

# The Tomb of Pepyankh Henrykem

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## **Abstract**

This study examines the life and career of the sixth Dynasty official Pepyankh Henykem of Meir through a detailed analysis of his tomb. In particular, attention is paid to the decoration and meaning of the serdab and room F. In the case of the serdab this leads to the suggestion that we can construct the outline of a biography for Pepyankh, as well as identifying potential acquaintances. The interpretation of room F leads us to reattribute it to Pepyankh's son, Heny.

The tomb is then examined as a whole in order to ascertain the likely order in which it was constructed. This leads to an interpretation of the connection between the tomb and that of Pepyankh's father, Niankh-Pepy, as being of principally religious and filial significance.

A complete translation and transliteration of the tomb is provided as an appendix.

Dedicated to my mum, Lesley, for reading the whole bloody thing so many times, and to Ben and  
Laura for the occasional cups of tea as I wrote it.

# **The Tomb of Pepyankh Henykem**

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## **1. Introduction**

The following work was initially intended to consider and discuss the entire tomb of Pepyankh Henykem. However, considerations of space have meant that in order to properly consider the tomb, it has been necessary to be selective. As such, I have examined the facets of the tomb that seem to me the most interesting. These are the serdab and room F. Insofar as I am able, I have attempted to produce some explanation for the puzzling characteristics of both. In addition to this, I have examined the tomb as a whole in order to ascertain a building history, through which it has been possible to examine the unusual connection between Pepyankh's tomb and that of his father, Niankh-Pepy.

In examining these features of the tomb, it became clear that what was recorded was more than a collection of standard tomb scenes and titles. Glimpses of the real life of Pepyankh Henykem were visible beneath the paint. It became possible to discern the outline of much of his career, rather than simply the final, high-ranking stage. Evidence of his relationship with both his father and his son became clear, and hints of friendships, or at least association, with other high officials came to light. In short, the tomb of Pepyankh Henykem recorded the life of its owner very effectively.

Alongside this, however, several subsidiary points have become clear. In chapter 4 the decorative scheme of the serdab is discussed. It is argued that the lack of order and consistency demonstrates the lack of a plan, which is due to the novelty of this decorative motif. In addition, a connection is suggested with officials whose tombs are found at Giza. In chapter 5, Pepyankh's various titles are discussed at length, and the possibility of a hidden biography of Pepyankh is mooted. Perhaps the most significant result of this research is to be found in chapter 6, which argues that room F of Pepyankh's tomb should no longer be considered a part of the tomb at all, but rather a separate tomb belonging to Pepyankh's son and successor, Heny. Finally, chapter 7 explores the most likely order in which the tomb was constructed. This has shed light on the connection between Pepyankh's tomb and that of his father, and it is now possible to see the connection principally as a religious and familial, rather than practical, consideration.

Alongside this, I present a new translation of the entire tomb. While Blackman's translation<sup>1</sup> is predominantly correct, 60 years of Egyptology have given us a better understanding of some of the more difficult phrases. Further, as so much of the writing in the tomb consists of official titles, Jones' recent work, *'An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom,*<sup>2</sup> has rendered a new translation desirable.

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<sup>1</sup> Blackman 1953: 46-49.

<sup>2</sup> Jones 2000.

In addition, I present an entirely new transliteration of the whole tomb. This has never before been done. No transliteration of the tomb, or indeed any part of it longer than one or two sentences, has ever appeared in print. Both the transliteration and the translation are given in the Appendices.



## **2. Background**

### **2a. Description of Meir<sup>3</sup>**

The town of el-Qusiya, ancient *Kis* (Greek *Cusae*), once the capital of the fourteenth Upper Egyptian nome is situated approximately 15 miles south of Amarna and 30 miles north of Asyut. Nothing now survives of the city of Qis, the whole site being covered by the modern town and a Muslim graveyard.<sup>4</sup> Aelian mentions the city in his *De Natura Animalium*<sup>5</sup> as notable for its worship of the goddess Aphrodite Urania and a cow, the Egyptian goddess Hathor. Hathor is frequently mentioned in inscriptions from the necropolis as ‘Hathor, Mistress of Qis.’<sup>6</sup>

Four miles west of the ancient city is the modern village of Meir which gives its name to the nearby necropolis, site of the tombs of many of those who once ruled from Qis.<sup>7</sup> There are eighteen decorated tombs in the necropolis, the largest and most important of which belong to rulers of the sixth and twelfth Dynasties. The tomb of Pepyankh Henykem, the subject of this essay, is the largest of all.

### **2b. Genealogy of Pepyankh**

Practically all who have written on Pepyankh Henykem have believed, with Blackman,<sup>8</sup> that he was the youngest of three sons, all named Pepyankh. His father, Niankh-Pepy Sobekhotep, was the earliest known ruler of Cusae, a position eventually inherited by Pepyankh.<sup>9</sup> His mother was named Pekher-Nefert, ‘her ‘good name’ being Bebi.’<sup>10</sup> Pepyankh was preceded in office by both of his older brothers, Pepyankh the Eldest and Pepyankh the Middle, and by at least one nephew, Sobekhotep, son of Pepyankh the Eldest. His wife was named Set-net-Pepy and he had two sons, Heni, his immediate successor, and Hepi, Heni’s successor. Neither son’s tomb is preserved, however, and so Pepyankh is the last sixth Dynasty ruler of whom any certain record survives.

Such has been the established order, occasionally slightly tweaked,<sup>11</sup> since Blackman first excavated Meir. Kanawati has argued very persuasively<sup>12</sup>, however, that this order is completely incorrect. Blackman’s order is based almost entirely on the strength of his understanding of *Ppy-ꜥnh wr*

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<sup>3</sup> While a map of the site is desirable, no such map has so far been published. An attempt to use Google maps to produce one was not successful, as it is not possible to get any useful detail. It is to be hoped that Kanawati will include one in his publication of the tombs.

<sup>4</sup> Blackman 1914: 2.

<sup>5</sup> Aelian: 10.27.

<sup>6</sup> Blackman 1914: 2.

<sup>7</sup> Baines and Malek 1980: 122.

<sup>8</sup> Blackman 1914: 9; 1953: *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Blackman 1914: 9-10.

<sup>10</sup> Blackman 1914: 9.

<sup>11</sup> Martin-Pardey 1976: 125.

<sup>12</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989: 11-17 & Kanawati 1989: 75-80.

(‘Pepyankh the eldest’) and *Ppy-ϵnh hry-ib* (‘Pepyankh the middle’) as meaning the eldest and middle of three brother Pepyankhs. No other evidence confirms this. Indeed, Pepyankh Henykem is explicitly referred to in Niankh-Pepy’s tomb as *s3.f wr*<sup>13</sup> ‘his eldest son,’ which Blackman disregards.<sup>14</sup> Presumably, this is because he considered the title to have been a later interpolation,<sup>15</sup> though this is not explicitly stated. Further, the tombs of the three ‘brothers’ are not situated in the same cemetery, as might be expected, but alternate between Meir, where Niankh-Pepy and the ‘younger’ two Pepyankhs are buried, and Quseir el-Amarna where Pepyankh the eldest is interred.<sup>16</sup>

The new order, proposed by Kanawati,<sup>17</sup> follows the evidence much more closely. It suggests a father-son succession as follows:

1. <i>Hw.n-wh</i>	Quseir, tomb 2
2. <i>Ppy-ϵnh-wr</i>	Quseir, tomb 1
3. <i>Sbk-htp Hpi</i>	Saqqara Mastaba <sup>18</sup>
4. <i>Ppy-ϵnh-hri-ib Nfr-k3-Hny</i>	Meir, tomb D2
5. <i>Ni-ϵnh-Ppy-km Hpi-km Sbk-htp</i>	Meir, tomb A1
6. <i>Ppy-ϵnh Hny-km</i>	Meir, tomb A2
7. <i>Hni</i>	No known tomb
8. <i>Hpi-km</i> (Possibly identical with 3.)	Meir, tomb A4

With the exception of number 1, who appears not to have been related to his successors, this list corresponds with the name of the eldest son given in each tomb, without forcing us to accept a confused succession of brothers, nephews and uncles. Further, it removes the necessity of explaining the alternation of cemeteries, as it shows a clear divide between Quseir el-Amarna, used by the early rulers of the 14<sup>th</sup> Nome, and Meir, used by their successors. Kanawati posits that this shift may have been for administrative purposes, as those buried at Quseir held only priestly titles, while those in Meir held more powerful administrative titles, such as *imy-r3 sm<sup>ϵ</sup>w* and *t3yty s3b t3ty*.<sup>19</sup>

Two of the individuals included, Sobekhotep Hepi and Heni, are not quite so securely placed as the others but this is less serious a problem than it at first appears. That *Sbk-htp Hpi*, is the son of *Ppy-ϵnh-wr*, is certain from the latter’s tomb,<sup>20</sup> and two separate tombs have been suggested for him. It is

<sup>13</sup> Blackman 1953: Pl. 12. Not also Pl. 14 as Kanawati implies (1989: note 8).

<sup>14</sup> Blackman 1953: 5.

<sup>15</sup> Blackman 1953: 13, note 1, right.

<sup>16</sup> El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989: 27-30.

<sup>17</sup> Kanawati 1989: 78; Kanawati 2010: 217



<sup>18</sup> This attribution is not certain, but seems likely. Kanawati 2004: 57-59; Kanawati 2010: 211-213

<sup>19</sup> Kanawati 1989: 78.

<sup>20</sup> Chaban 1902: 253.

possible that his tomb is the unrecorded A4 at Meir<sup>21</sup>, though the little that survives of this monument makes this appear unlikely.

Only a name and title sequence have ever been published from this tomb.<sup>22</sup> These proclaim the owner to be ‘*Hpi km, imy-r3 šmꜥw, ḥtmty bity, smr wꜥty, hry-ḥb.t, imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr*’ – ‘Hepi the Black, Overseer of Upper Egypt, Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Lector Priest, Overseer of the God’s Servants.’ We can compare this with the known titles of Sobekhotep, as depicted on two walls of the tomb of his son, Pepyankh the Middle.<sup>23</sup> On one wall Sobekhotep is called ‘*hry-tp nsw.t imy-[r3] ḥm-ntr Sbk[-ḥtp]*’ – ‘King’s Liegeman, Overseer of the God’s Servants, Sobekhotep.’ On the other, he is called ‘*hry-tp nsw.t imy-r3 ḥm-ntr n Ḥt-ḥr rn.fꜥ3 Sbk-ḥtp im3ḥ[w] ḥ[r] ntr rn.f nfr Hpi*’ – ‘King’s Liegeman, Overseer of the God’s Servants of Hathor, whose great name is Sobekhotep, revered with the god, whose good name is Hepi.’ Most notable here is the discrepancy between the names – Sobekhotep is not called Hepi the Black, but Hepi – a notable difference in a family whose names are so often similar. This is not conclusive, however. Pepyankh Henykem is called Heny almost as often as Henykem, and so a single example cannot hold much water. Moreover, as Kanawati suggests, it is possible that the *km* from tomb A4 has been misread, particularly when the poor state of preservation is considered.<sup>24</sup>

Comparing the titles, it is clear that there is little similarity. Again, the lack of evidence prevents us from making any firm conclusions based on these lists. All seven of the titles recorded here are apparently hereditary among the rulers of Meir, and so their absence or presence in these three strings is hardly surprising. There is, however, one shared title in the lists, and it is this that makes the identification of Sobekhotep with the owner of tomb A4 unlikely. All three lists contain the title *imy-r3 ḥm(.w)-ntr* ‘Overseer of the God’s Servants.’ In both of the lists in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle, it is written . In the A4 list, however, it is written . The first of these is common throughout the tombs of the Old Kingdom rulers of Meir – Pepyankh the Middle, Niankh-Pepy and Pepyankh the Black all hold this title and write it in this way. The second arrangement is, according to Kanawati ‘regularly used in later tombs.’<sup>25</sup> Sobekhotep predates the other burials at Meir, and should not, therefore, be expected to use the later orthography. This is by no means conclusive proof, but is a reasonably good indication that the owner of A4 is probably somebody else – presumably the second son of Pepyankh Henykem.

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<sup>21</sup> Kanawati 1989: 77.

