence from a royal document – Raneferef’s papyrus archive, hieratic administrative records found within Raneferef’s pyramid complex, refers to an *imy-r3 pr* individual as one of the temple officials enumerated together with four scribes (Posener-Kriéger, Verner and

⁵⁷⁴ The earliest known tomb of *imy-r3 pr* official to my knowledge belonged to Khemetnu who was not only the steward of Mersyankh III, but according to the inscriptional evidence in his own tomb (G 5210) also the steward of Kawab and Hetepheres II. The dating of his tomb oscillates from the reign of Khufu to end of Fourth/early Fifth Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974: 155). Two last individuals in Tab. 62 derived from provincial sites were not included in the statistics.

⁵⁷⁵ To be more precise, the time span is somewhat shorter, because in the second part of the Sixth Dynasty, Memphite necropoleis suffer from scarce evidence of tombs with any identified dependent.

Vymazalová 2006: 303) which also testifies that on certain occasions this individual could have served as one of the temple personnel. In addition, apart from titles connected to funerary services to the deceased king or his pyramid, almost one-half of the holders of the title *imy-r3 pr* served in the funerary cult of higher officials, as expressed by the title *imy-r3 hm-k3* ‘overseer of *k3*-servants’ (11 of 29 owners, see Tab. 62).

The last category of titles recorded in the tombs under scrutiny refers to scribal professions; to enumerate just a few: *zš* ‘scribe’, *zš pr-md3(w)t* ‘scribe of the archives/department of documents’, *zš md3t nswt* ‘document scribe of the king’ or *zš prw (n) z3b* ‘scribe of the crews’ (scribal profession 4 of 29 owners; see Tab. 62). Some of the titles refer to the service for the king at his court – rare attestations of titles associated with *imy-r3 pr* officials which are connected with the living king.

Scribal titles attached to *imy-r3 pr* officials stress another important characteristic of this individual. We can consider him to be an educated and literate man which is supported by his frequent iconographic depiction within ‘scribes’ or ‘archivists’ as well as by scenes capturing the ‘overseer of house’ reporting to the tomb owner with a papyrus scroll further indicating his overall responsibility for keeping records necessary for everyday running of the household.

Altogether, *imy-r3 pr* in the Residence was mainly distinguished by a lower-ranked title *iry ht nswt* (almost 60 % of holders). According to other complementary titles, this individual was often involved in the priestly service to the deceased king (almost 60 %) or to a high official (38 %), less frequently endowed with scribal titles indicating his engagement in the state administration (13,8 %).

<i>Iy</i>	G 8911	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt</i>	Dyn 5/6
<i>Iy-mry</i>	G 6020	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w^cb nswt, imy-r3 pr (n) hwt-hwt, hm-ntr hwfw, zš pr-mdh(w)t</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Tr-n-3ht</i>	G 2391	Giza	<i>hm-k3, imy-r3 st hntiw-š pr-š</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Itr</i>	Iter	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, shd nfrw</i>	Dyn 5/6
<i>Whm-k3</i>	D 117	Giza	<i>iry iht nswt, zš pr-mdh(w)t, zš nfrw</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Wr-b3w-Pth</i>	G 6042	Giza	<i>hnty-š (n) pr-š, iry ht nswt</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Wsr</i>	G 8912	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	Dyn 6

<i>Pr-nb</i>	G 8606	Giza	<i>imy-r3 hm-k3 iry-p^ct</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Mmy</i>	G 5221	Giza	<i>hrj-tp nswt pr-^c3</i>	Dyn 5/6
<i>Mr-^cnh.f</i>	G 8870	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w^cb nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Mrw-k3</i>	G 8986	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, hm n sndwt</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Nb-nfrt- Pth, Mhy</i>	G 4442	Giza	<i>h3tj-^c m3^c imy-r3 k3t nbt nswt imy-r3 pr sš šnwt sš pr-hd zš n s3</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Nfr</i>	G 4761	Giza	<i>rḥ nswt w^cb nswt hm-ntr hr mddw hm-ntr mddrnbjt, imy-r3 hmw-k3</i>	Dyn 5/6
<i>Nfr II</i>	Nefer (S 576)	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt</i>	Dyn 5/6
<i>Nfr-tz</i>	Nefertjez	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, wqb nswt, smsw pr</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Nim-sty</i>	G 2366	Giza	<i>rḥ nswt, hm-ntr, wqb nswt, imy-ht hmw-k3, imy-r sšr, hrp šmsw</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Nfr-b3w- Pth</i>	G 6010	Giza	<i>imy-r3 pr (n) hwt-hwt, iry ht nswt, w^cb nswt, hm-ntr Ni-wsr-r^c, hm-ntr Nfr- ir-k3-r^c, hm-ntr hwfw, hm-ntr Š3hw-rq, zš pr...</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Šn[b]</i>	G 1036	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, hm-k3</i>	Dyn 5/6
<i>Šnbw-k3(.i)</i>	G 8462	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Špss-k3.f- ^cnh</i>	G 6040	Giza	<i>w^cb nswt..., z3 nswt... iry ht nswt, zš ^c(w) (nw) nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3, imy-r3 prw msw-nswt, wqb</i>	Dyn 5
<i>K3.i</i>	G 4651	Giza	<i>nswt, zš ^cprw (n) z3b</i>	Dyn 5
<i>hbi</i>	Hebi	Giza	<i>imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Snw</i>	G 8816	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w^cb nswt, hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R^c</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Hsf</i>	Hesef	Giza	<i>nfr</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Hnmw-df3</i>	G 8975	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Hnw</i>	G 5511	Giza	<i>jmj-r3 df3 nb imy-r3 pr-šn^c smit imntt iry ht nswt, wqb nswt, hm-ntr H3.f-r^c, hm-ntr hr Wsr-ib, hm-ntr wsr-m-nbty,</i>	Dyn 6
<i>K3-dw3</i>	G 8472	Giza	<i>hry-sšt3, hm-k3, šhd w^cb(w), smsw h(3)yt. šmsw h(3)yt n wr-H3.f-R^c</i>	Dyn 5
<i>Tti</i>	G 2337X	Giza	<i>zš n z3, hm(w)-k3, z3b šhd zšw, ny dt.f</i>	Dyn 6
<i>Df3-nswt</i>	G 4920	Giza		Dyn 5
<i>Try/Mry/Idy</i>	C 9	Hawawish		Dyn 6
<i>K3i-hp, Tti- ikr</i>	Tomb no.13	Zawiit el-Mejitin		Dyn 6

Social status of *imy-r3 pr* – provincial necropoleis

Local potentates began to be buried sporadically in necropoleis outside the Residence from the early Fifth dynasty (for instance, on the cemetery of Tehna, see Thompson 2014). Subsequently, from the reign of Niuserre onwards, this burial custom was established on a more regular basis (see *e.g.* Fischer 1968; Khouli 1990; or Kanawati and McFarlane 1993). Therefore, Fourth and Fifth Dynasty *imy-r3 pr* officials are known mainly from the tombs on Memphite burial grounds, in the provinces, rare examples can be found on the necropolis of Hammamija, Tehna and Hawawish.⁵⁷⁷ The same holds true for the provincial necropoleis also for the period of the first half of the Sixth Dynasty. Contrary to that, ‘overseers of the house’ are strongly represented in tombs outside Residential necropoleis especially in the second half of the Sixth dynasty; E. Martinet enumerated 55 holders of the title (Martinet 2019: tab. 26).⁵⁷⁸ Despite this high number, there is an evidence of only two tombs built directly for *imy-r3 pr* officials, other representatives of this profession are known from the iconography of the tombs of provincial elite. First tomb (C9 at Hawawish) belongs to the individual Iy/Mry/Idy who probably served to nomarch Kaihep Tjetiiker. The second monument (tomb no. 13 at Zawijet el-Mejitin) owned certain Henenu (Martinet 2019: 364, Cat. No.[9HE.EHaw.VI.1], [16HE.ZM.VI.11]). Complementary titles of these officials in their tombs revealed that they were predominantly engaged in the funerary service either to the king or certain god/goddess, held important rank titles and were involved in land administration.⁵⁷⁹

When dealing with the *imy-r3 pr* as the owner of the tomb, it has to be mention yet another overseer of the house, who even though did not build his own tomb, was privileged to be buried within the tomb complex of a high provincial dignitary - the vizier Pepinakh the Middle of Meir (Kanawati 2012: 21, pls. 79, 81–2, 84–5, 89; Porter and Moss 1974: 256). It is the individual Niankhkhnun called Memy who was attached not only by the title of the steward but quite surprisingly by medical titles. He was a physician of the Great House and inspector

⁵⁷⁶ For the references to individual tombs, see the article by the present author (Nováková 2019: 95–112)

⁵⁷⁷ For the earliest evidence of *imy-r3 pr* in the provinces, see Martinet (2019: 363, tab. 26).

⁵⁷⁸ Strongly represented are especially the tombs at Meir (Kanawati 2007; Kanawati 2012; Kanawati *et al.* 2015) and Qubbet el-Hawa (Vishak 2020; Vishak 2015).

⁵⁷⁹ Iy/Mry/Idy of Hawawish was *smr* and *shd hm(w)-ntr*, while Henenu *hk3-hwt, smr* and *smr w^cty*. For a detail bibliography concerning these tomb owners and their monuments, see Martinet (2019: 854, 989).

of physicians, which is, together with *imy-r3 pr* title, rather non-standard combination of titles, unparalleled not only in Memphite but also in provincial necropoleis.

With the exception of these three individuals enumerated above, all other *imy-r3 pr* officials appear recorded as household members in decorated tombs belonging in the vast majority to the highest echelons of local society: viziers, nomarchs or expedition leaders. Despite the fact that we do not know their burial place, they are worth mentioning in this context, because rank and other functional titles were frequently attached to them. Due to big heterogeneity of individual provincial necropoleis, two representative necropoleis, *i.e.* Meir and Qubbet el-Hawa were chosen as case studies for the study as the overseers of the house from the tombs at these sites, comprise an absolute majority of all the evidence (47 individuals of 58).⁵⁸⁰ In the iconography of the tombs of provincial elite in Meir, the ‘overseer of the house’ is often labelled with some rank title (16 of 31 holders). The most frequent is the title *hry tp nswt* ‘royal chamberlain’ (11 of 31 holders).⁵⁸¹ In the tomb of NiankhPepi Kem at Meir, for instance, no less than six of the seven ‘overseers of the house’ bear the title ‘royal chamberlain’ (Kanawati *et al.* 2015). According to N. Kanawati (1977: 12), the title ‘royal chamberlain’ denotes a middle-ranking official; as the Sixth Dynasty advanced, it was primarily connected with a legal function. However, in Meir, as well as in the provinces in general, the individuals under the consideration are associated more with scribal titles in general, rather than directly with juridical ones. Another 4 of 31 holders were tagged with the rank title *šps nswt* ‘noble of the king’, further two bore the title *smr* ‘companion’ (see) The complementary titles of *imy-r3 pr* officials occasionally include priestly titles (6 of 31 holders, one of which is *hry-hbt* ‘lector priest’), scribal titles and titles connected to household management, *i.e.* *hry p zh* ‘director of the dining hall’ and *imy-r3 sšr* ‘overseer of linen’ – in all three latter cases 3 of 31 holders. To make the list complete, we have not to forget a single occurrence of some obscure titles, such as *imy-r3 hrt* ‘overseer of the tomb’ – an individual probably responsible for the building of the tomb, but also title associated to the management of livestock (*imy-r3 tzt* ‘overseer of herds’) and title related to the organisation of labour *smsw whrt* ‘elder of the dockyard’.

The tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa provide rather different picture with regard to *imy-r3 pr* holders. The most common complementary titles are again rank titles, but with the prevalence of the title *smr w'ty* ‘sole companion’ (4 times per 16 overseers of the house), with only a single occurrence of *hry tp nswt* ‘royal chamberlain’ and *smr* ‘companion.’ Five *imy-r3 pr* were

⁵⁸⁰ For the precise number of the overseers of the house in the provinces, see E. Martinet (2019: Tab. 26).

⁵⁸¹ Seny/Hekaib is the only other provincial overseer of the house who also held the rank title *hry-tp nswt* (Martinet 2019: Tab. 26).

attached with scribal titles, and further 3 associated with the cult of the tomb owner as the *k3*-priests. Two overseers of the house were at the same time *hrp zh* ‘director of the dining hall’. Only a single occurrence evinces titles *hk3-hwt ʿ3t* ‘manager of the great estate’, *imy-r3 rwt* - overseer of the gateway and *imy-r3 kdw* ‘overseer of workmen.’

Although the rare examples of *imy-r3 pr* as owners of provincial tombs show rather big variability in the complementary titles of their holders, the evidence from iconography is more promising. One can observe, similar to the residential holders, frequent occurrence of rank titles (Meir 55%, Qubbet el-Hawa 37 %). Nevertheless, particular titles differ. While in the Memphite necropoleis the lower-ranked title *iry ht nswt* prevailed, for the provinces, there is characteristic occurrence of titles *hry tp nswt* ‘royal chamberlain’ (in Meir) and *smr wʿty* ‘sole companion’ (in Qubbet el-Hawa). Another difference is the involvement in the priestly services in the mortuary temples of the kings, which is very high in the centre (almost 60 %), but quite naturally rare in the provinces (13 % in Meir; not a single occurrence in Qubbet el-Hawa). Scribal titles were attached quite often in Meir (31 %), but less frequently in Qubbet el-Hawa (10 %), which is comparable to the numbers in the Residence (13 %). Household related titles, *i.e.* *hrp zh* or *imy-r3 sšr* then complement the string of titles attached to *imy-r3 pr*. Given the fact, that overseer of the house in the provinces was often endowed with further one or two titles, it demonstrates how complex responsibilities might have been in hands of this individual.

Diachronic development during the Old Kingdom

After/following an isolated appearance at the end of the Third Dynasty, the individuals designated with the title ‘overseer of the house’ began to sporadically appear in the tomb decoration of high social strata in the Memphite region in the course of the Fourth Dynasty, portrayed mostly in close vicinity to the tomb owner. From the Fifth Dynasty onwards, they occur on a more regular basis; moreover, they were obviously wealthy enough to build their own tombs.

Based on my research, about 130 holders of the title ‘overseer of the house’ are known from the Old Kingdom; 29 of them built their own tomb. W. Grajetzki states that during the Old Kingdom, they never appeared in the administration directly under the king: viziers and higher officials had these ‘stewards’ in charge of their private belongings (Grajetzki 2009: 70). Nevertheless, certain scribal titles they bore (see above) indicate that apart from their engagement in the royal funerary cults, they could have been somehow involved in the services for the living king at his court. This assumption might be corroborated by a record in Sahure’s pyramid causeway, where an *imy-r3 pr* official is included within the king’s entourage (El

Awady 2009: 165). According to the inscription, *imy-r3 pr* Userkafankh is one of persons bowing in front of the king in the scene of Sahure's courtiers and high-ranking officials.⁵⁸² The scribal titles they hold as well as their frequent depiction with scribal equipment rank them within the group of educated individuals.

Regarding the rank titles they were attached with in their own tombs, one can notice a minor change in the status of this individual. The lower rank title *iry ht nswt*, which is borne by more than 75 percent of *imy-r3 pr* officials buried at residential necropoleis, can be considered an indicator of their social status. In the second half of the Sixth dynasty, overseers of the house ceased to be recorded in the tombs on Memphite burial grounds ; on the contrary, they started to be depicted in the tombs of the provincial elites outside the Residence, this time selectively, depending on the necropolis (see e.g. Kanawati 2007; Edel 2008). They are to be found more extensively in the necropolis of Meir, where more than a half of the *imy-r3 pr* officials are tagged with the middle rank title *hry tp nswt* 'royal chamberlain' (Blackman 1953; Kanawati 2015 and 2012; Martinet 2019: Tab 26), and in the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa with rank of *smr wꜥty* 'sole companion' to be the most represented. We could, of course, ascribe this rise in status of the overseer of the house to the devaluation of rank and functional titles to the end of the Old Kingdom (Baer 1980; Helck 1954: 111–120). Nevertheless, the variety of scenes in which *imy-r3 pr* is depicted especially in the iconography of tombs in Meir may indicate that duties and responsibilities of this individual might have been widened and reflect certain advancement. Therefore, it will be beneficial to observe if this trend of the rising status of *imy-r3 pr* individuals continued also after the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

The evidence about *imy-r3 pr* holders is completely missing from the Seventh to Tenth Dynasty. Nevertheless, even a brief study of the attestations of these persons in the following Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. shows that the individuals with the title *imy-r3 pr* 'overseer of the house' (this time, the translation 'steward' prevails in scholarly publications) still appear in private tombs in both the centre and the provinces, depicted as offering bearers, supervisors of the funerary procession, conductors of records of workshop products but most frequently

582 Tarek El Awady (2009: 165, n. 1009) identifies this person with the owner of the mastaba to the east of Niuserre's pyramid complex at Abusir (Borchardt 1907: 109–16), although no such title appears in the tomb (see Borchardt 1907: 109–116). Even if one considers that Userkafankh is represented in Sahure's pyramid complex as a young man at the beginning of his career, whereas much more important titles are captured in the tomb built towards the end of his career, such as *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt* 'overseer of all royal works' or titles connected directly with the king, *hry-tp nswt m prwy* "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain in the two houses" and *imy-r3 ht nbt nt nswt* "overseer of all property of the king", it does not seem to be much probable as no other *imy-r3 pr* undergone such upward career promotion.

connected to overseeing activities related to providing food and cattle for the household (see e.g. Davies 1902: 24, pl. 18; Arnold 2007: 59; Kanawati and Evans 2012: 41, pls. 120–121).⁵⁸³ There, the “stewards” are usually recorded with a scribal title but without any rank titles that would be indicative of their status. In their own tombs, they were usually connected with mid-ranking titles (see e.g. Arnold 2007: 59).

During the same time, the development of the title went along a completely different way. Apart from simple “stewards”, there began to appear also “high stewards” – the administrators of domains of the country responsible for providing the palace with food and, in the early Middle Kingdom, also expedition leaders (Grajetzki 2012: 69–80).⁵⁸⁴ Their origin dated back to the Eleventh Dynasty, whose rulers started their careers as high officials – local governors with ‘overseers of the house’ managing their households and estates. Gradually, with the foundation of the new state, the title of a servant engaged in a domestic sphere, the ‘overseer of the house’, became a high state function as ‘high steward’ linked to the highest rank titles: *iry p^ct, ḥ3ty-^c* (Grajetzki 2012: 71–80). The steward Henenu can be, according to J.P. Allen (1996: 11) considered a forerunner of the later *imy-r3 pr wr* ‘chief steward’. This individual served at the court of Mentuhetep II as indicated by the evidence from the king’s mortuary complex as well as from the burials of Mentuhetep II’s family members.⁵⁸⁵ Henenu belonged, to the inner circle of king’s advisors together with overseer of the Seal (*imy-r3 ḥtmt*) Khety and the vizier Beby.⁵⁸⁶ According to the titles and the information provided by biographical texts from his own tomb TT 313=MMA tomb no.510, he was overall responsible for animals, birds and fishes in the country as indicated by his titles *imy-r3 ^cb wḥmw šw nšmt* – ‘overseer of horn, hoof, feather and scale’, *imy-r3 kbh p3wt ḥnnt* ‘overseer of fowl that swim, fly and land or *imy-r3 ntt iwtt* ‘overseer of what is and is not’.⁵⁸⁷ Supervision over granting loans of grain belonged to other of his administrative duties. Importantly, Henenu was designated by the title *imy-r3 pr-^c3 m t3 dr.f* implying that the range of activities he performed covered the entire land. Nevertheless, another evidence indicates that the scope of his authority might have been less extensive. Henenu specifies in the text that he was in charge of taxation in Thinite, Panopolite

⁵⁸³ Within depicted household members, one encounters also subordinate variants of the title ‘steward’ – officials tagged with title ‘overseer of the house of the funerary estate’, ‘overseer of the house of the estates’, ‘overseer of the house of the fields’, usually associated with food and cattle, for instance recording the measuring of grain, inspecting animals or overseeing ploughing activities (e.g. Davies 1902: pl. 18).

⁵⁸⁴ For the high stewards of the early Middle Kingdom, see the article by F. Arnold 1991: 7–14.

⁵⁸⁵ For the bibliography to this evidence, see J.P. Allen 1991: 11, n. 44.

⁵⁸⁶ For the king’s closest cooperates, see e.g. Allen 2003: 14–29 and Allen 1991: 1–26.

⁵⁸⁷ One of the stelae found in his tomb with an extensive bibliography containing this title was published by C. Hayes 1949: 43–49.

and Aphroditopolite nomes (Hayes 1949: 43-49), i.e. Upper Egyptian nomes 8-10 that formed the core of the territory administered by Theban rulers before the unification of the land.⁵⁸⁸ Apart from tasks related to the property management of his master, the biography of Henenu reveals that he was involved in foreign trade as signified by an expedition to the land of Beduins and also to Lebanon for cutting cedar wood. His functional titles were crowned with important rank titles *htmty-bity smr wꜥty hry-tp nswt* “king’s seal-bearer, sole companion, royal chamberlain”.

It is worth mentioning with respect to rank titles, that in the Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasties, they were the only indicators distinguishing ordinary “stewards” from “high stewards”, because the simple designation “steward” alone was used prior to the consolidation of the title in the form of “high steward” (Grajetzki 2012: 70; Arnold 1991: 7–14). Moreover, the designation of the individual could have varied in different sources. The high stewards usually held the highest rank titles *h3ty -ꜥ, iry pꜥt* which was not yet the case of Henenu but it is attested for instance in case of the well-known steward Meketre – the owner of tomb TT 280 at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna where the famous wooden models of the daily life were found (Winlock 1955).⁵⁸⁹ Meketre was endowed with the same rank titles as Henenu, namely *htmty bity* and *smr wꜥty*, but on the top of that, he held the title of the hereditary prince (*iry pꜥt*) (Allen 1996: 3, n. 4). Ordinary stewards were, contrary to that, attached by much lower ranking titles which can be illustrated by *imy-r3 pr* Sehetepibreankh who was labelled as *iry-ht nswt m3ꜥ* “true property custodian of the king” in his modest tomb at Lisht (Arnold 2007: 93).⁵⁹⁰

Tracing the development outlined above, one may ask whether already the overseers of the house from the second half of the Sixth Dynasty who gained their importance as the individuals standing at the head of flourished provincial courts of local potentates, typically in important economic centres as e.g. Meir, could not have laid foundations for such unique position of a ‘high steward’ in the subsequent period. However, the high number of the holders of the title in one tomb more likely points to the fact that each of these individuals had slightly different scope of responsibilities rather than indicating a newly established single super ‘authority’ which would have been in charge of variety of tasks and duties. The repertoire of scenes in which the simple stewards appear in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty together with

⁵⁸⁸ This fact does not exclude the possibility, that there were several officials responsible for taxation in different parts of the land ruled by the family of Mentuhetep II

⁵⁸⁹ For the titles of Meketre, see e.g. J.P. Allen 1996: 3, n. 4.

⁵⁹⁰ D. Arnold describes him as a mid-rank official D. Arnold 2007: 93, 108.

their low rank titles further point to the fact that the responsibilities of the office as well as the social standing of its owners was still very similar to the preceding period, nothing signalizes the opposite. The higher rank of *imy-r3 pr* officials in Sixth Dynasty provincial necropoleis could thus truly reflect the devaluation of titles to the end of the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, two different traits in the development of the office in the Eleventh Dynasty indicates that the office began to be perceived in a completely new light. Nebhepetre Mentuhetep – a ruler-to-be elevated his loyal servants from a local level to the highest echelons of state administration, the steward not excluding. As a result, this new position at the court has been manifested in high rank of this official.

Conclusions

The ‘overseer of the house / steward’ was an important individual who was in charge of the private belongings of high state officials as demonstrated by the evidence from the iconography of private funerary sepulchres dated to the Old Kingdom. He was first detected portrayed at the façade of the tomb of Hetepi at Abusir at the end of the Third Dynasty. During the Fourth Dynasty, this person can be occasionally found in the wall decoration, but it was only from the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty onwards that he occurred on a more regular basis – overseers of the house began to be recorded in wealthy tombs of many viziers and other high Egyptian dignitaries first in residential necropoleis, later, in the second part of the Sixth Dynasty, the provincial necropoleis dominated.

The iconography of the Old Kingdom tombs revealed main roles and responsibilities of the *imy-r3 pr* which testify to the important position of this individual among other members of an elite Egyptian household. He is usually depicted in close vicinity to the tomb owner, portrayed among other crucial individuals (tomb owner’s sons, scribes, physicians, etc.) or while supervising various activities. The types of scenes in which he figures include the cattle count, ploughing activities or activities in the marshland, indicating a strong connection to farm products and showing the overseer’s responsibility for the fields and cattle. Other scenes refer to his function as an estate manager, once again dealing with the agricultural produce of the estates. The range of scenes on Memphite and provincial necropoleis in which the officials appear is very similar, only particular features can be pointed out – the necropolis of Meir more accentuates scenes where the *imy-r3 pr* is involved in the funerary rites; the evidence from Qubbet el-Hawa indicates possible probable assumption of this official’s competences and responsibilities by ‘directors of the dining hall’ on the necropolis of. One can also observe that

the management of a large provincial household required a high number of overseers of the house, as is especially indicated by their enormously frequent occurrence in the tombs at the necropolis of Meir which significantly exceeds the number of their counterparts in Memphite region.

Apart from minor differences in the repertoire of scenes in the central and provincial necropoleis, certain shift in the social standing of the overseers of the house has also been observed. The fact that overseer of the house became wealthy enough to build his tomb at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty plays an important role in tracing the development of his office. It demonstrates that the position of the overseer of the house began to gain a firm place in the top management of an elite household. The full list of titles of the ‘overseers of the house’ in their tombs portrays these individuals as educated lower-ranked officials who were apart from managerial tasks in the domestic realm often involved in the royal mortuary cult, but only sporadically directly associated with services at the court. At the first sight, it seems that these well-off officials distinguished by title *iry ht nswt* in Residential necropoleis developed into more powerful men of a slightly higher status marked by the title *hry tp nswt*, respective *smr w'ty* in the ‘provincial’ necropoleis in the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty. Nevertheless, a closer analysis of their iconographic depictions shows that the scope of their responsibilities was almost identical. Furthermore, their frequent occurrence in a single tomb at Meir indicates that these large and wealthy provincial households required to be managed by several *imy-r3 pr* holders resembling the same situation in the household of the vizier Ptahshepses or Mereruka from residential necropoleis. Neither is there any evidence of new posts installed for the subordinates of *imy-r3 pr* individuals who appeared instead in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty. All these facts indicate that the increased rank titles of the overseers of the house in the second part of the Sixth Dynasty can be ascribed to the weakening of state apparatus that strived to counterweight the devaluation of functional titles by bestowing an elevated rank on selected officials.

The development of the office after the end of the Sixth Dynasty was twofold: the tradition of ‘stewards’ in charge of private households who held lower-ranking titles continued, while some of the stewards employed in the households of new rulers became important state officials with their carrier path eventually resulting in the third most significant post at the Middle Kingdom royal court.

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Chapter 4 – Households in the Third Dynasty

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Chapter 5 – Households of the viziers

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Fig. 55 Dependents reporting to the tomb owner on the northern entrance door jamb in the tomb of Meriib (G 2100-I)(Junker 1934: fig. 11).

Fig. 56 The procession of offering bearers on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Tjenty (G 4920)(Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30).

Fig. 57a, b Priests performing ceremonies on the entrance jambs in the tomb of Kaninisut (Junker 1934: pl. 15 and 16).

Fig. 58 Scribes presenting accounts to the tomb owner on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Kaninisut (Junker 1934: pl. 19).

Fig. 59 Children, important officials and offering bearers on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Kaninisut (Junker 1934: pl. 18).

Fig. 60 Scribes presenting accounts to the tomb owner on the west wall of the pillared hall in the tomb of Ty (Steindorff 1913: pl. 23).

Fig. 61 The only personified inspector of funerary priests Heni in the chapel in the tomb of Ty (Steindorff 1913: pl. (Steindorff 1913: pl. 141).

Fig. 62 The tomb owner followed by his most important officials on the west wall in chamber 1 in the tomb of Ty (Wild 1953: pl. 21).

Fig. 63 The tomb owner surrounded by his sons and closest collaborates (Epron 1939: pl. 44).

Fig. 64 Tomb owner's statue dragged on a sledge and slaughtering scene on the east wall of corridor II in the tomb of Ty (Photo by Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).

Fig. 65 Group of attendants on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Ty (Miroslav Bárta © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).

Fig. 66 The last will of the tomb owner on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wepemnefret Wep (Hassan 1936: fig. 219).

Fig. 67 Scribes, herdsmen leading cattle and wild animals and offering bearers on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Seshemnefer III (Junker 1938: pl. 3).

Fig. 68 Tomb owner viewing activities in the storehouse in the tomb of Nikauisesi (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48).

Fig. 69 Fowling scene in the tomb of Nikauisesi (Kanawati 2012: pl. 50).

Fig. 70 Boats delivering offerings from Nikauisesi's estates (Kanawati 2000: pl. 47).

Fig. 71 Priests on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Shepsiptah (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: pl. 1).

Fig. 72 Animal slaughter scene on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Shepsiptah (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 24, pl. 42).

Fig. 73 Procession of offering bearers on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Niankhnepfertem (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: fig. 57).

Fig. 74 Boat scene, offering bearers and musicians on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Niankhnepfertem (Myśliwiec and Kuraszkiewicz 2010: fig.61).

Fig. 75 Tomb owner viewing scribes and different fishing techniques on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies 1902: pls. 3–4).

Fig. 76 Scribes reporting to the tomb owner and a punishment of offenders in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati 2007: pl. 50).

Fig. 77 South entrance door jamb with the figure of the tomb owner and priest Seni facing him in the tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib 2 (Vischak 2015: fig. 44).

Fig. 78 Priests on the east wall, south of the entrance in the tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib at Qubbet el-Hawa (Vishak 2015: fig. 50)

Chapter 7 - Households of the middle-ranked officials

- Fig. 79 Offering bearers on the east wall of the first chambre in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994: fig. 27)
- Fig. 80 Scene depicting agriculture activities on the north wall in the second chamber in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994: fig. 39).
- Fig. 81 Scenes of workshop activities on the south wall of the first chambre in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994: fig. 30).
- Fig. 82 Scene of gardening, wine making, fishing and cattle breeding on the east wall of the corridor, north section, in the tomb of Kahai (Lashien 2013: pl. 6a).
- Fig. 83a, b Rendering accounts by estate chiefs on the east wall of the corridor, south section, in the tomb of Kahai (Lashien 2013: pl. 12)
- Fig. 84 Dependents of the tomb owner on the south face of the pillar in the tomb of Kapi (*Roth 1995: pl. 162b*).
- Fig. 85a, b South (left) and north (right) false doors embedded in the western wall of the chapel in the tomb of Kapi (Roth 1995: pl. 164).
- Fig. 86 The scene with the tomb owner carried in a palanquin and several registers depicting offering bearers and scribes in the tomb of Itisen (Hassan 1944: fig. 122).
- Fig. 87 Offering bearers presenting offerings to the tomb owner and his wife and musicians on the southern wall of the chapel in the tomb of Nekhetka (Hassan 1953: fig. 21).
- Fig. 88 Scene of life on the estates of the tomb owner on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Sekhemka (Simpson 1980: fig. 4).
- Fig. 89 The north false door with family members and dependents in the tomb of Nefretnesut (Hassan 1936: fig. 94).
- Fig. 90 Tablet from the southern false door in the tomb of Khufuankh (Reisner 1942; MFA 21.3081 <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/144615/false-door-of-khufuankh>; accessed on September 27, 2023).
- Fig. 91 False door from G 4520, Khufuankh, detail of lower right outer jamb (<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1063/full/> accessed on November 25, 2023).
- Fig. 92 Offering table scene on the west wall in the tomb of Setka (Junker 1944: fig. 87).
- Fig. 93 Sons, priests, scribes and herdsmen in the wall reliefs of the tomb of Methethi (Ziegler 1990: 143, fig. 20).
- Fig. 94 Lector priests performing the ritual of consecration of food offerings for the deceased in the tomb of Methethi (Ziegler 1990: 146).
- Fig. 95 Qar with title overseer of the six great mansions preserved in relief fragments from the tomb of Idu (Simpson 1976: fig. 42).

Fig. 96 Offering table scene with offering bearers and a scene of animal slaughter in the tomb of Idu (Simpson 1976: 22, fig. 39).

Fig. 97 Games and music performed in honour of the goddess Hathor in the tomb of Idu (Simpson 1976: fig. 38).

Fig. 98 Scribes and priests performing rituals on the west wall of court C in the tomb of Qar (Simpson 1976: fig. 25).

Fig. 99 Officials reporting to the tomb owner carried in a palanquin on the east wall of room D in the tomb of Qar (Simpson 1976: fig. 27).

Chapter 8 - Households of the lower-ranked officials

Fig. 100 Two registers of offering bearers on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wehemka (Kayser 1964: figure on page 33).

Fig. 101 Offering table scene with the procession of scribes and animal slaughter scene on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wehemka (Kayser 1964: figure on page 32).

Fig. 102 Scene with scribes reporting to the tomb owner, herdsmen leading animals and the procession of offering bearers on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wehemka (Kayser 1964: fig. on page 36).

Fig. 103 The architrave with the southern false door in the tomb of Nefertjezet (Hawass 2018: fig. 3).

Fig. 104 Northern false door in the tomb of Nefertjezet (Hawass 2018: fig. 7).

Fig. 105 Seated couple with his children and offering bearers in the tomb of Niudjaptah (Abu Bakr 1953: fig. 95B).

Fig. 106 The first false door from the north with dependents grinding grain, baking, or cooking on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Niudjaptah (Abu Bakr 1953: fig. 95D).

Fig. 107 False door of Khuta (Hassan 1941: fig. 39).

Fig. 108 Reconstruction of the decoration on the east wall in the tomb of Fetekti (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.13).

Fig. 109 Reconstruction of the original pillar decoration in the tomb of Fetekti (Fig. ?? Reconstruction of the decoration on the east wall in the tomb of Fetekti (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.17).

Fig. 110 Upper part of the false door in the mastaba of Iy (Hassan 1932: fig. 173).

Fig. 111 Upper part of the false door in the mastaba of Iy (Hassan 1932: fig. 175).

Fig. 112 False door from the corridor chapel in the tomb of Rahetep (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.7).

Fig. 113 False door of Neferen in his tomb (Junker 1943: fig. 76).

Fig. 114 False doors in the tomb of Nefer (Junker 1943: fig. 7).

Fig. 115 Priest following the tomb owner and his wife on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Menu (Blackman and Apton 1953: 48, 2).