<sup>22</sup> Blackman 1914: 10-11.

<sup>23</sup> Blackman 1924: Pl. 4 & Pl. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Kanawati 1989: 77.

<sup>25</sup> Kanawati 1989: 80.

The other proposal for Sobekhotep's tomb is a small mastaba in the Unis cemetery at Saqqara.<sup>26</sup> This is undecorated, save for a false door and an inscribed stone sarcophagus. The surviving text from this tomb is too long to be worth including here. It will suffice to say that the owner of this tomb has three names: *Sbk-ḥtp*, *N-ḥ-Ppy* and *rn.f nfr Ḥpi*.<sup>27</sup> The first and last of these correspond exactly to those found in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle, while the other name, though not listed among the names found there is the name of Pepyankh the Middle's son. This son also bears the names Sobekhotep and Hepi – though distinguished by the frequent use of the suffix *km* 'the Black.' Considering the frequent reuse of names by the family, it seems reasonably likely that the owner of the Saqqara tomb is identical with Sobekhotep of Meir. This is given some support by the presence among the titles in the Saqqara tomb of *ḥry-tp nsw.t (n) pr-ḥ*<sup>28</sup> 'King's Liegeman of the Great House.' Though not, as Kanawati suggests,<sup>29</sup> exactly the same title borne by Sobekhotep in Meir, this is very clearly no more than a specific form of the shorter title. That the two Sobekhoteps are the same, is, therefore, eminently plausible.

The second gap in the record comes at the end with *Ḥni*. It is suggested that this does not in fact represent a gap in the archaeological record, but an oversight. It will be argued below<sup>30</sup> that Heni is in fact the architect of what has been commonly thought of as room F of Pepyankh's tomb. This not only explains a number of puzzling aspects of the tomb, but removes the most troubling lacuna in Kanawati's proposed family tree.<sup>31</sup>

## **2c. History of Research**

The first work to be carried out on the tomb of Pepyankh Henykem was little more than tomb robbery. At some point in the late 1870s, an Egyptian, Muhammed Shehin, dug all over Meir. He did not record his work, and only preserved undamaged artefacts, burning the rest, many of which he himself had broken, in large bonfires. Many inscribed sarcophagi were consigned to these pyres and whether Pepyankh's was among them is unknown.<sup>32</sup> In the 1890s, two French archaeologists – Daressy and Barsanti – were granted the first official concession in Meir. Daressy apparently copied the inscriptions and reliefs in the tomb of Pepyankh, but these were never published.

The tomb was first systematically excavated by Aylward M. Blackman and Michael R. Apter between the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1949 and the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1950. The initial stages of the excavation were occupied by the removal of centuries of bat droppings from the tomb, carried out by Yusif

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<sup>26</sup> Kanawati 2004: 49.

<sup>27</sup> Kanawati 2004: 51, 53.

<sup>28</sup> Kanawati 2004: 53. Jones 2000: 2878.

<sup>29</sup> Kanawati 2004: 57.

<sup>30</sup> See section 6.

<sup>31</sup> As detailed above, see page 6.

<sup>32</sup> Blackman 1914: 14.

Effendi Khafaga. This lasted until the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1950, though for most of this time recording work was being carried out in rooms less badly affected by the bats. The majority of the decoration was copied down by Moris Effendi Farid, whose drawings were inked in by R. H. Coleman. The rest of the decoration was copied by Blackman. Apted was also responsible for photographing the tomb.<sup>33</sup> The results of the excavation were published in 1953 by the Egypt Exploration Society as the fifth volume in the series *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. The volume also contains records of the tomb of Pepyankh's father, Niankh-Pepy the Black, and six far smaller tombs, all of which were excavated in the same season. The book contains 66 plates, 54 of which depict the tomb of Pepyankh. These are supplemented by 40 pages of explanatory text written by Blackman.<sup>34</sup>

Pepyankh's tomb is currently being re-examined by a team from Macquarie University led by Naguib Kanawati. This work is ongoing, and so far nothing has been published, though Kanawati has published the tomb of Pepyankh Heryib from the neighbouring site of Quseir el-Amarna. During the preparation of this essay I contacted Kanawati, but he was unable to tell me anything new as work has only just begun at the tomb. Kanawati's team are re-recording room F, and hope eventually to record room D, left unrecorded in Blackman's excavation. The main objective is 'the study of art ... in the tomb, including methods of preparation of the wall surface and the use of guide lines.'<sup>35</sup> Kanawati has previously published a number of books and articles concerning Pepyankh and his family.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Blackman 1953: v-vi.

<sup>34</sup> Blackman 1953: vii-viii.

<sup>35</sup> Kanawati 2010: personal communication.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Kanawati 1980a, 1989, 2010, and El-Khouli & Kanawati 1989.

### **3. Description of the tomb**<sup>37</sup>

The tomb of Pepyankh is composed of 6 main rooms, 5 of which are decorated to some extent, and two additional smaller rooms.<sup>38</sup> The entrance faces southeast and is undecorated. Room A, the room into which the entrance leads, is a roughly rectangular room measuring approximately 11'11" x 12'3" (3.65m x 3.75m) and has a height of approximately 9'2" (2.8m). Room A contains doorways leading to three further rooms. That in the southwest wall leads to room B, the largest room in the tomb, that in the northwest wall leads to the undecorated room E, and that in the northeast wall leads to room F, the room containing the serdab and the scenes of the funerary procession. The walls of room A are decorated with scenes of Pepyankh viewing various types of craftsmen at work – metalworkers, vase makers, jewellers, carpenters, sculptors, vintners, stonemasons, shoe makers and scribes are all represented. In the northwest wall, east of the entrance to room E, there is a recess in which are the remains of a statue of Pepyankh. The top half of the statue has been removed and the legs and seat are all that is left.

Room B is, as mentioned above, the largest room in the tomb. It forms half of a pillared hall shared between Pepyankh's tomb and that of his father, Niankh-Pepy. It is clearly marked as a separate room by a section of partition wall between the two halves. This room is roughly rectangular and measures approximately 32'9" x 14' 9" – 18' (10m x 4.5m – 5.5m) and is approximately 6'6" (2m) in height. Apart from the connection in the southwest to Niankh-Pepy's tomb, there are three doorways in this room. In the northeast wall is that leading to room A, and in the northwest are two doorways leading to rooms D, the burial chamber, and C, the original offerings chamber, respectively. That to room D is west of that to room C, and leads first down a sloping corridor roughly 16'4" (5m) long. The decoration in this room consists primarily of scenes involving food production and offering. Among the more impressive of these are scenes of Pepyankh supervising ploughing, fishing and fowling, and of Pepyankh and his son being carried in a sedan supported by 12 men and led by men and women carrying baskets of food and drink. Also in this room is a large scene of Pepyankh fowling and fishing from a boat in the Nile. There are three burial shafts sunk into the floor of this room and two recesses containing the remnants of statues of Pepyankh. The less damaged of these is in the northwest wall, west of the entrance to room D. It lacks a head and upper torso, but the lower torso is mostly preserved, as is the rest of the statue. The other, slightly more damaged statue is in a recess in the northeast wall, north of the doorway to room A. Of this only the legs and seat remain.

Room C, described by Blackman as the 'Cultus-chamber,'<sup>39</sup> is, as mentioned above, the smallest decorated room. It is roughly rectangular and measures approximately 9'10" x 7'2" (3m x 2.2m) and is approximately 5'7" (1.7m) in height. There is only one doorway in the room, that leading to room

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<sup>37</sup> See Fig. 1. All measurements in this section are worked out from the scale in fig. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Blackman 1953: Pl. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Blackman 1953: 30.

B in the southeast wall. There is a false door in the northwest corner of the room with an offering slab in front of it. The decoration in this room consists almost entirely of offering scenes. Alongside the scenes of men bringing various types of offering – geese, beef, bread and wine – there are two scenes of Pepyankh sitting at an offering table. On the north wall, above the larger of these two scenes, there is written the standard ‘list of offerings,’ a list which is also written on the south wall. Also in this room are scenes of butchery.

Room D, the burial chamber, is reached by a sloping passageway. The room is more or less rectangular, and measures roughly 16’4” x 9’10” (5m x 3m). It contains a large pit approximately 9’10” x 4’11” (3m x 1.5m). The room is roughly 6’6” (2m) high and the pit is approximately 3’2” (0.95m) deep. There is only one doorway in the room, that leading to the sloping passageway in its southeast corner. At the time of Blackman’s excavations, the walls of this room were, though decorated, ‘hopelessly defiled by the excrement of countless generations of bats.’<sup>40</sup> As such, no description exists of this room. This problem still exists for Kanawati’s new study of the tomb, though it is hoped that it will be possible to excavate the room at some stage in the study.<sup>41</sup>

Room E is the undecorated room mentioned above. It is an L-shaped chamber, the northeast corner of which breaks through into room F, damaging some of the decoration therein. It measures approximately 16’4” x 6’6” (5m x 2m) at its longest and narrowest, and 8’2” x 9’10” (2.5m x 3m) at its shortest and widest. The only doorway is in the southeast wall and connects to room A. A large part of the floor of this room is occupied by a burial shaft measuring 6’6” x 3’11” (2m x 1.2m).

Room F is the second largest, and in many ways the most interesting, room in the tomb. It is roughly oblong and measures approximately 32’9” x 11’5” (10m x 3.5m) and is approximately 9’ (2.75m) high. There are two doorways in the room. The one in the southwest corner connects to room A, and that in the northwest wall leads to room G, a small room which is not discussed by Blackman. There is a shallow shaft next to the east wall through which room H, a room postulated by Blackman as belonging to an unrelated intruder,<sup>42</sup> is reached. There are two false door stelae on the east wall of the room, the northernmost of which is also thought to belong to the owner of room H. A cement partition in the northeast corner separates the room from another tomb. The south wall of room F is decorated with a scene of the tomb owner seated, inspecting ‘the bulls and all the small cattle from his towns.’<sup>43</sup> The east and west walls are decorated in ink with the most complete representation of the funerary procession known from the Old Kingdom, including depictions of ceremonies performed in the embalmers’ workshop and in the tent of purification.

Room F occupies the place originally taken by a serdab – a chamber for the Ka statues of the tomb owner. Fortunately, when room F was built, the serdab, being mostly below the level of the new

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<sup>40</sup> Blackman 1953: 44.

<sup>41</sup> Kanawati 2010: Personal communication.

<sup>42</sup> Blackman 1953: 46.

<sup>43</sup> Blackman 1953: 49.

floor, was preserved and survives mostly intact. The floor at the southern end of the room is almost completely occupied by the serdab, which measures 16'4" x 6'6" (5m x 2m) and is 5'9" deep (1.75m). The south wall survives in its entirety, including a piece of the original roof. The remaining walls survive to over two-thirds of their original height. The east and west walls are disrupted for approximately 3'3" (1m) by a burial shaft sunk in the floor of room F at some point after it was completed and decorated. The eastern side of the shaft contains the blocked entrance to a horizontal shaft. There is a set of rough steps in the west wall, south of the shaft, leading to the doorway between rooms F and A. The surviving walls of the serdab are entirely decorated with representations of the tomb owner as a statue.

Blackman provides no description of rooms G and H, and so apart from describing their location and dimensions, it is impossible to say anything about them. Room G is reached by a doorway in the northwest wall of room F. It is roughly rectangular, measuring approximately 4'7" x 6'7" (1.4m x 2m) and is approximately 3'3" (1m) high. Room H is reached by way of a passageway approximately 13'2" (4m) long. This passageway is an extension of the shallow shaft mentioned in the description of room F. The room is roughly triangular. It is roughly 9'10" (3m) long at its greatest length, and 7'7" (2.3m) wide at the base of the triangle. The room is approximately 5'7" (1.7m) in height. As mentioned above, Blackman<sup>44</sup> suggests this room is not part of the original tomb, but belongs instead to an intruder.

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<sup>44</sup> Blackman 1953: 46.



## **4. Serdab Decoration**

### **4a. Description**<sup>45</sup>

The serdab was originally decorated with somewhere in the region of 250 depictions of Pepyankh as a standing statue. 218 of these survive, though many are extremely fragmentary. 195 still retain an inscription, though of these around 20 are too damaged to read. The statues are uniform in design. Each shows Pepyankh in a short kilt and blue collar. His hair is close cropped and he holds a long staff vertically in front of him with one hand and a *wr*-sceptre horizontally with the other. The staff, kilt and sceptre are all painted yellow, which, in Blackman's estimation, is intended to represent gilding.<sup>46</sup> Each figure stands on a black pedestal. The inscriptions accompanying each representation are placed directly in front of the staff, a title is inscribed above the sceptre and a variant of Pepyankh's name is inscribed below in varying shades of blue.

The south wall is the only surface to survive completely intact. It contains four registers, each with ten figures facing right, towards the west wall. The east wall originally contained four or five registers, though this was possibly not uniform along its length. The south end of the wall, which has survived intact, contains 5 registers, all except the bottom featuring 22 figures. The bottom register originally contained 21 figures, as that in the south corner appears never to have been painted. There is a break approximately a third of the way along caused by a burial shaft. All figures face towards the south wall. The north wall originally contained either four or five registers. The destruction of the top of this wall, however, makes it impossible to tell. Each register originally contained 11 figures, all of which face towards the west wall. The west wall contains, at its southern end, the entrance to the serdab. The wall is disrupted approximately halfway along its length by the burial shaft mentioned above. The section of the wall between the doorway and the south wall has survived almost completely intact. It contained three registers each featuring 5 figures. The figures face towards the doorway. The rest of the wall has not fared as well. Originally it depicted either 4 or 5 registers of approximately 18 figures each. All figures face towards the doorway.

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<sup>45</sup> See figs 8a and 8b.

<sup>46</sup> Blackman 1953: 46.

#### **4b. Analysis**<sup>47</sup>

The extremely repetitive nature of the serdab inscription makes any attempt to understand it difficult without the imposition of some sort of order. To that end, the titles and name variants have been counted and tabulated according to the number of occurrences of each in the serdab. As there seems to be no specific correlation between the title and name variant chosen in each inscription, the two have been presented in separate lists.

The titles are arranged according to the rank of the titles, as detailed in Baer's chart VI G.<sup>48</sup> Baer does not deal with any of the last 8 titles, and so these have been ordered simply by prevalence. There are difficulties associated with the use of Baer's chart,<sup>49</sup> but as there is no alternative for the vast majority of the titles in the serdab, it has had to be adopted. This problem has been avoided for the titles from the rest of the tomb, as detailed below.<sup>50</sup>

All titles are given in both Egyptian and English translation, and the number of each title in Jones' *Index* has been provided for ease of reference. The names are given in order of overall frequency. The 20 or so inscriptions which are too damaged to be of use have been omitted.

As will be explained below, it is worthwhile to make a distinction between the north end of the serdab, which for our purposes can be taken to mean the north wall, plus the west wall north of the doorway, and the south end – the south wall, the east wall and the west wall south of the doorway. As such, totals are provided for the north and south of the serdab before overall totals are given. In addition, percentages are provided of both the north and south, and of the overall total. North and south percentages refer to the percentage of the total for each title or name variant. The overall percentage refers to the percentage of the serdab inscriptions represented by each title and name variant.

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 1 for translation of the serdab.

<sup>48</sup> Baer 1960: 239.

<sup>49</sup> This is discussed below, page 20-21.

<sup>50</sup> This is discussed below, page 21.

**4b.i. Table of titles found in the serdab**

Egyptian	English	Jones No. <sup>51</sup>	North Total	North %age	South Total	South %age	Total	%age of Total
<i>t3yty s3b t3ty</i>	He of the Curtain, Chief Justice and Vizier	3706	0	0	3	100	3	1.8
<i>h3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count	1858	8	40	12	60	20	11.7
<i>hmty bity</i>	Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt	2775	6	46.1	7	53.9	13	7.6
<i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt	896	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	5.3
<i>imy-r3 šnw.t</i>	Overseer of the Granary	916	1	100	0	0	1	0.6
<i>imy-r3 šnw.ty</i>	Overseer of the 2 Granaries	923	3	50	3	50	6	3.5
<i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i>	Overseer of the Treasury	489	4	50	4	50	8	4.7
<i>hry-hb.t hry-tp</i>	Lector Priest in Charge <sup>52</sup>	2860	2	20	8	80	10	5.8
<i>s(t)m</i>	Se(te)m Priest	3241	1	14.3	6	87.7	7	4.1
<i>htm ntr</i>	God's Sealer	2791	1	50	1	50	2	1.2
<i>smr wꜥty</i>	Sole Companion	3268	1	8.3	11	91.7	12	7
<i>smr</i>	Companion	3263	6	66.7	3	33.3	9	5.3
<i>hry- hb.t</i>	Lector Priest	2848	5	35.7	9	64.3	14	8.2
<i>hry-tp nsw.t</i>	King's Liegeman	2874	1	50	1	50	2	1.2
<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the God's Servant(s)	651	12	31.6	26	68.4	38	22.2
<i>šps nsw.t</i>	Noble of the King	3648	2	33.3	4	66.7	6	3.5
<i>sš gs-dp.t</i>	Scribe of Protection	3212	1	33.3	2	66.7	3	1.8
<i>mty n s3</i>	Regulator of a Phyle	1694	0	0	2	100	2	1.2
<i>sš n s3</i>	Scribe of a Phyle	3178	1	50	1	50	2	1.2
<i>shd hm-ntr</i>	Inspector of God's Servants	3437	1	50	1	50	2	1.2
<i>wr id.t</i>	Great of Censing	1417	1	100	0	0	1	0.6
<i>imy-r3 hnw</i>	Overseer of the Residence	738	0	0	1	100	1	0.6
<b>Total</b>			59	34.5	112	65.5	171	

<sup>51</sup> These refer to index number, not page number.

<sup>52</sup> After Goedicke 1977: 122.

**4b.ii. Table of name variants found in the serdab**

Name	North Total	North Percentage	South Total	South Percentage	Total	Percentage of Total
<i>Hny</i>	37	60.6	24	39.3	61	34.1
<i>Hnni.t</i>	19	52.7	17	47.3	36	20.1
<i>Hny km</i>	1	3	32	97	33	18.4
<i>Hnni.t km</i>	0	0	24	100	24	13.4
<i>Ppy-<sup>5</sup>nḥ</i>	6	42.9	8	57.1	14	7.8
<i>Ppy-<sup>5</sup>nḥ km</i>	0	0	3	100	3	1.7
<i>Hnyy</i>	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	1.7
<i>Hnn.t</i>	0	0	2	100	2	1.1
<i>Hni.t</i>	1	100	0	0	1	0.6
<i>Hny.t km</i>	0	0	1	100	1	0.6
<i>Hnni km</i>	0	0	1	100	1	0.6
<b>Total</b>	66	36.5	113	63.5	179	

A number of points are immediately obvious from the information presented above. Firstly, it will be easily perceived that names including *km* – ‘the black’ – are almost exclusively confined to the southern end of the serdab. Of the 62 names ending in *km*, just one is located in the north of the serdab. 4 such names - *Hny.t km*, *Hnni km*, *Ppy-<sup>5</sup>nḥ km* & *Hnni.t km* - are found only on the southern side of the serdab. While this may not be very revealing in first three cases, each of which is found fewer than five times in total, *Hnni.t km* is found 24 times, and its absence from the north of the serdab is striking.

It should be pointed out, as Kanawati<sup>53</sup> has said, the *km* sign in these inscriptions can easily ‘be mistaken for a chipped part of stone or a splash of paint.’ This could explain the anomalous northern *km*. However, in any case, this single irregularity does not materially affect the overwhelming statistical majority.

Conversely, it will be noticed that names lacking the *km* element have an equivalent preponderance on the northern side of the break. 114 are recorded, just 20 of which are on the southern side. 1 name, *Hni.t*, is found only in the north of the serdab, though, as before, this is perhaps not of great interest – a name found only once has to be either north or south of the break, and whichever it is cannot be considered statistically significant.

<sup>53</sup> Kanawati 1989: note 20.

A similar pattern is visible, if not quite so immediately obvious, among the titles. The northern inscription accounts for approximately a third of the entire serdab, and yet in several cases, notably among high-ranking titles such as *h3ty-ꜥ* and *htmty bity*, it includes over a third of the examples. In fact, with only a few exceptions, the northern inscription contains far more examples of each title than the percentages dictate that it should. In only three cases, *t3yty s3b t3ty*, *hry- hb.t hry-tp* and *smr wꜥty*, does the north contain substantially fewer than a third of the examples. The last of these *smr wꜥty*, is, according to Baer,<sup>54</sup> ranked identically with *smr*, and, if the totals of both of these titles are added together, we find that the northern inscription, does in fact contain exactly one third of the total.

It is possibly objectionable that the north/south boundary has been artificially created. This, however, is not the case. A clear distinction between the two halves is evident when one examines the direction of the figures depicted. All figures face in the direction of the door. This is particularly evident when examining the west wall, which includes the doorway. The figures to the south of the door all face north, while those on the north all face south. At the border of the north and east walls, the opposite corner to the door, the figures face away from each other, giving the impression of two separate processions, both heading for the door. As such, a natural boundary is evident.

This natural boundary provides a key to understanding the nature of the serdab inscriptions. If we consider the way in which the scribe would have carried out the decoration in the serdab, an interesting conclusion presents itself. The nature of Egyptian writing dictates that a line of text begins from the direction in which the signs face. Images and script are intimately linked in Egyptian art, and as such, in this instance, the direction of the figures gives a natural beginning to the inscription. That is to say, those presented with the task of decorating the serdab, would naturally have started from the door, inscribed as far as the northeast corner then returned to the door and worked to the northeast corner from the opposite direction. If this is accepted, we are presented with, essentially, two separate inscriptions. The, slightly shorter, northern text, and the opposite southern text. The most obvious distinction between the two is the absence in the north of the honorific epitaph *km*. This is coupled with a relative abundance of most higher-ranking titles.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the serdab was not planned in advance, beyond the simple outline. Not only are there substantial differences between the two inscriptions, as discussed above, but within each inscription. In the first place, the extremely low frequency of certain titles is striking. *wr id.t* and *imy-r3 hnw*, for example, each feature just once in the serdab and while further instances of each may have been lost during the construction of room F, it is clear that they can never have been particularly numerous. Why, as these titles were evidently worthy of inclusion, should they be so

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<sup>54</sup> Baer 1960: 164, note 5.

uncommon? The reasons for the inclusion of the titles written in the serdab are discussed below,<sup>55</sup> and it is clear that the two titles mentioned above do not differ in any noticeable way from the rest of those in the serdab. We can suggest no logical reason for the disparity of number between *wr id.t* and, for example, *smr*.

The lack of a coherent plan is further evident in the order of the titles inscribed. Although Fischer has suggested otherwise,<sup>56</sup> there is no apparent attempt to place the titles in strings, or indeed, to order them in any way – each title and name variant seems to have been thought of as an independent inscription. However, there is also no evident link between the name variant paired with each title, and there is wide variation in the pairs, as can be seen in the translation.<sup>57</sup>

As can be seen, the serdab decoration lacks unity of purpose. The inconsistencies between the inscriptions might be explained simply by imagining each to be the work of a different scribe, one of whom liked writing *km* while the other did not – though this does still imply that neither worked to an overall plan. The inconsistencies *within* the inscriptions, however, suggest that no element of the inscription was effectively planned in advance. We are left with the impression that however many scribes worked on the serdab, each was given no more instruction than a list of titles and names, and a request to write one of each next to each statue.

To explain the absence of a plan for the serdab, it is worth considering comparable material from elsewhere in Egypt. To my knowledge, there exist just three examples of this style of serdab, all of which were discovered in ruined mastaba tombs in the Senedjemib complex at Giza – G 2381, G2381a and G2381c. These tombs have not yet been fully published, though such a publication is apparently forthcoming.<sup>58</sup> The owners of these tombs were *Nḥbw* and his two sons *Pth-šps* *Impy* and *S3bw-Pth Ibebi*.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, the serdabs of these tombs are not preserved intact, but exist only in a number of loose blocks, mostly held in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>60</sup> I have been unable to locate the blocks from the tomb of Ptahshepses Impy, though Brovarski asserts that they are described in Reisner's unpublished notes,<sup>61</sup> and so the following discussion does not include his serdab.