Plates

Chapter 3 – Households in the Early Dynastic Period

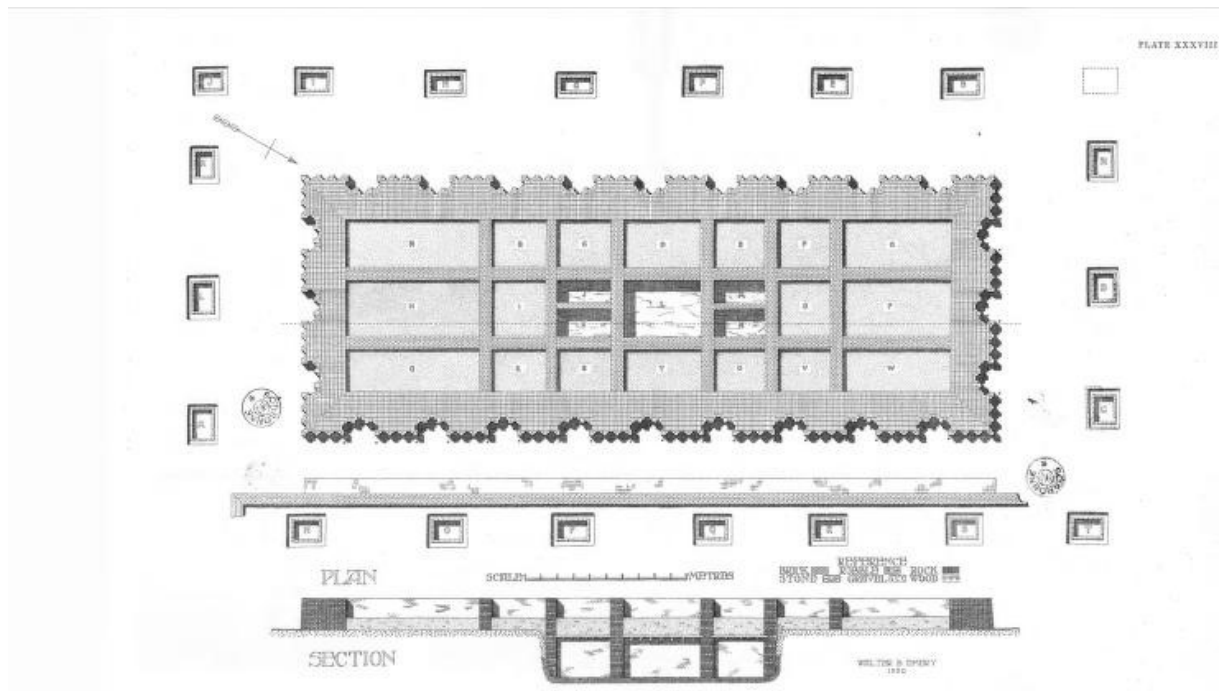


Fig. 1 Subsidiary graves surrounding Saqqara tomb No. 3503 (Emery 1954: pl. 38).

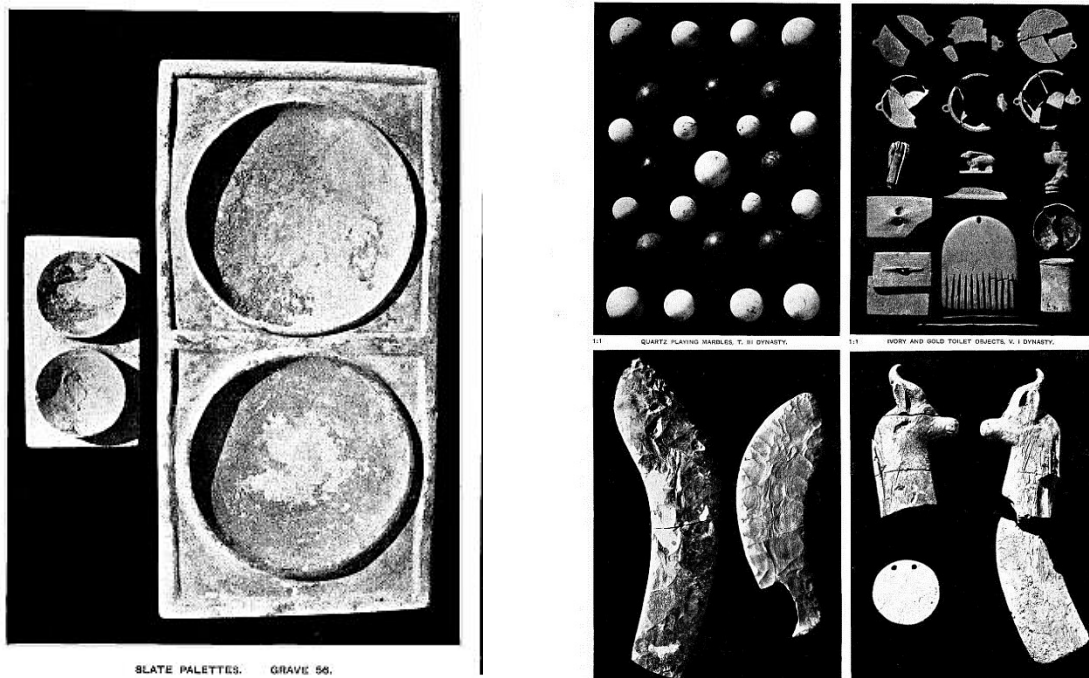


Fig. 2 Scribal palettes from subsidiary grave 56 associated to Giza mastaba V (left) (Petrie 1907: pl. III, IIIa).

Fig. 3 Toiletries and gazelle-headed wands from subsidiary grave 23 associated to Giza mastaba V (right) (Petrie 1907: pl. IV).

Chapter 4 – Households in the Third Dynasty



22 2. Tomb of Hetepi (AS 20)

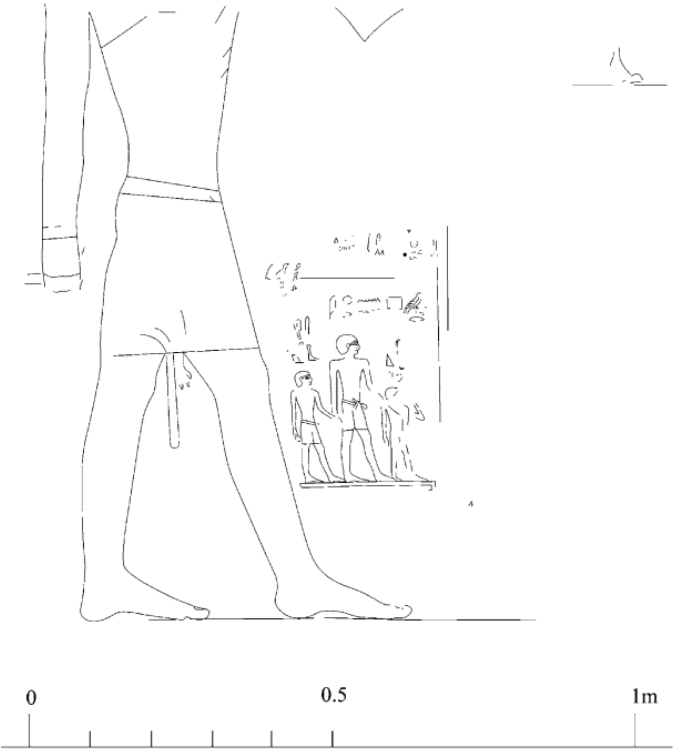


Fig 4a, b Right and left jamb of the entrance to the tomb of Hetepi (Bárta, Coppens, Vymazalová et al. 2010: pl. 18, fig. 2.23).

Chapter 5 – Households of the viziers

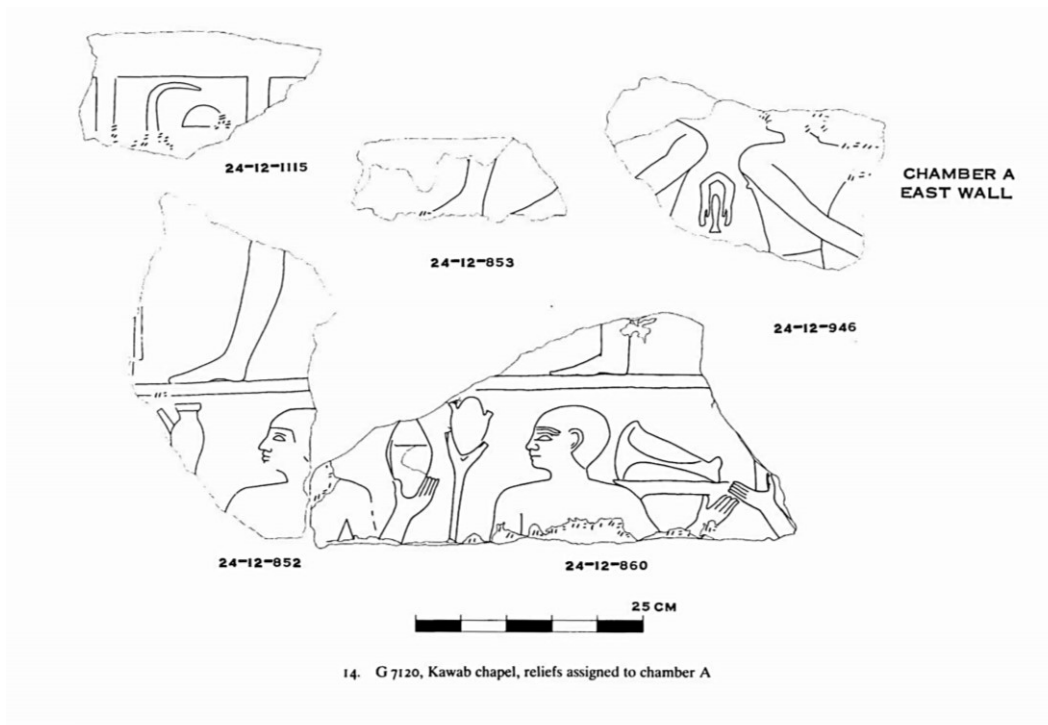


Fig. 5 Fragment of original wall decoration with a figure and title of a ka-priest from the east wall of the inner chapel of Kawab (Simpson 1978: fig. 14).

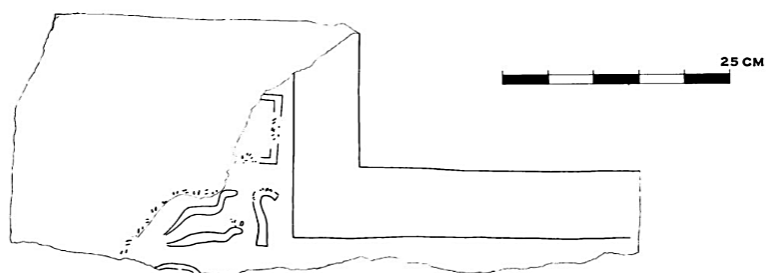


Fig. 6 Fragment of original wall decoration with title *ḥk3(w) pr-dt* “chief of the funerary estate” from the outer chapel of Kawab (Simpson 1978: fig 11A).

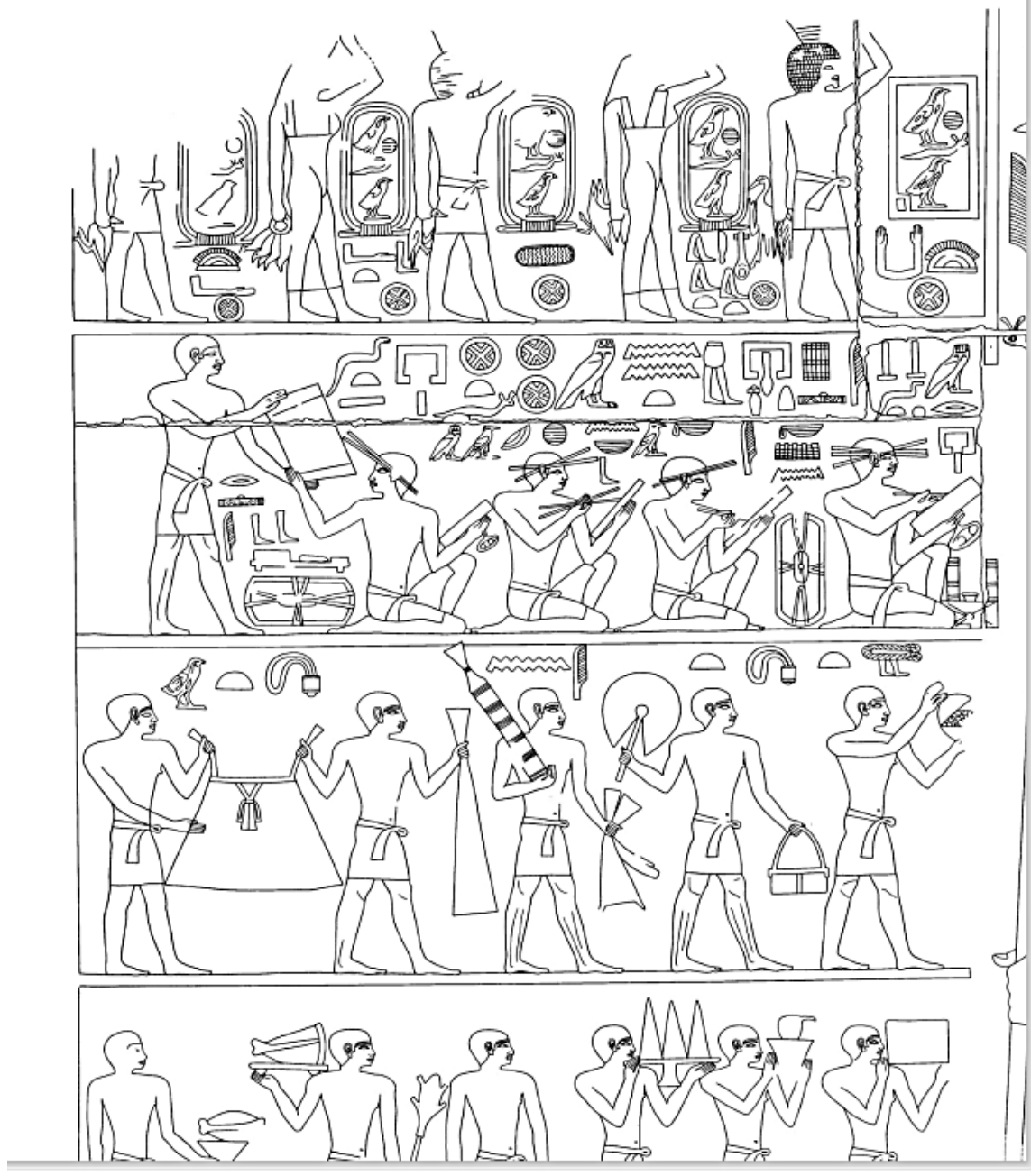


Fig. 7 Procession of personified funerary domains, scribes and offering bearers on the west wall north of the false door in the tomb of Khufukhaef I (Simpson 1978: 17, fig. 33).



27. Khalkhufu (IG 7140), chapel relief, façade, north



Fig. 8 Scribes following Khufukhaef, the facade of tomb G140 (Simpson 1978: 17, pl. XXII, fig. 27).

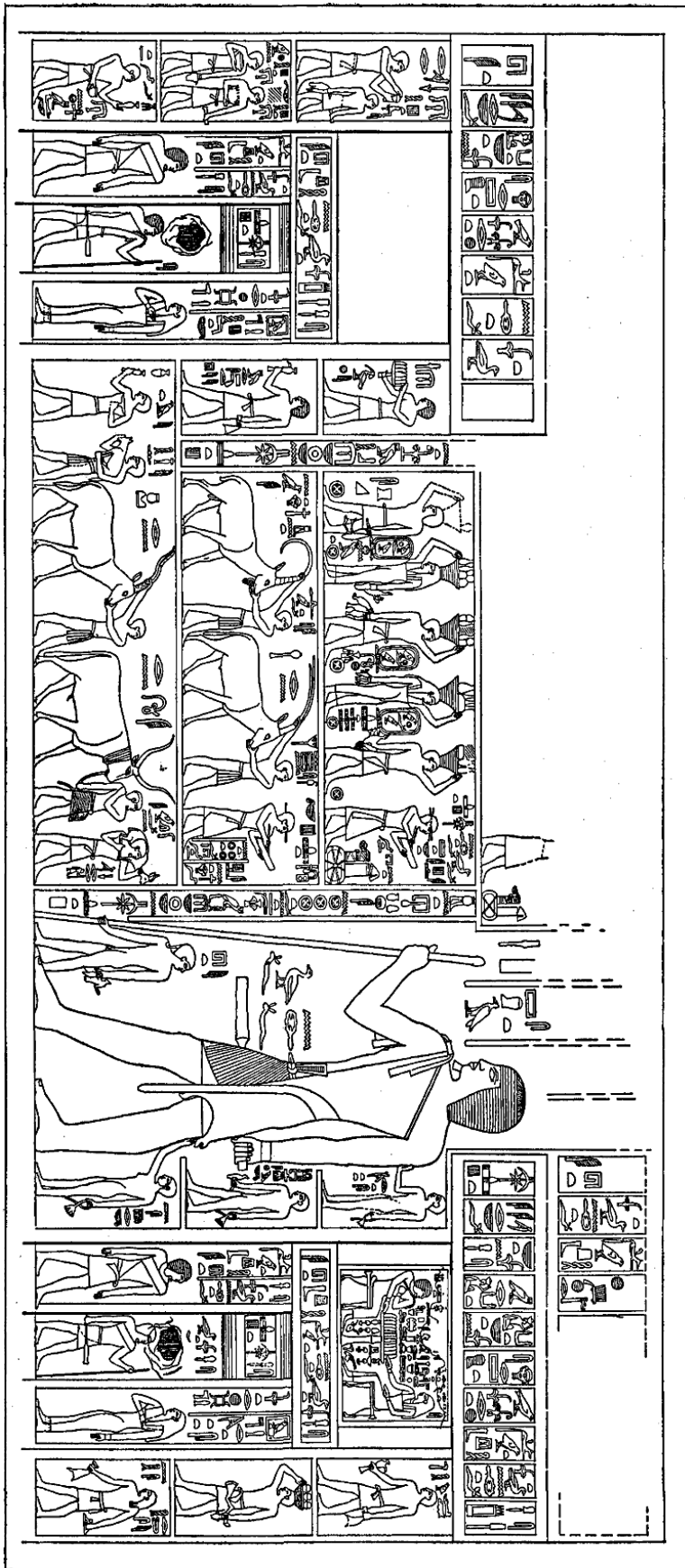


Fig. 10 Sehatetep Heti viewing offerings from his funerary estates, west wall of the chapel (Junker 1934: fig. 29).

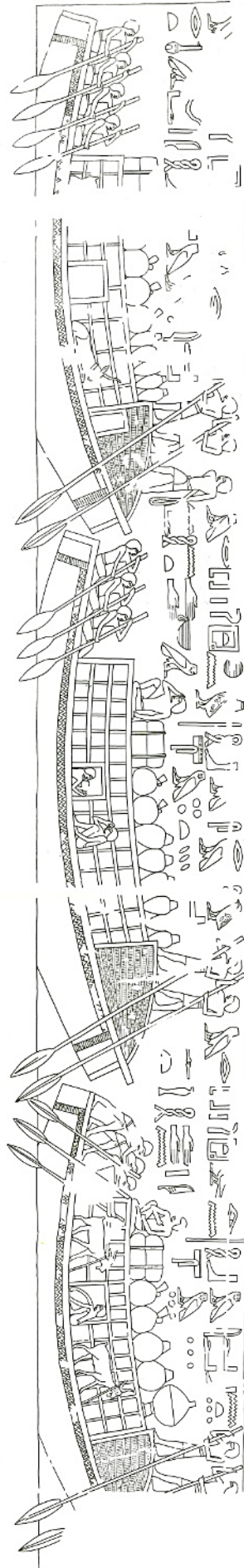
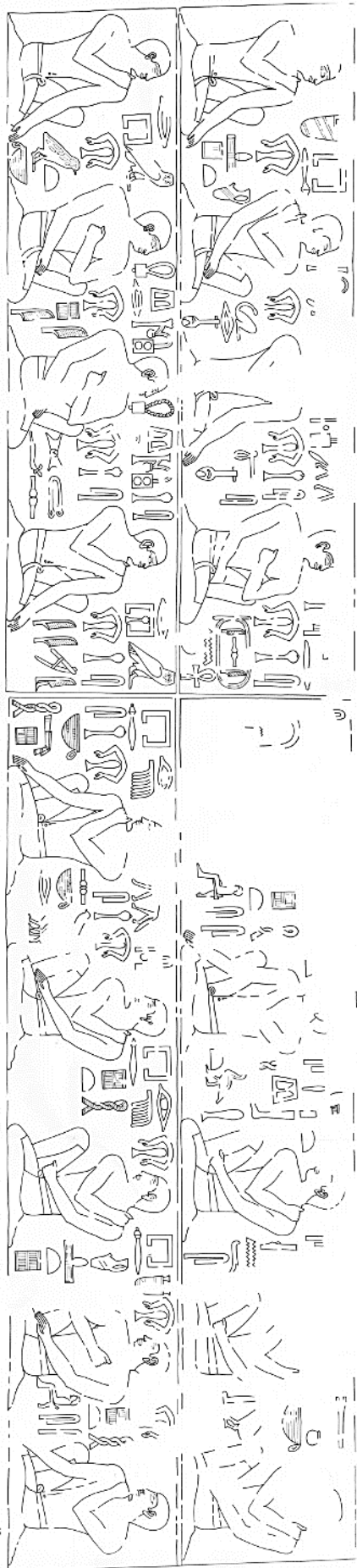


Fig. 11 Two registers of Ptahshepses sons, personal attendants and subordinate officials on the east wall of Room 10 (Verner 1986: pls. 51, 52)(on the previous page).

Fig. 13 Three ships with overseers of the household as their commanders transporting various products from estates into the tomb of Ptahshepses (Verner 1986: pls. 3 and 4)(on the previous page).

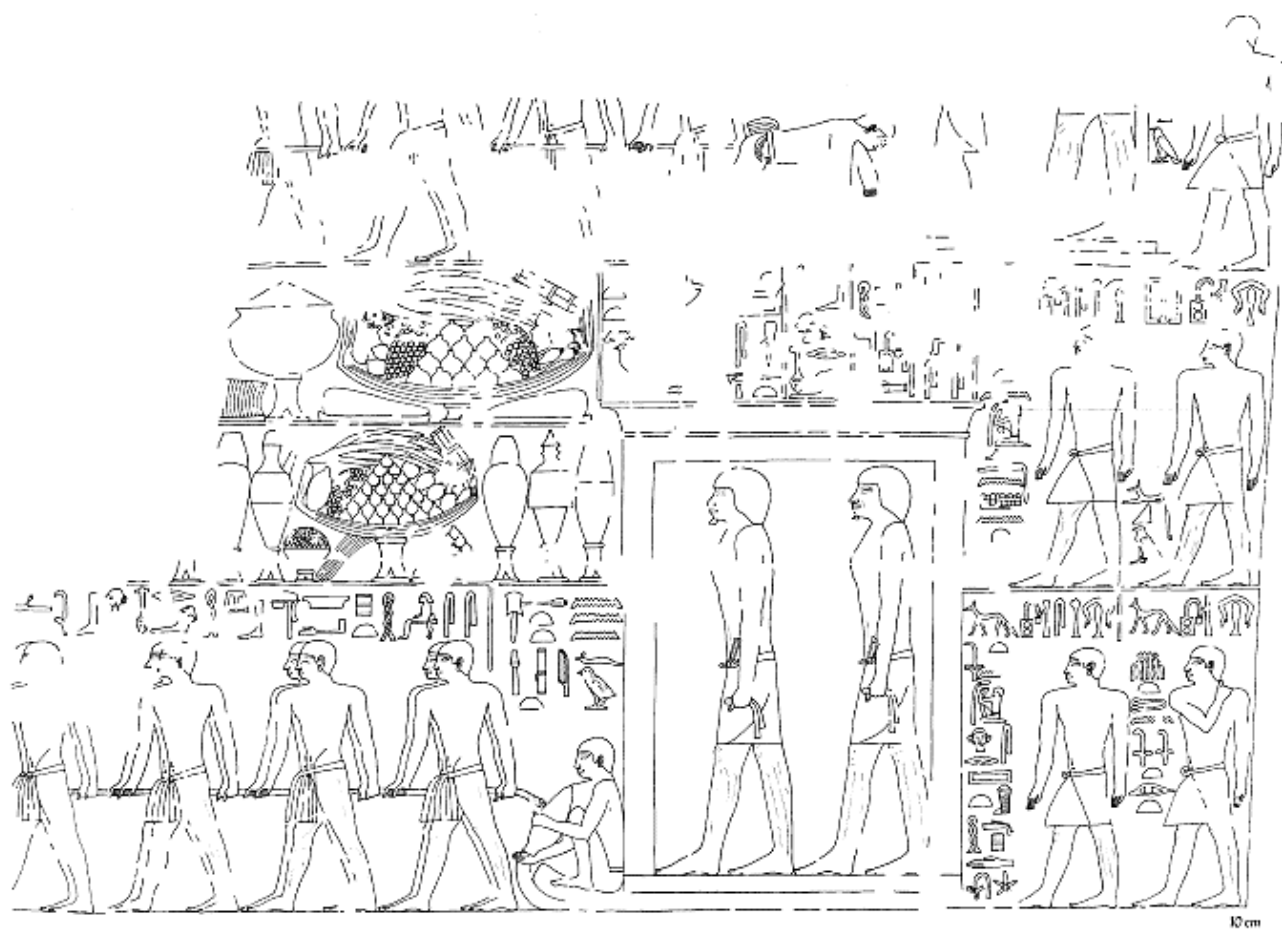


Fig. 12 Important subordinates and priests of Ptahshepses in the scene of dragging the statues of the tomb owner (Verner 1986: pl. 60).

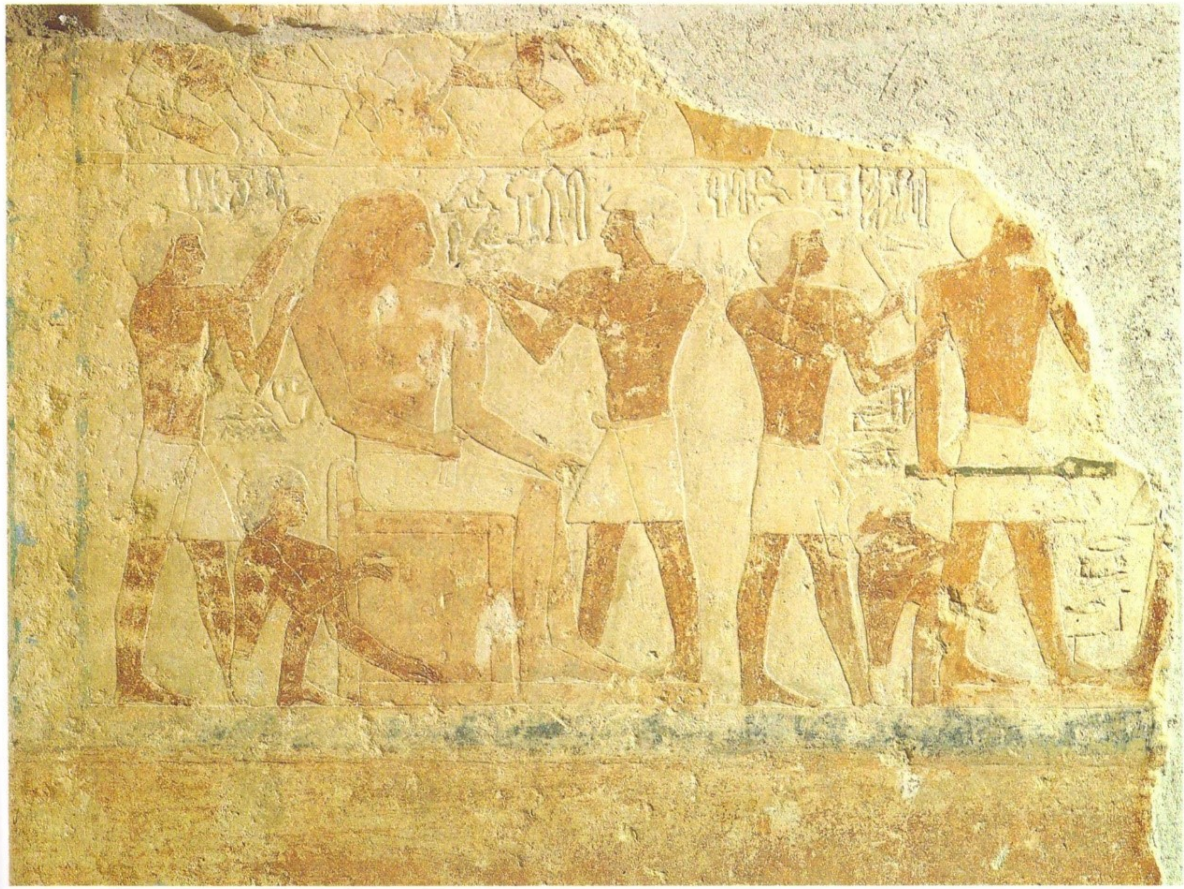


Fig. 14 Scene of sculptors in the tomb of Ptahshepses, east wall of Room IV (photo by Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).

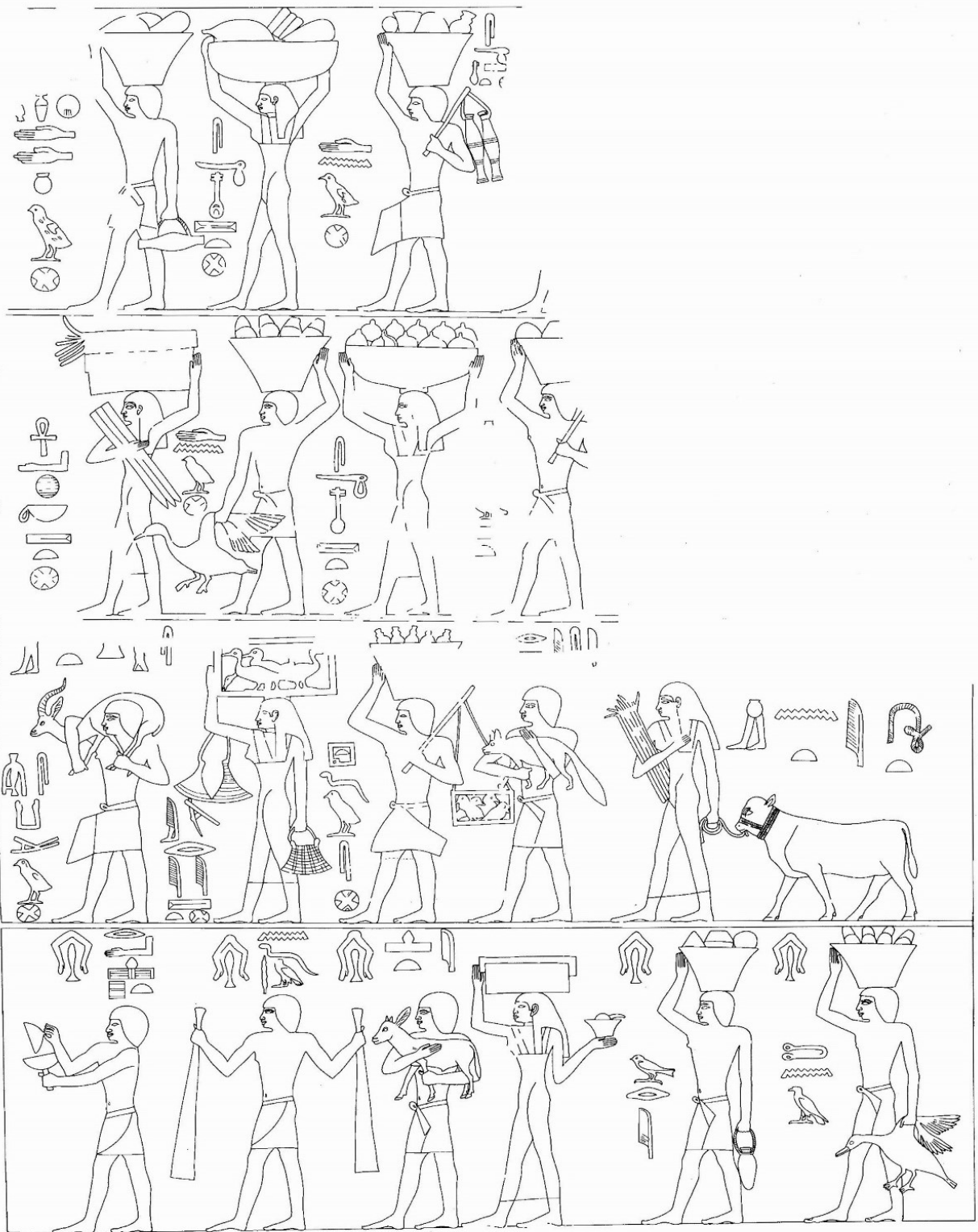


Fig. 15 Personified funerary domains and priests in the tomb of Seshemnefer II, north wall of the chapel (Kanawati 2002: pl. 65).

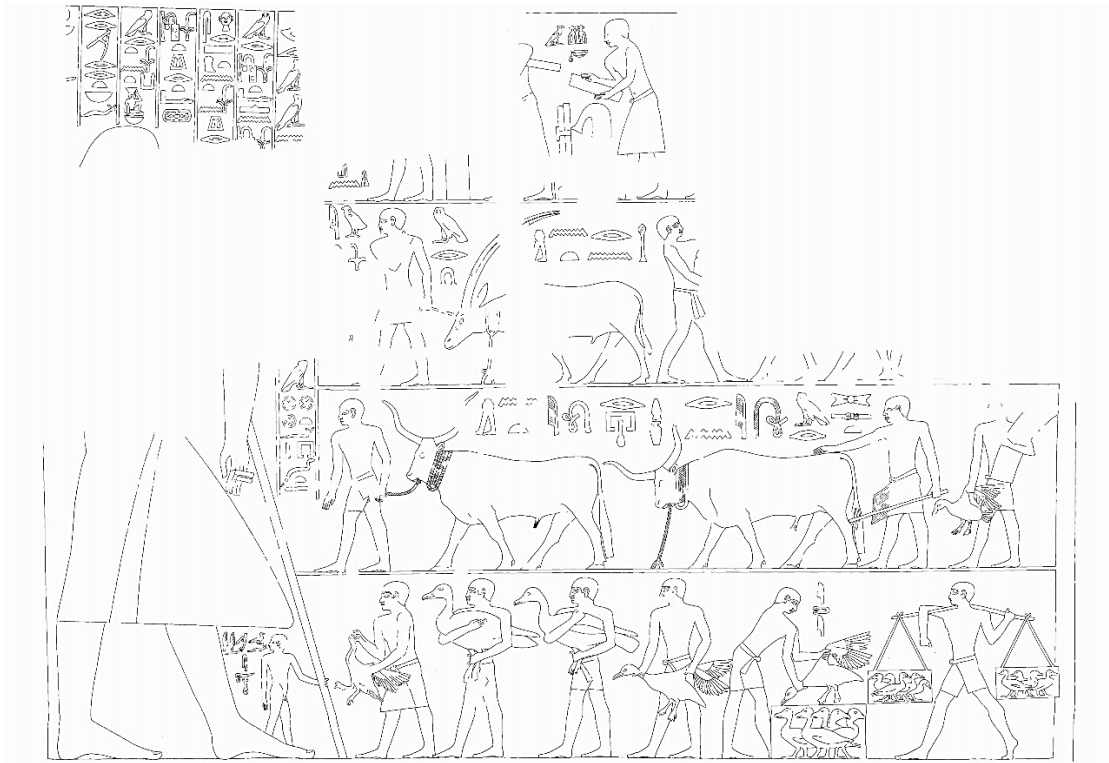


Fig. 16 Seshemnefer II viewing presenting offerings from his estates, tomb chapel, east wall (Kanawati 2002: pl. 62).