Both serdabs share the basic features of that belonging to Pepyankh. Several registers of repeating figures representing statues of the tomb owner are preserved on the surviving blocks, and each figure is accompanied by a brief inscription containing names and titles. These scenes, however, though

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<sup>55</sup> Section 5.

<sup>56</sup> Fischer 1992: 61.

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>58</sup> Brovarski 2003: xxii.

<sup>59</sup> Brovarski 2003: 34.

<sup>60</sup> The blocks held at this museum are numbered MFA 13.4339.1-4, MFA 13.6019 & MFA 14.4345.1-2. In addition, a single block is held in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, J. d'E 44621. These blocks all come from the tombs of Nekhebu and Sabu Ibebi.

<sup>61</sup> Brovarski 2003: 3 note 39.

evidently related to Pepyankh's serdab, do not match its decoration exactly. Perhaps the most obvious difference is that the statues in the Giza tombs are not uniform. Those of Nekhebu vary substantially in both colour and design, and, as Fischer has shown,<sup>62</sup> seem to follow a pattern of alternating colours.<sup>63</sup> Those of Sabu Ibebi, though unfinished, also differ from one another.<sup>64</sup> In addition, while Nekhebu's inscriptions are painted on the walls, with black-inked hieroglyphs as in Pepyankh's tomb, Sabu Ibebi's are incised and do not appear to have been painted. It is perhaps of less importance, though still worth mentioning, that the statues in both Ibebi's and Pepyankh's tombs appear to be 10'' (0.25m) high, while those in Nekhebu's tomb are just 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>'' (0.21m) high.

The writing in each case varies substantially, both in location and content. In Nekhebu's serdab, as in Pepyankh's, the writing is in front of each statue, while in Ibebi's it is behind. While in Pepyankh's tomb, each statue is accompanied by one title and one name variant, in Nekhebu's case the name is always the same and on several occasions the title is omitted. In Ibebi's serdab the names vary in each legend, but rather than a single title, an entire string of titles is written each time.

It should be noted that Fischer has observed of Nekhebu's serdab that it showed 'a lack of careful planning, or a failure to execute the plan progressively and continuously.'<sup>65</sup> In addition, he sees inconsistencies in the pattern of alternating statues as the result of the 'attempt to provide a transition between parts of the wall painted simultaneously by two or more artists.'<sup>66</sup>

The differences between these three serdabs, as well as the inconsistencies within them demonstrate that Pepyankh's serdab is not unique in its irregularity. Further, the lack of comparable material offers a compelling explanation for the apparent carelessness with which each was decorated. This style of serdab was, as far as we are aware, a new departure for Egyptian tomb decoration. Whether it was invented by Nekhebu, or his architect, or there had been tentative steps in this direction which have not survived, it is clear that the serdab decoration was an innovation. The scribes and artists who decorated these serdabs could not have relied on 'copying from predecessors'<sup>67</sup> as no predecessors existed. It is possible, that, had this decorative concept caught on, the techniques would have been honed, and the decorative scheme may have become more coherent.

The fact that there was no proliferation of this style of decoration is probably due to two factors. In the first place, it was invented too late. As Harpur has stated, the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was a period of 'consolidation rather than innovation,'<sup>68</sup> and the serdab decoration is out of step with this. More

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<sup>62</sup> Fischer 1963: 21.

<sup>63</sup> See figs 3, 4 and 5

<sup>64</sup> See figs 6 and 7

<sup>65</sup> Fischer 1963: 22.

<sup>66</sup> Fischer 1963: 22.


<sup>67</sup> Harpur 1987: 231.

<sup>68</sup> Harpur 1987: 230.

importantly, however, the serdab was almost invariably an Old Kingdom feature.<sup>69</sup> With the disappearance of serdabs, decorating serdabs grew considerably less common and so the motif did not have a chance to flourish.

In addition to this, however, it is worth noting that the nature of the serdab does not encourage copyists. Artists and scribes, in addition to their training, presumably sought inspiration from their predecessors, touring older tombs to examine the decorations. The serdab, however, was sealed upon the completion of the tomb, and so its decoration would have been hidden from view. This inaccessibility raises an interesting question. How did Pepyankh know about this style of serdab decoration?

All other examples of this phenomenon occur in a single family, to which Pepyankh does not appear to have been connected. It is inconceivable that the similarities between the serdabs are a coincidence, and if they are the result of a commonality of training, we should expect more examples. An intriguing explanation is presented in the biography of Nekhebu. In this, Nekhebu describes a number of missions on which he was sent at the behest of the king. The third such mission is described as follows: ‘His Majesty sent me to [Ḳūš?] to dig the canal of his ...<sup>[broken]</sup> of Hathor-in-Ḳūš. I acted and I dug it so that his majesty praised me for it.’<sup>70</sup>

Ḳūš is Dunham’s transliteration of  ‘Ḳiṣ,’ the town sign of Cusae. This is the only Upper Egyptian site to which Nekhebu refers, and it is striking that it is also the only site at which a comparable serdab has been found. It is tempting to imagine a scene in which the visiting architect and the local ruler discussed their arrangements for the hereafter, with the serdab decoration as the result of their conversation. There is, however, a serious barrier to this suggestion. The king that sent Nekhebu to Cusae was Pepy I,<sup>71</sup> and so, if Kanawati’s dating of the tomb is correct, Pepyankh was probably not even born during his visit. It is conceivable that Nekhebu’s visit sparked a friendship between his family and that of Pepyankh’s, and that the latter knew the sons of the former. Alternatively, Nekhebu may have spoken to an artist or scribe about his serdab, and the idea stuck until Pepyankh’s tomb was decorated. All of this, however, is mere guesswork, and more certain conclusions must await the publication of the Giza tombs.

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<sup>69</sup> Dodson and Ikram 2008: 114.

<sup>70</sup> Dunham 1938: 3.

<sup>71</sup> Dunham 1938: 1.



## **5. The Titles of Pepyankh Henykem**

In the previous section we discussed the decoration of the serdab, ignoring, for the most part, the content of the inscriptions. These, however, are of great interest. A careful analysis of the titles found in the serdab, and a comparison with those found in the rest of the tomb, leads to some surprising conclusions. To this end, every title attributed to Pepyankh in the tomb, outside of the serdab, has been counted and tabulated.

### **5 i. Table of titles found outside the serdab**

<b>Egyptian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Jones No.<sup>72</sup></b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count	1858	21
<i>ḥtmty bity</i>	Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt	2775	23
<i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt	896	11
<i>imy-r3 šmꜥ m3ꜥ</i>	True overseer of Upper Egypt	898	3
<i>ḥry-ḥb.t ḥry-tp</i>	Lector Priest in Charge	2860	2
<i>s(tm)</i>	Se(te)m Priest	3241	1
<i>smr wꜥty</i>	Sole Companion	3268	25
<i>ḥry- ḥb.t</i>	Lector Priest	2848	20
<i>ḥrp šnd.t nb.t</i>	Director of every kilt	2737	1
<i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the God's Servant(s)	651	25

As mentioned above<sup>73</sup>, the accuracy of Baer's variable sequence charts has been called into question a number of times.<sup>74</sup> These charts represent composites of data drawn from a number of tombs thought to be of the same date.<sup>75</sup> This attempt to draw quite fine distinctions in the span of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty must rest on the firm dating of the tombs from which the charts are drawn. Unfortunately, very few tombs from this period are well-dated – indeed, Baer based his charts partially on Blackman's dating

<sup>72</sup> These refer to index number, not page number.

<sup>73</sup> See page 13.

<sup>74</sup> Kanawati 1989: 18; Franke 1993: 291.

<sup>75</sup> Baer 1960: 222-224.

of the tombs at Meir, which, as has been demonstrated above,<sup>76</sup> was probably wildly inaccurate. Franke has called on Baer's variable sequence charts to be 'abandoned'<sup>77</sup> owing to their shaky foundations.

As such, it has been thought best to create a ranking chart of the titles in Pepyankh's tomb, based solely on the data within the tomb, rather than rely on the general, possibly flawed, charts of Baer. This chart follows Baer's method of assessing the rank of a given title - the earlier a title appears in a sequence of titles, the higher the rank it is presumed to have. There are 28 such title sequences, consisting of between two and eight titles. The central line of the chart shows the immutable titles – those whose positions never change relative to each other. That is to say, *h3ty-ꜥ* is only ever placed first, before *htmty bity* which is always before *smr wꜥty*, while *imy-r3 hm-ntr*, if present, is always the last title in a sequence.

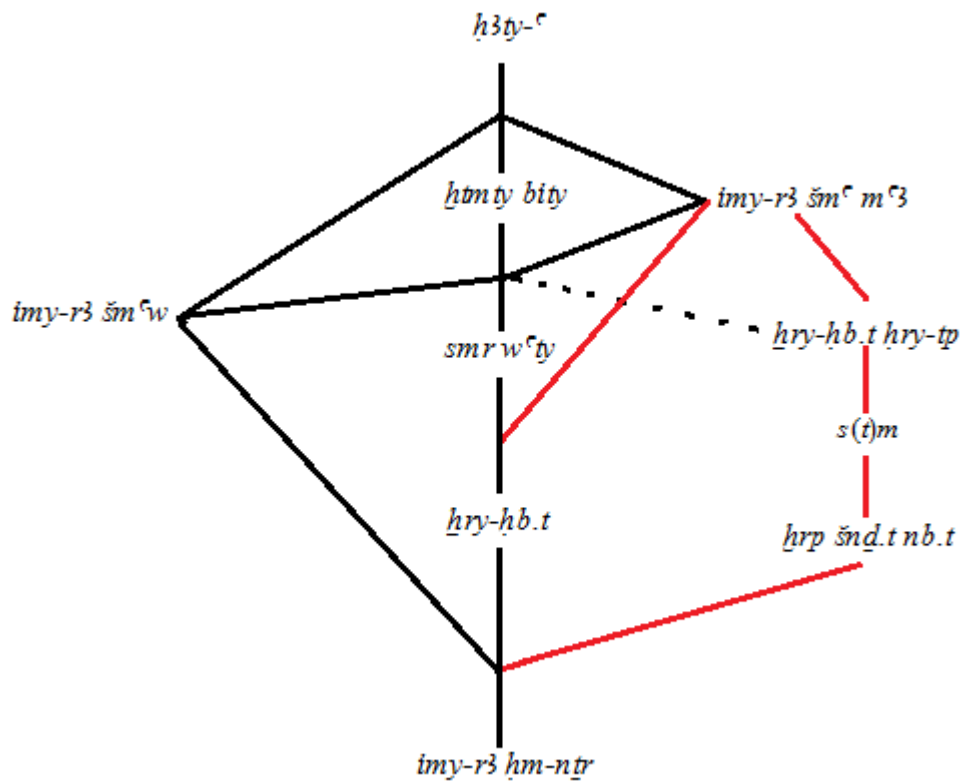
The titles represented in this chart are drawn from the whole tomb apart from the serdab. It would obviously be desirable to include the titles within the serdab, but this has proved impossible. Titles can only be ranked if they are found in sequence, and, although there are many titles in the serdab, it is impossible to read them as a collection of title sequences. Whether one reads vertically or horizontally, it quickly becomes clear that the titles are not arranged in order of rank. This is particularly clear in the several instances in which the same title is written twice in a row.

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<sup>76</sup> Section 2b.

<sup>77</sup> Franke 1993: 291.

**5 ii. Chart showing relative ranks of titles outside the serdab**




The positions of *imy-r3 šmεw* and *imy-r3 šmε m3ε* vary from list to list. The titles can occur in any of the three positions indicated – that is, either before or after *htmty bity*, and, in the case of the former, after *hry-hb.t*, or in the case of the latter, after *smr wεty*. The two titles never appear in the same title sequence and so it is impossible to state their positions relative to one another. *imy-r3 šmε m3ε* appears three times in the tomb – once in each position indicated. *imy-r3 šmεw* appears eleven times – once before *htmty bity*, seven times before *smr wεty* and four times after *hry-hb.t*.

*hry-hb.t hry-tp* occurs once following *htmty bity*, but this string consists of only these two titles, and so we are unable to ascertain its position relative to other titles.

The string *hry-hb.t hry-tp*, *s(t)m*, *hry-hb.t hry-tp* occurs only once, following *imy-r3 šmε m3ε* and preceding *imy-r3 hm-ntr*. This is marked by red lines on the chart. As they never appear in the same string as other titles, such as *smr wεty*, their relative positions cannot be securely established.

Comparing this chart with table 4c.i. two points stand out particularly – the prevalence of the low-ranking title *imy-r3 hm-ntr* and the great difference between the variety of titles recorded in the serdab and that recorded in the rest of the tomb.

The fact that the lowest ranking of Pepyankh's titles, *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*, is by far the most commonly inscribed title. It accounts for 22.2% of all the titles preserved in the serdab, and appears in all but three of the title sequences in the rest of the tomb – it is written no fewer than 63 times in total. The second most common title is, more understandably, *ḥ3ty-ḥ*, the highest ranking title written outside the serdab. It is puzzling, therefore, that so lowly a title is so often written in the tomb. A few explanations present themselves. It is possible that the ranking is not accurately represented by the chart above. Baer's method is based on the assumption 'that within any given line of text, the titles were written in order from highest to lowest' and 'that this order represented some organized system larger than the individual line of text.'<sup>78</sup> It is conceivable that these assumptions are not accurate. Perhaps *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr* appears at the end of title sequences precisely in order to emphasise its importance – it is the last thing the audience reads, and therefore the freshest in the memory. This, however, does not seem particularly plausible. In the first case, Baer's method, although his results and his charts have been criticised<sup>79</sup>, by and large, produces sensible results. *ḥ3ty-ḥ* was plainly a title of high rank, while *ḥrp šnd.t nb.t* was lower. The underlying principle, therefore, seems sound. Furthermore, Egyptian writing almost invariably accords the highest honour to the first thing written. This is most evident in the practice of writing the theophoric or royal elements of personal names first, regardless of their actual position in the name – as, for instance, in the name of Pepyankh's father, Niankh-Pepy the Black, whose name is always written .

Conceivably, the prevalence of *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr* can be explained by the fact that it is a role of religious, rather than administrative, significance. This, however, does not seem particularly likely. If Pepyankh's aim were simply to emphasise his religious duties, higher-ranking alternatives were available. Both *ḥry-ḥb.t ḥry-tp* and *ḥry-ḥb.t* far outrank *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*, and yet neither is written as often. Indeed, *ḥry-ḥb.t ḥry-tp* is written only twice outside the serdab. The importance of *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr* is very unlikely, therefore, to be simply that it is of religious significance.

That said, there is no reason to discard entirely the idea that the nature of the title is the reason for its frequent appearance. Although its frequent appearance cannot be explained merely by the fact that it is religious, the specific nature of the religious role performed by the *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr* does offer a solution. Fischer explains the title as referring to 'the administration of one of the temples of the local gods in the provinces.'<sup>80</sup> This is evidenced in several texts. The statue of *Ggi* at Saqqara describes him as 'Overseer of priests of Onuris,'<sup>81</sup> (*imy-r3 ḥm-ntr n In-ḥr.t*). A letter from Elephantine calls *Trw* 'Overseer of priests of Rēḥ,'<sup>82</sup> (*imy-r3 ḥm-ntr Rḥ*). Another letter describes *Mmi* as 'superiore dei

<sup>78</sup> Baer 1960: 4.

<sup>79</sup> Kanawati 1989: 18.

<sup>80</sup> Fischer 1962: 66.

<sup>81</sup> Fischer 1954: 29.

<sup>82</sup> Smither 1942: 16. However, see Fischer 1954: note 31 who instead reads *imy-r3 sš Rḥ*.

profeti X<sup>83</sup> (*imy-r3 ḥm-ntr m[...]*). Roccati notes that the damaged text here begins with an M, probably the ‘iniziale di un nome proprio come *Mtti*, *Mšti*, ecc.’<sup>84</sup> Perhaps most tellingly, in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle, Pepyankh Henykem’s grandfather, the tomb owner is designated ‘Overseer of priest of Hathor, Mistress of Cusae,’ (*imy-r3 ḥm-ntr n Ht-ḥr nb.t Kis*).<sup>85</sup> Although Pepyankh’s own title never specifies the cult whose god’s servants he oversees, it is clear that the title itself implies a specific cult. It seems almost certain that this must have been the cult of Hathor – the Mistress of Cusae, as evidenced in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle.<sup>86</sup>

If this is accepted, the prevalence of *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr* ceases to be a puzzle. Although it is of relatively low rank on a national, and, as far as such a concept existed in Egypt, secular level, it is of inestimable importance on a local level. To have held the rank of *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr* demonstrates a personal devotion to both the local cult, adherents of which will have been responsible for the upkeep of Pepyankh’s funeral cult, and to the goddess on whom the cult focussed, Hathor. It is entirely understandable, therefore, that Pepyankh should want to emphasise his performance of this duty, both to the public, on the tomb walls, and to the gods, on the walls of the serdab.

The discrepancy between the variety of titles recorded in the serdab and that recorded in the rest of the tomb is worthy of note. 22 different titles are written in the serdab, compared to just 10 in the rest of the tomb. Interestingly, two of the titles written outside of the serdab, *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>* and *ḥrp šnd.t nb.t*, are not replicated within it, which leaves a total of 14 titles which occur only in the serdab. In order to understand this disparity, it is necessary to examine the nature of the titles in question.

It is easiest to begin with the 10 titles found in the rest of the tomb, excluding *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*, which has been discussed already. There is very little confusion surrounding these titles. As Baer shows in his tables of standard title sequences, *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>*, *ḥtmty bity*, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*, *ḥry-ḥb.t*, *s(t)m* and *ḥrp šnd.t nb.t* are all found extremely commonly.<sup>87</sup> Of the rest, *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w* and *ḥry-ḥb.t ḥry-tp* are only slightly less common.<sup>88</sup> It is worth noting that Baer’s standard sequence charts do not suffer from the same drawbacks as the variable sequence charts, as they are not connected to dates within the Old Kingdom, but the period as a whole. *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>* is not included in Baer’s standard title charts, and scholars are undecided as to the precise meaning of *m3<sup>c</sup>* in titles. Some, such as Nims, believe it to show that the office in question was real, not honorific,<sup>89</sup> while others, including James, believe it to

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<sup>83</sup> Roccati 1968: 16.

<sup>84</sup> Roccati 1968: 17.

<sup>85</sup> After Blackman 1924: 27.

<sup>86</sup> Galvin 1984: 48-49.

<sup>87</sup> Baer 1960: 199.

<sup>88</sup> Baer 1960: 200.

<sup>89</sup> Nims 1938: 647.

be ‘almost certainly wrong to claim that it indicates an active as against a passive holding of a title.’<sup>90</sup> Kanawati believes ‘the addition of *m3c* to my title might well have carried with it a certain distinction for its holder.’<sup>91</sup> This, unfortunately, is as much as can be said about this title until more is known about it. It is difficult to suggest any reason beyond careless oversight to explain the absence of *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup> m3c* and *hrp šnd.t nb.t* from the serdab, though, as discussed below,<sup>92</sup> this is not an unreasonable suggestion.

The titles from the rest of the tomb, then, pose few problems – they are simply the common titles inscribed by most tomb owners on the walls of their monuments. More intriguing is the collection of titles found only in the serdab. Their presence in the serdab is not particularly troublesome – Pepyankh would have wanted to record any titles he had held in life. Their absence from the rest of the tomb, however, is, at first glance, puzzling. To hide so many titles in a corner of the tomb where it is certain that no human will see them again does not seem sensible. The nature of the hidden titles, however, sheds some light on this action. A number of the titles can be grouped together as denoting duties that were impossible for Pepyankh to have performed in Meir.

*hry-tp nsw.t*, literally ‘who is under the head of the King,’<sup>93</sup> obviously denotes a role involving direct service to the crown. As Gunn demonstrates, the role must have been that of ‘an officer who attended the king in his bedroom.’<sup>94</sup> This seems to be echoed by *imy-r3 hnw*, a relatively rare title.<sup>95</sup> As might be suspected from the term *hnw*, ‘royal residence,’<sup>96</sup> most of its holders are buried in Giza and Saqqara, and we can reasonably assume that the title denoted some specific service within the palace or at court.

*mty n s3* is ‘believed to be connected with pyramid temples and the royal funerary cult.’<sup>97</sup> Although this title is frequently attested at the capital, it is relatively rare in provincial tombs.<sup>98</sup> Most holders of the title also hold the title *šps nsw.t*,<sup>99</sup> which appears to be rather a ‘formal designation’<sup>100</sup> than a title designating any specific responsibility. Fischer states that the title probably ‘betokens little more than ‘Hoffähigkeit.’’<sup>101</sup> This is supported by the title’s use in the Middle Kingdom ‘as a general and non-

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<sup>90</sup> James 1953: 12-13.

<sup>91</sup> Kanawati 1992: 119.

<sup>92</sup> Page 41.

<sup>93</sup> Blackman 1931: 58 note 9. See also Glanville 1932: 54 note 3.

<sup>94</sup> Gunn 1941: 145.

<sup>95</sup> Kanawati & Abder-Raziq 1998: 12 note 14.

<sup>96</sup> Faulkner 1962: 202.

<sup>97</sup> Kanawati 1992: 213.

<sup>98</sup> Kanawati 1992: 213-214 & note 1294.

<sup>99</sup> Kanawati 1992: 214 note 1294.

<sup>100</sup> Fischer 1961b: 423.

<sup>101</sup> Fischer 1961a: 28.

titular term for a courtier.’<sup>102</sup> Evidently, both titles can only have any actual meaning if their holders are present at court, in the capital.

Another title connected with *mty n s3* is *sš n s3*. Apart from the obvious connection that both are related to the organisation of a phyle, both titles appear alongside one another on a fragment of relief belonging to a *Ny-ꜥnh Nfr-tm*.<sup>103</sup> It is worthy of note that the two titles are also in one instance found next to one another in the serdab. Little has been written about the title, though it seems to have been of quite low rank. It is attested in the tomb of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥ-Hr* at Saqqara as belonging to an unnamed man, whose only other title is *hm-k3*.<sup>104</sup> Considering the low status of *imy-r3 hm-k3*, it is quite clear that this is a title of very low rank, and as it is apparently the unidentified man’s only other title, it seems reasonable to assume that *sš n s3* is not an exalted title.

Finally, though here translated literally as God’s Sealer, the title *htm ntr* seems to have been held by ‘certain prominent officials taking part in expeditions in quest of valuable stones and the like.’<sup>105</sup> Fischer, who translates the title as ‘expedition leader,’<sup>106</sup> states that the duty of the *htm ntr* was to ‘replenish... the royal treasury through expeditions that brought back wealth from foreign regions.’<sup>107</sup>

Five of these titles designate responsibilities to the king personally – responsibilities which could only be carried out while living in the capital. The other title, *htm ntr*, does not require presence in the capital, but cannot be carried out from Meir. It is safe to assume that those sent on expeditions to foreign parts in quest of precious items were not, in general, the highest administrators of important provinces. These titles, then, cannot have been held by Pepyankh during the building of his tomb, but must instead have been held at an earlier stage in his career.

Another group of titles are evidently lesser versions of titles displayed in the main parts of the tomb. *shd hm-ntr* and *imy-r3 hm-ntr* are rarely held by the same person - just three individuals, apart from Pepyankh, are noted by Kanawati as having recorded both titles on their monuments.<sup>108</sup> Kanawati calls *shd hm-ntr* ‘the lesser title.’<sup>109</sup> This is plainly the case with *smr* and *smr wꜥty* – a ‘sole companion’ must, presumably, at some stage have been simply a ‘companion.’

*sš gs-dp.t* is closely related to the title *hry-hb.t*. Fischer<sup>110</sup> provides a list of twenty-one individuals, all of whom held both titles, almost invariably in sequence. In light of this fact, Wilson’s suggestion

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<sup>102</sup> Fischer 1964: 25 note 4.

<sup>103</sup> Fischer 1996: 8 note 5.

<sup>104</sup> Kanawati and Hassan 1997: 42.

<sup>105</sup> Gardiner 1917: 35 note 1.

<sup>106</sup> Fischer 1968: 13. See also Bell et al 1984: 31 note 7.