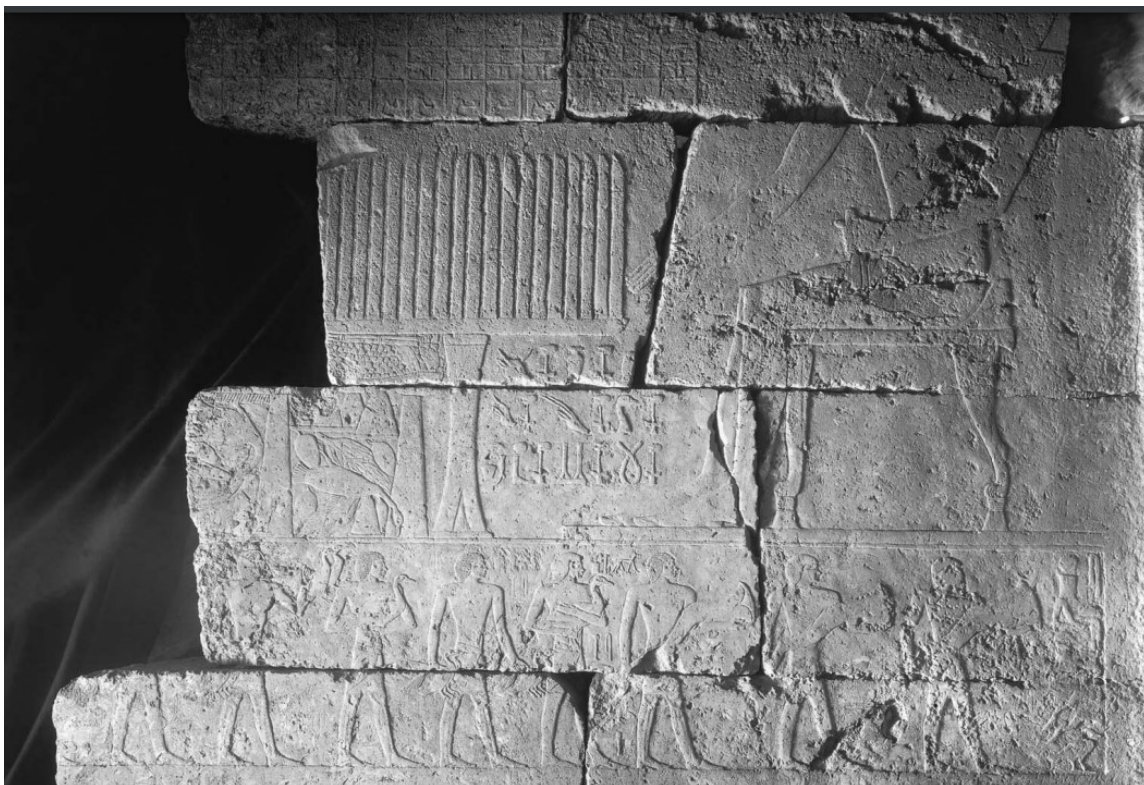


Fig. 17 Offering table scene on the south wall of the chapel of Senedjemib Inti (Brovarski 2001: pl. 39).

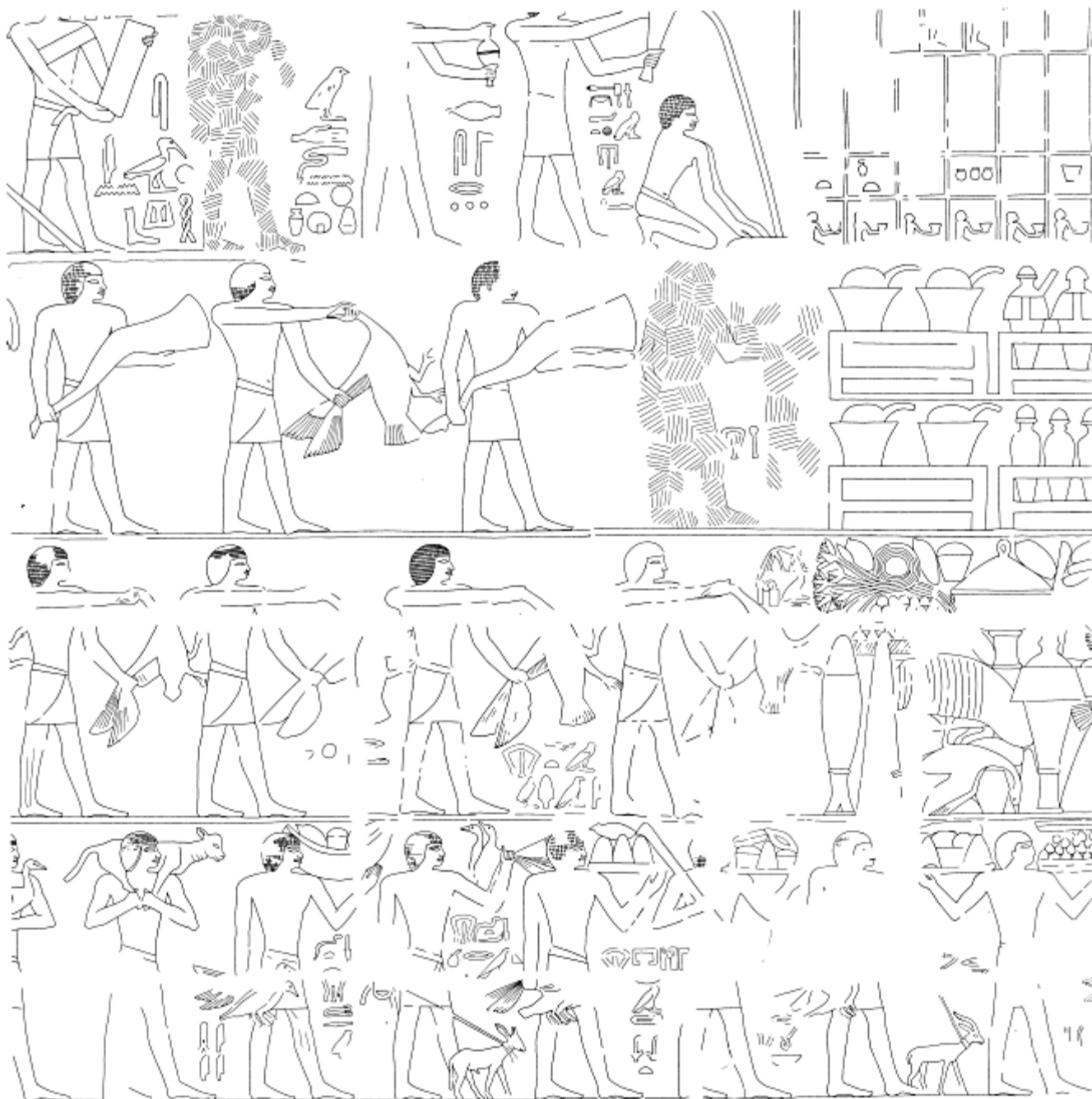
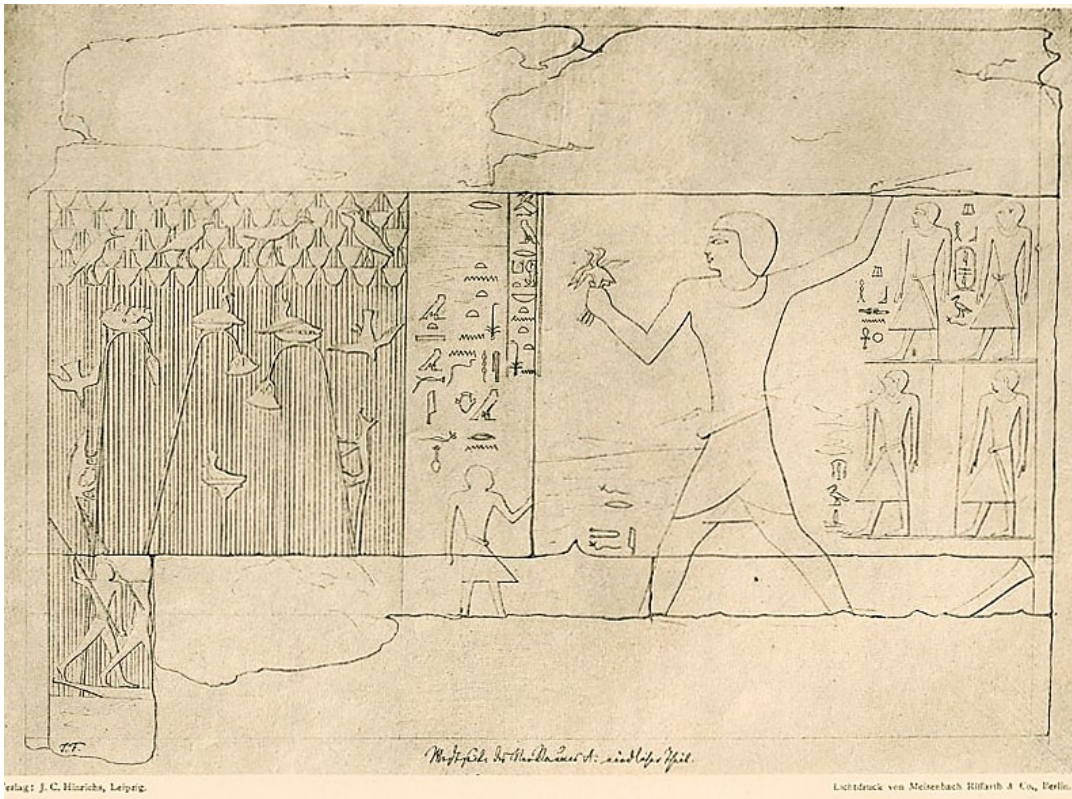


Fig. 18 Procession of offering bearers on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (Brovarski 2001: fig. 61).



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Fig. 19 Fowling scene in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, portico, north of the entrance (Lepsius 1913: Erg. 27).

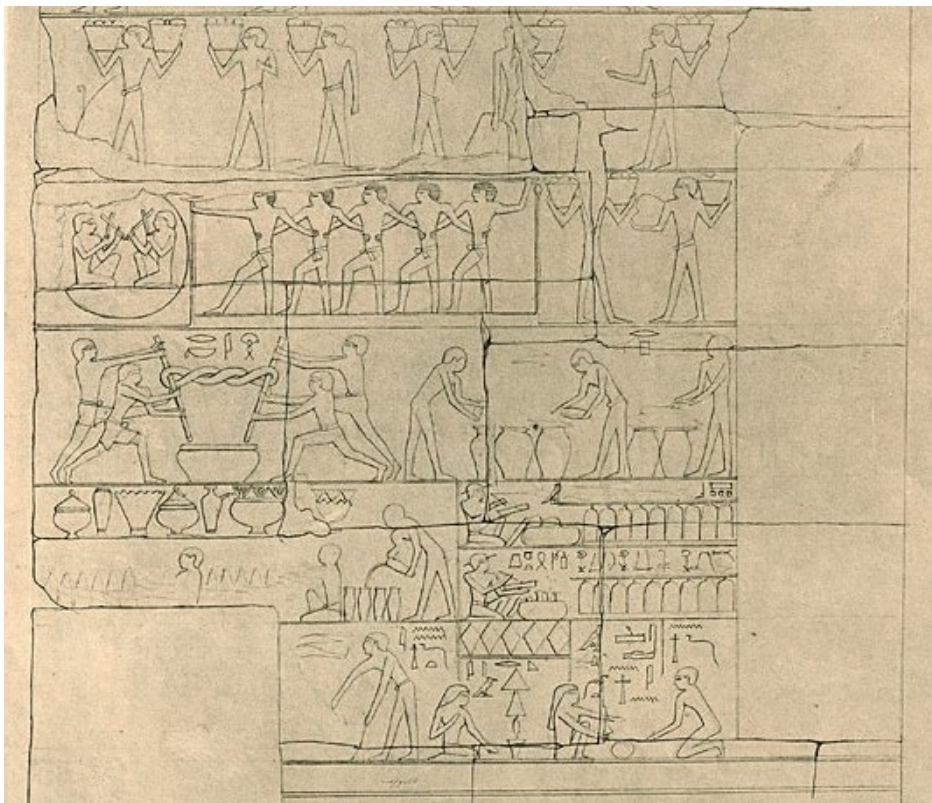


Fig. 20 Scribe of the granary recording the content of silos, north wall of room III in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (Lepsius 1913: Erg. 21)



Fig. 21 Workshop activities in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, north wall of room II (Brovarski 2001: fig. 45).



Fig. 22a Priests in the tomb of Ptahhetep I, north wall of the chapel (Mourad 2015: pl. 26a).



Fig. 22b Priests in the tomb of Ptahhetep I, north wall of the chapel (Mourad 2015: pl. 26b).



Fig. 23 Priests in the tomb of Ptahhetep I, north wall of the chapel (Mourad 2015: pl. 27a).



Fig. 24 Animal slaughter scene with physician Wennefer on the east wall of room X, the tomb chapel of Ptahhetep I (Mourad 2015: pl.72b).

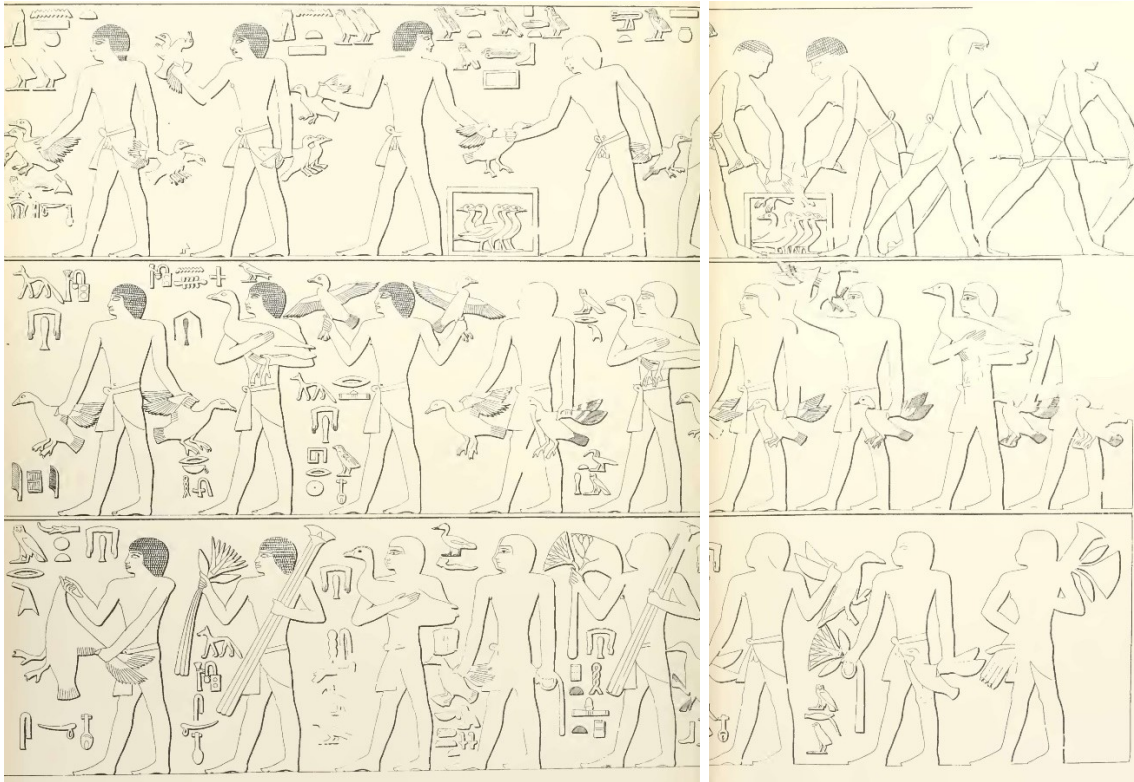


Fig. 25 Offering bearers on the west wall of the corridor in the tomb of Ptahhetep (Davies 1901: pl. V).

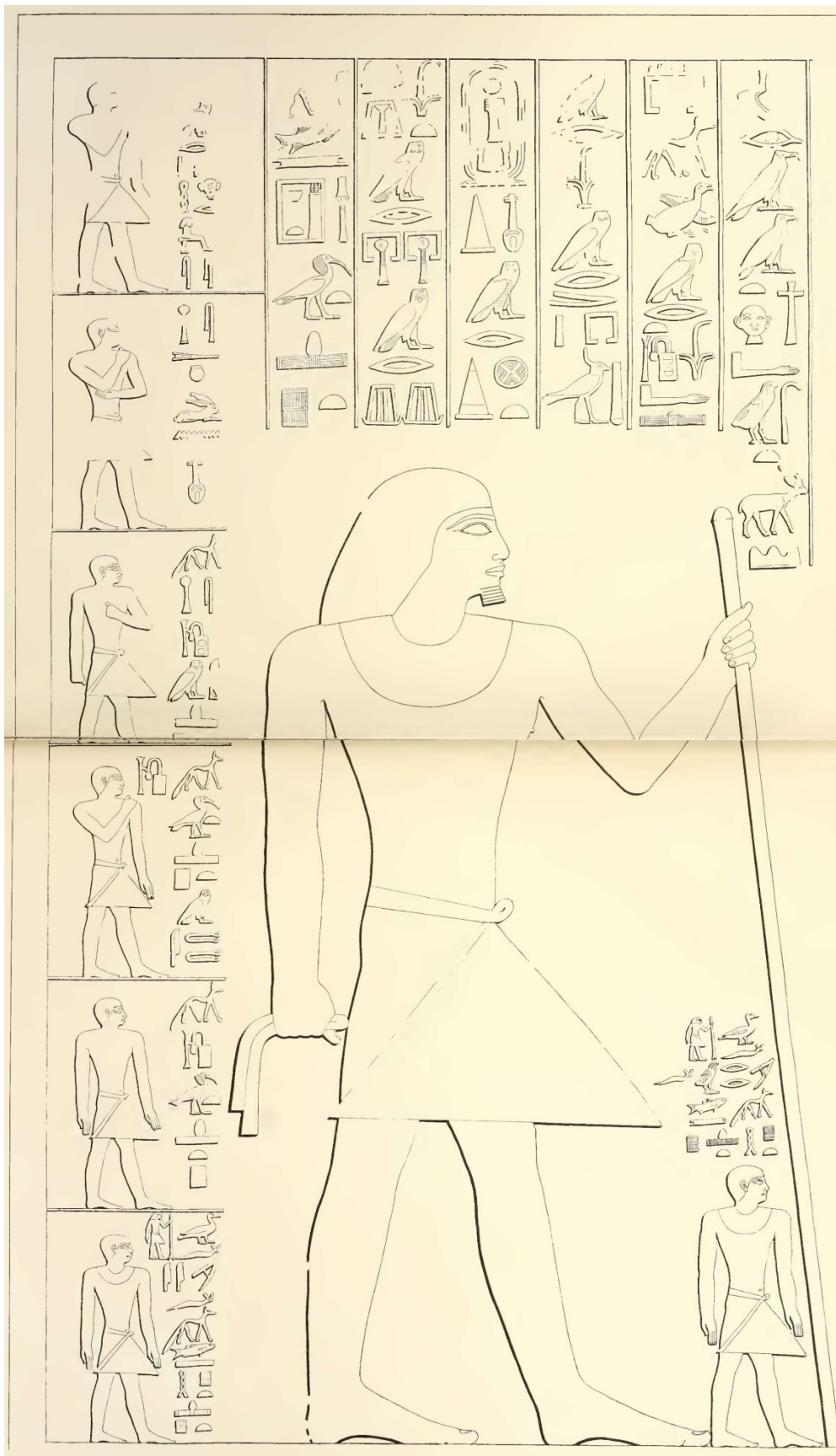


Fig. 26 Important officials following the tomb owner on the west wall of the north bay in the tomb of Ptahhetep (Davies 1901: pl. XVIII).

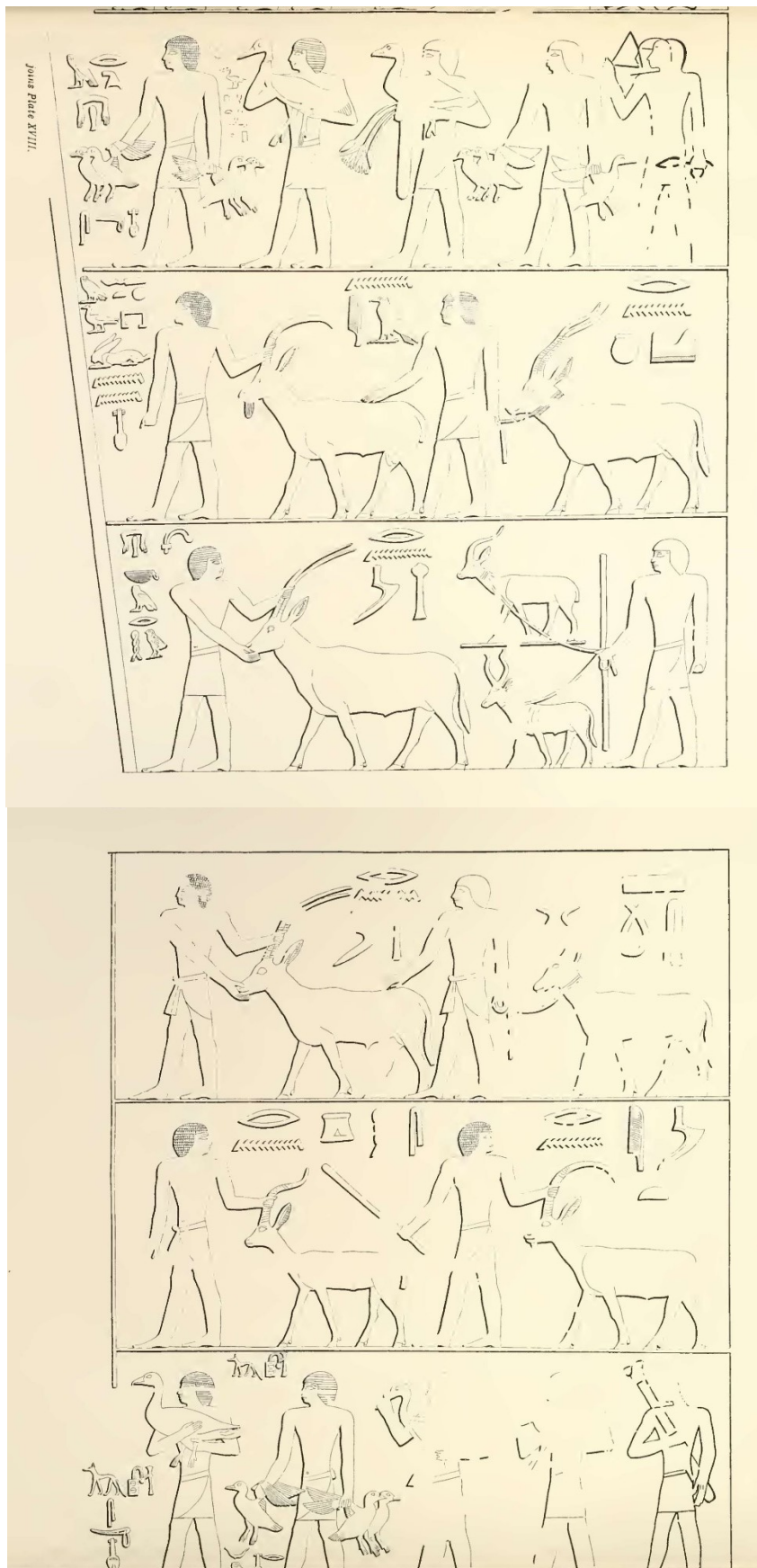


Fig. 27 Offering bearers on the north bay of the west wall in the chapel of Ptahhetep (Davies 1901: pl. XIX).



Fig. 28 A row of priests in the tomb of Akhthetep Hemi reused by Nebkauhor Idu (Jolana Malátková © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).



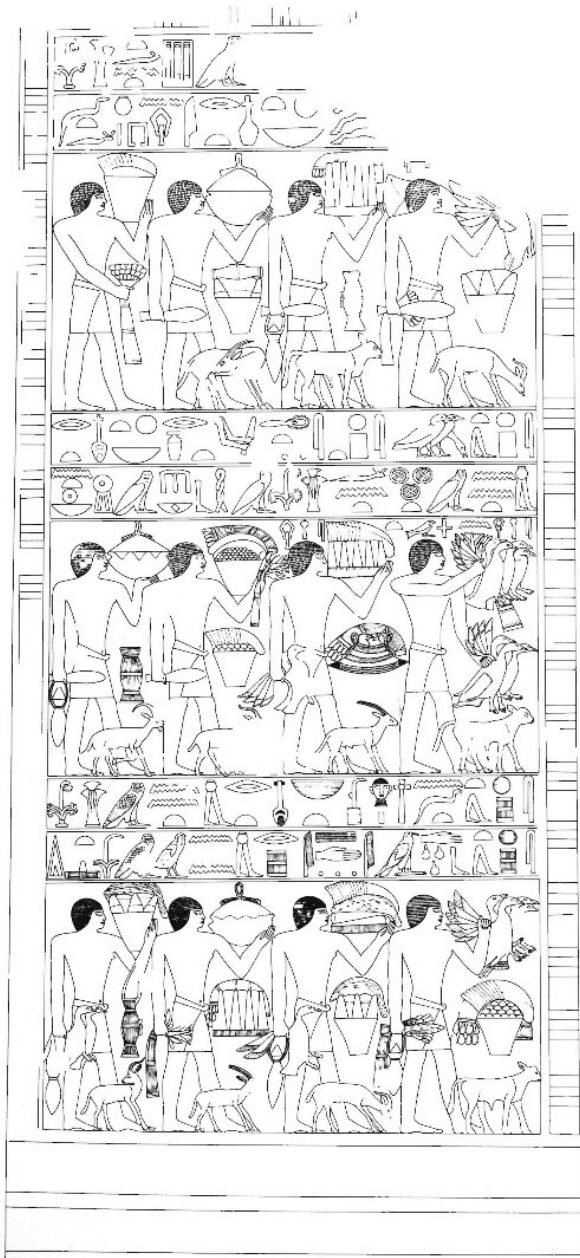
Fig. 29 Mereruka's brother Ihy seated on a boat receiving refreshment; east wall of room A4 (Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).



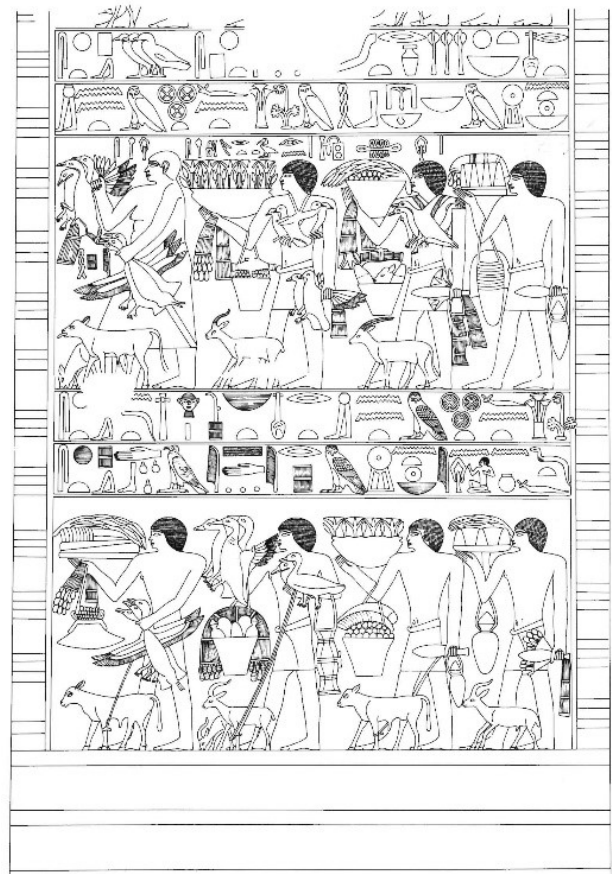
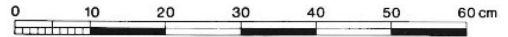
Fig. 30 Scene of weighing metal in the tomb of Mereruka (Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).



Fig. 31 Scene of the rendering of accounts by estate managers, who are receiving a beating in the tomb of Mereruka (Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).



(a) East thickness



(b) West thickness

Fig. 32 Offering bearers attached with titles referring to phyle organisation in the tomb of Ankhmahor (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: pls. 8, 9).

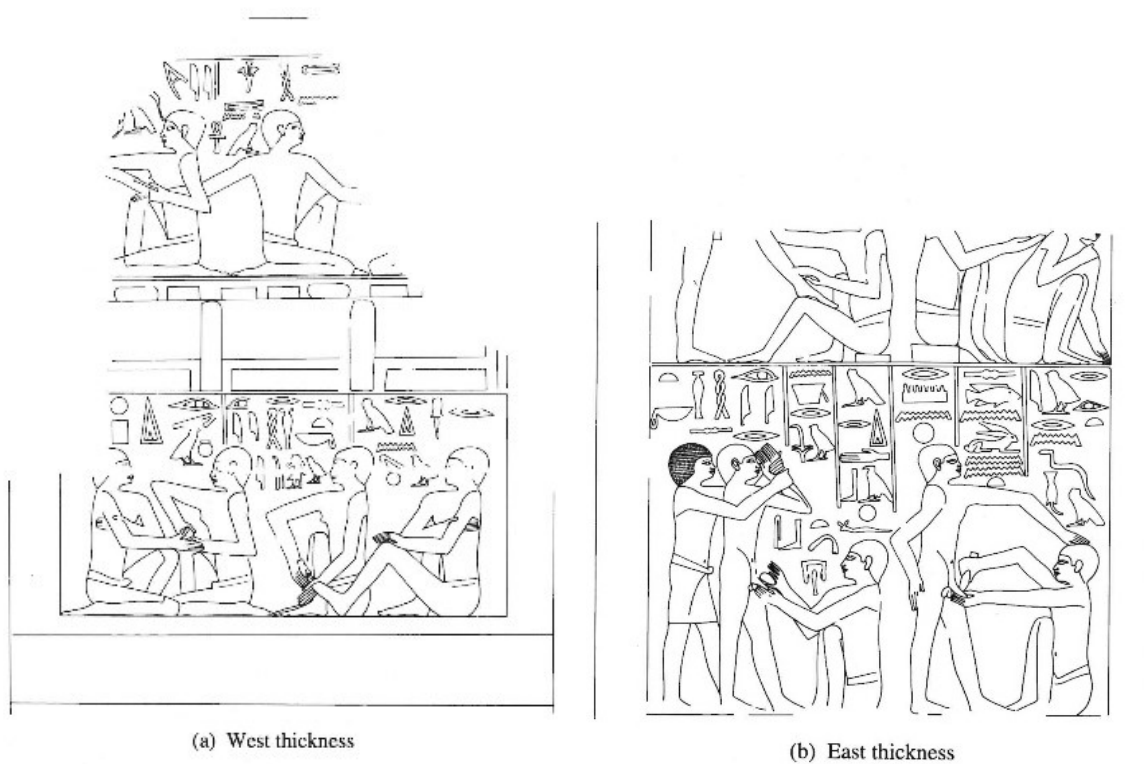


Fig. 33 Scene of ritual purification of priests on the doorway between room I-VI in the tomb of Ankhmahor (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: figs. 55, 56).



Fig. 35 Scene depicting activities in a storehouse (*pr šn*) in the tomb of Ankhmahor (Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).

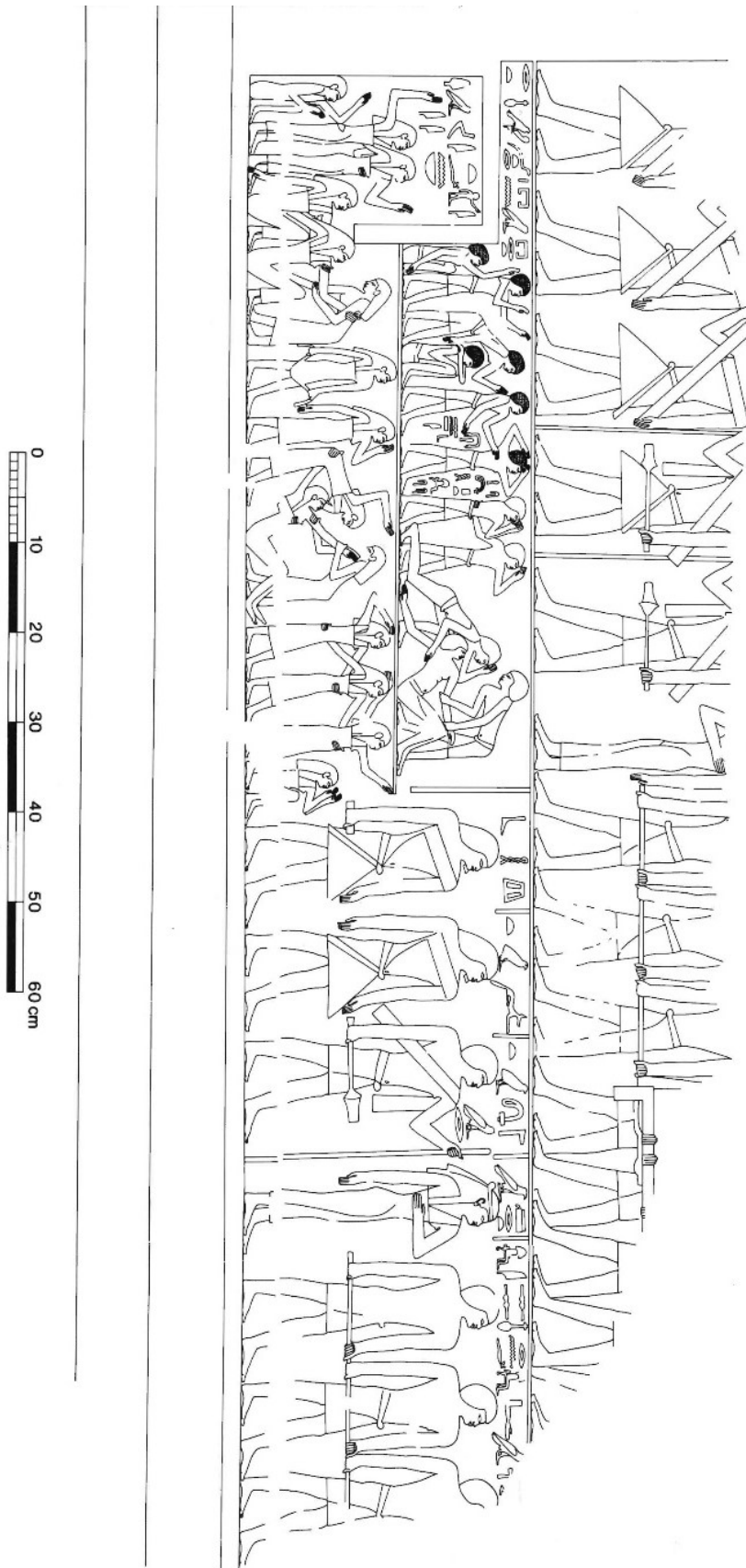


Fig. 34 Funerary procession with priests and female mourners in the tomb of Ankhmahor (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: fig. 20a).