<sup>107</sup> Fischer 1968: 116.

<sup>108</sup> Kanawati 1992: 271.

<sup>109</sup> Kanawati 1992: 271.

<sup>110</sup> Kanawati 1992: 271.

that the holder of the title was a sort of actor in a 'passion play',<sup>111</sup> seems unlikely. The role must in fact denote some specific duty of the lector priest – presumably, as Fischer suggests, the role describes the provision of magical protection, naturally the domain of the lector due to his knowledge of ritual texts.<sup>112</sup> It should be pointed out that of the very few instances in which *sš gs-dp.t* and *hry-ḥb.t* do not occur in sequence, two are found in Pepyankh's tomb. The first is found in the serdab, which, as we have mentioned does not contain title sequences. The second instance is found in room B,<sup>113</sup> in a scene of Pepyankh spearing fish. His son, Heny, standing before him on the skiff, holding a spear, is called *sš gs-dp.t*, but not lector priest. Fischer states that it seems likely that Heny is the same as another Heny, depicted standing behind Pepyankh's son Hepi on a different wall.<sup>114</sup> This individual does hold the title *hry-ḥb.t*, though it is not certain that they are the same person. However, as discussed below,<sup>115</sup> Heny is depicted on the wall of room F, and there certainly bears the title of lector priest.

*wr id.t* has not often been discussed, and so its associations are not immediately clear. The similarly worded title *wr dhꜥ* has been understood to mean 'Chief of Leathercrafts'<sup>116</sup> and 'Great of Leather'<sup>117</sup> in the sense of 'abounding in leather.' *wr bz.t* has been similarly interpreted as meaning 'abounding in brilliant objects (of silver and gold),'<sup>118</sup> and as 'Great One of the Container of Adornments.'<sup>119</sup> Evidently the format of the title indicates a responsibility involving the control and/or use of a specific commodity, in this case incense. Such a responsibility would naturally fall to a religious official, and the title is frequently associated with *hry-ḥb.t*,<sup>120</sup> but Pepyankh's more exalted titles, such as lector priest in charge and overseer of the god's servants, would have eclipsed it. It is reasonable to assume that the *hry-ḥb.t hry-tp* does not have to concern himself directly with looking after the incense any more than the Archbishop of Canterbury is in charge of laundering the cassocks.

The absence of these titles from the rest of the tomb is unsurprising in light of the nature of the roles they represent. Evidently, these are positions which Pepyankh, having filled at some stage, had been promoted beyond. *smr* gave way to *smr wꜥty*, and *shd ḥm-ntr* to *imy-rꜥ ḥm-ntr*. The two titles connected with the role of the lector priest were presumably roles with which Pepyankh felt he could

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<sup>111</sup> Wilson 1970: 210.

<sup>112</sup> Fischer 1992: 61.

<sup>113</sup> Blackman 1953: Pl. 24.

<sup>114</sup> Blackman 1953: Pl. 30.

<sup>115</sup> Section 6.

<sup>116</sup> Brovarski 1973: 455.

<sup>117</sup> Fischer 1996: 36.

<sup>118</sup> Fischer 1996: 36.

<sup>119</sup> Silverman 1994: 253.

<sup>120</sup> Fischer 1961: 25.



dispense having secured higher positions. Indeed, in the case of *sš gs-dp.t*, this is demonstrably the case as Pepyankh's son, Heny, is depicted as a holder of the title on the tomb wall.<sup>121</sup>

Two of the titles in the serdab appear to be simple mistakes. Both *imy-r3 pr-ḥd* and *imy-r3 šnw.t* are otherwise unknown for provincial officials and are probably intended to be written in the dual forms, *imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd* and *imy-r3 šnw.ty*. The second of these does in fact appear in the serdab, though the first does not.<sup>122</sup>

Having dealt with these titles, we are left with three that are harder to understand. *imy-r3 šnw.ty*, *ḳyty s3b ḳty* and *\*imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd*, which, though it never appears, should evidently be understood for *imy-r3 pr-ḥd*, all appear only in the serdab, despite their high rank. Strudwick calls *ḳyty s3b ḳty* 'the senior administrative official in the Old Kingdom.'<sup>123</sup> That Pepyankh should possess such a title and not display it seems extremely unlikely, leading some to suggest that he was appointed only very late in life, and subsequently relieved of his role,<sup>124</sup> received the position posthumously,<sup>125</sup> or was never even appointed to the role in the first place, but simply 'appropriated the title' for his benefit in the afterlife.<sup>126</sup> None of these seem particularly likely. In the first two cases we must believe that the entire tomb, apart from a small corner of the serdab, was so completely decorated that none of the titles could be squeezed in, despite their importance. The idea that the title was simply fraudulent is possible, but in light of what we have discussed regarding the other titles unique to the serdab, an alternative solution seems preferable.

Approximately 20 individuals are known to have held the title *ḳyty s3b ḳty* during the reign of Pepy II.<sup>127</sup> Even allowing for Pepy's incredibly long reign, this number is very high, particularly considering the great likelihood that other examples have not yet been discovered. It is clear that, unless the title was held only very briefly by each bearer, there must have been more than one *ḳyty s3b ḳty* in power at any given time. It has been suggested that the problem of concurrent bearers of what was ostensibly the highest title in Egypt may be resolved by understanding a number of the instances as simply honorific, implying no actual duties.<sup>128</sup> This is perhaps plausible, though there is no evidence for it, and Strudwick 'cannot bring [him]self to believe [it].'<sup>129</sup>

A rather better suggestion in any case is that the title had regional, as opposed to national, importance. That is to say, there were a number of *ḳyty s3b ḳty* in various parts of the country, each performing

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<sup>121</sup> Blackman 1953: Pl. 24.

<sup>122</sup> This is discussed further below, page 41.

<sup>123</sup> Strudwick 1985: 334.

<sup>124</sup> Kanawati 1980a: 93.

<sup>125</sup> Brovarski, personal communication recorded in Eaton-Krauss 1984: 183 note 906.

<sup>126</sup> Eaton-Krauss 1984: 183 note 906.

<sup>127</sup> Strudwick 1984: 301-303.

<sup>128</sup> Helck 1954: 116-7.

<sup>129</sup> Strudwick 1984: 322.

the duties of that role in their own location. There is, unfortunately, no written evidence for this, but as Strudwick points out ‘the Old Kingdom is notoriously imprecise in the qualifications of important titles.’<sup>130</sup> We can perhaps envisage a situation similar to that which is apparent with the title *imy-r3 šmꜥw*, which can evidently be modified to reflect the precise areas of Upper Egypt over which its holder is overseer. Pepyankh’s grandfather, Pepyankh the Middle held the title *imy-r3 šmꜥ sp3w.t ḥriw.t-ib*<sup>131</sup> ‘Overseer of Upper Egypt in the middle provinces,’<sup>132</sup> while Shepsi-pu-Min of Akhmim was *imy-r3 šmꜥ m sp3w.t mḥti.t*,<sup>133</sup> ‘Overseer of Upper Egypt in the northern provinces.’<sup>134</sup> The proposition that a similar condition pertained for *t3yty s3b t3ty* receives some measure of support from the later development of the title. During the Middle and New Kingdoms, the division of the title between Upper and Lower Egypt is well-attested.<sup>135</sup>

If we understand *t3yty s3b t3ty* in this way, its relegation to the serdab is slightly less shocking. Though still important, it is no longer the highest title in the land. A similar case can be made for the *imy-r3 Šnw.ty* and *\*imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd*, the duties of which roles seem to have consisted principally of the collection of their respective commodities – grain in the first case, money in the latter.<sup>136</sup> These titles are very commonly connected with *t3yty s3b t3ty*, and are also found in too great a number to have avoided concurrent holders.<sup>137</sup> These too, then, could have been held on a regional basis. If this is accepted, we are, perhaps, justified in following Gillam’s suggestion that all three duties ‘were placed under the control of the *imy-r3 šmꜥw*.’<sup>138</sup> The titles, essentially, are specific duties of the overseer of Upper Egypt, and as such it is unnecessary to include them in the rest of the tomb, where the main title is prominent.

Thus, we can see that the 14 titles written only in the serdab fall into four groups:

1. Titles connected to specific, relinquished, responsibilities
  - a. *ḥtm ntr, ḥry-tp nsw.t, imy-r3 ḥnw, mty n s3, šps nsw.t, sš n s3*
2. Titles superseded by higher titles
  - a. *šmr, šḥd ḥm-ntr, sš gs-dp.t, wr id.t*
3. Mistakes

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<sup>130</sup> Strudwick 1985: 322.

<sup>131</sup> Blackman 1924: Pl. 4a 1.

<sup>132</sup> Jones 2000: 901.

<sup>133</sup> Kanawati 1981: 25.

<sup>134</sup> Jones 2000: 900.

<sup>135</sup> Strudwick 1985: 322.

<sup>136</sup> Strudwick 1985: 292.

<sup>137</sup> Strudwick 1985: 266 & 292.

<sup>138</sup> Gillam 1991a: 145.

- a. *imy-r3 šnw.t, imy-r3 pr-ḥd*

4. Titles constituting elements of higher titles

- a. *t3yty s3b ʔty, imy-r3 šnw.ty, \*imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd*

Through this examination of the nature of the titles found in the serdab the reason for their absence from the rest of the tomb becomes clear. None of these titles are of high enough stature to be worth inscribing on the main walls of the tomb. They are either titles no longer borne by the tomb owner, or titles that are implied by his more important roles. Nonetheless, as titles Pepyankh held during his life, it was evidently desirable to include them in his tomb. Some limited support can be provided to this argument from a comparison of the surviving sections of the serdab of Nekhebu with his biographical inscription. In the former, Nekhebu records the title *mdḥ nsw.t*,<sup>139</sup> perhaps to be understood as *mdḥ msw.t ḳdw*.<sup>140</sup> In the latter,<sup>141</sup> he records his career progression from *mdḥ nsw.t ḳdw* to the higher title of *mdḥ nsw.t ḳdw n pr.wy*.<sup>142</sup> This is evidently an example of the same principle of retaining all titles held during life.

The serdab inscriptions provide us with valuable information about the career progression of a late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty official. In essence, Pepyankh's serdab provides us with the outline of his life. It mirrors, if somewhat less precisely, Nekhebu's biographical inscription, and allows us to get a glimpse of the man behind the tomb. We can see that Pepyankh's titles, just as those of Nekhebu, were not 'acquired purely by inheritance, but were, in part at least, the rewards of training and experience.'<sup>143</sup> This incidentally, offers a partial explanation for the scarcity of the lower priestly ranks at Meir, as noted by Gillam.<sup>144</sup> Assuming Pepyankh is not an aberration, evidently, those who held the highest ranks had, at some stage in their career held such ranks as *šḥd ḥm-ntr* and *mty n s3*. They did not record these titles, as only the highest positions were worth mentioning, and so the evidence for them has disappeared. In addition, Gillam's statement that it was 'unlikely for [*šḥd ḥm-ntr*] to achieve promotion,'<sup>145</sup> while probably substantially correct, should be re-examined in the light of the likely career progression of the high officials at Meir.

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<sup>139</sup> Jones 2000: 1728.

<sup>140</sup> Strudwick 1985: 43.

<sup>141</sup> Sethe 1933: 216.

<sup>142</sup> Jones 2000: 1730.

<sup>143</sup> Dunham 1938: 7.

<sup>144</sup> Gillam 1991a: 176.

<sup>145</sup> Gillam 1991a: 153.

## **6. Room F<sup>146</sup>**

### **6a. Description**

The east and west walls of room F are decorated with very detailed scenes of a funerary procession. As this is not discussed in any great detail, and considering the word limit, a description of this is unnecessary here. The north wall is undecorated, being chiefly occupied by the entrance to room G. Apart from the funerary scenes, the east wall bears a number of interesting features. Its northern extent is a cement partition wall, presumably modern, though Blackman is not clear. Approximately halfway along, there is a false door above a shaft leading to room H. At the southern end of the wall is a second false door. The south wall is decorated with a relief portraying the inspection of 'all the cattle, sheep and goats of his towns' by a seated figure of grand scale holding a fox skin whip and a thin stick, possibly a pen. Above this figure, usually thought to be Pepyankh, there is a list containing a few titles and naming him 'Heny, whose good name is Henenit.'

In front of the figure, arranged in four registers, an array of cattle and smaller animals are led by herdsman, while the hieroglyphic legend lists numbers of cattle and the titles of the herdsman. The top register features a herdsman followed by five billy goats and five nanny goats. The front billy goat is led by a rope attached to its nose. Three small shrubs are depicted among the goats. At the back of the herd a second herdsman, holding a pot, a long stick, apparently a goad, and a skin-bag. Four of the goats are drawn on a higher line than the others, while the rear herdsman is on a line between the two. This is presumably an attempt to imply a great number of goats, spread out across a wide area.

The second register also shows two herdsman, one in front of and the other behind the animals. The animals, however, are cattle. The foremost animal is a young longhorn according to the inscription. It is depicted without horns and is, again, led by the nose. It is followed by an adult longhorn with its tongue sticking out. This may be a result of mislabelling as it is smaller than the animal in front. The udders of the final animal are not depicted, but this could be due to the fortunes of preservation, as the text and the size of the animal indicate it is a cow. The final herdsman has his left hand on the cow's back and holds a short stick in his right.

The third register also shows a herdsman leading a long-horned bull by the nose. This is followed by a smaller animal, possibly a calf, with curved horns. The last animal is a cow, apparently licking the animal in front. It is possible that this is intended to imply that the middle animal is a calf, as cows are known to lick the rump of their calves to encourage suckling. The final herdsman has his left hand on the cow's back.

The bottom register seems to be intended to represent the front of the procession of cattle. It is led by an untitled official holding a short stick in his left hand. His right hand is on the bowed head of the

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<sup>146</sup> See appendix 2 for the translation of this section.

front herdsman, and he exhorts him to ‘bow down excellently’ before the seated figure. The herdsman leads a ‘young longhorn’ by the nose. This is followed by a second young longhorn, and finally a herdsman driving the cattle with a short stick which he holds in his left hand and carrying a pot in his right.

## **6b. Analysis**

As was mentioned in the introduction, it is the contention of this work that this room is not part of the tomb of Pepyankh Henykem. It is further suggested that it belongs, indeed represents the entire tomb of, Pepyankh’s eldest son, Heny. It will be easiest to take these points one at a time.

Apart from its physical proximity, there seems little reason that room F should ever have been naturally considered part of the same tomb. In the first place, it serves no useful purpose. Pepyankh’s tomb, by which is meant rooms A-E and the serdab, forms an elegant and unified whole - each room plays a useful part. This has been argued persuasively by O’Connor<sup>147</sup>, who asserts that, in order to promote the magical regeneration of Pepyankh in the afterlife, rooms A-E are designed to reflect an elite house. This, he argues, hints subtly at a sexual ‘and ultimately reproductive’<sup>148</sup> undercurrent in the design of the tomb. Room F does not fit into the layout.

Even if O’Connor’s arguments are not accepted, however, room F still stands out as inelegant and purposeless. Its two false doors seem to imply an intention that it be used to receive offerings, but this is patently unnecessary when it is considered that room C not only contains a false door and offering table (something lacking in room F), but is in fact entirely decorated with scenes of offering. Further, room C is almost directly above the burial chamber, room D, which, as Dodson and Ikram<sup>149</sup> point out, is a general feature of false doors.

It should, of course, be borne in mind that the northernmost false door is evidently linked with room H, which Blackman supposes to belong to ‘an intruder.’<sup>150</sup> However, there still remains the southern false door, which, as it does not interrupt the rest of the decoration, and is certainly linked to the shaft that causes the break in the serdab, seems to have been part of the design of the room. In any case, there is still no reasonable function associated with the room that is not fulfilled elsewhere. Further, apart from serving no useful function of its own, room F actively destroys something which had a clear function – the serdab.

It seems unlikely that having built and almost completely decorated the serdab, presumably at reasonable expense, Pepyankh would simply destroy it. If he wished to build and decorate another room, it is sensible to assume that he would have done so in a different direction so as to avoid damaging already existing rooms. There was space for such extension in the direction of room E, and

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<sup>147</sup> O’Connor 1996: 631.

<sup>148</sup> O’Connor 1996: 631.

<sup>149</sup> Dodson and Ikram 2008: 120.

<sup>150</sup> Blackman 1953: 46.

as such this would seem to be the logical direction for construction. Room E was enlarged after room F had been decorated, as is evident from the fact that where it breaks into room F, the ink drawings are damaged. The fact that this space was not used implies that there was a reason to build in this direction, such as a desire to mirror Pepyankh's connection with Niankh-Pepy.<sup>151</sup>

It is clear from the existence of rooms G and H, as well as the extension to room E, that at least once, and possibly up to three times, intruders built tombs leading off of Pepyankh's. As such, it seems no great leap to assume that room F could be explained in this way.

The final piece of evidence for denying Pepyankh's ownership of room F is the absence of his name from its decoration. In the rest of the tomb, Pepyankh's name appears well over 100 times. Room F contains five different names in total: 'Sššn,' 'Iri,' 'Ppy-ihy-m-s3,' 'Nfrs.t' and 'Hny rn.f nfr Hnni.t'. Pepy-ihy-emsu and Iri are the same person, as is demonstrated elsewhere in the tomb. Seshshen is also known from elsewhere in the tomb. *Nfrs.t* is otherwise unrecorded, but of little account here as he is simply an official in the funeral procession. The final name is usually thought to be one of Pepyankh's. Pepyankh, however, though he is known by many names, is nowhere else referred to in this way. The name is most nearly repeated in room B where he is twice named *Hny rn.f nfr Hnni.t km*, however, it is never exactly paralleled. Further, the list of titles above 'Heny whose good name is Henenit,' includes the title 'imy-r3 sš.wy' (Overseer of the two fowling pools). This too is known from nowhere else in the tomb. While Pepyankh does have both names and titles which appear only once, the coincidence of an unfamiliar title and an unparalleled name is too unlikely to allow. Only two other variants of Pepyankh's name are recorded just once, 'Hni.t' and 'Hnny km.' Both examples occur in the serdab, and could easily be mistakes considering the repetitive nature of the inscription. Indeed, Kanawati<sup>152</sup> is prepared to reject the name 'Ppy-<sup>h</sup> km' on the grounds that it appears just three times in the serdab. Equally only four titles 'hrp šnd.t nb.t,' 'imy-r3 šnw.t,' 'wr id.t' and 'imy-r3 hnw' appear once for Pepyankh. Of these, *imy-r3 šnw.t*, was considered by Strudwick<sup>153</sup> to be a compression of 'imy-r3 šnw.ty'<sup>154</sup> which appears several times. None of the other unique names and titles appear together.

Taken together, therefore, a strong case can be built for the exclusion of room F from Pepyankh's tomb. The second half of the argument is necessarily more tentative, as the evidence for it is generally circumstantial. However, if the above is accepted, the conclusion that Pepyankh's son Heny built room F is not too difficult to accept.

The chief evidence of this is the name discussed above. Pepyankh's son is named twice in the rest of the tomb: in the middle scene of the west wall of room B he is called 's3.f srw mry.f smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-tp 3

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<sup>151</sup> See below, page 44.

<sup>152</sup> Kanawati 1989: 16 note 41

<sup>153</sup> Strudwick 1985: 266.

<sup>154</sup> This is discussed further on page 41, below.

*ndf.t hn(y)* (His eldest son, His beloved, Sole companion, Great chief of Nedjfet, Hen(y)). It is unfortunate that the final letter of Heny's name here appears to be an *i*, not a *y*. This is certainly owing to the vicissitudes of preservation, however. The *i* is simply the remaining half of a *y*. He is named again in the south scene of the same wall, though here he is called '*mry.f smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-tp 3 ndf.t Hnny.t rn.f nfr Nfrk3*' (His beloved, sole companion, great chief of the Nedjfet nome, Heneny, whose good name is Neferka). This name is difficult to explain. The Heneny is not spelt correctly, and the Neferka is a new addition. Three mitigating factors may explain this. First, many members of the family are known to have multiple names – Pepyankh, for instance, is known by Pepyankh, Heny, Henenit and Henykem, alongside a host of others<sup>155</sup> – and these names can be mixed together in unexpected ways. Pepyankh's 'good name' is variously Heny, Henenit, Henenitkem, and, on one occasion, both Henykem and Henenitkem. As such this name alone is not necessarily a death knell to our theory. Second, Pepyankh himself is known by the name Neferka in the tomb of his grandfather, Pepyankh the Middle.<sup>156</sup> The name does not appear once in his own very extensive lists of names. Why, then, if among the hundreds of names in the tomb of Pepyankh, Neferka does not appear once, should we expect to see it in the only example of a name in the tomb of Heny? In any case it is not certain, though it seems likely, that the two sons are identical with one another, and so our theory seems still to be valid.

Further evidence for Heny's ownership of room F is to be found in the funeral procession scenes. Lashien has argued very persuasively that no Old Kingdom examples of the funerary procession depict the actual funeral of the tomb owner.<sup>157</sup> The basis for his argument is the fact that 'Old Kingdom tomb scenes... represent activities and events that appear to have taken place during the tomb owner's life time, where the owner is shown as a spectator or participant.'<sup>158</sup> If the funeral procession scenes 'represent the tomb owner's *actual* funeral, they would be the only scenes from the period depicting events yet to take place.'<sup>159</sup> Lashien goes on to point out that in a number of tombs, though not that of Pepyankh, the procession depicted cannot be that of the actual funeral as the tomb owner is seen to be surveying it.<sup>160</sup> Instead, he argues, the procession scenes represent the transportation of funerary furniture to the tomb.

Lashien's argument is, to a certain extent, undermined by his treatment of the scenes in room F. A single line in these scenes, *ih mk šms im3hw pw sp sn i3w(t) nfr(.t) wr.t*, causes Lashien to contradict the rest of his argument. He suggests that 'the rare mention of 'a second time' is probably a reference

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<sup>155</sup> See 4bii, above.

<sup>156</sup> Blackman 1924: Pl. 15.

<sup>157</sup> Lashien 2010: 1-11.

<sup>158</sup> Lashien 2010: 1.

<sup>159</sup> Lashien 2010: 1.

<sup>160</sup> Lashien 2010: 7-9.

to the actual burial of the tomb owner, which will take place in the future.’<sup>161</sup> When the bulk of evidence in favour of Lashien’s argument is considered, this seems very unlikely. If it was unlikely that funeral scenes as a class represented the future, how much more so that this *single* representation should be the sole example from the entire Old Kingdom of a scene representing the future? In his discussion of the scenes, Lashien suggests that it is not clear whether the scenes belong to the tomb of Pepyankh or that of his father, Niankh-Pepy, and that in any case the entire tomb was ‘probably made by the son Pepyankh/Henykem after the death of his father Nyankhpepy’.<sup>162</sup> His explanation for this statement is that the decoration in Niankh-Pepy’s tomb was hastily prepared,<sup>163</sup> though quite how this demonstrates the conclusion is not entirely clear. He does not go so far as to state that the scene represents the funeral of Niankh-Pepy, but it is evidently implied, and would certainly remove the contradiction.

Twenty one tombs are known from the Old Kingdom that contain a representation of the funerary procession, and of these only two tombs other than Pepyankh’s contain depictions in which there is any cause to doubt the accuracy of Lashien’s argument. These are the tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w* and *D<sup>c</sup>w/Šm<sup>c</sup>i* at Deir el-Gebrawi,<sup>164</sup> and the tomb of *Tti-ikr/K3hp* at el-Hawawish.<sup>165</sup> In the former, Djau appears to be mentioned in the text above the men dragging the coffin. ‘*ih mk šps im3hw pw n h3ty-<sup>c</sup> htmty bity imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> hry-tp 3 3bdw imy-r3 sš.wy im3hw hr ntr D<sup>c</sup>w*’, ‘O, behold, the escort of this revered one for the Count, Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, True Overseer of Upper Egypt, Great Chief of Abydos, Overseer of the Two Fowling Pools, the revered one before his god, Djau.’<sup>166</sup> Lashien understands the first ‘revered one’ to be the coffin and the second to be the elder Djau.<sup>167</sup> This is possible, but no more likely than the alternative, that the first revered one is the elder Djau and the second the younger Djau.