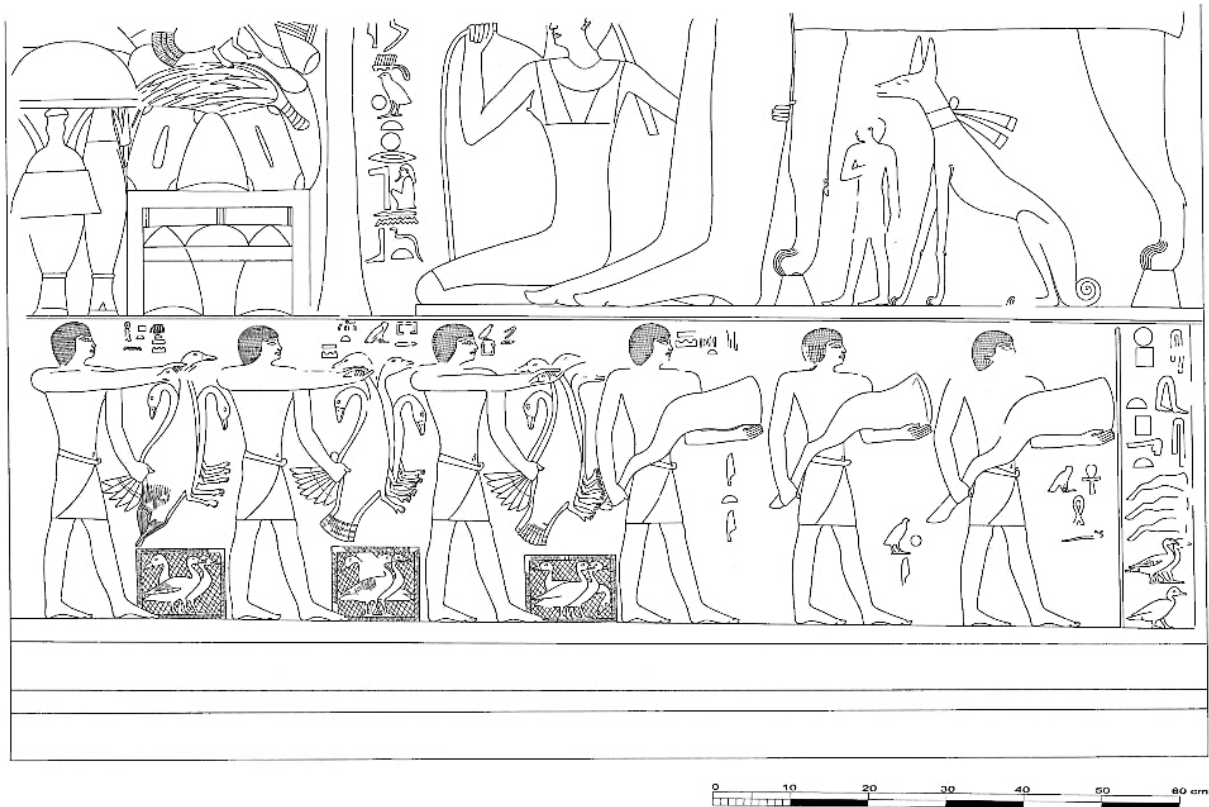


Fig. 36 Offering bearers presenting offerings on the west wall in the tomb of Inumin (Kanawati 2006: pl. 19).

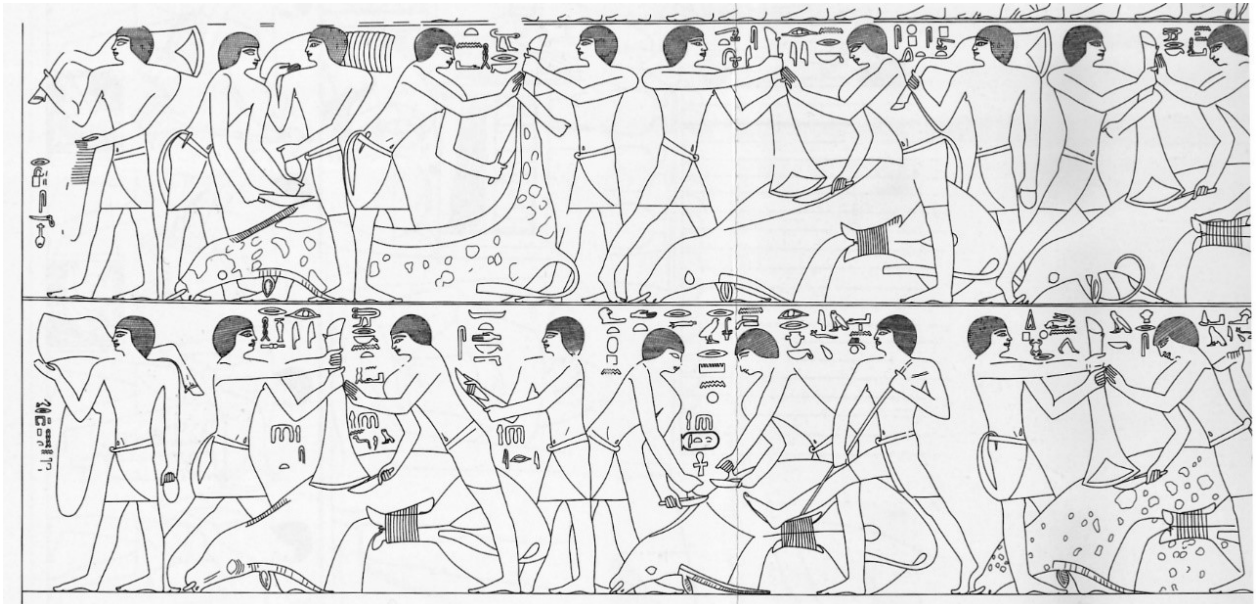


Fig. 37 Animal slaughter scene on the east wall of the offering room (Kanawati 2006: pl. 52).

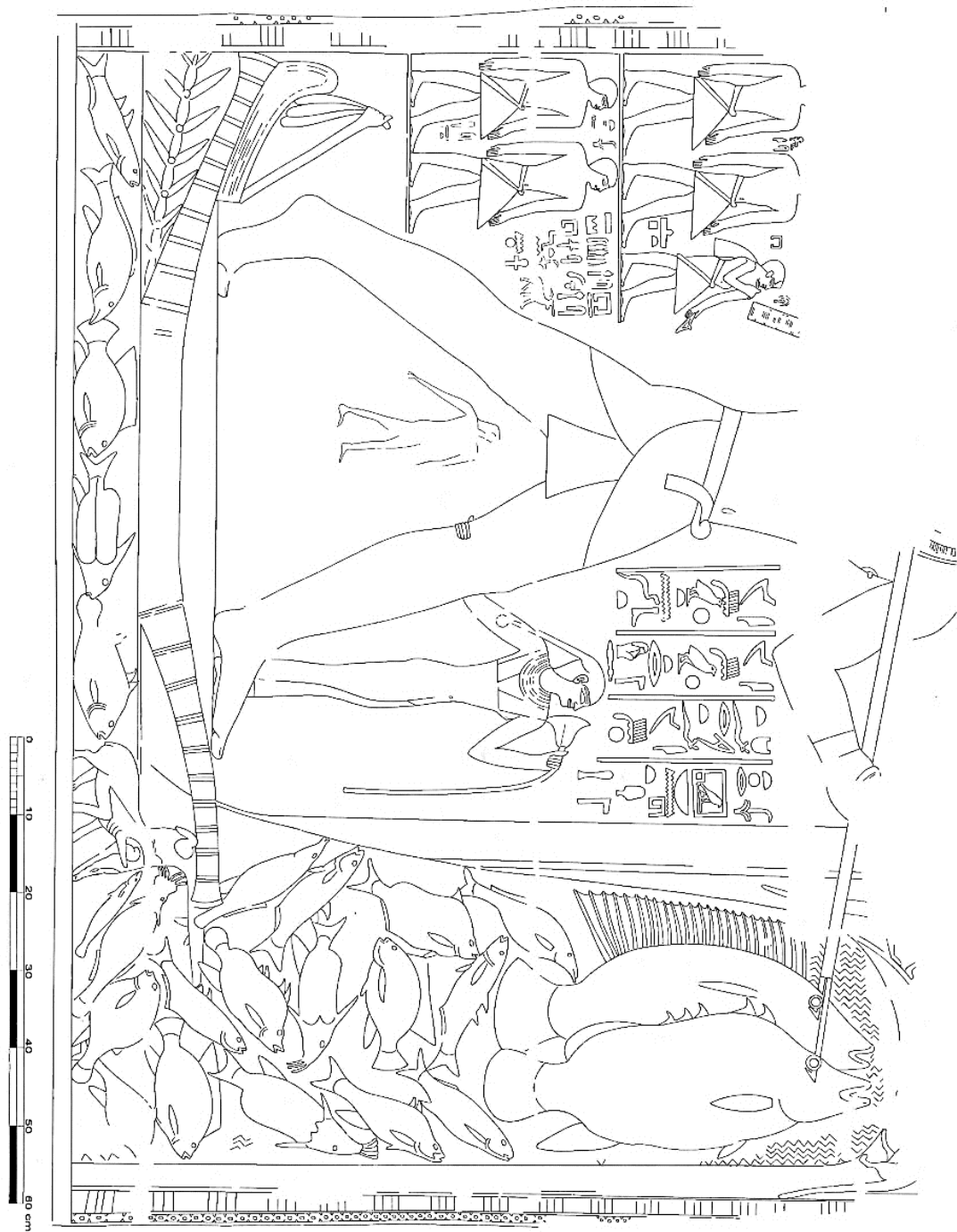


Fig. 38 Spear fishing scene on the west wall in the tomb chapel of Inumin (Kanawati 2006: pl. 44).

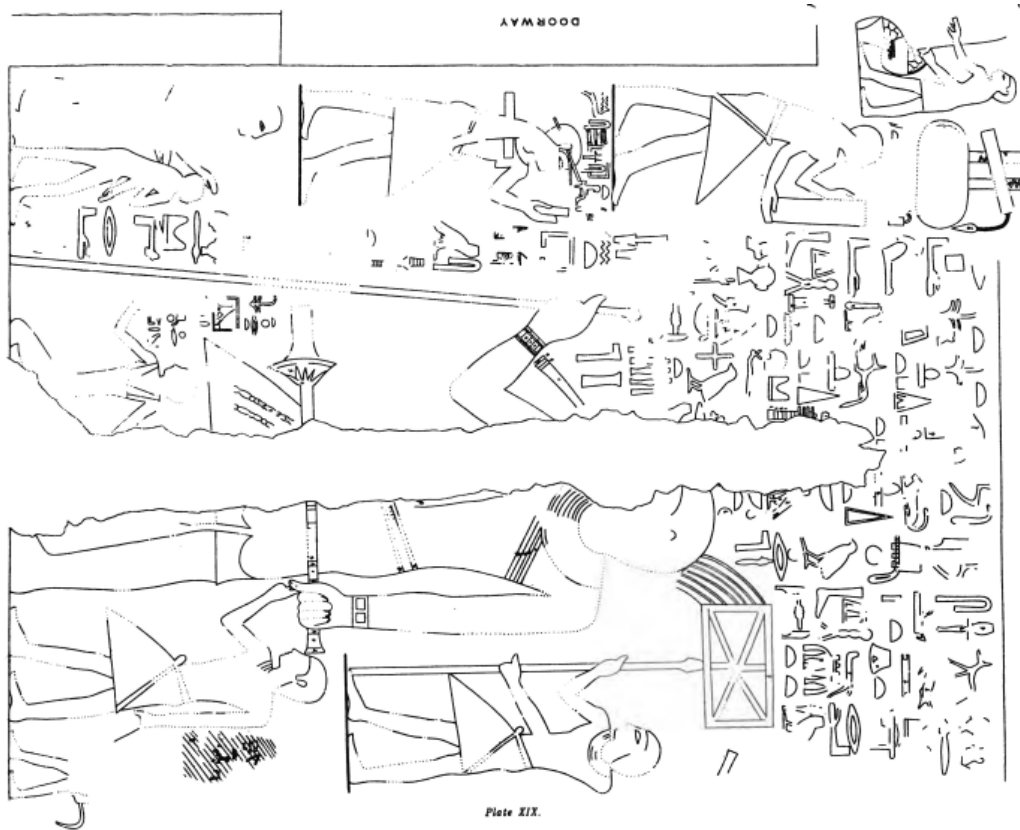


Plate XIX.

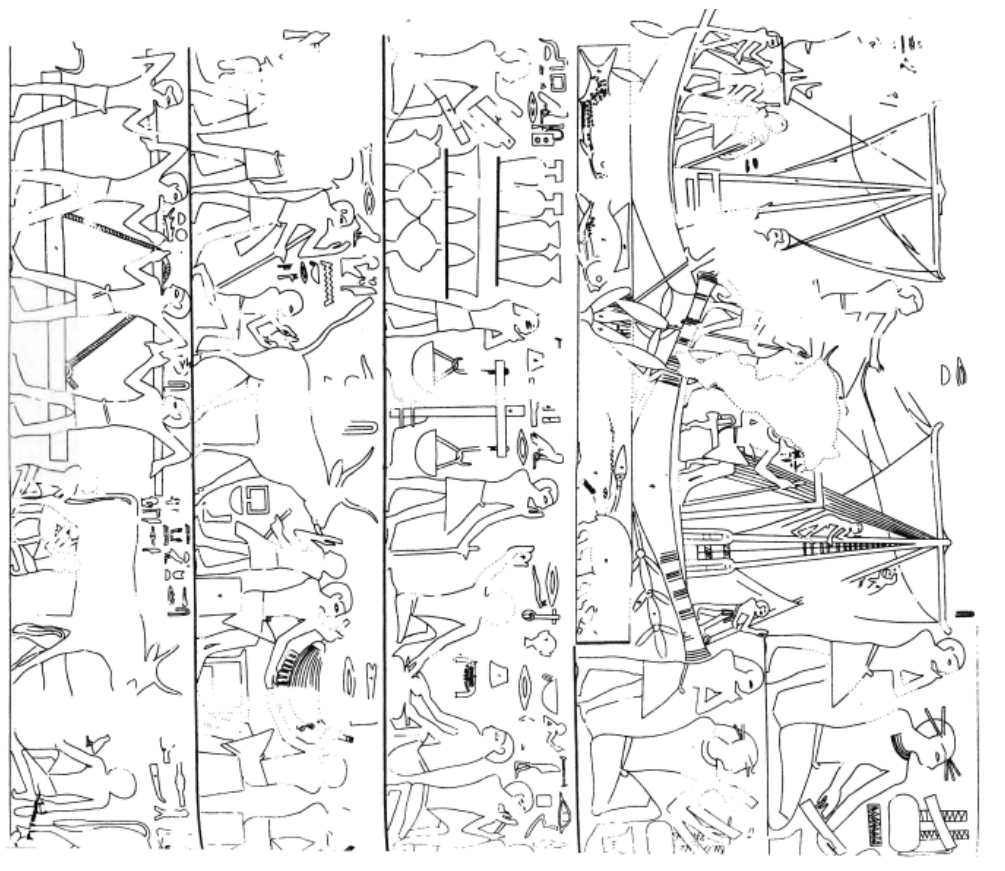


Fig. 39 Tomb owner with important dependents views animal husbandry, workshop and boat scene on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Hemre at Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies 1902: pls. 18, 19).

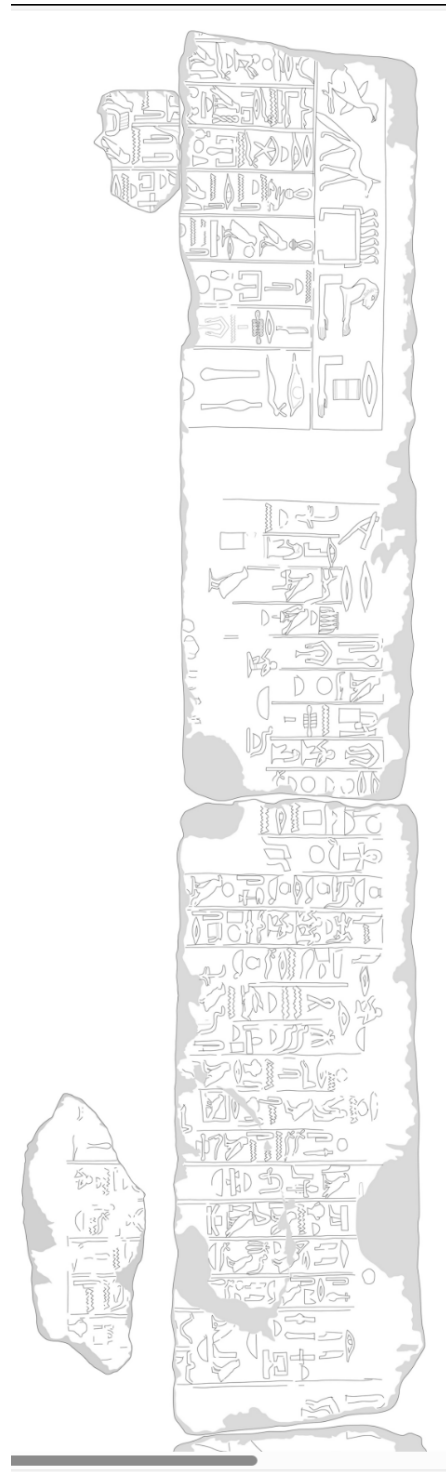
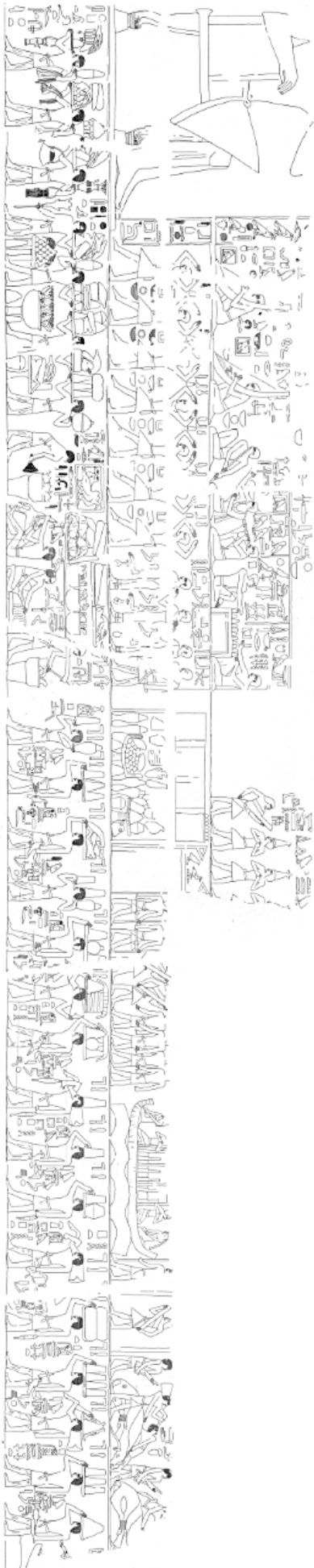


Fig. 40a Wall decoration on the north wall of the pillared hall in the tomb of Nebkauhor Idu with scenes of offering bearers, dancers and musicians, a transport of a coffin and animal slaughter (Abdou 2001: pl. VA) (on the previous page).

Fig. 40b Biographical text on the west wall of the pillared court in the tomb of Nebkauhor (Abdou 2001: pl. VB) (on the previous page).

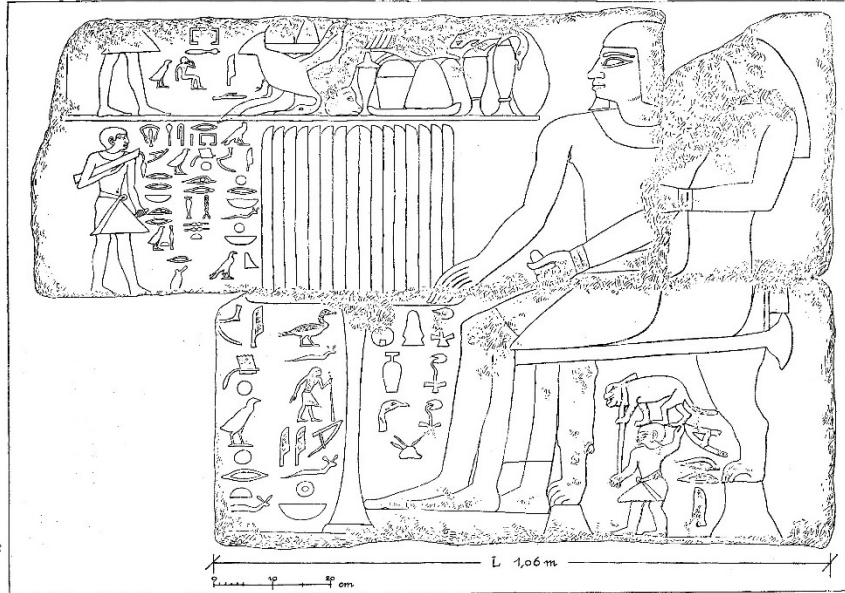


Fig. 41 Offering table scene on the south wall of the chapel of Idunefer (Junker 1947: pl. 35).



Fig. 42 Offering table scene on the north wall of the chapel of Idunefer (Junker 1947: pl. 36).

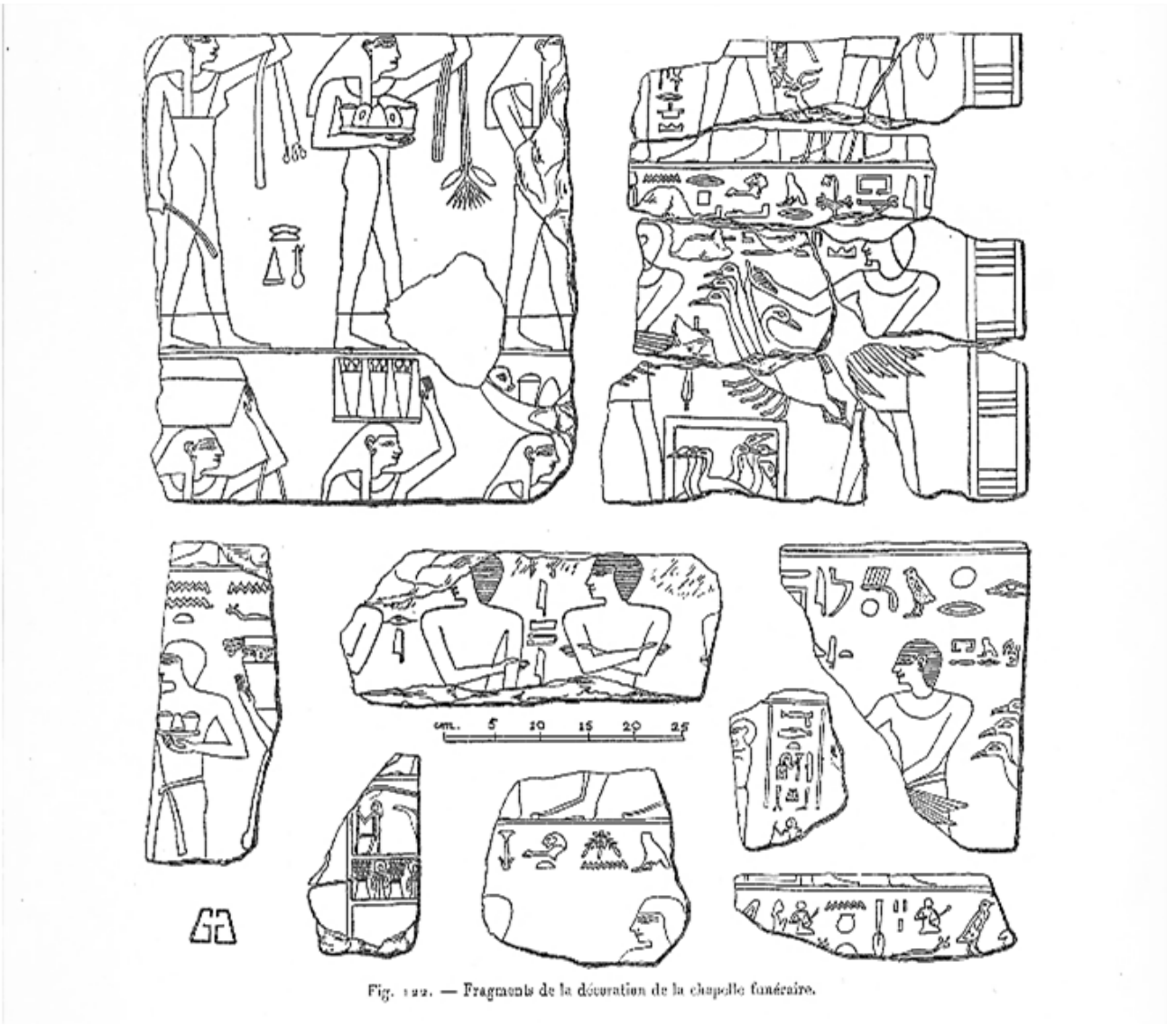


Fig. 43 Fragments of the wall reliefs from the tomb of Peri Shenay (Jéquier 1929: Fig. 122)

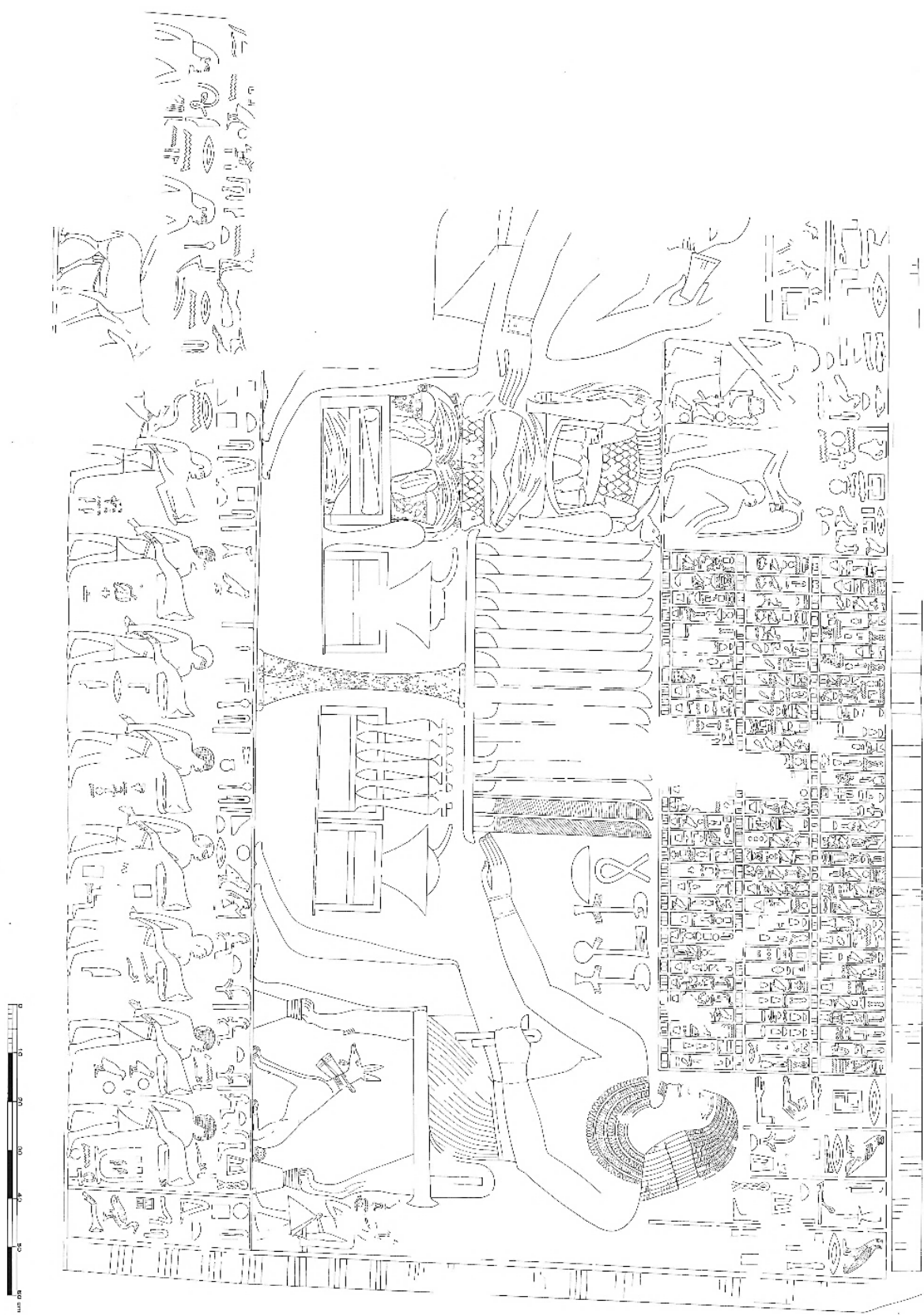


Fig. 44 Offering table scene on the west wall of Room 3 in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle (Kanawati et al. 2012: pl. 85).

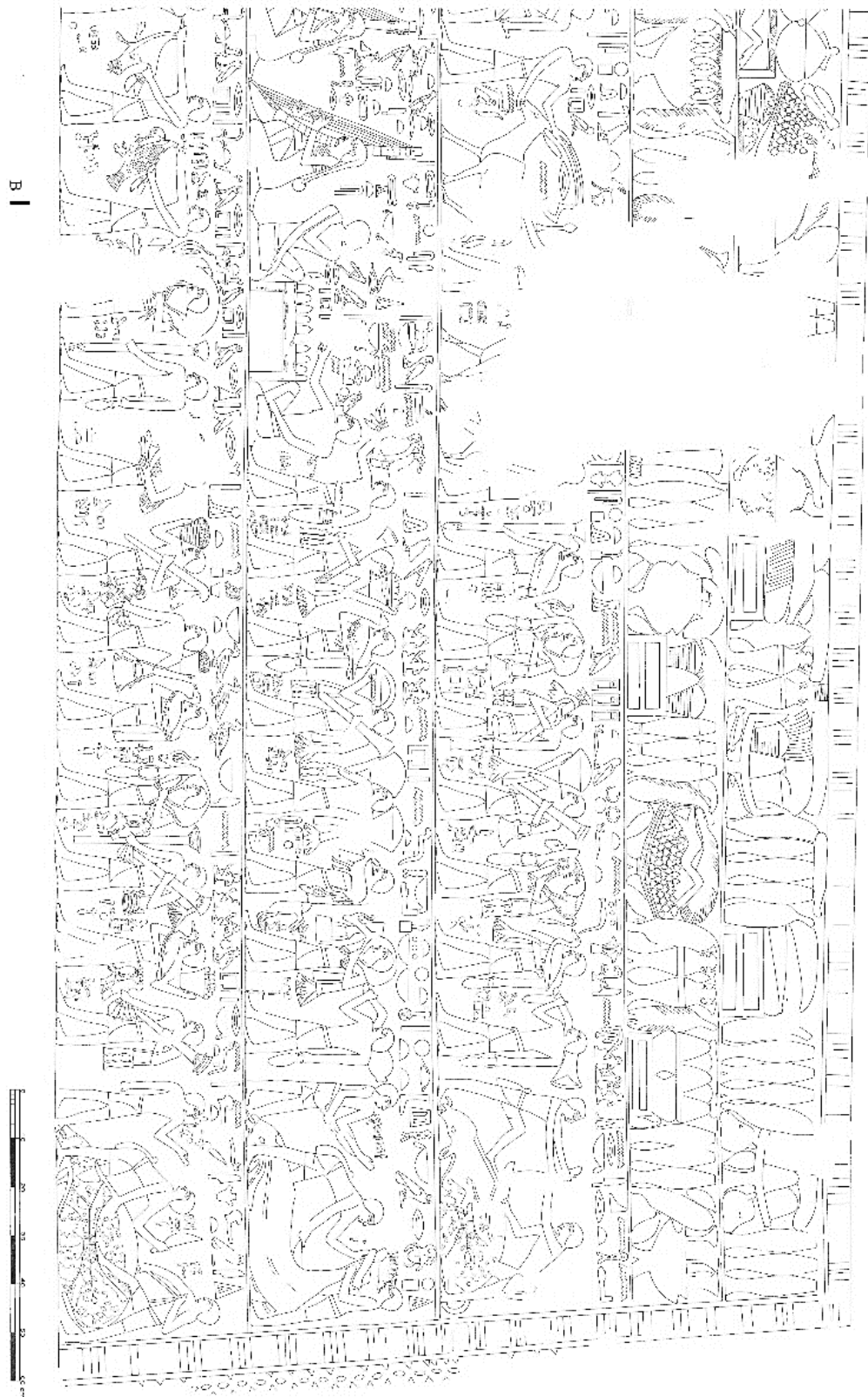
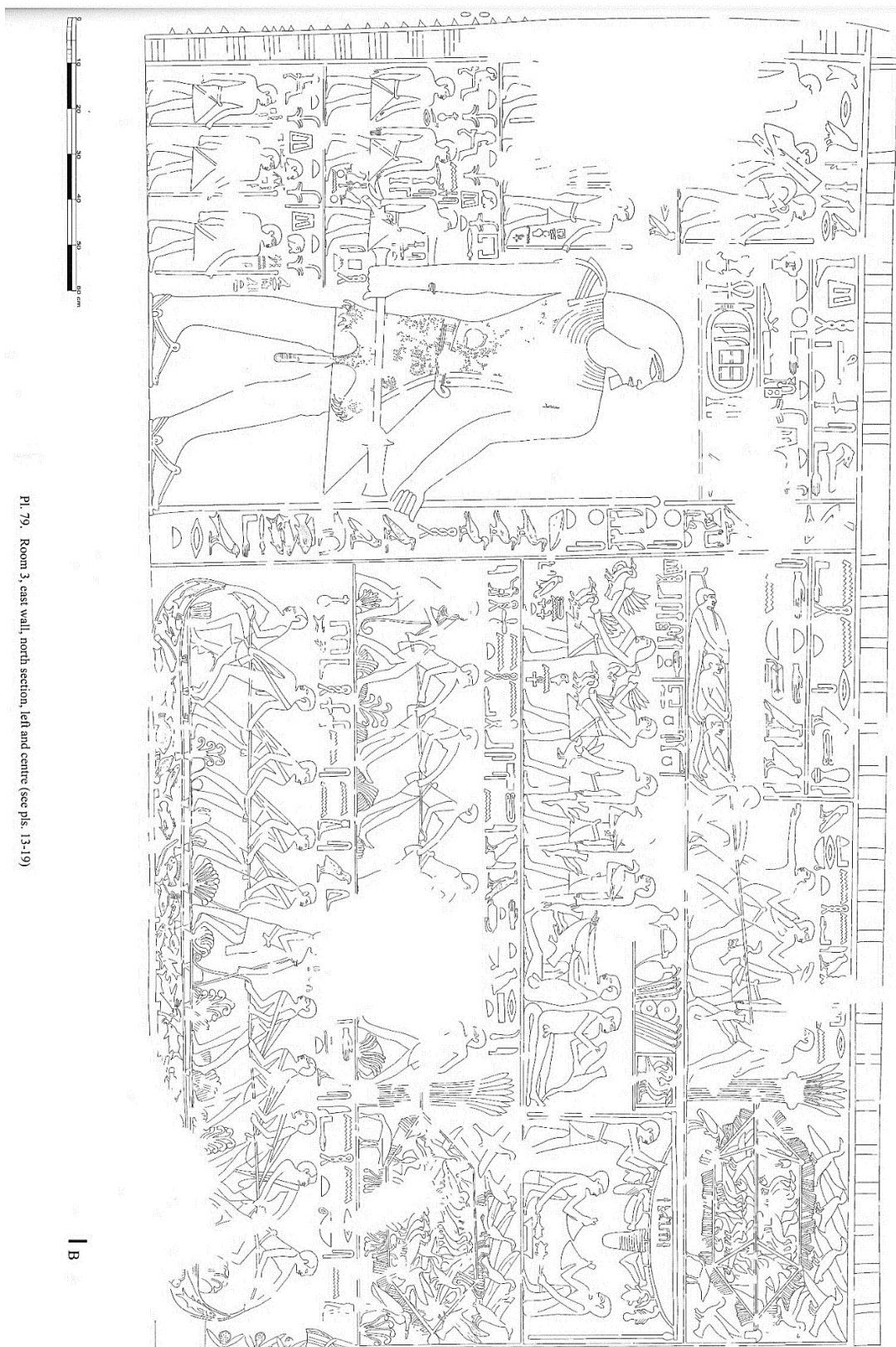


Fig. 45 Offering bearers on the north wall of Room 3 in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle (Kanawati et al. 2012: pl. 89)



pl. 79. Room 3, east wall, north section, left and centre (see pls. 13-19)

Fig. 46 The tomb owner with his closest dependents viewing fishing and fowling in the tomb of Pepiankh, the Middle (Kanawati et al. 2012: pl. 79).

Chapter 6 - Households of the higher-ranked officials



Fig. 47 Offering table scene with priests on the south entrance thickness in the tomb of Nefer (G 2110) (Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.56).



Fig. 48 Priests and butchers in the procession of offering bearers and animal slaughter scene on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Nefer (G 2110) (Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.57).



Fig. 49 Row of scribes standing in front of the tomb owner on the north entrance thickness in the tomb of Nefer (G 2110) (Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.50)



Fig. 50 Offering bearers and scribes on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Nefer (G 2110) (Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.59).

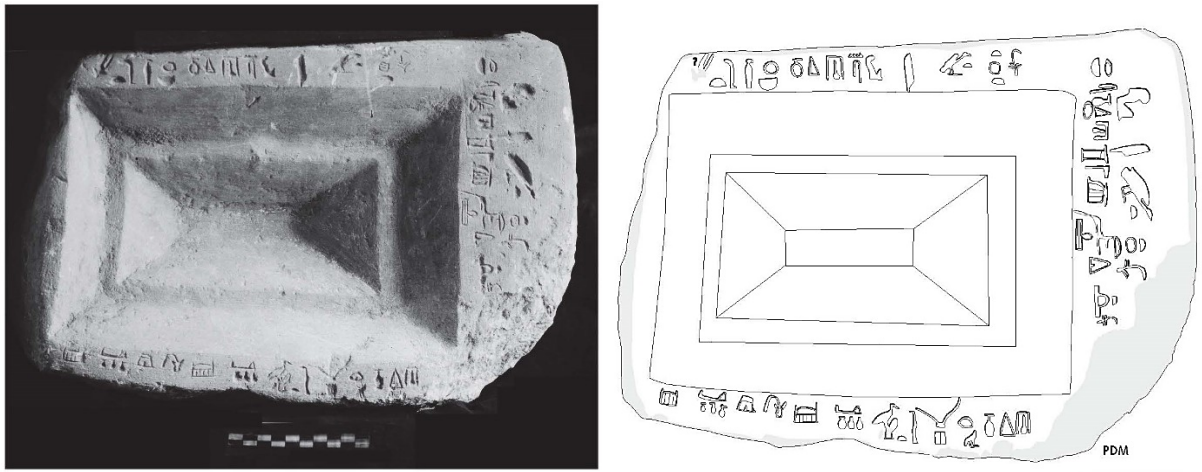


Fig. 51 Offering table of Muti from G 2100R (Manuelian 2009: Fig. 6.18).

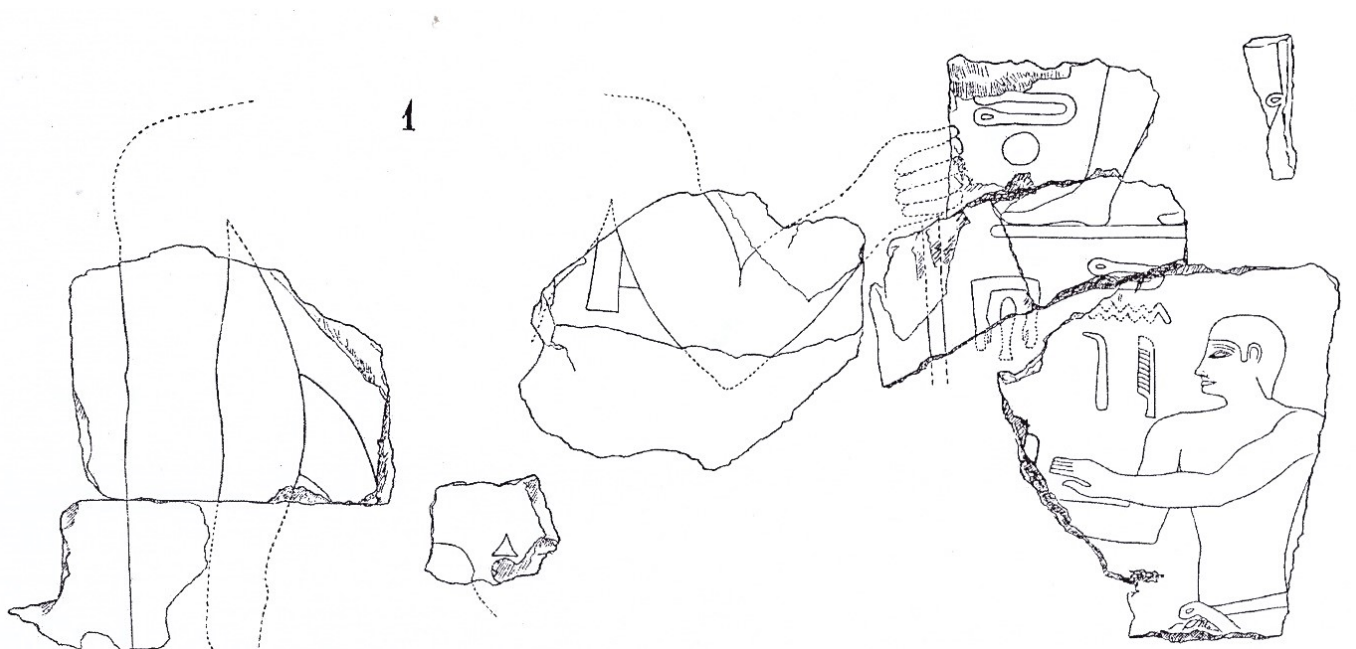


Fig. 52 Fragments of relief decoration probably coming from the northern door jamb in the tomb of Ikhi (G 4750) (Junker 1929: pl. 56).



Fig. 53 Offering bearers on the left entrance door jamb in the tomb of Kaunesut (G 8960)
(Hassan 1936: fig. 88).

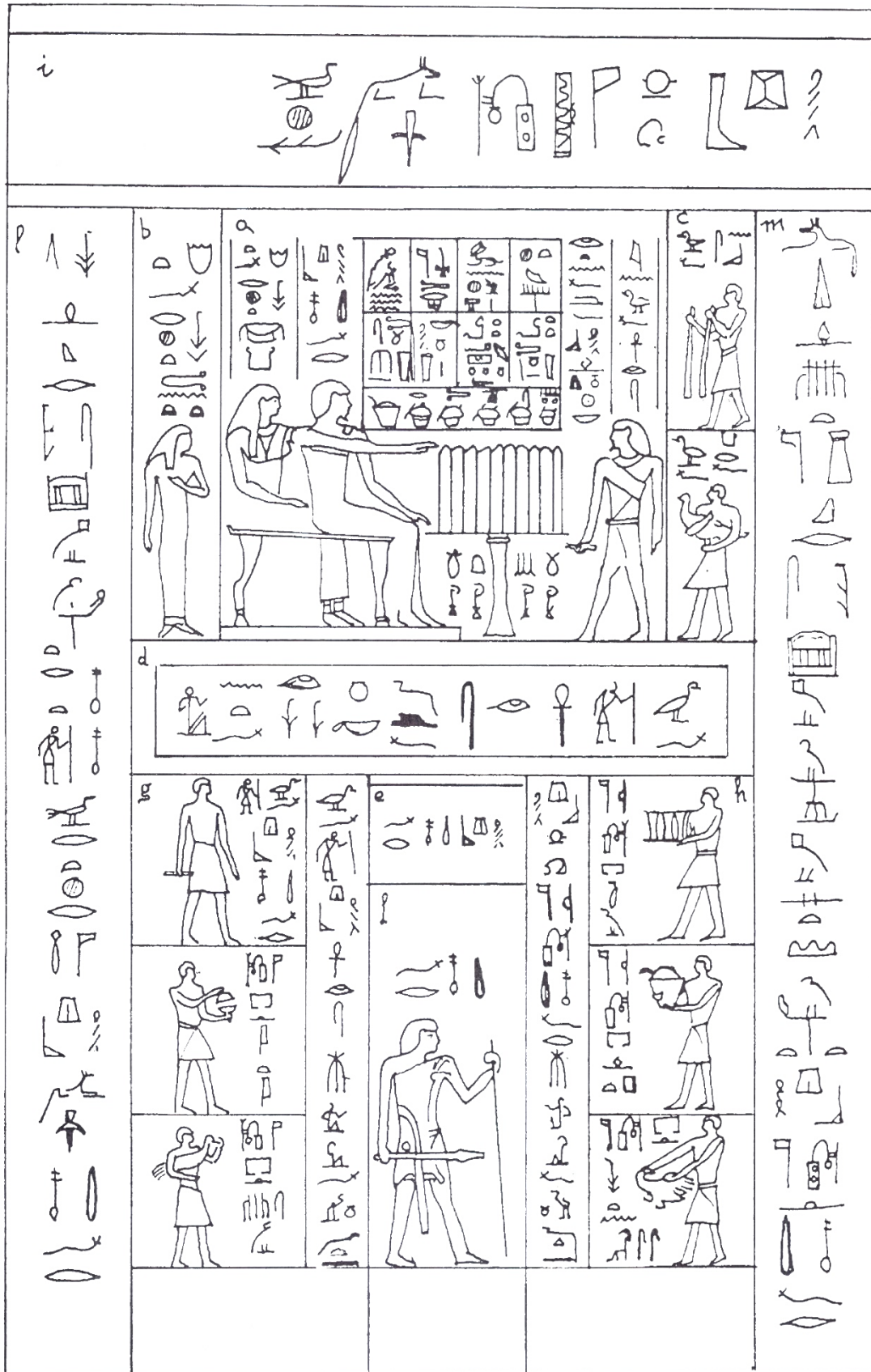


Fig. 54 False door in the tomb of Medunefert (Curto 1993: fig. 32)-

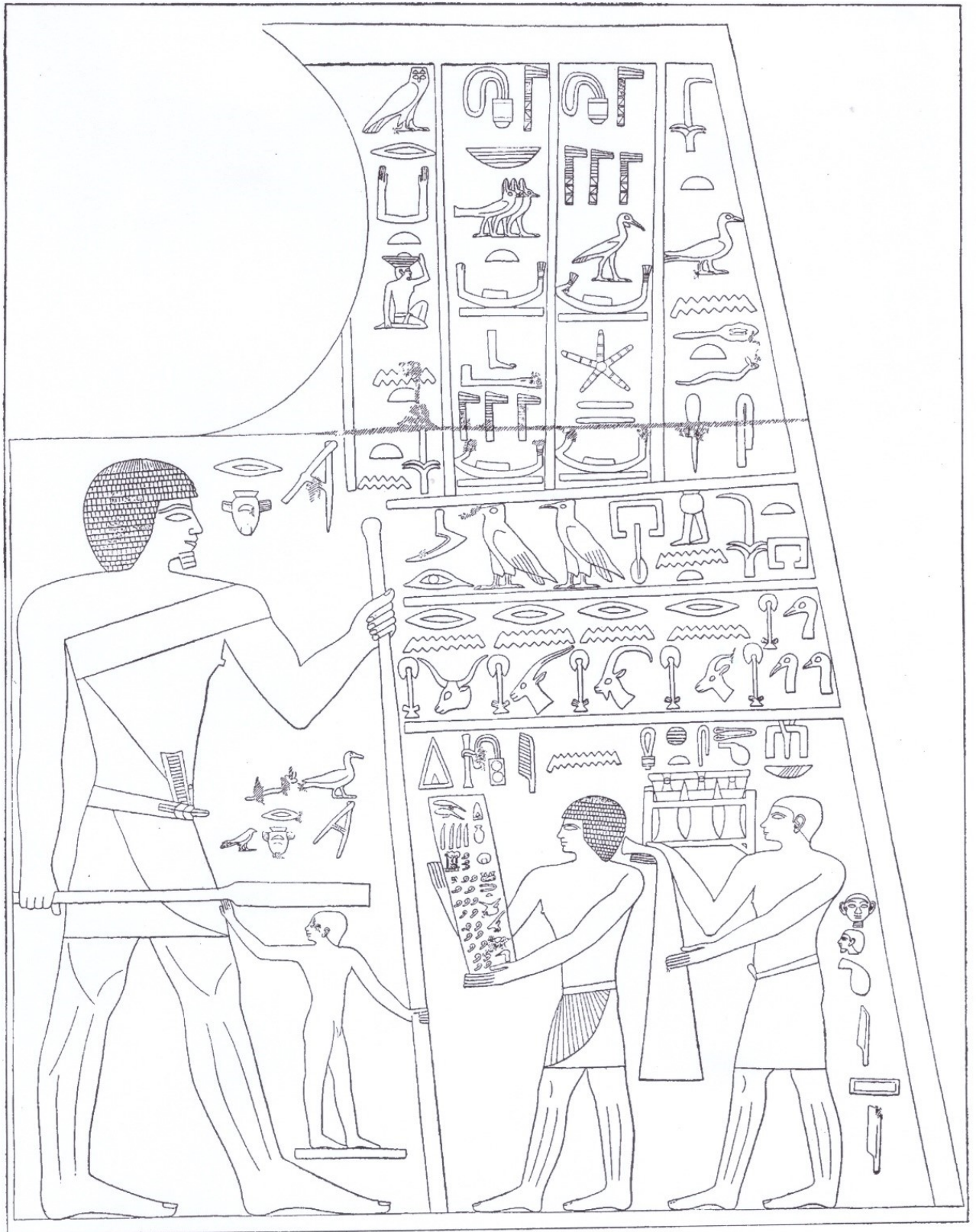


Fig. 55 Dependents reporting to the tomb owner on the north entrance door jamb in the tomb of Meriib (G 2100-I)(Junker 1934: fig. 11).

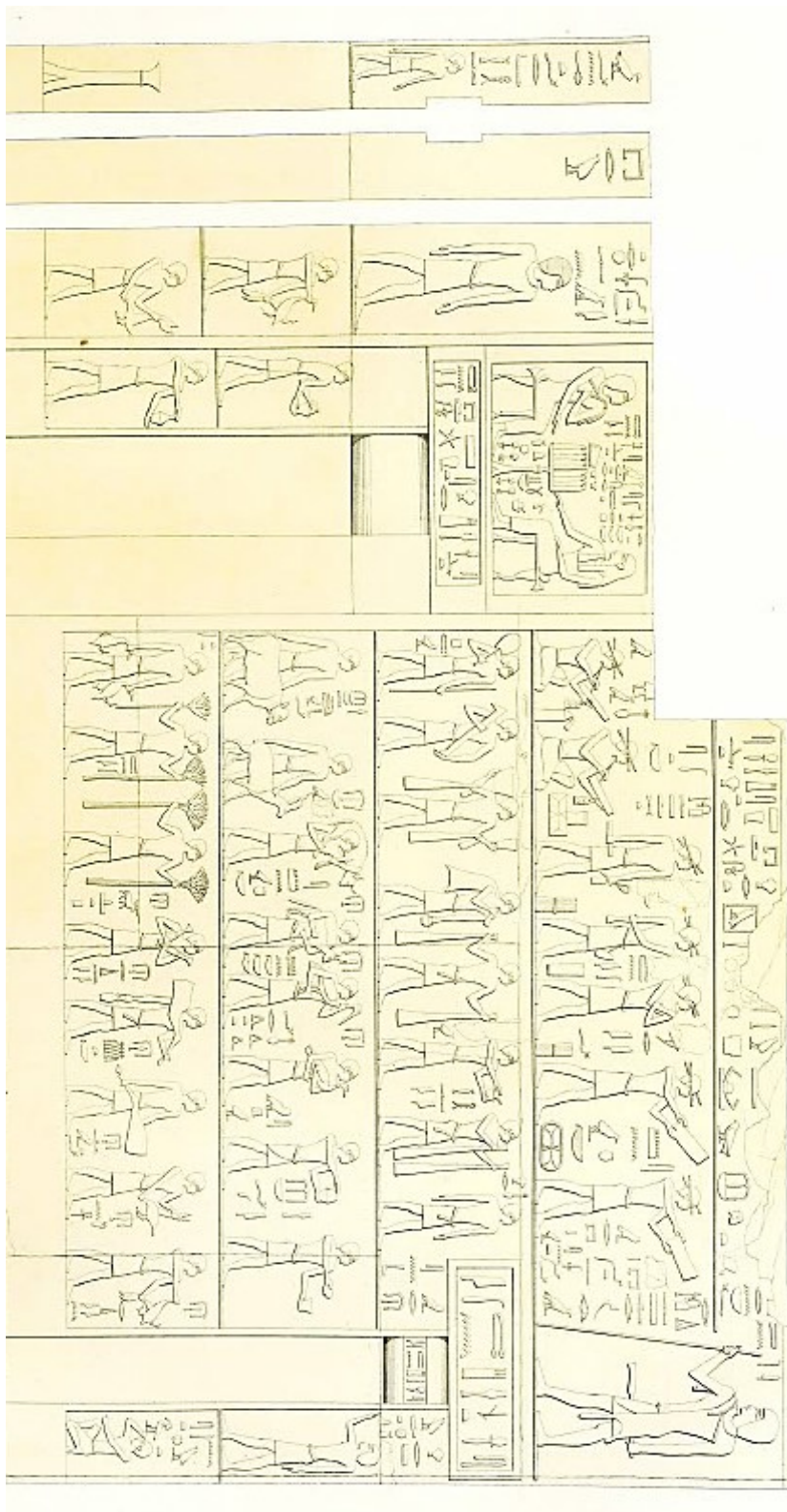


Fig. 56 The procession of offering bearers on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Tjenty (G 4920) (Lepsius 1900: Blatt 30).

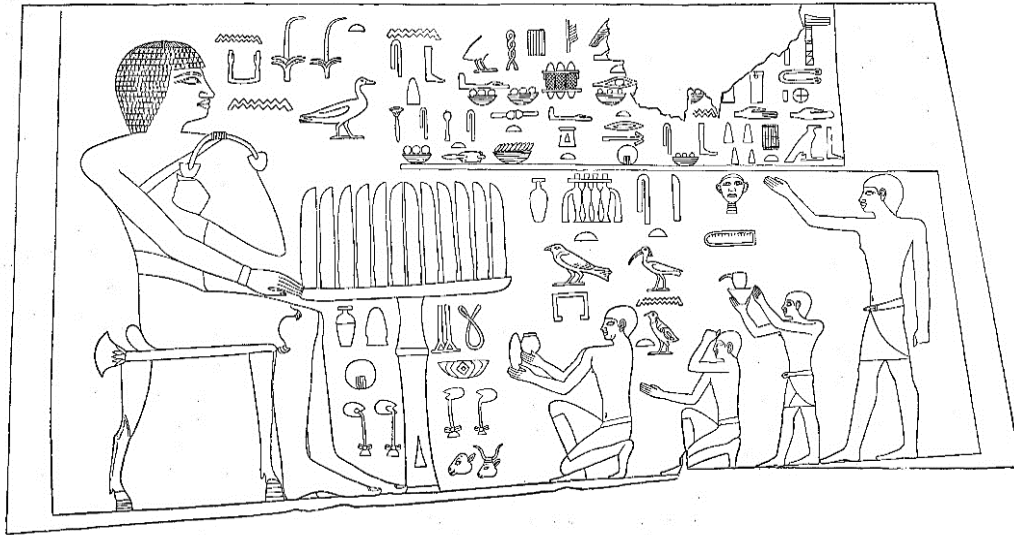


Abb. 16

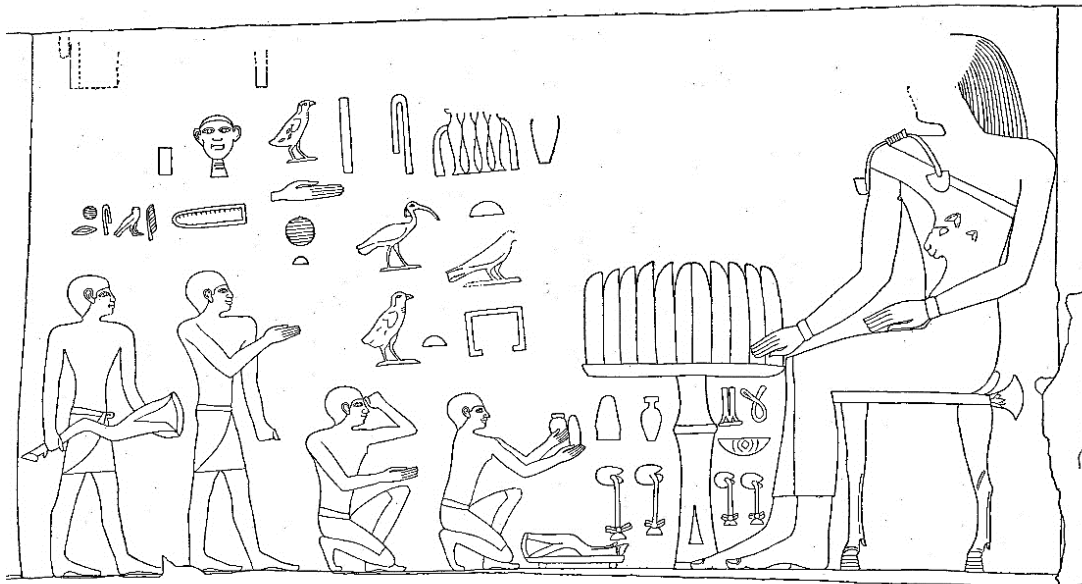


Fig. 57a, b Priests performing ceremonies on the entrance jambs in the tomb of Kaninisut (Junker 1934: pl. 15 and 16).

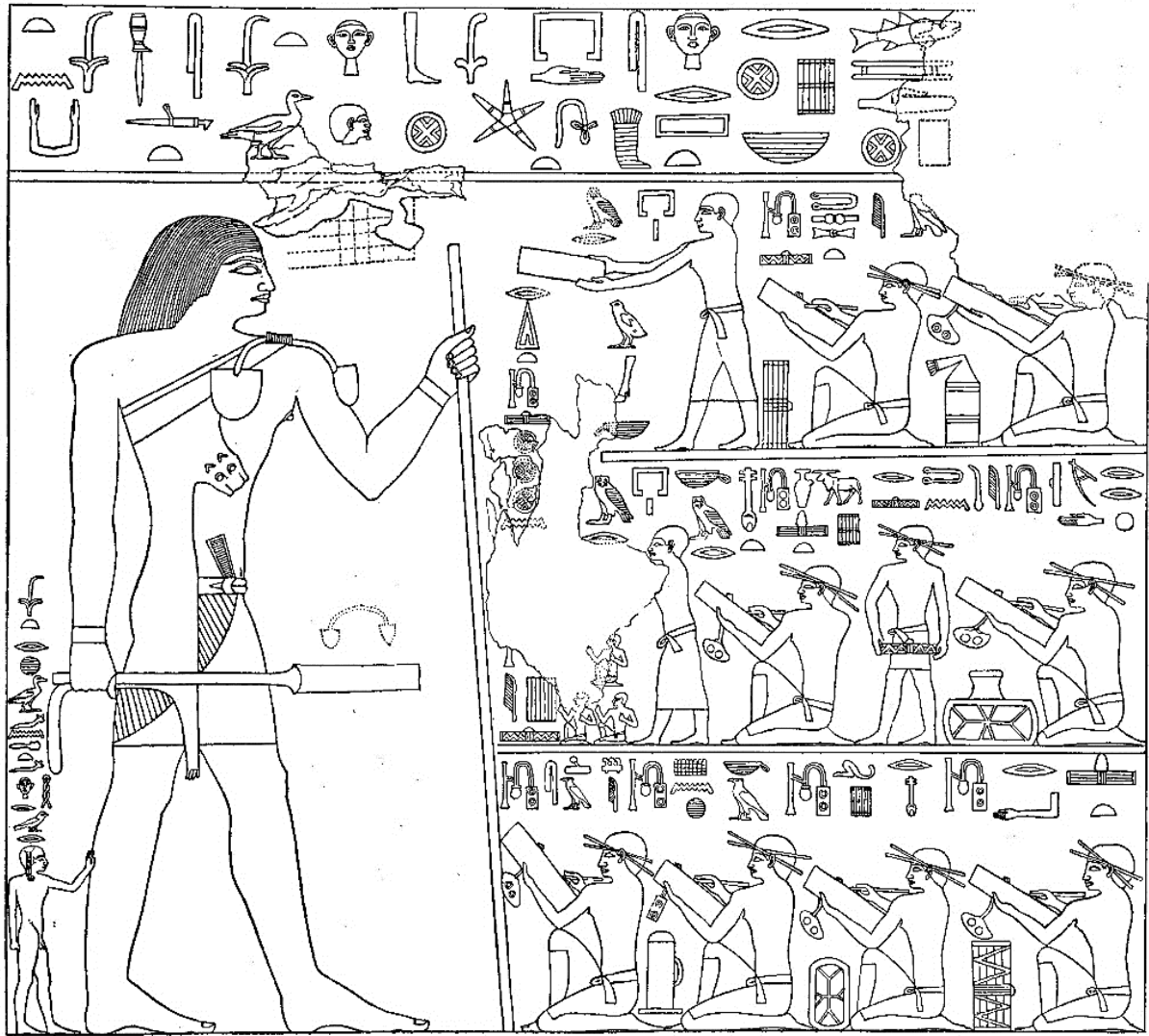


Fig. 58 Scribes presenting accounts to the tomb owner on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Kaninisut (Junker 1934: pl. 19).

Fig. 59 Children, important officials and offering bearers on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Kaninisut (Junker 1934: pl. 18)(on the next page).

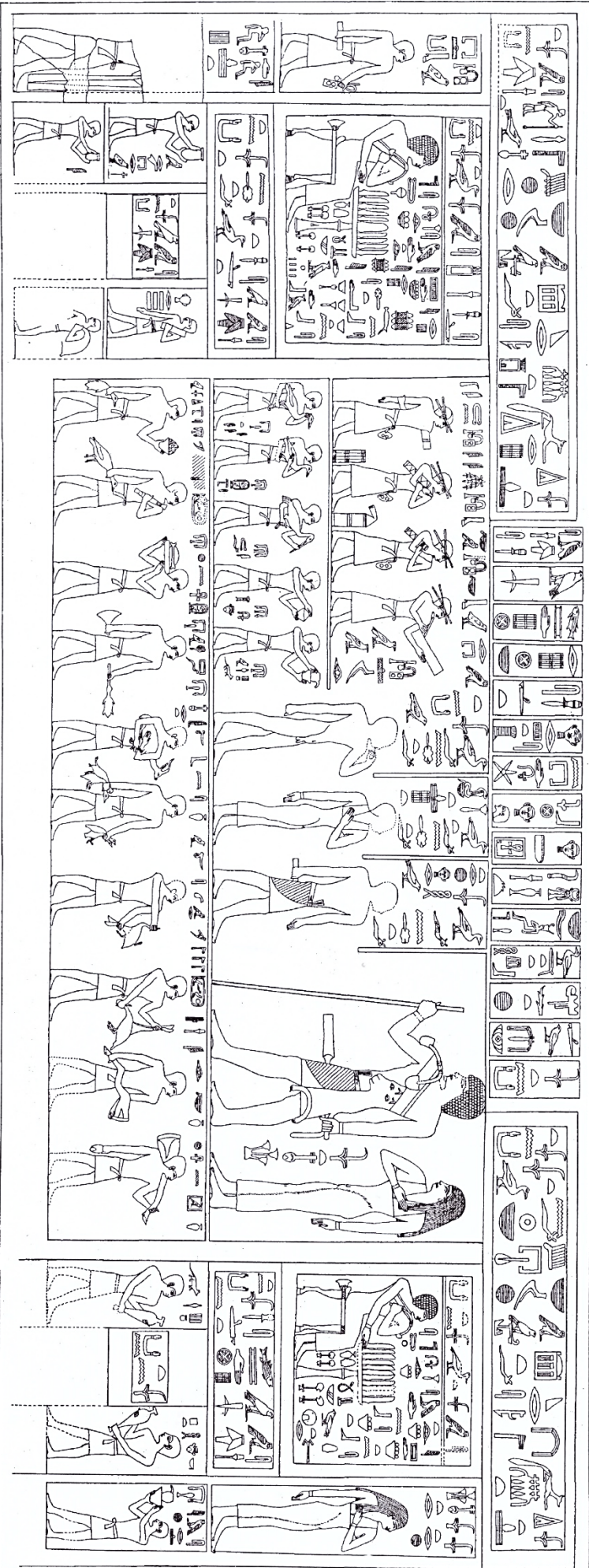




Fig. 60 Scribes presenting accounts to the tomb owner on the west wall of the pillared hall in the tomb of Ty (Steindorff 1913: pl. 23).



Fig. 61 The only personified inspector of funerary priests Heni in the chapel in the tomb of Ty (Steindorff 1913: pl. (Steindorff 1913: pl. 141)

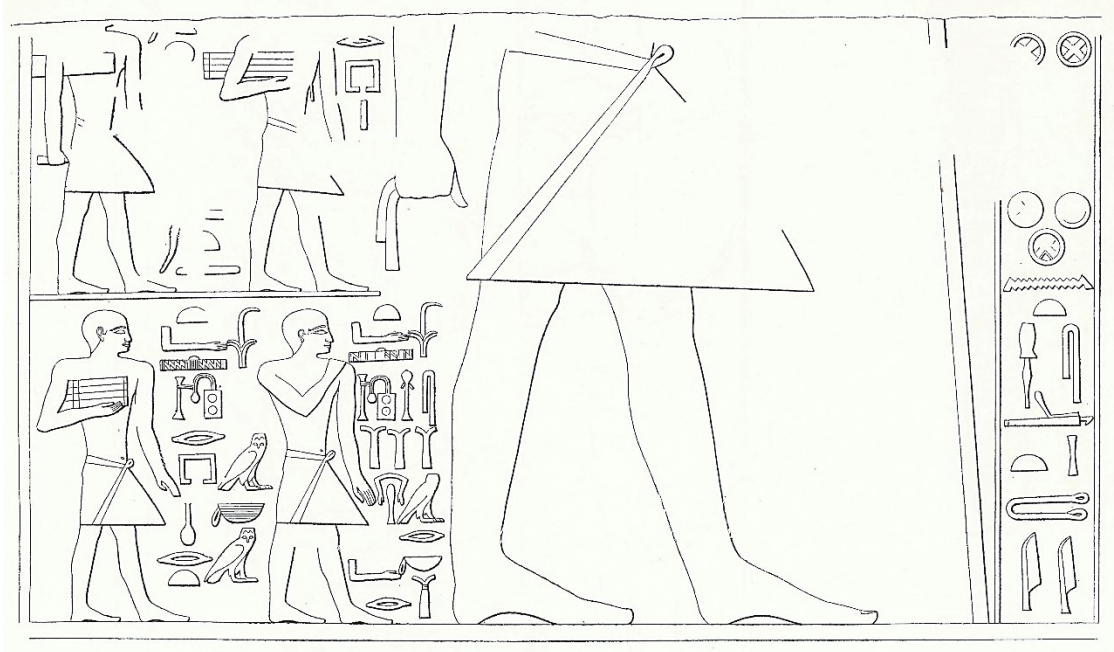


Fig. 62 The tomb owner followed by his most important officials on the west wall in chamber 1 in the tomb of Ty (Wild 1953: pl. 21).

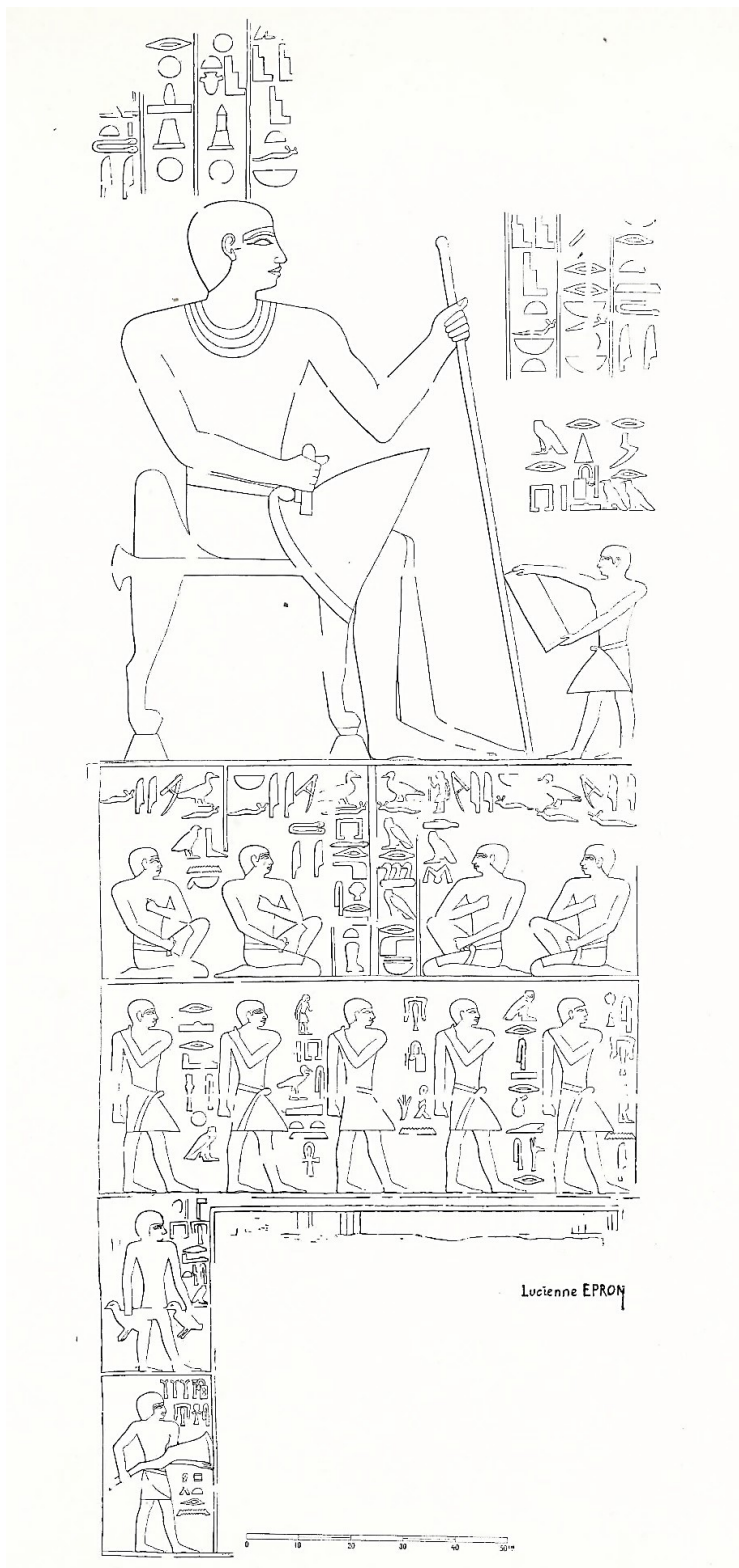


Fig. 63 The tomb owner surrounded by his sons and closest collaborators (Epron 1939: pl. 44).

Fig. 64 Tomb owner's statue dragged on a sledge and slaughtering scene on the east wall of corridor II in the tomb of Ty (Photo by Milan Zemina © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology)(on the next page).



Fig. 65 Group of attendants on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Ty (Miroslav Bárta © Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology).



Fig. 219

Fig. 66 The last will of the tomb owner on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wepemnefert Wep (Hassan 1936: fig. 219).



Fig. 67 Scribes, herdsmen leading cattle and wild animals and offering bearers on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Seshemnefer III (Junker 1938: pl. 3).

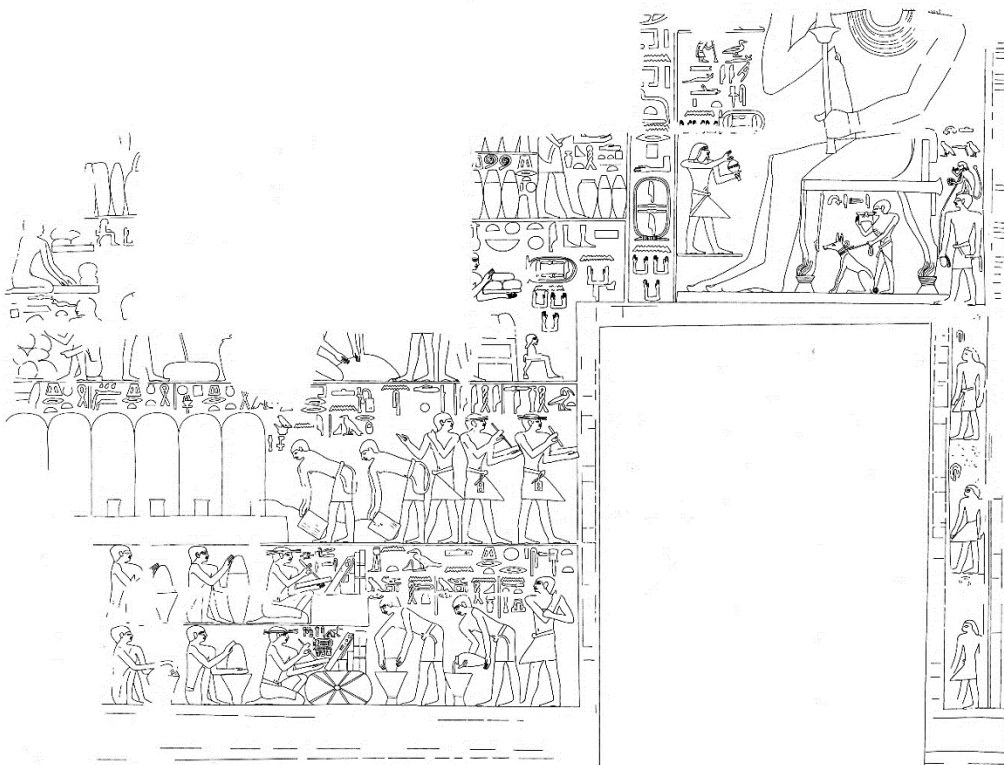


Fig. 68 Tomb owner viewing activities in the storehouse in the tomb of Nikauisesi (Kanawati 2000: pl. 48).

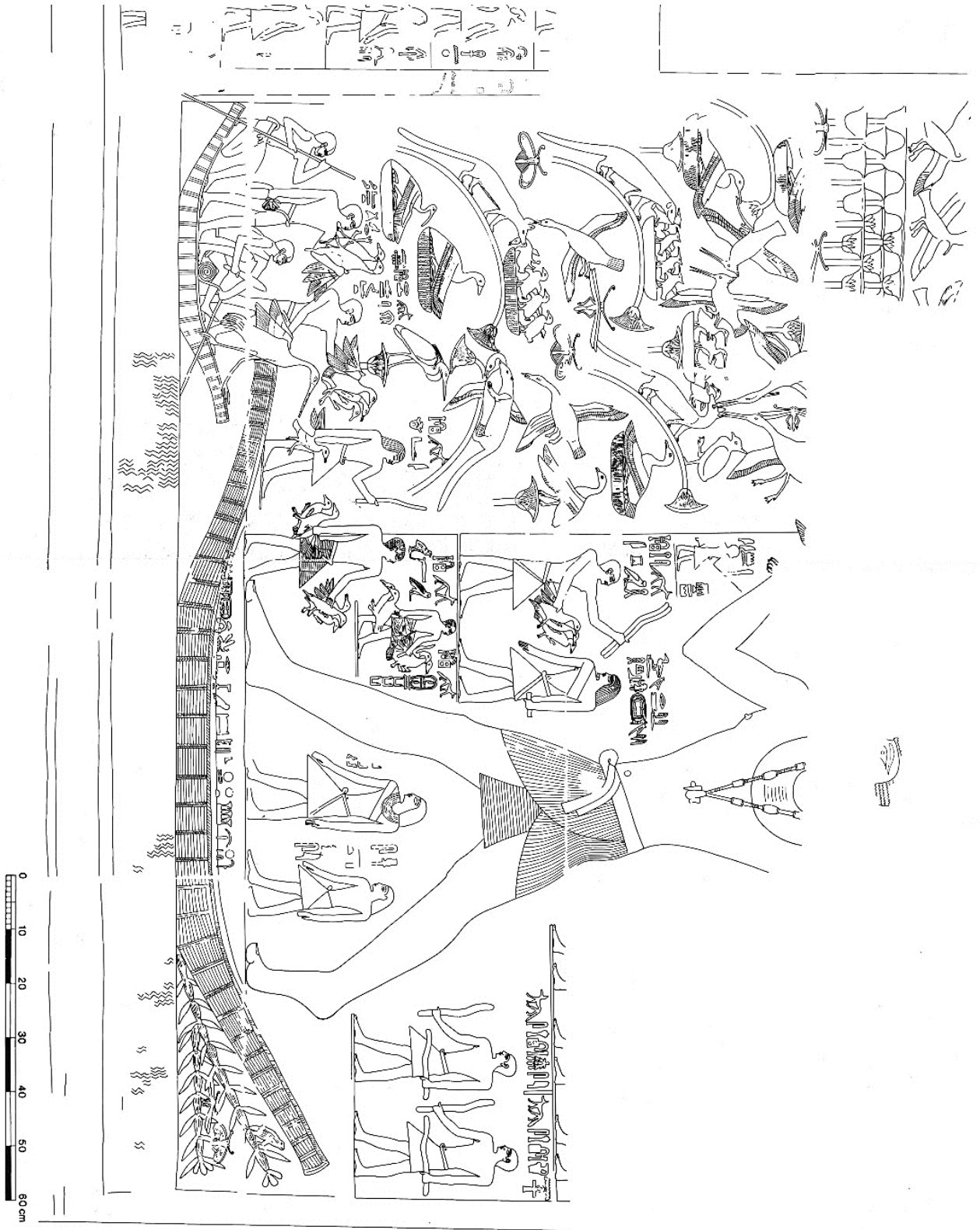


Fig. 69 Fowling scene in the tomb of Nikauisesi (Kanawati 2012: pl. 50).

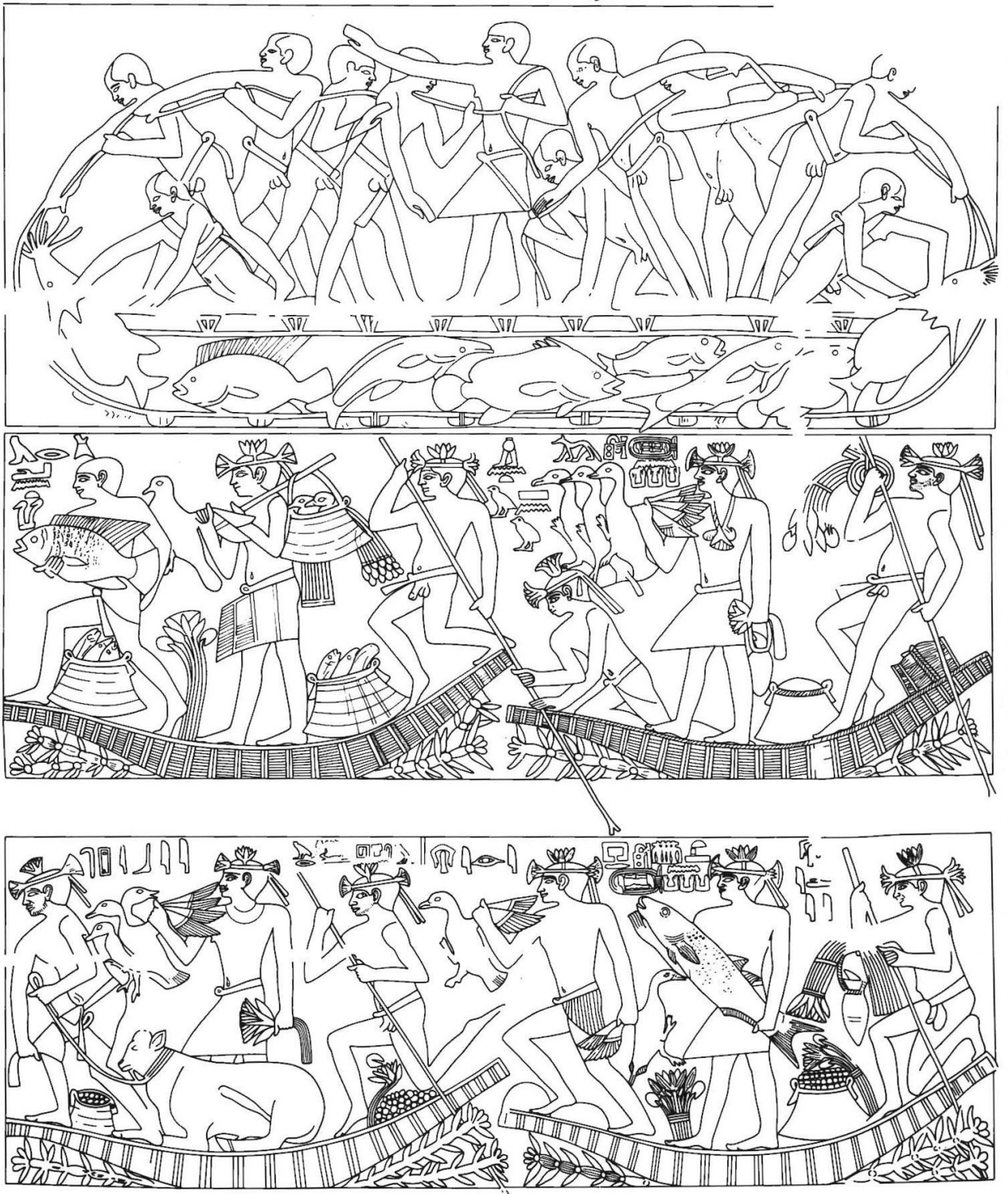


Fig. 70 Boats delivering offerings from Nikauisesi's estates (Kanawati 2000: pl. 47).

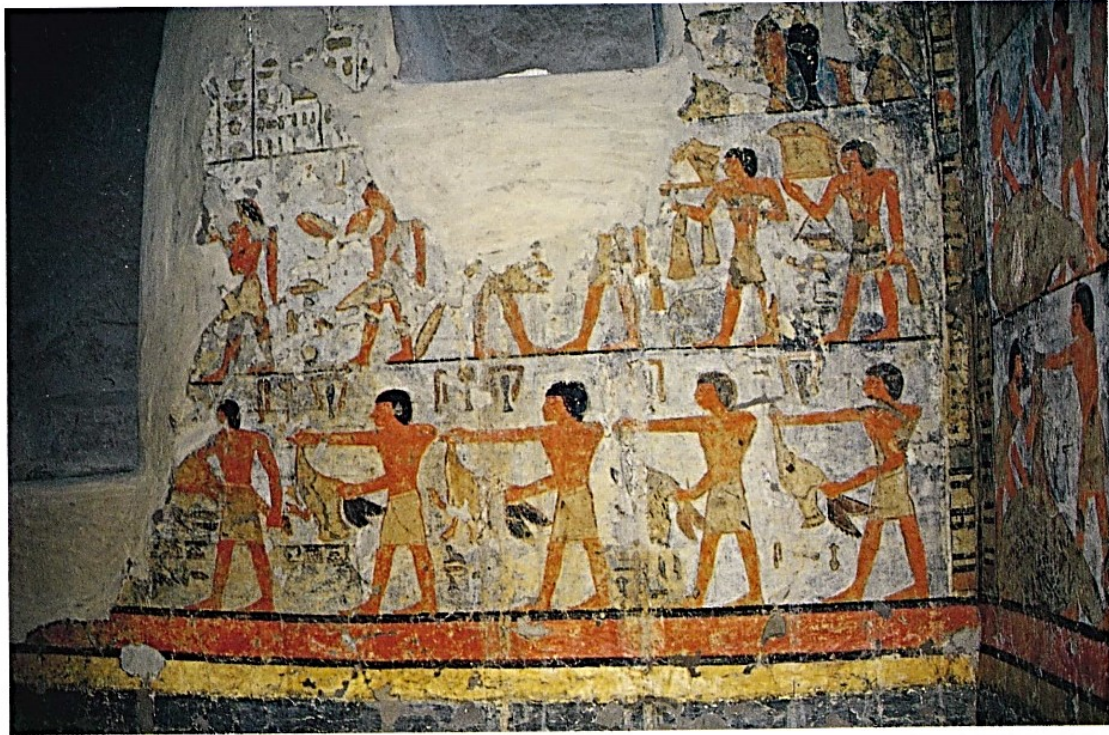


Fig. 71 Priests on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Shepsipuptah (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: pl. 1).



Fig. 72 Animal slaughter scene on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Shepsipuptah (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001: 24, pl. 42).

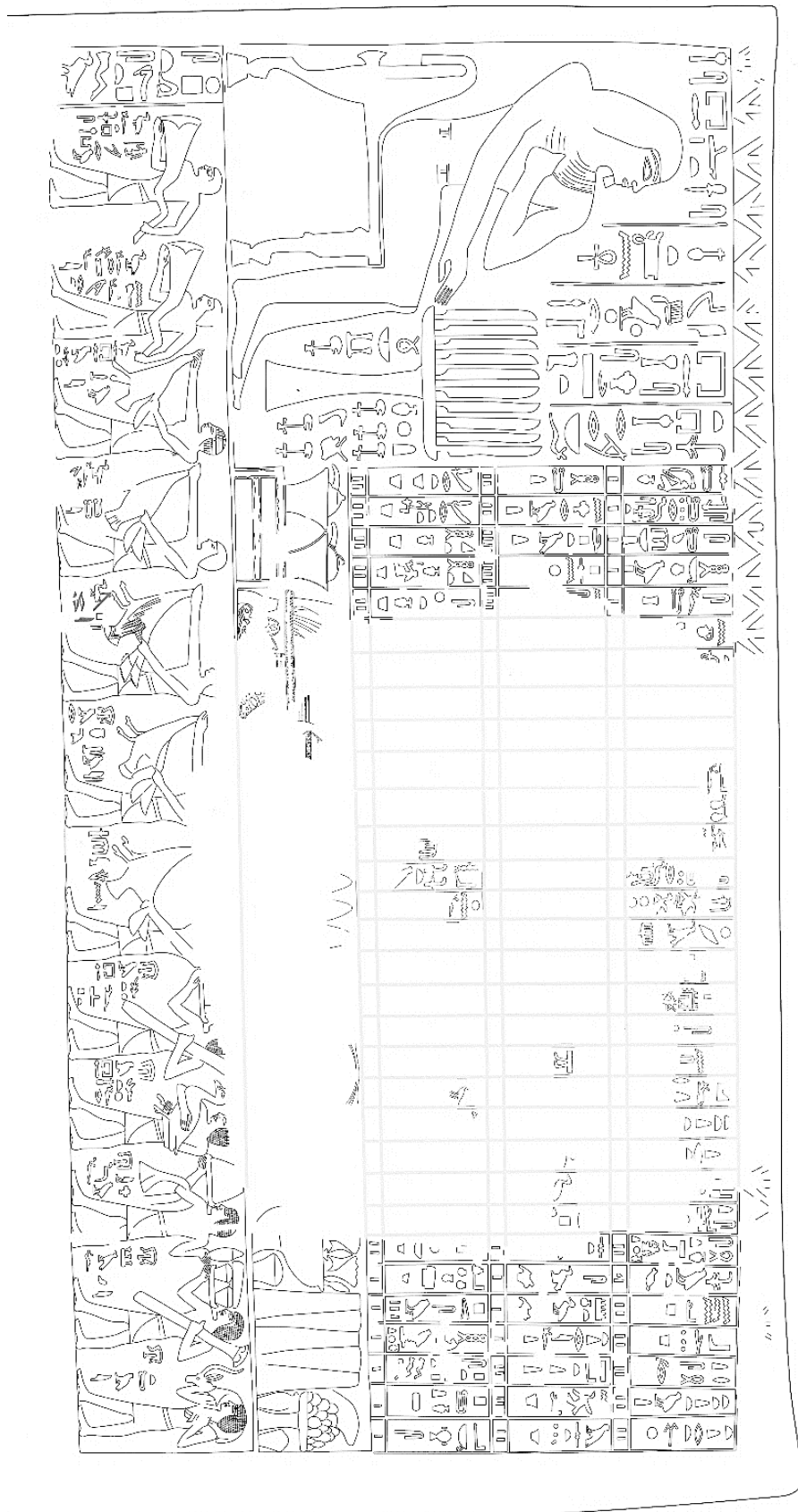


Fig. 73 Procession of offering bearers on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Niankhnefertem (Myśliwiec and Kuraskiewicz 2010: fig. 57).

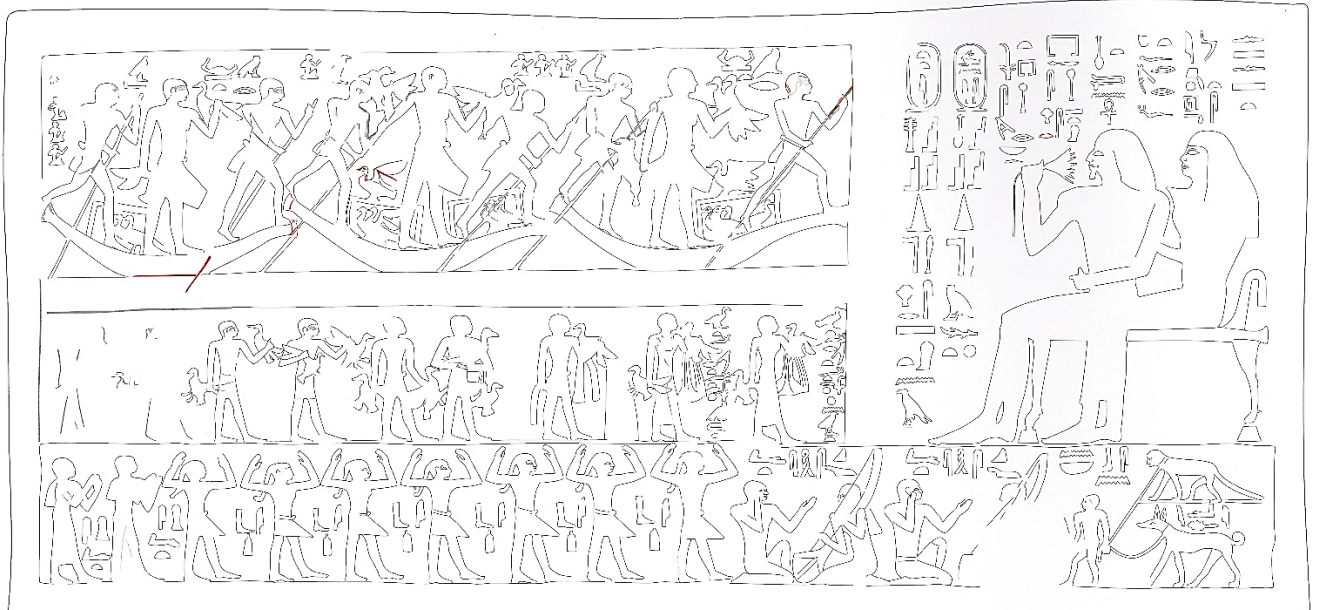


Fig. 74 Boat scene, offering bearers and musicians on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Niankhneferem (Myśliwiec and Kuraskiewicz 2010: fig.61).

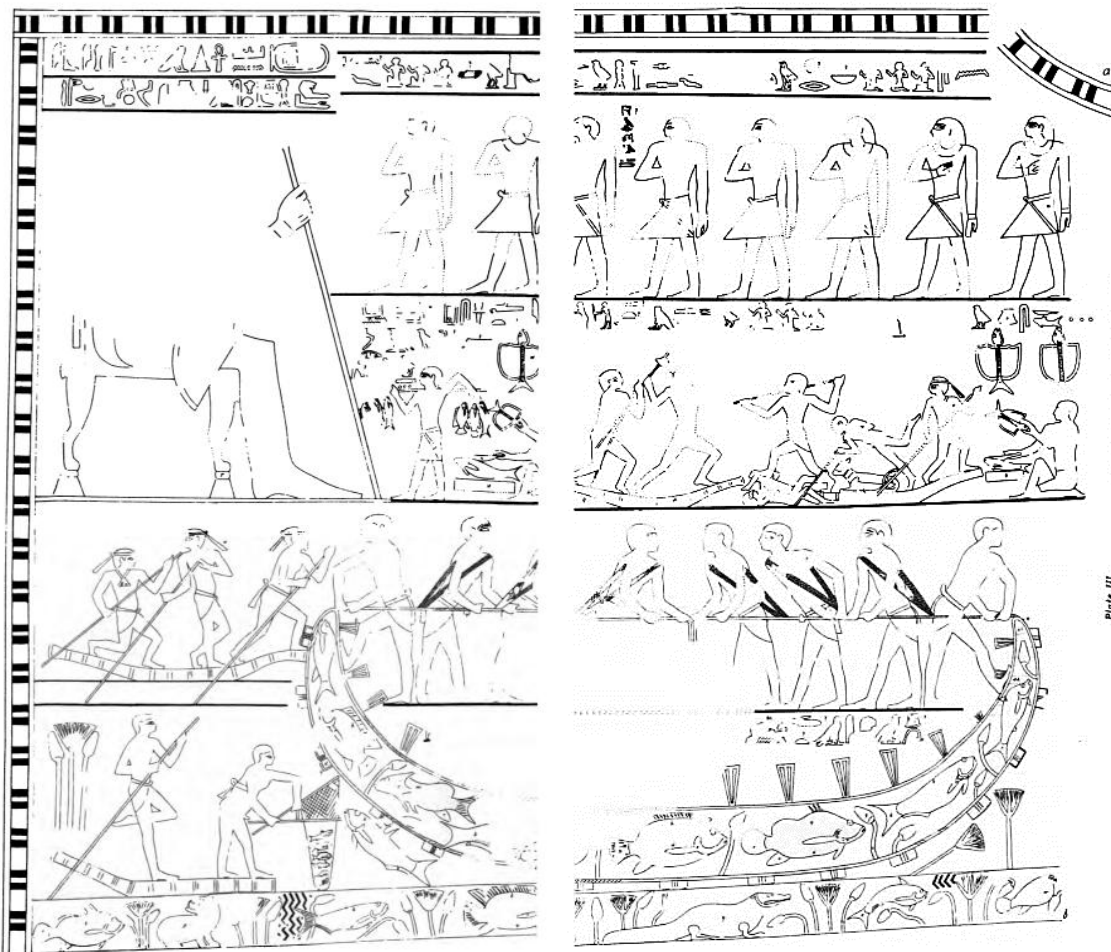


Fig. 75 Tomb owner viewing scribes and different fishing techniques on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies 1902: pls. 3-4).

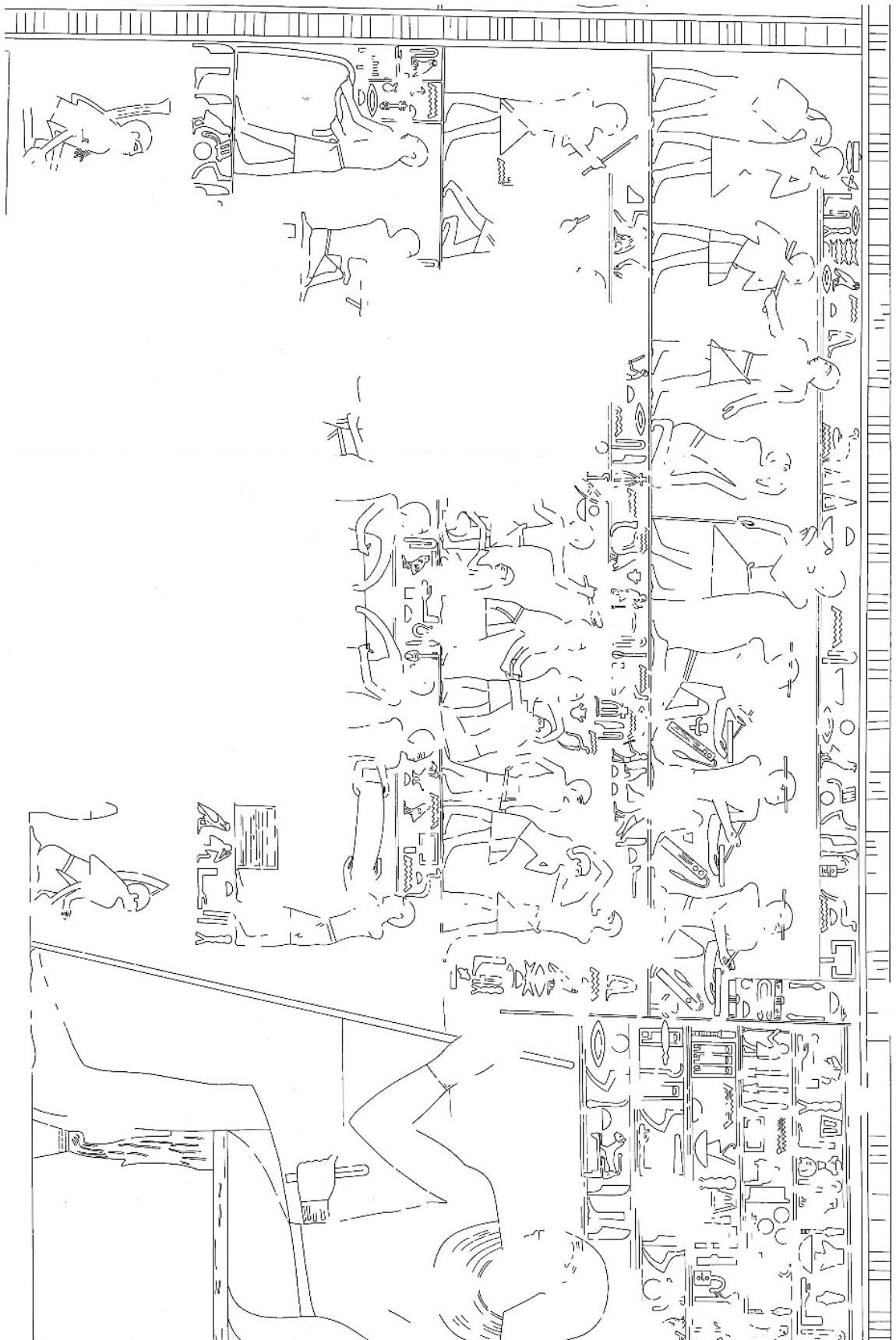


Fig. 76 Scribes reporting to the tomb owner and a punishment of offenders in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi (Kanawati 2007: pl. 50).



Fig. 77 South entrance door jamb with the figure of the tomb owner and priest Seni facing him in the tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib 2 (Vischak 2015: fig. 44).



Fig. 78 Priests on the east wall, south of the entrance in the tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib at Qubbet el-Hawa (Vishak 2015: fig. 50)

Chapter 7 - Households of the middle-ranked officials

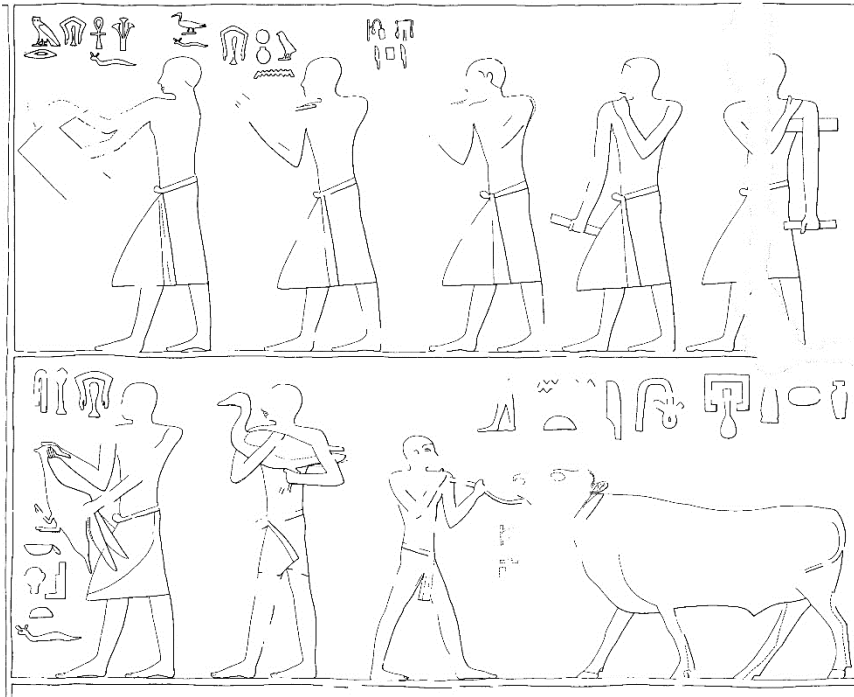


Fig. 79 Offering bearers on the east wall of the first chambre in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994: fig. 27)

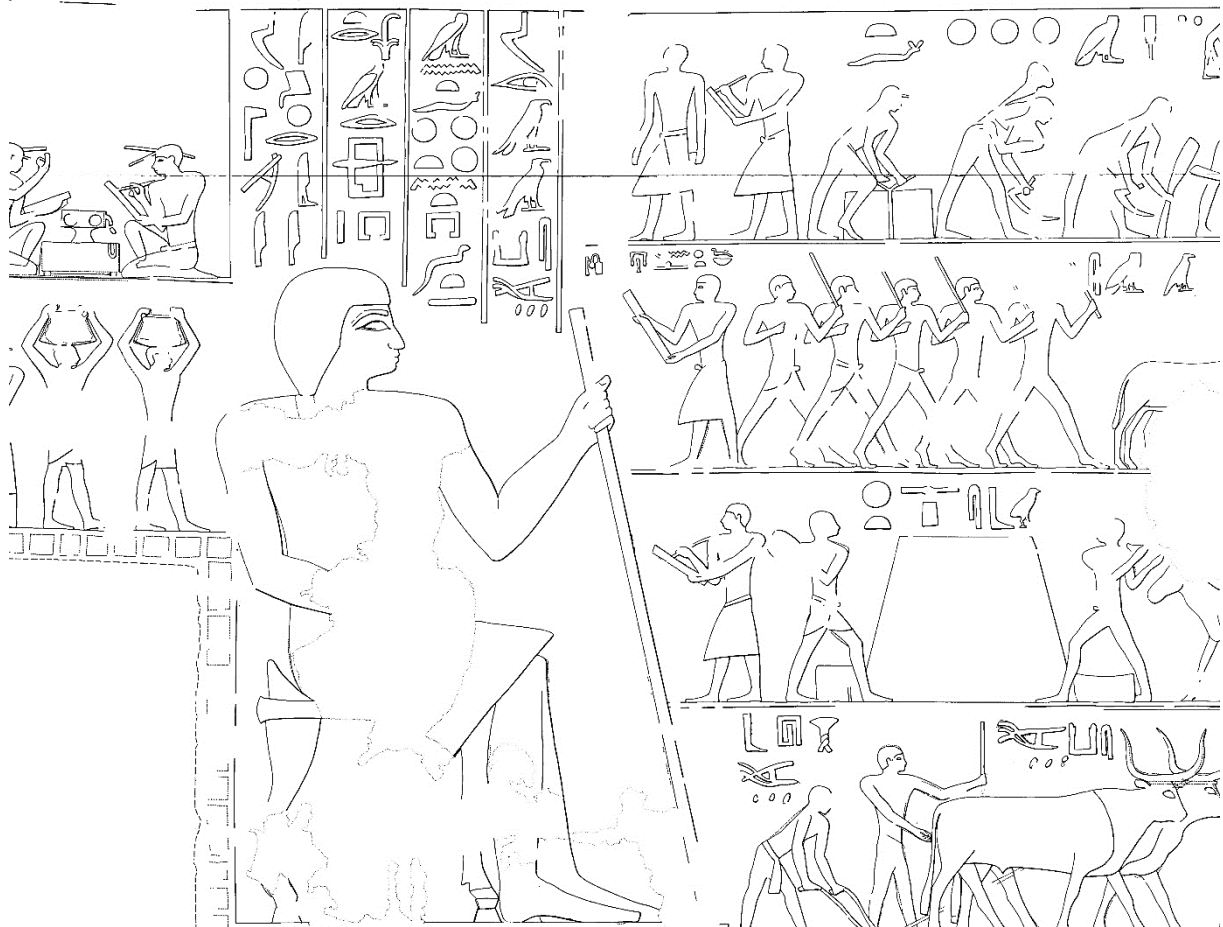


Fig. 80 Scene depicting agriculture activities on the north wall in the second chamber in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994: fig. 39)(on the previous page).

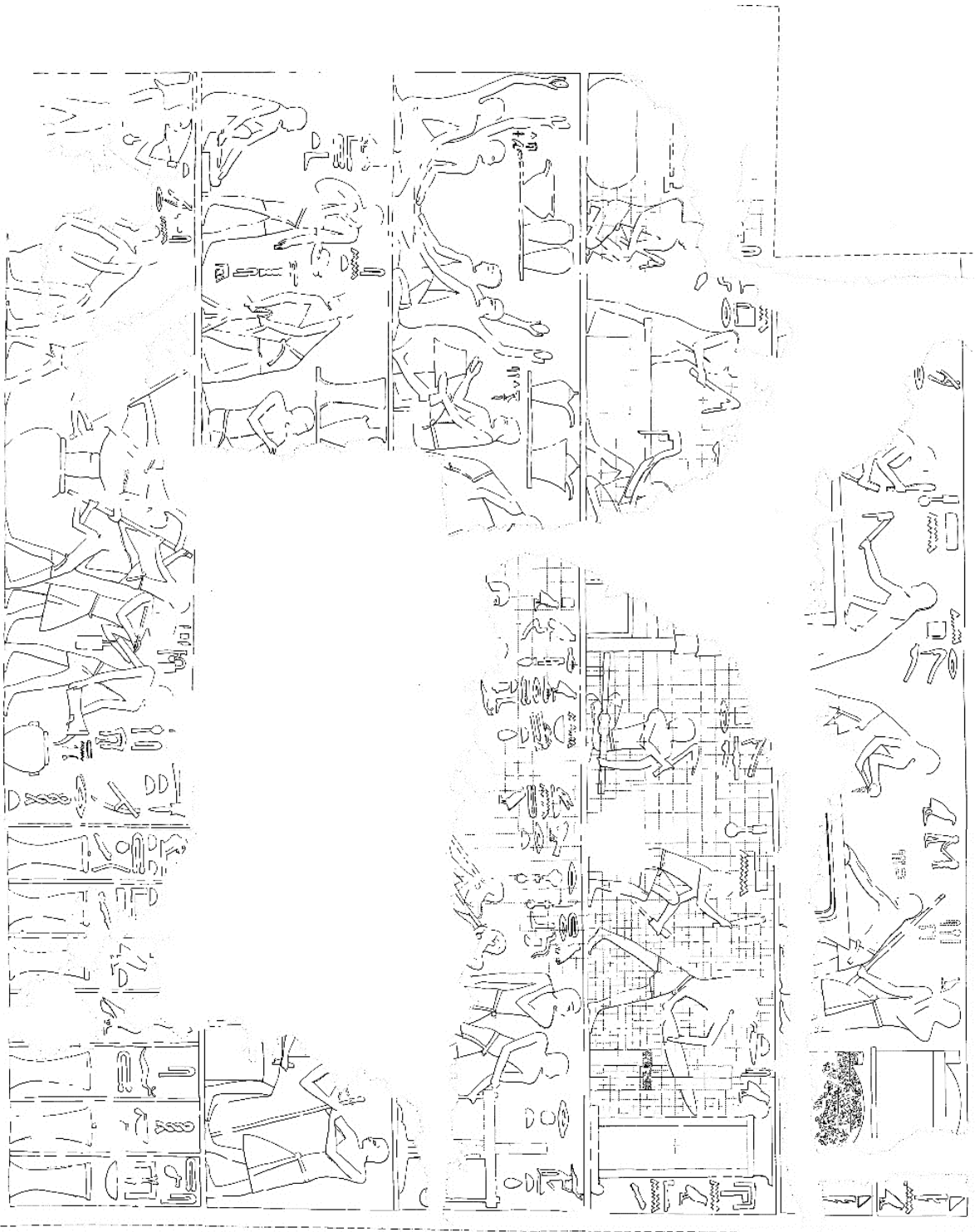


Fig. 81 Scenes of workshop activities on the south wall of the first chambre in the tomb of Iymery (Weeks 1994: fig. 30).



Fig. 82 Scene of gardening, wine making, fishing and cattle breeding on the east wall of the corridor, north section, in the tomb of Kahai (Lashien 2013: pl. 6a).



(a) EC8, detail



(b) EC8, detail

Fig. 83a, b Rendering accounts by estate chiefs on the east wall of the corridor, south section, in the tomb of Kahai (Lashien 2013: pl. 12).

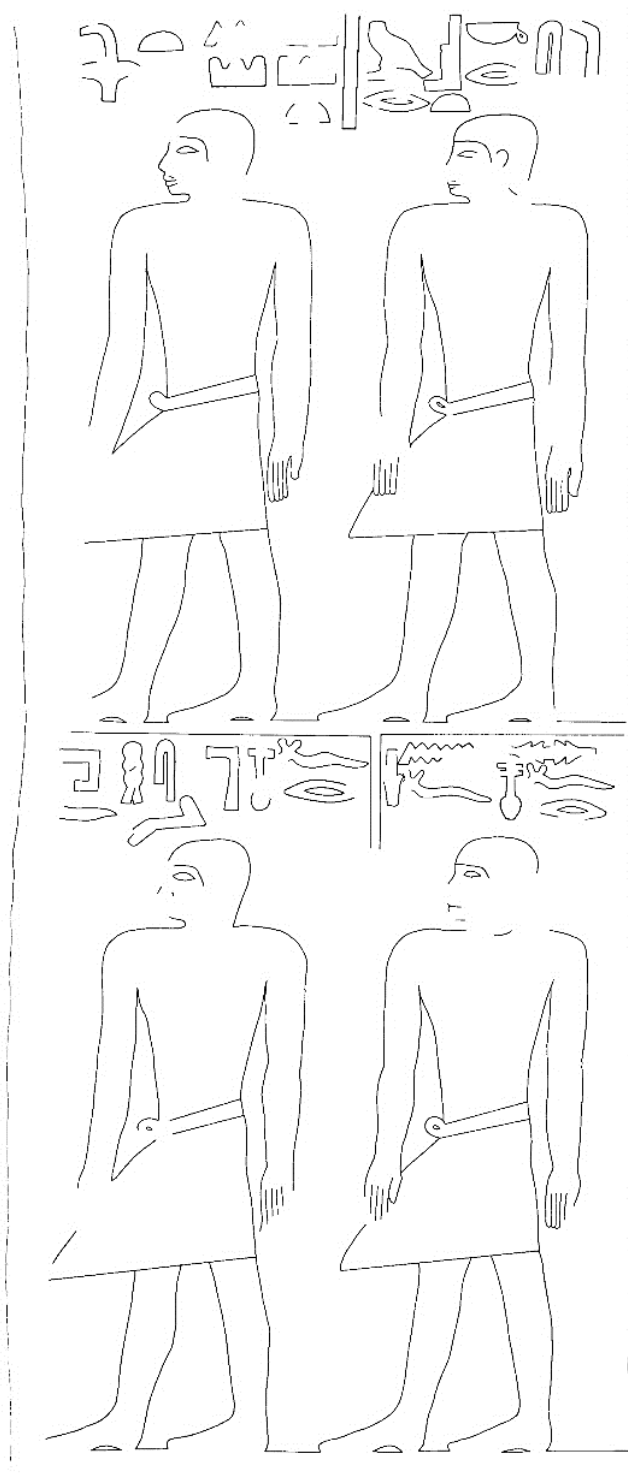


Fig. 84 Dependents of the tomb owner on the south face of the pillar in the tomb of Kapi (Roth 1995: pl. 162b).

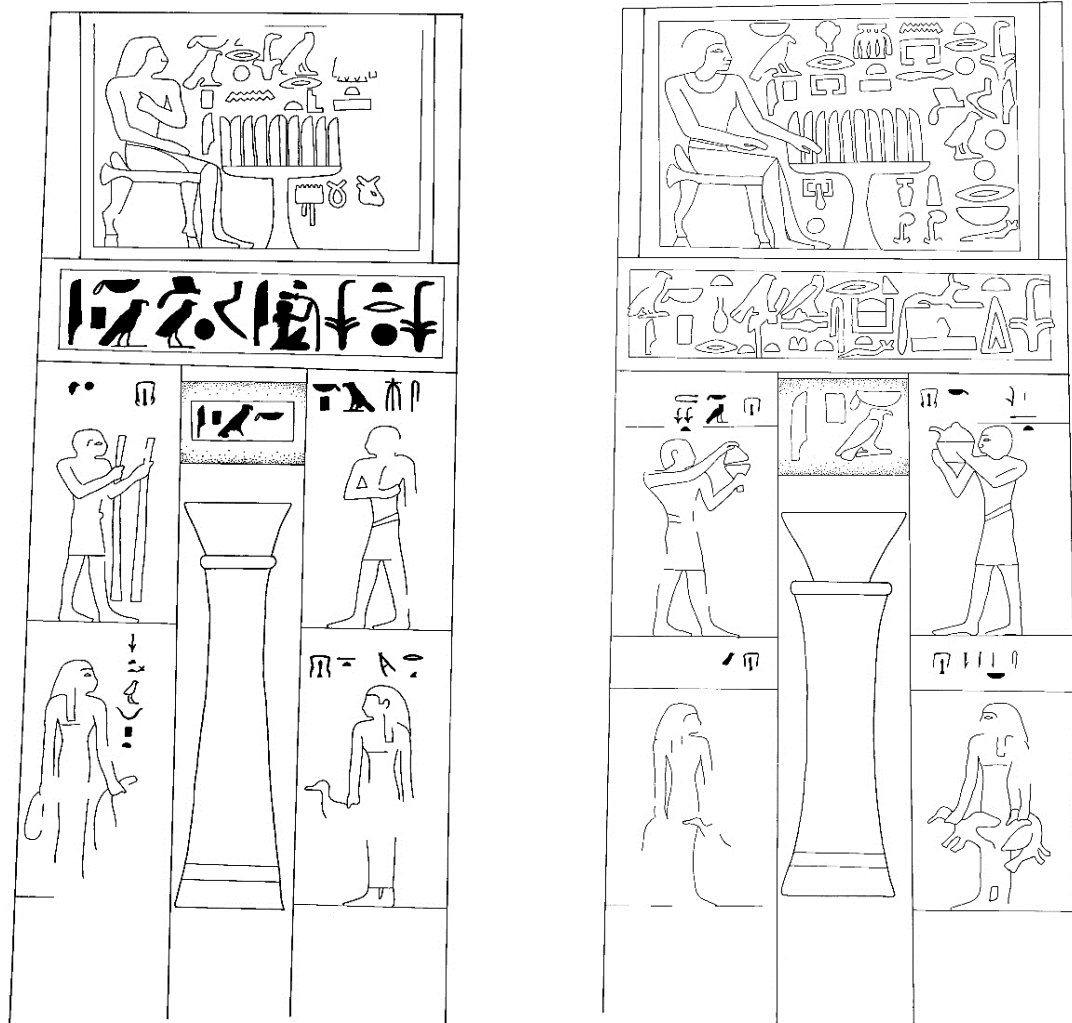


Fig. 85a, b South (left) and north (right) false doors embedded in the western wall of the chapel in the tomb of Kapi (Roth 1995: pl. 164 right).

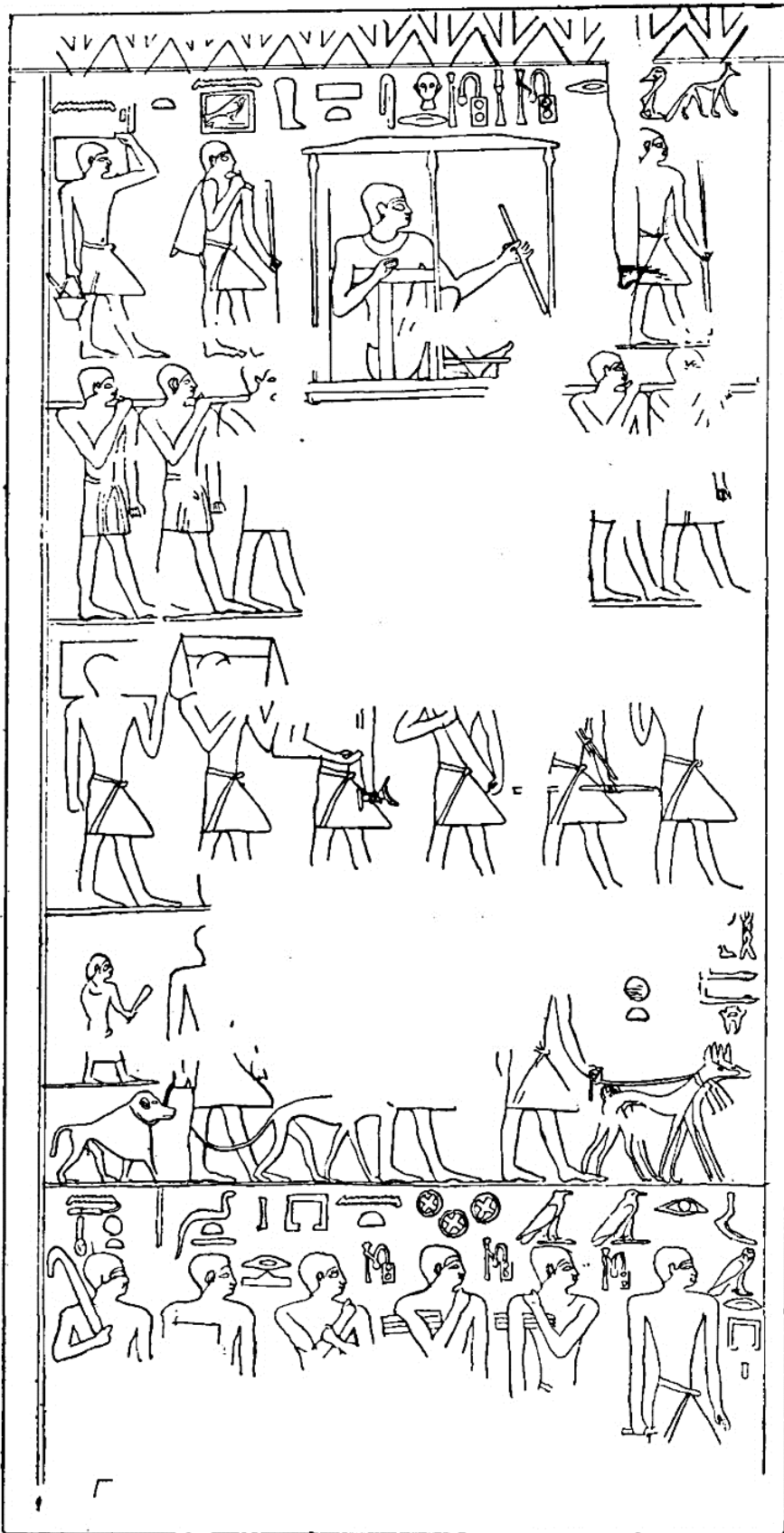


Fig. 86 The scene with the tomb owner carried in a palanquin and several registers depicting offering bearers and scribes in the tomb of Itisen (Hassan 1944: fig. 122).

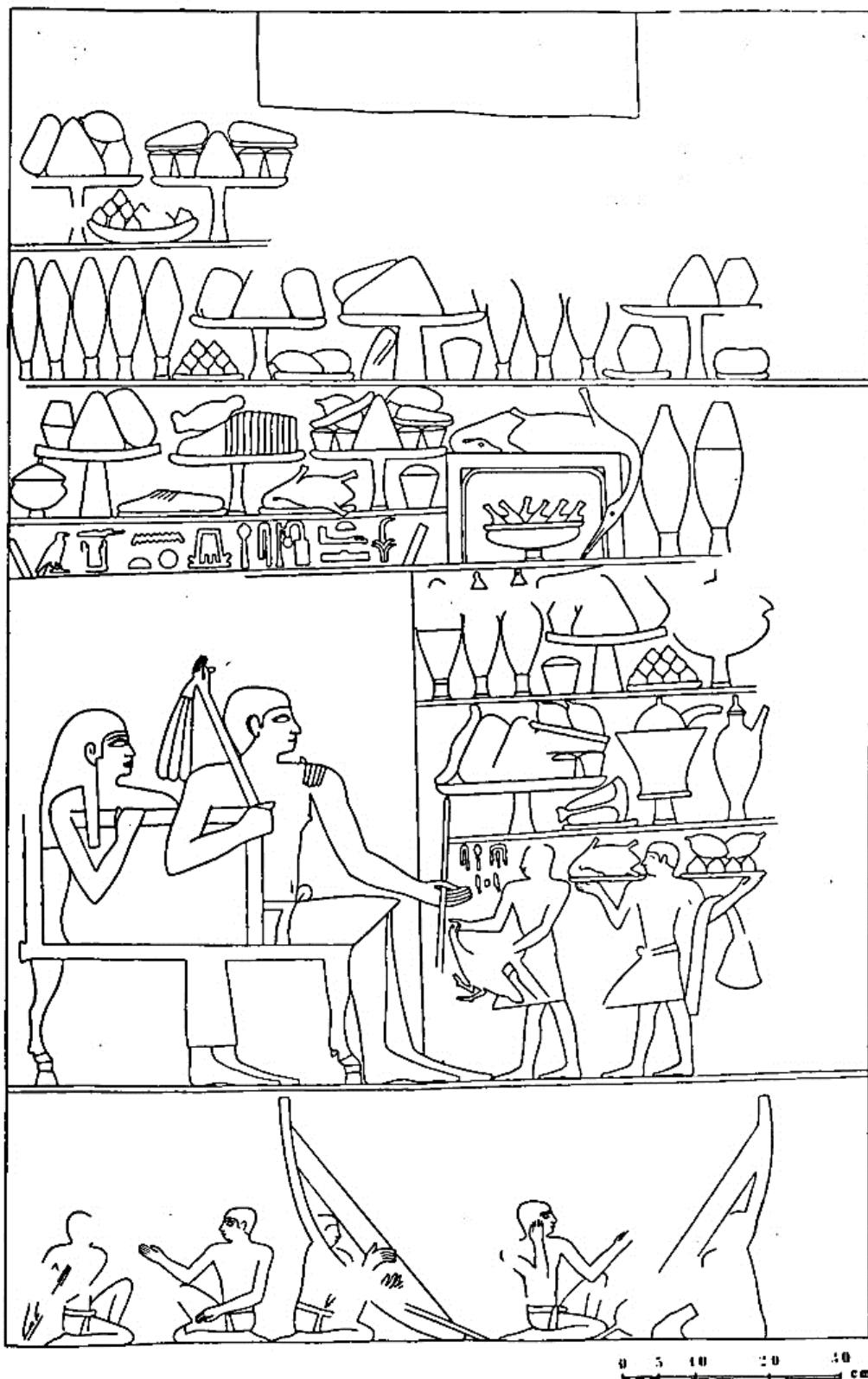


Fig. 87 Offering bearers presenting offerings to the tomb owner and his wife and musicians on the southern wall of the chapel in the tomb of Nekhetka (Hassan 1953: fig. 21).

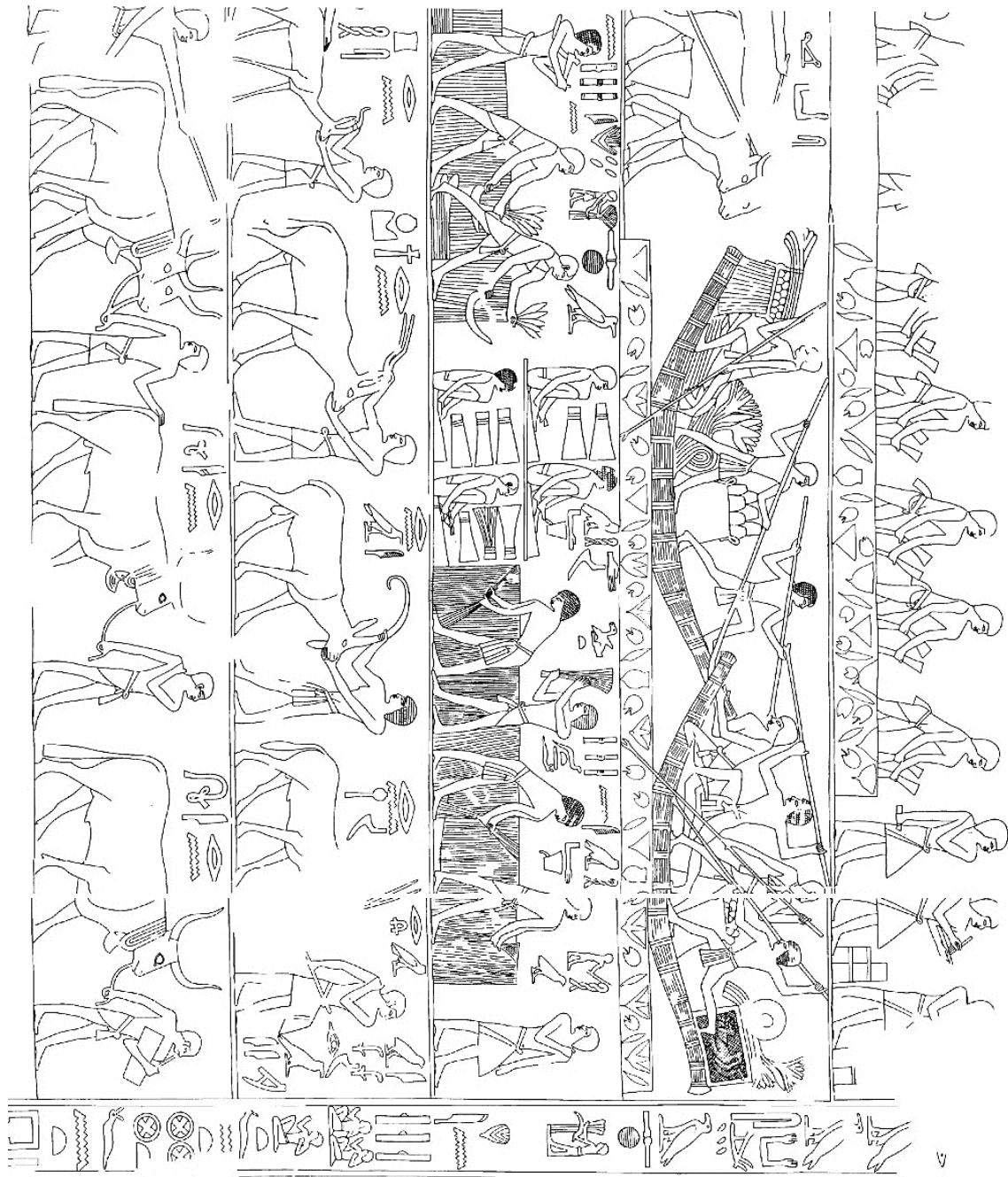


Fig. 88 Scene of life on the estates of the tomb owner on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Sekhemka (Simpson 1980: fig. 4).

THE MASTABA OF NEFERT-NISWT

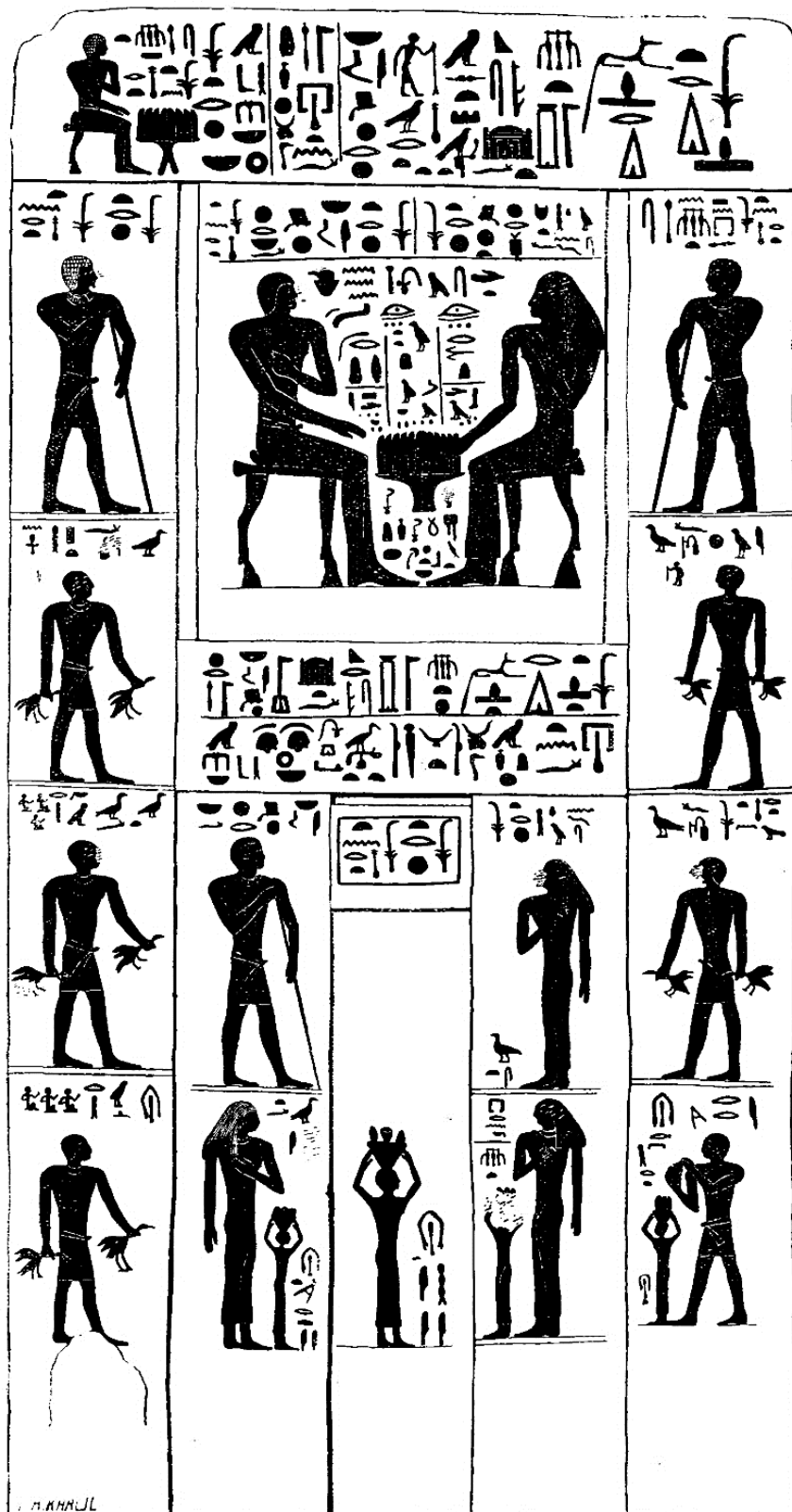


Fig. 89 The north false door with family members and dependents in the tomb of Nefretnesut (Hassan 1936: fig. 94).



Fig. 90 Tablet from the southern false door in the tomb of Khufuankh (Reisner 1942; MFA 21.3081 <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/144615/false-door-of-khufuankh>; accessed on September 27, 2023).



Fig. 91 False door from G 4520, Khufuankh, detail of lower right outer jamb (<http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1063/full/> accessed on November 25, 2023).

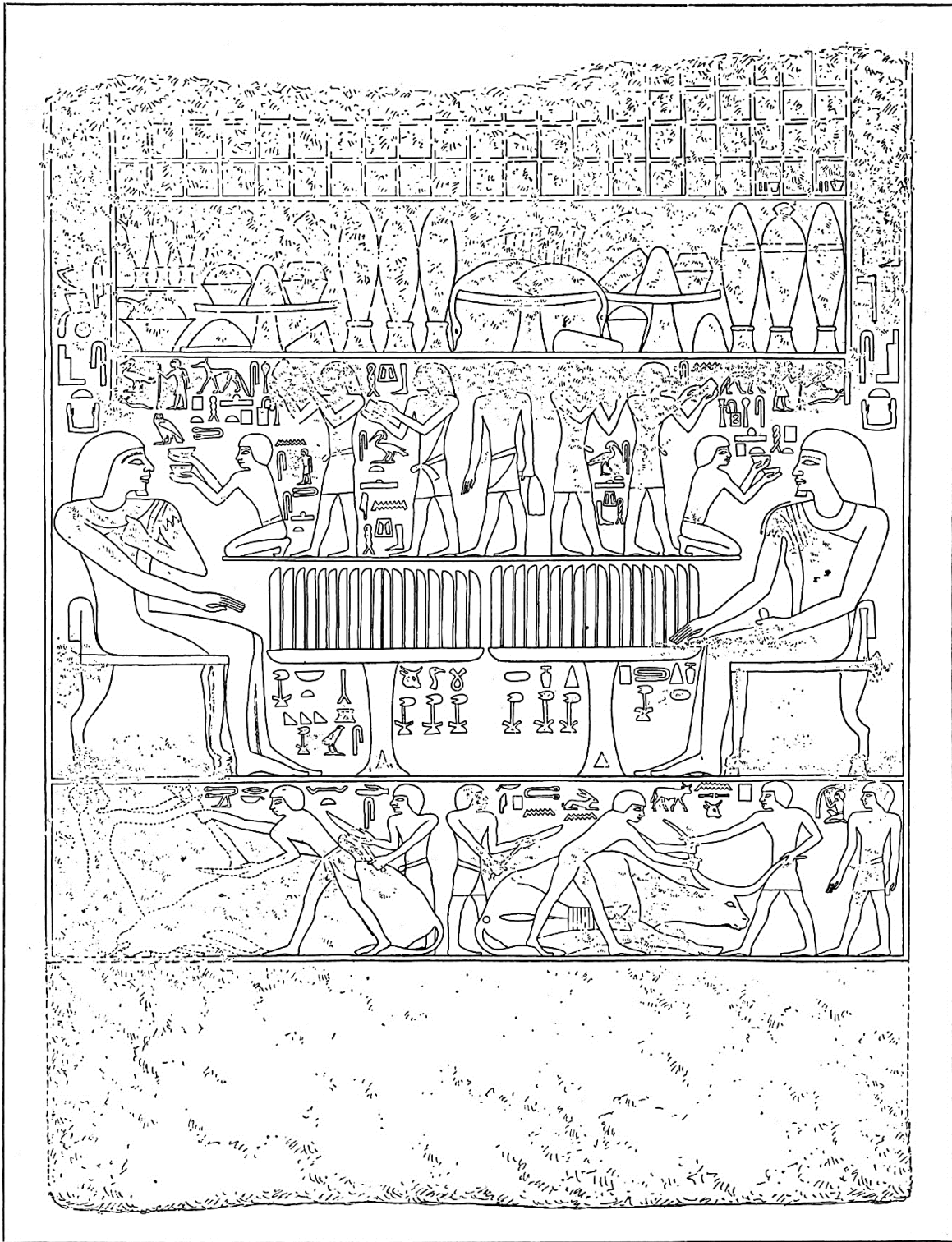


Fig. 92 Offering table scene on the west wall in the tomb of Setka (Junker 1944: fig. 87).



Fig. 93 Sons, priests, scribes and herdsmen in the wall reliefs of the tomb of Methethi (Ziegler 1990: 143, fig. 20).

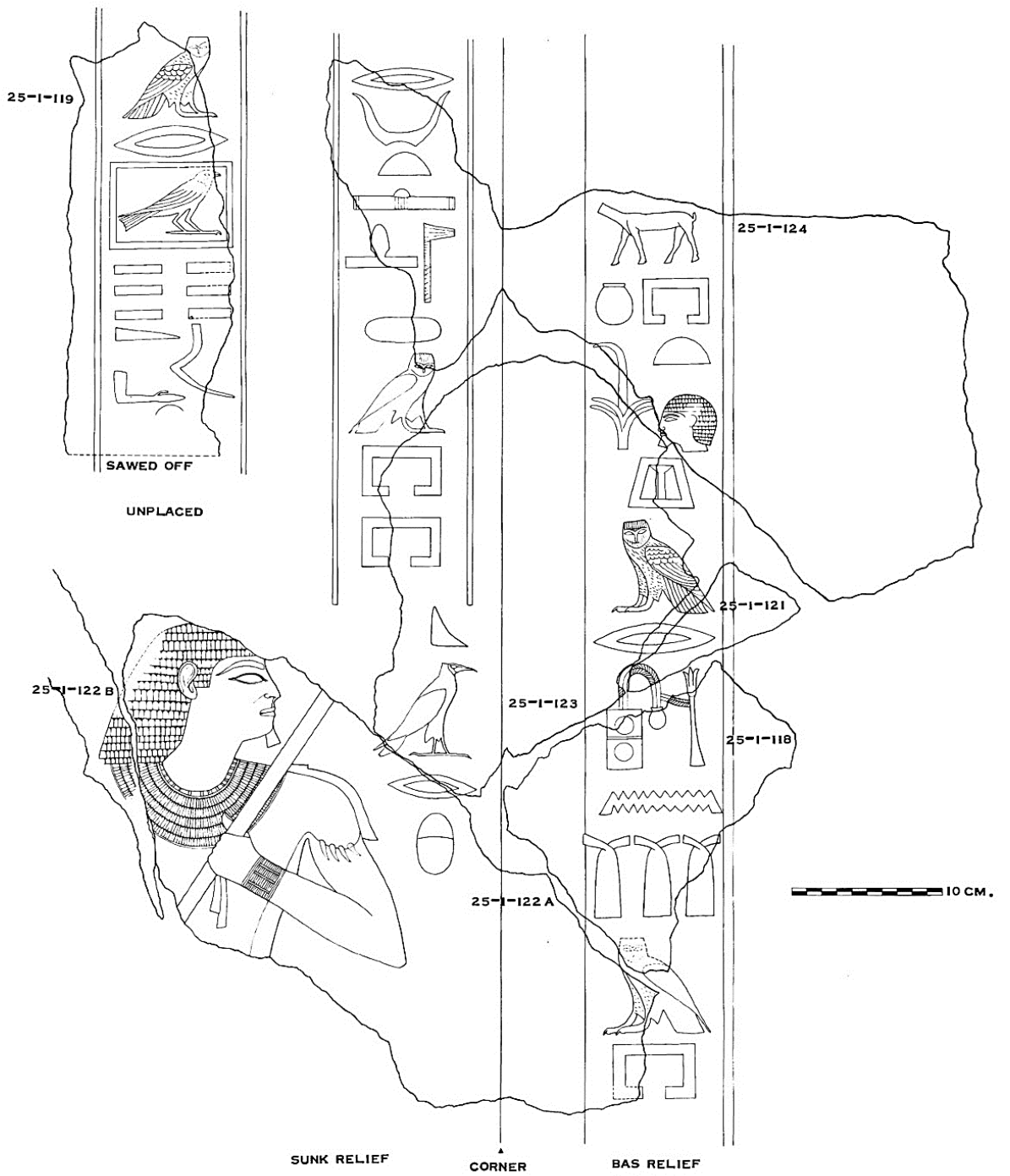


Fig. 95 Qar with title overseer of the six great mansions preserved in relief fragments from the tomb of Idu (Simpson 1976: fig. 42).



Fig. 96 Offering table scene with offering bearers and a scene of animal slaughter in the tomb of Idu (Simpson 1976: 22, fig. 39).

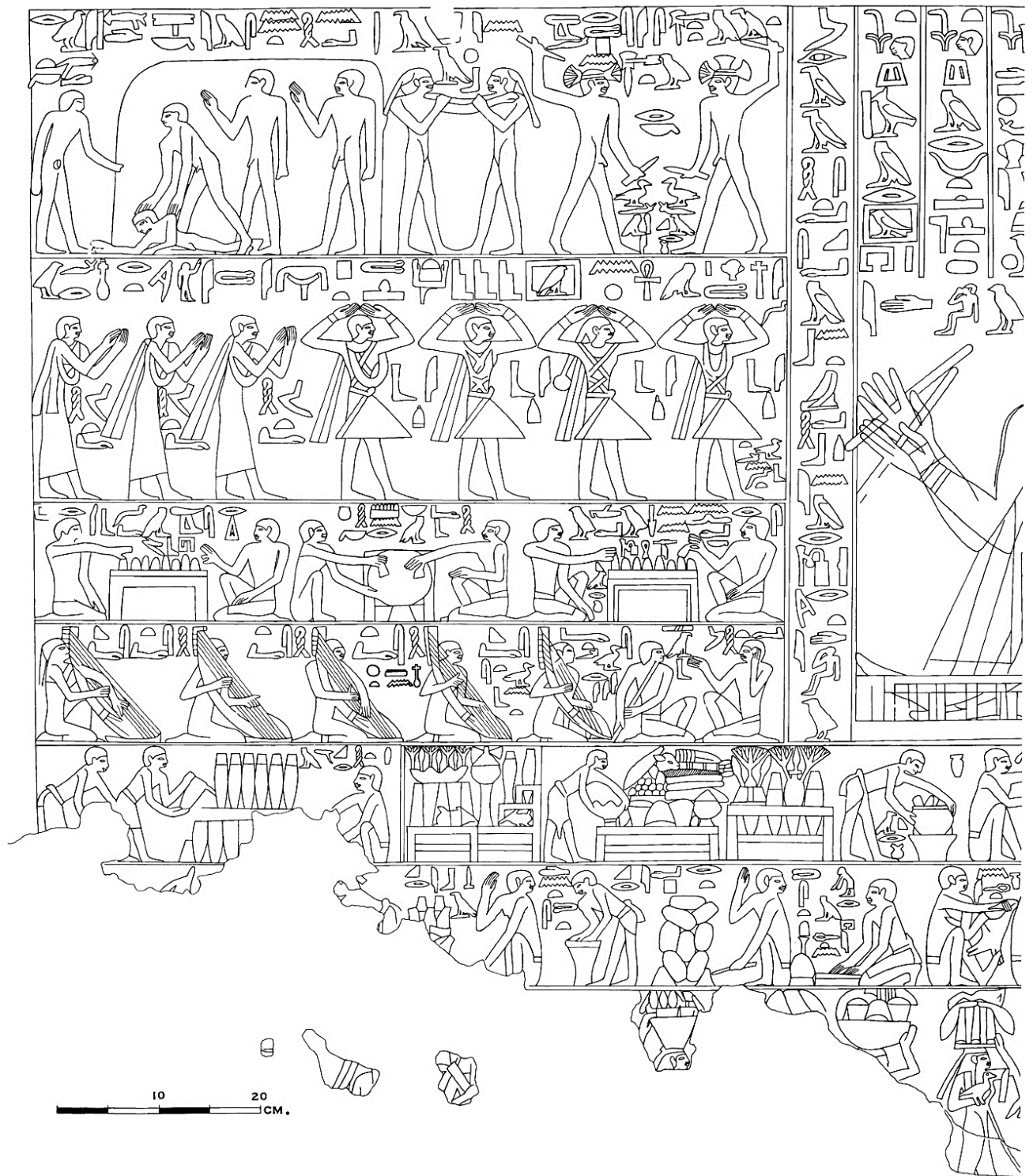


Fig. 97 Games and music performed in honour of the goddess Hathor in the tomb of Idu (Simpson 1976: fig. 38).

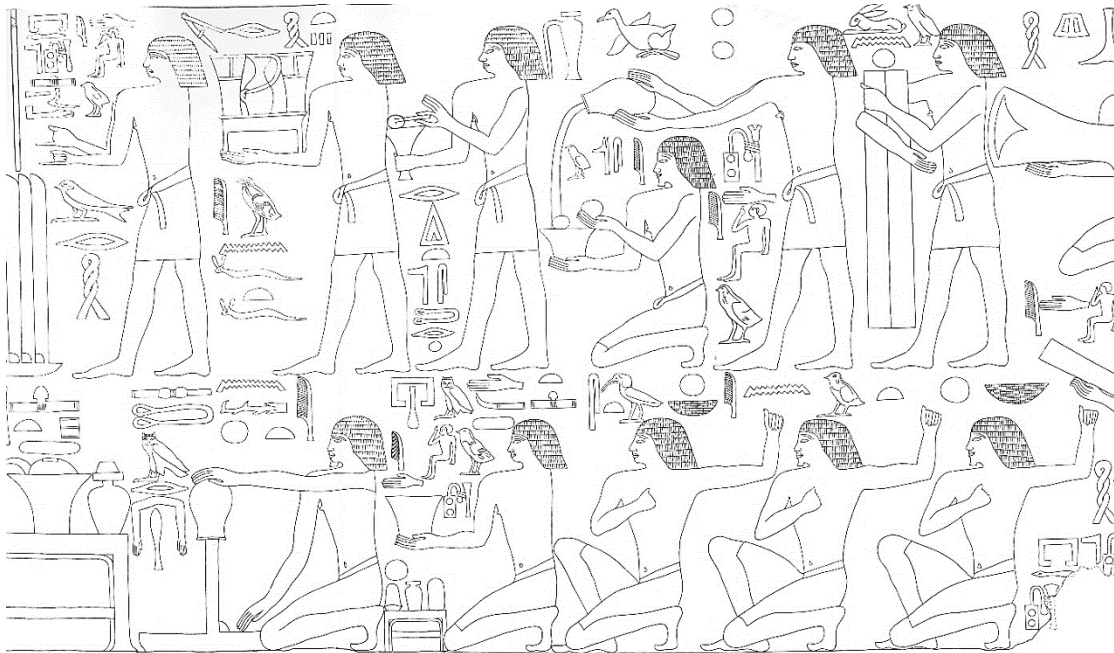


Fig. 98 Scribes and priests performing rituals on the west wall of court C in the tomb of Qar (Simpson 1976: fig. 25).

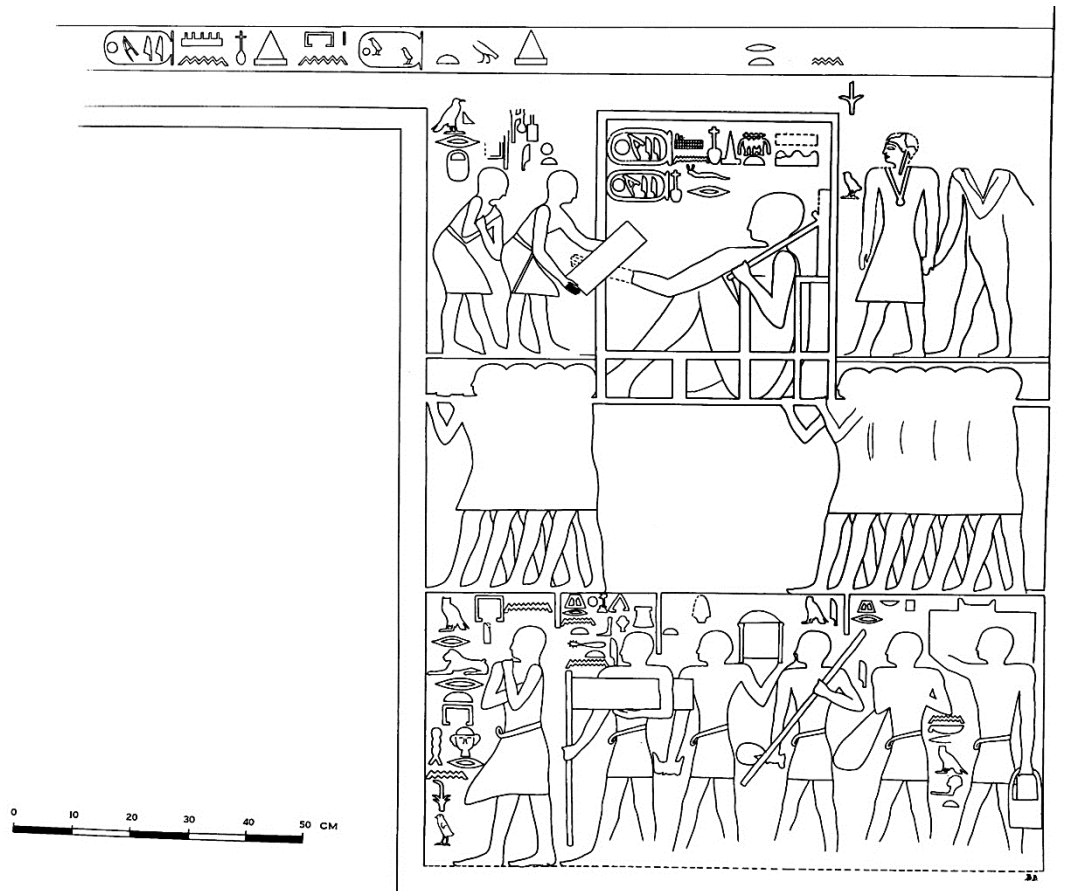


Fig. 99 Officials reporting to the tomb owner carried in a palanquin on the east wall of room D in the tomb of Qar (Simpson 1976: fig. 27).

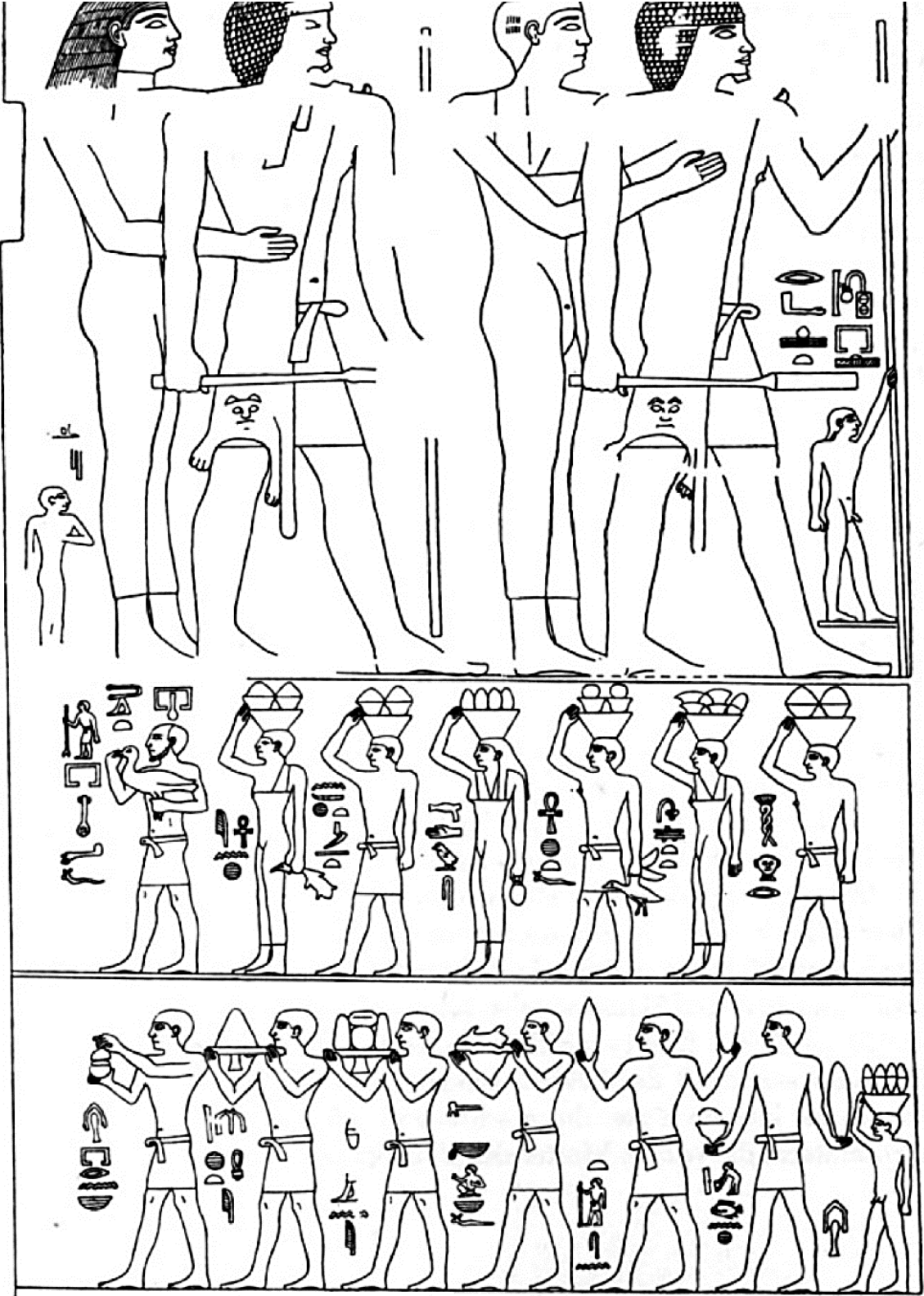


Fig. 100 Two registers of offering bearers on the north wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wehemka (Kayser 1964: figure on page 33).

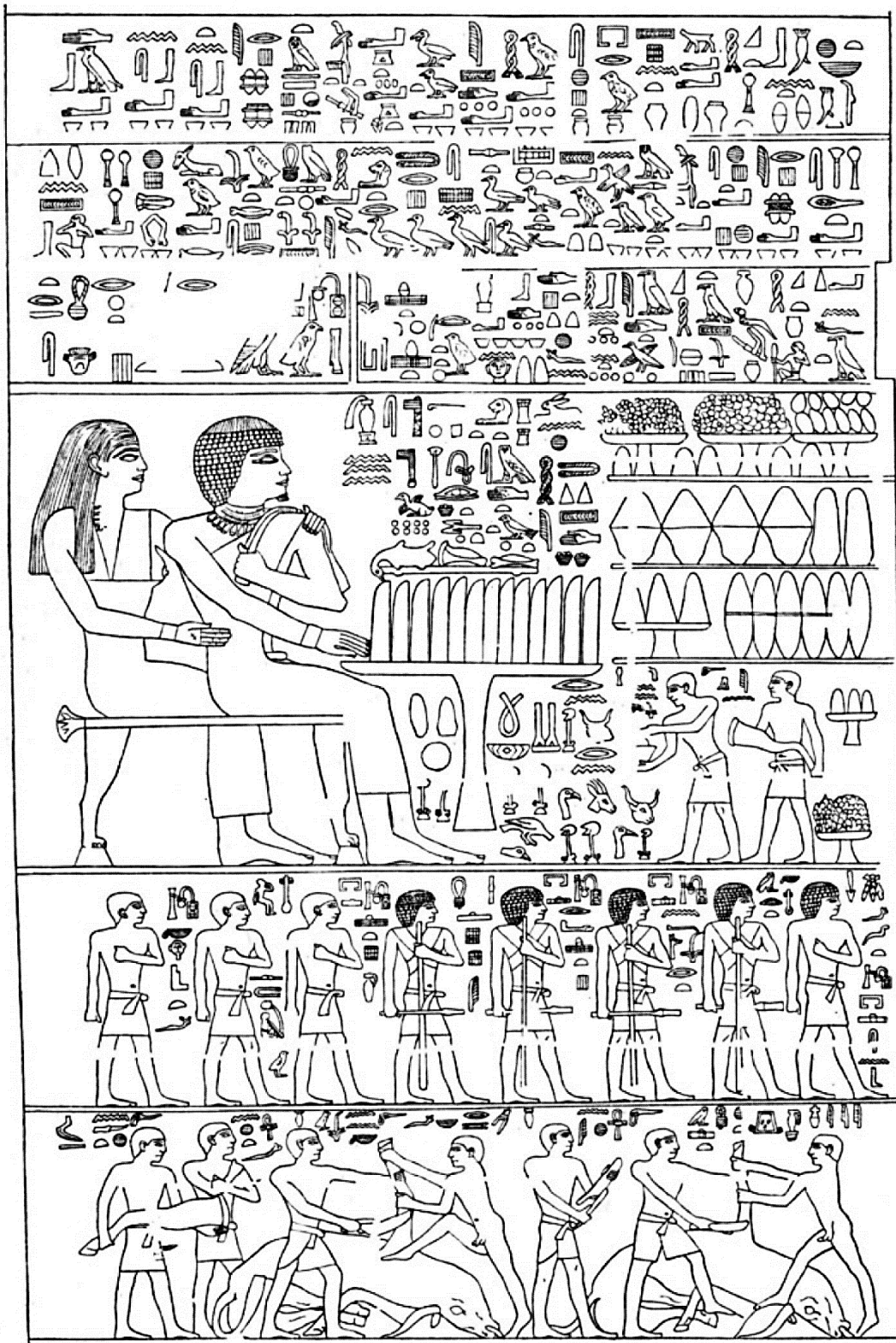


Fig. 101 Offering table scene with the procession of scribes and animal slaughter scene on the south wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wehemka (Kayser 1964: figure on page 32).

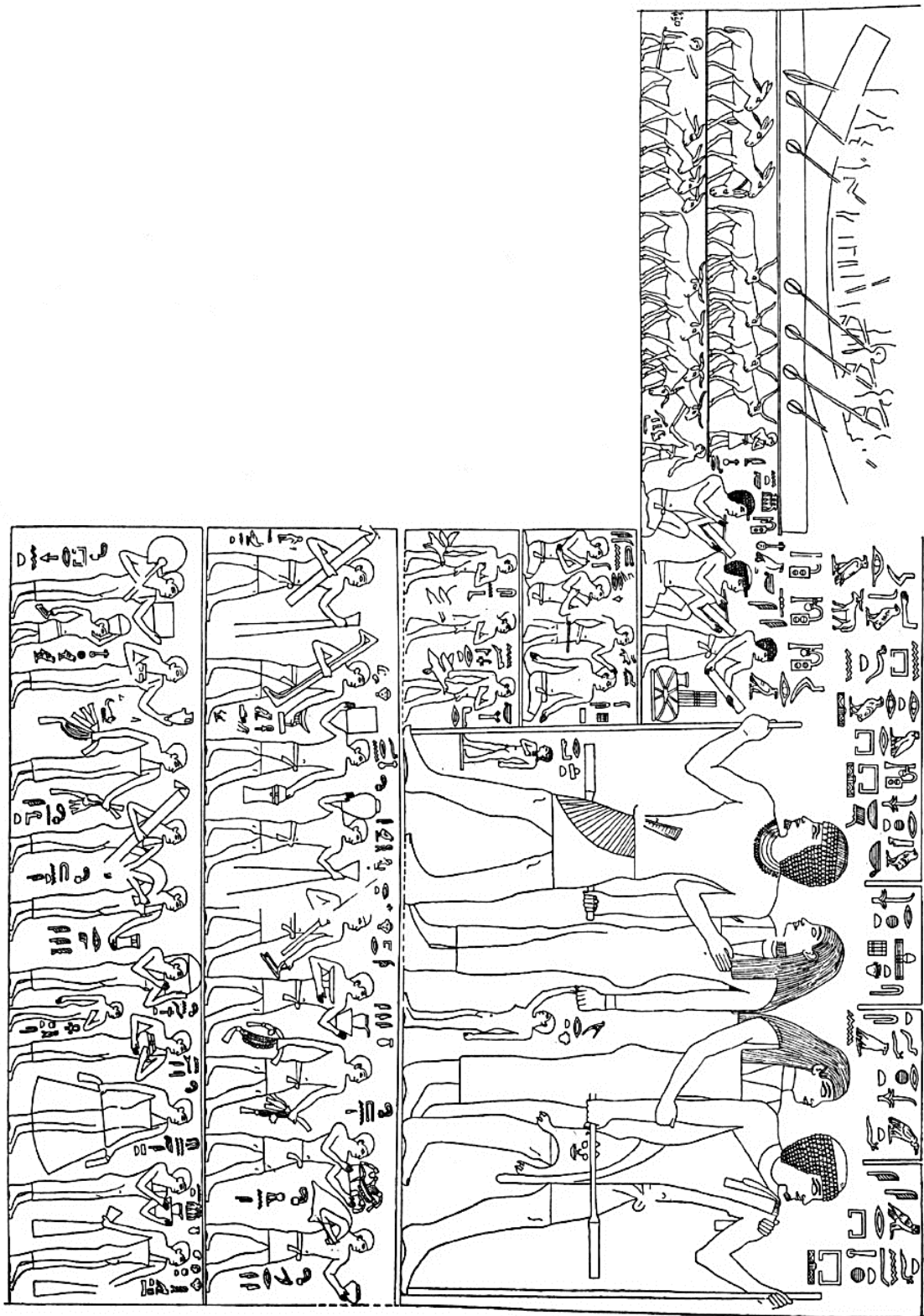


Fig. 102 Scene with scribes reporting to the tomb owner, herdsmen leading animals and the procession of offering bearers on the east wall of the chapel in the tomb of Wehemka (Kayser 1964: fig. on page 36).



Fig. 103 The architrave with the southern false door in the tomb of Nefertjetzet (Hawass 2018: fig. 3)

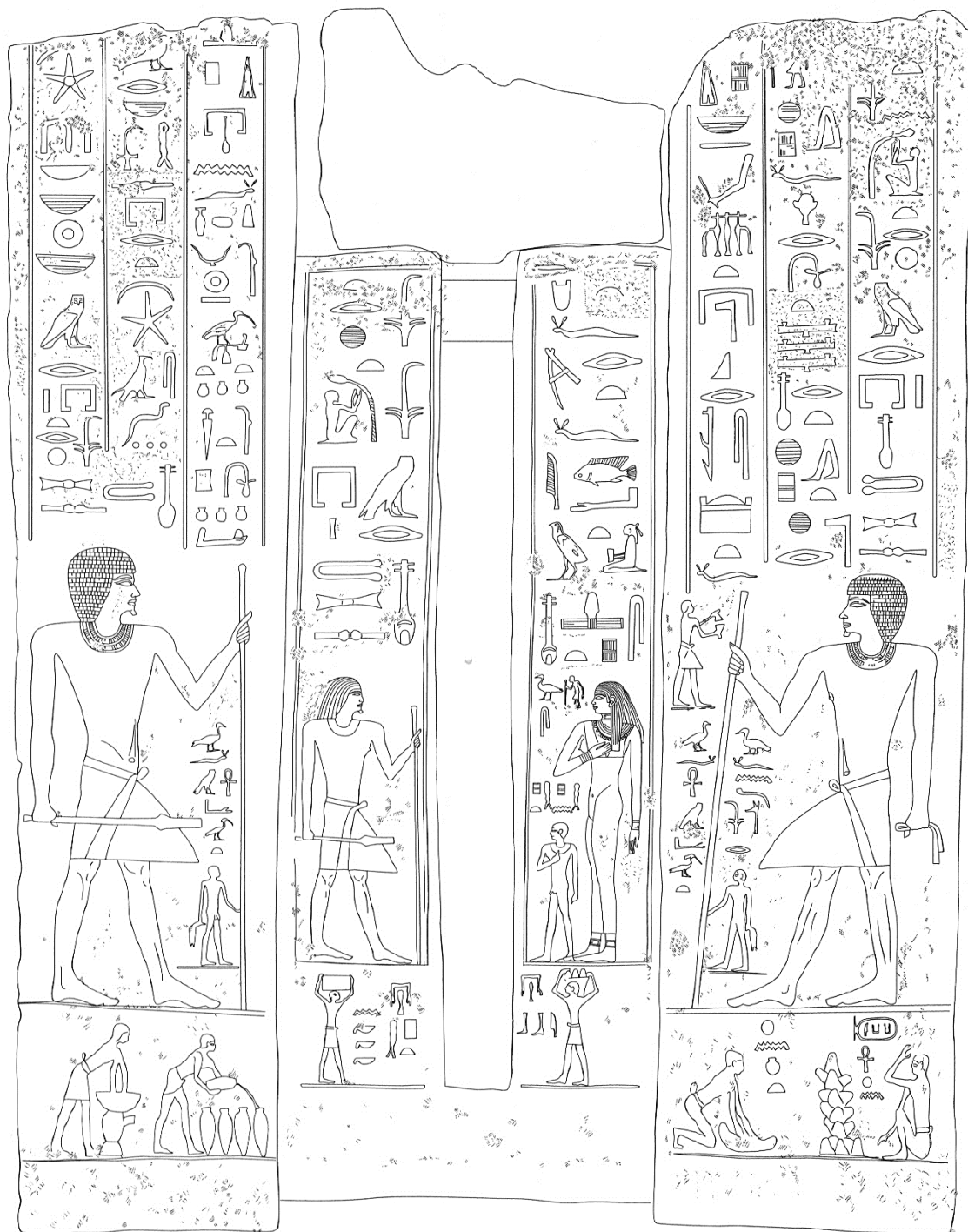


Fig. 104 Northern false door in the tomb of Nefertjet (Hawass 2018: fig. 7).

Fig. 105 Seated couple with his children and offering bearers in the tomb of Niudjaptah (Abu Bakr 1953: fig. 95B)(left).

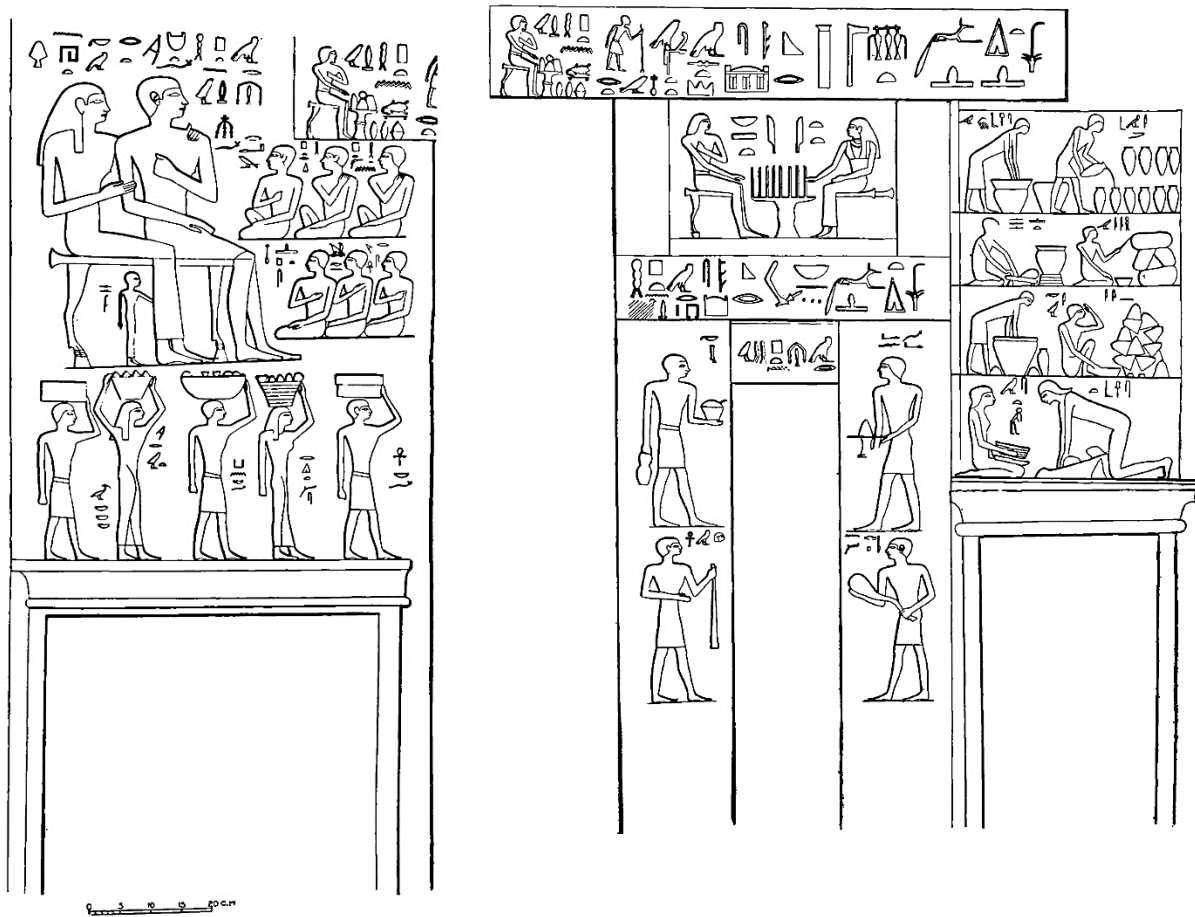


Fig. 106 The first false door from the north with dependents grinding grain, baking, or cooking on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Niudjaptah (Abu Bakr 1953: fig. 95D)(right).

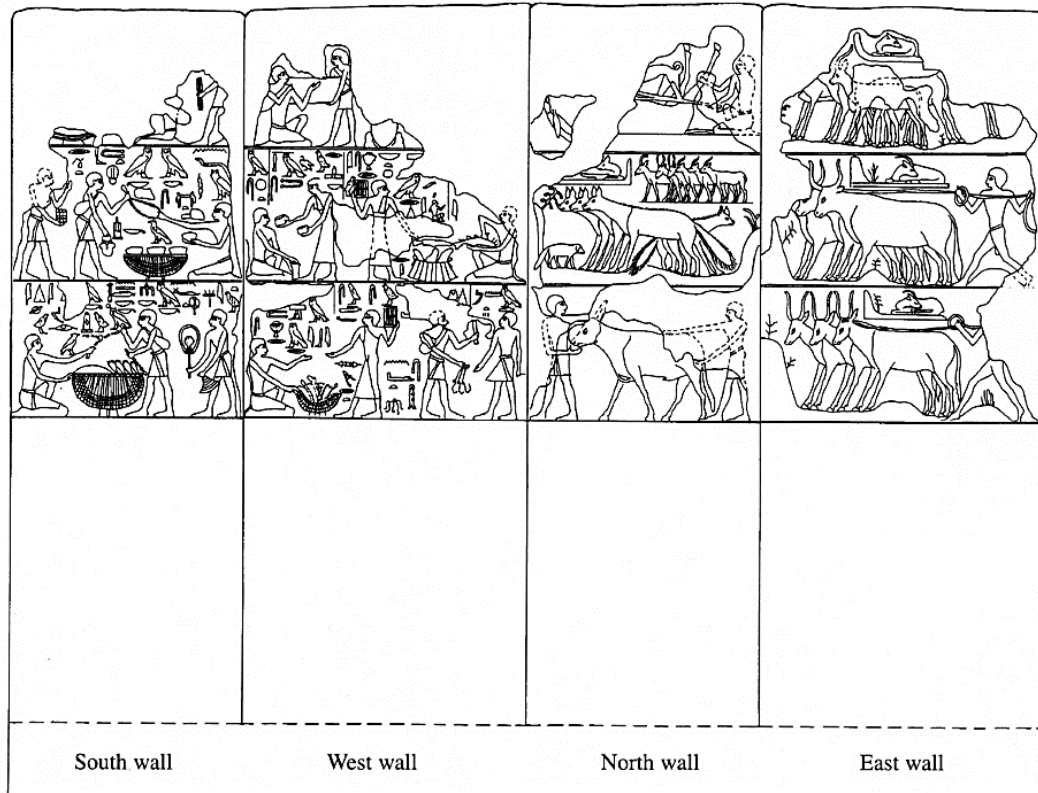


Fig. 109 Reconstruction of the original pillar decoration on the east wall in the tomb of Fetekti (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.17).

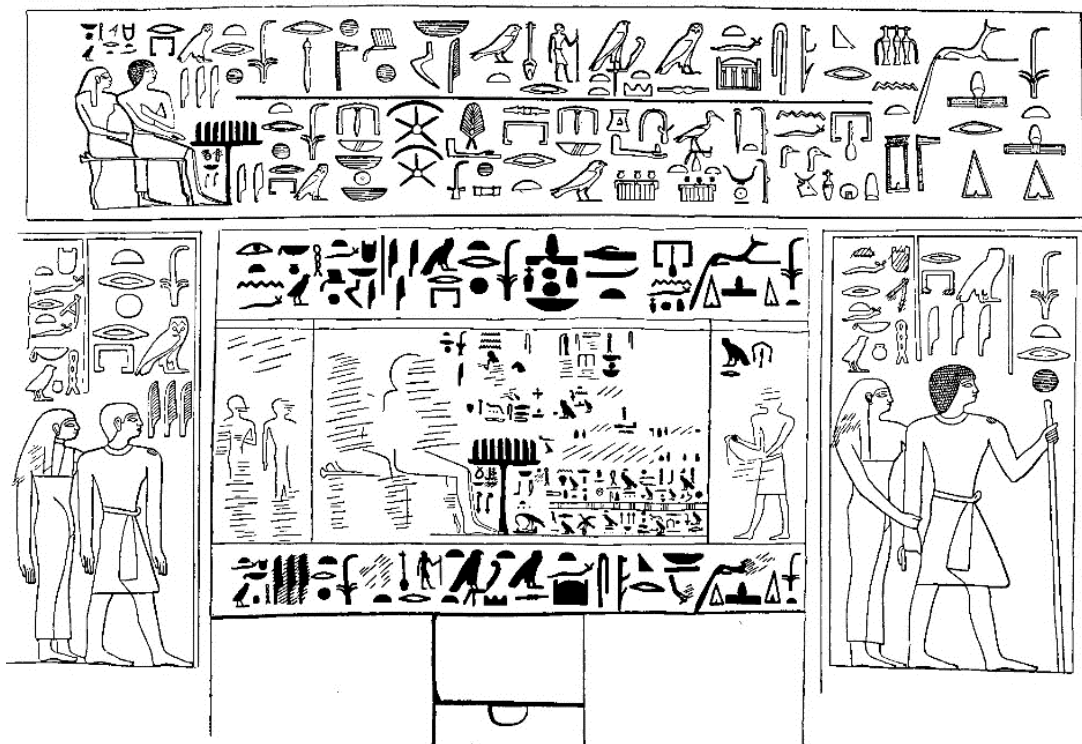


Fig. 110 Upper part of the false door in the mastaba of Iy (Hassan 1932: fig. 173).



Fig. 111 Upper part of the false door in the mastaba of Iy (Hassan 1932: fig. 175).



Fig. 112 False door from the corridor chapel in the tomb of Rahetep (Bárta 2001: fig. 3.7).

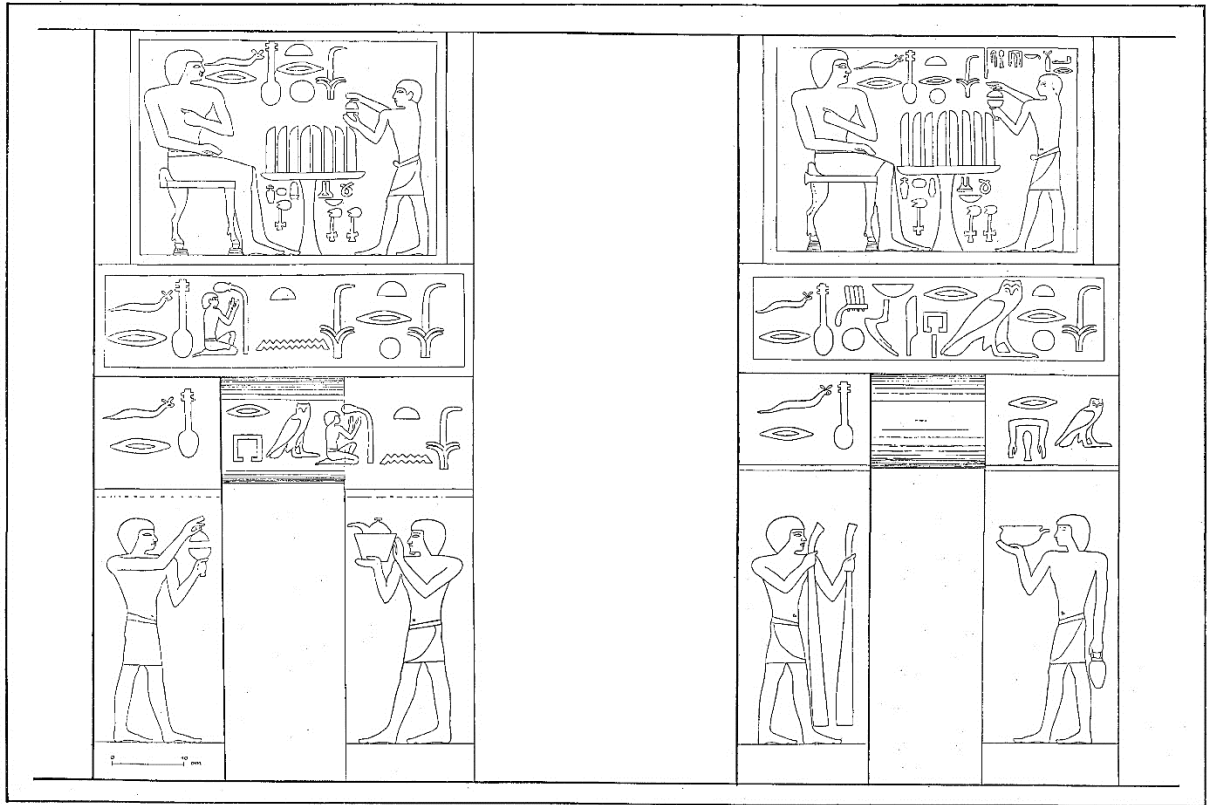


Fig. 114 False doors in the tomb of Nefer (Junker 1943: fig. 7).

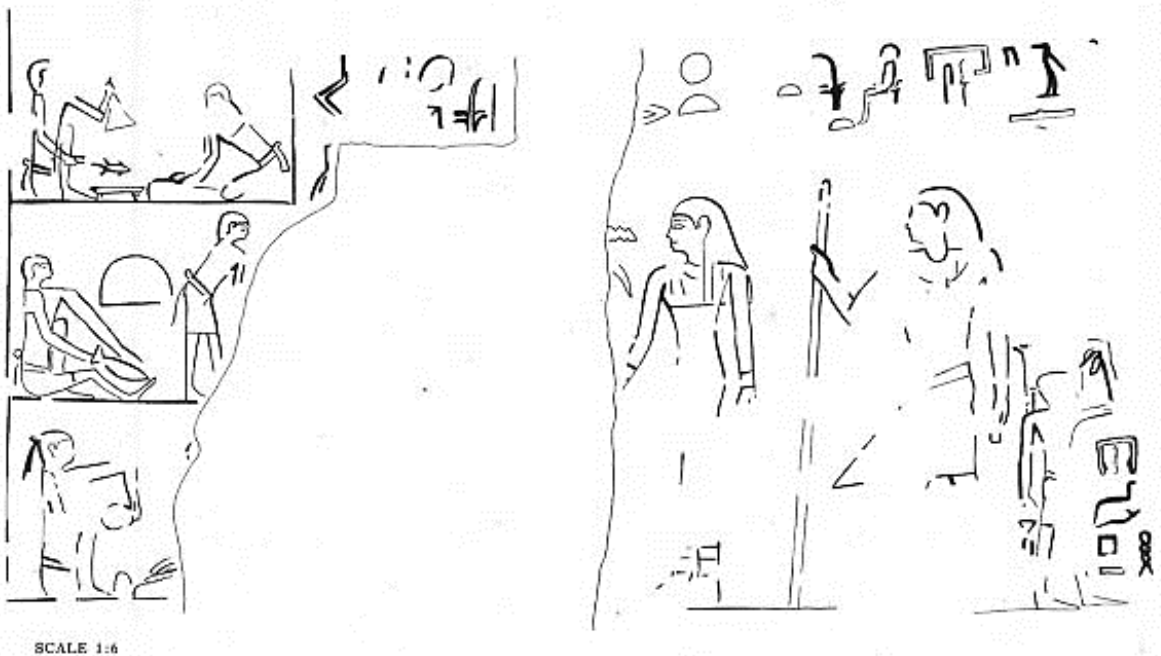


Fig. 115 Priest following the tomb owner and his wife on the west wall of the chapel in the tomb of Meniu (Blackman and Apted 1953: 48, 2).