The funerary procession of Tjeti-Iker deviates in a subtler way. It is almost identical to the depiction in the tomb of Tjeti-Iker’s son, *Špsi-pw-Mnw*,<sup>168</sup> except that it lacks the conclusive proof that the tomb owner is still alive – the tomb owner standing on the boat watching the proceedings. As the same artist decorated both tombs,<sup>169</sup> this is an important difference, and should not be disregarded. Lashien is doubtless correct in suggesting that the absence is due to the fact that Tjeti-Iker was dead before his tomb was prepared.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Lashien 2010: 6.

<sup>162</sup> Lashien 2010: 6.

<sup>163</sup> Lashien 2010: note 36.

<sup>164</sup> Davies 1902: pl. 7.

<sup>165</sup> Kanawati 1980: fig. 9

<sup>166</sup> Davies 1902: Pl. 7. My own translation and transliteration.

<sup>167</sup> Lashien 2010: 5.

<sup>168</sup> Kanawati 1981: fig. 19.

<sup>169</sup> This is certain from an inscription left by the artist, Seni, Kanawati 1980b: Pl. 8.

<sup>170</sup> Lashien 2010: 5.



This is worthy of note for two reasons. The first is that these tombs were made, or at least finished, by contemporaries of Pepyankh Henykem.<sup>171</sup> The second is that they all occur in tombs in which a father and son are unusually closely connected – Djau shares his tomb with his father, as, effectively, does Pepyankh. Tjeti-Iker's tomb, as is clearly stated in the decoration, was decorated by the same man as was his son's tomb, and it is likely that it was started before but finished after Shepsi-pu-Min's.<sup>172</sup> Lashien and Kanawati are unanimous in their belief that Tjeti-Iker was dead by the time his tomb was finished.<sup>173</sup>

Two arguments seem possible, therefore. Either these three tombs are evidence of a brief period of time in which funeral scenes began to represent the future, or these three scenes were each drawn *after* the death of the tomb owner. The first case does not seem particularly likely. The practice is known from no other tombs, many of which are also known to have been roughly contemporary with these three. Further, the development in representation must be seen as a particularly oblique one – in no case is it clearly stated that the funeral had happened, and only through an extremely close comparison with other such scenes is it possible to see even a hint that these scenes differ.

The second case seems far more plausible. Both Djau and Tjeti-Iker were very likely dead before their tombs were decorated, and in both cases the decoration was completed by the son of the deceased, who had presumably overseen the funeral arrangements. It is perfectly plausible that such a son would depict the actual funeral, perhaps to remind his father of the fact that he had organised it. This leaves us with Pepyankh's tomb. It is possible, as Lashien implies,<sup>174</sup> that the scenes are intended to depict the funeral of Pepyankh's father, Niankh-Pepy. However, if this is the case, it is difficult to explain the placement of the scenes within the tomb. The majority of Niankh-Pepy's tomb is undecorated – indeed, most of the rooms were not even fully excavated by the builders – and so it would have been extremely easy to place the funeral scenes almost anywhere in tomb A1. Instead of this, the scenes are placed in room F which is as far as it is possible to be from Niankh-Pepy's part of the tomb. If, on the other hand, we attribute room F to Heny, the difficulty disappears. Not only do the depictions fall into the pattern of sons representing their fathers' funerals in shared, or close, tombs, but the location of the drawings becomes understandable – Pepyankh's tomb decoration is complete and there would have been no space for the funeral scenes in his tomb.

*Hny*, then, is a reasonably likely candidate as the owner of the room F tomb. This is offered some degree of corroboration when it is considered that the list of titles that precedes the name is, with the exception noted earlier, a carbon copy of many of the lists of Pepyankh's titles. As Heny would have

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<sup>171</sup> Kanawati 1992: 136-145.

<sup>172</sup> Kanawati 1992: 129.

<sup>173</sup> Lashien 2010: 7; Kanawati 1992: 129.

<sup>174</sup> Lashien 2010: 6.

inherited these following his father's death, it is no great leap to make that the depiction on the south wall represents Heny.

It may be raised in objection to this theory that a son is hardly likely to damage his father's tomb. However, there is a very clear example of the opposite being true in the tomb of Pepyankh himself. Room B of the tomb in effect forms a double pillared room with room A of *his* father's tomb. Prior to the construction of Pepyankh's room B, it seems almost certain from the surviving decoration that the wall which was knocked down would have been decorated. As such, in connecting to his father's tomb, Pepyankh inevitably damaged it.

Finally, it is worth considering that in placing Heny in room F, we very neatly fill in the only major gap in Kanawati's revised family tree. While this does not exactly support the theory, it is perhaps of interest that a solution to the problems of room F fits so neatly with Kanawati's revised genealogy. As can be seen from the foregoing then, to name Heny, son of Pepyankh, owner and architect of room F, while by no means certain, is an eminently plausible solution to a number of problems.

Two interesting side notes arise from the new arrangement.

If we accept that Room F was built by Heny, it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that he died soon after his father. In the first place, the decoration was not finished in the room that was to be his tomb. This consideration may provide some measure of agreement with the theory. It is not beyond the realms of belief that the scenes depicted in room F represent the chief influential moments in Heny's life. If he died fairly quickly after his father, he may not have had time to perform many duties in his new roles. As such, when selecting scenes to go in his tomb, he may have chosen his greatest moments of triumph – the 'inspection of all cattle' and his father's funeral procession in an attempt to make up for the damage caused to the serdab. Clearly this is entirely conjectural, and there can be no confirmation. It does not seem, however, to be particularly implausible.

If Pepyankh is rejected as the owner of room F, whoever the new owner, the question of where the burial chamber is located naturally appears. There seem to be four likely candidates. Room E, Room H, Room G and the chamber at the end of the shaft that damaged the serdab. Of these, the first two can reasonably be ruled out as their construction damaged the decoration of room F. No information about room G, beyond its existence and rough measurements, are presented by Blackman, so it is impossible to rule out. However, it still seems that the fourth option provides the most likely location. The fact that it is in the middle of, but does not damage, the decoration of room F indicates that it was designed as part of the room. As such, while room G may well be part of a planned complex of rooms, of which only room F was properly begun, it seems most likely that the serdab chamber was intended to house the deceased.

## **7. Building History**

Having discussed the serdab and room F, it is of some interest at this point to consider the order in which the chambers and connections of the tomb were constructed.<sup>175</sup>

A number of points are immediately evident from even a cursory examination of the tomb. In the first place, rooms A, B, C and D of tomb A1 necessarily predate any of the other construction. These belong to Niankh-Pepy, Pepyankh's father and predecessor, and so there is no question about their primacy. Equally sure is the fact that rooms C and D were built immediately after room B. Clearly, owing to their position, they could not have preceded room B, and the fact that they do not cause any breaks in the decoration strongly indicate that they were conceived as a single design. The same is true of the relationship between room E and the serdab and room A. In the case of room E, further confirmation is given by the fact that the serdab was destroyed to build room F – had there been a space where room E is, this would clearly have been a better place to construct a new room.

Finally, it is certain that room F was the last major room to be constructed.<sup>176</sup> This is obviously the case if, as argued above,<sup>177</sup> room F is the tomb of Heny. Even if this is not accepted, however, it is clear that room F must have been the last constructed. The fact that the decoration in this room is unfinished leaves two possibilities. Either the room was the last constructed or the room was begun earlier but abandoned, for reasons unknown, in favour of room B. The second of these options is rendered extremely unlikely by the damage to the decoration in room A caused by the creation of the doorway to room F. If room B, which is completely decorated, was built after room F, it is reasonable to expect that the damage to room A would have been repaired – room A in tomb A1 does not seem to have been damaged by the connection to room B, presumably as repairs were carried out after the connection was made. If, on the other hand, room F was built last the damage can be explained – the room was never finished, so nothing was made good.

The order of construction, then, is mostly clear. There are, however, two major uncertainties: the order in which rooms A and B were constructed, and the direction from which the link between room B and Niankh-Pepy's tomb was made. Four combinations are possible:

1. Room A was the first room of tomb A2, followed by room B, with the link made from room B
2. Room A was the first room of tomb A2, followed by room B, with the link made from tomb A1

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<sup>175</sup> Figure 1 is of the utmost utility throughout this chapter

<sup>176</sup> This excludes rooms G and H as well as the extension to room E. No data can be presented about any of these as Blackman does not discuss them. According to Blackman, they are the work of later intruders.

<sup>177</sup> Section 6.

3. Room B was the first room of tomb A2, followed by room A, with the link made from tomb A1
4. Room B was built as part of tomb A1, left undecorated, and was usurped by Pepyankh as the first room of tomb A2, room A being built later.

Option 4 can be immediately discounted. In the first place, tomb A1 has no need of a second large chamber – it serves no useful purpose. Further, it is very unlikely that so large a room would have been created while the decoration in the rest of the tomb was incomplete. Blackman does not state whether rooms C and D are decorated, but is very clear that room B is not. Further, as is clear from the plan<sup>178</sup>, both rooms A and B contain unfinished masonry – a ‘rough block about 1 metre high’ in room A and one ‘about .15 metres high’ and two ‘unfinished statue recesses’ in room B.<sup>179</sup>

Options 1 and 2 are essentially the same. Unless the connection were made accidentally, if room B was built after room A the most efficient method of construction would be to work from both sides at once. In any case, as the decoration in both rooms is undamaged by the doorway, we have no way of discerning from which direction the link was made.

As such, our choice is reduced to a simple question – was the tomb begun with room A or room B? At first glance, either of these is reasonable, though the implications of each are quite different. If room A was first, we must imagine the tomb as having initially consisted of no more than the serdab, room A and room E. Presumably room E was intended as the burial chamber while room A assumed all remaining functions. If, on the other hand, room B was first, the tomb initially consisted of rooms B, C and D. In this case room D was the burial chamber, room C the offering chamber, and room B was used for everything else.

Though this may seem an unimportant point, it is worth considering as the solution will inform our understanding of the link between the two tombs, which is a particularly unusual feature. Several explanations, not necessarily mutually exclusive, can be put forward to explain this link:

1. The link was made by mistake and then worked into the tomb.
2. The link was made for practical reasons:
  - a) It was easier to remove the sand from rooms B, C and D through a closer exit than room A.
  - b) It provided a ready-made tomb for Pepyankh.
3. The link was made because of a religious or sentimental desire for closeness to Niankh-Pepy.

If room B was built first, the first two of these suggestions are clearly incorrect – the link was the only entrance, and so neither reason can stand. If, on the other hand, room A was built first, the other two

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<sup>178</sup> See fig 1.

<sup>179</sup> Blackman 1953: Plate 1.

explanations lose their force – Pepyankh would not have needed a ready-made tomb when he had already made one, and the link with Niankh-Pepy can have been no more than an afterthought, rather than a driving force.

Two points are important in considering the answer to this question. In the first place, we must consider the coherence of the tomb. As just mentioned, there are two possible models of the tomb in its initial form – rooms A, E and the serdab, or rooms B, C and D. There is no obvious difficulty in accepting the second of these groups as a unified tomb - all necessary functions are amply fulfilled. Room D is the burial chamber, room C, the offering chamber, located and decorated appropriately for its purpose, and room B connecting them and providing abundant space for funerary goods.

The first group, however, does not constitute a functioning tomb as there are no facilities for performing offerings - there is neither an offering table nor a false door in any of the rooms. Room A contains a sitting statue of the deceased, and the serdab, apart from its many representations of statues, would have contained at least one statue as well, but, as Assman<sup>180</sup> and Taylor<sup>181</sup> both make clear, statues alone are not a substitute for the false door - ‘the *ka* ... [passes] through the false-door and [takes] up temporary residence within the statue of the deceased in order to receive its sustenance.’<sup>182</sup> Without the false door, the deceased cannot receive sustenance in the afterlife. In order to accept this first group as a tomb in its own right, therefore, we are forced to imagine either a small subsidiary room B, containing offering equipment, or a substantially different decorative scheme for room A. Taylor states that ‘the *serdab* was sometimes located directly behind the false door.’<sup>183</sup> Conceivably such a false door could have existed and been destroyed by the creation of room F, but there is no evidence for this.

This brings us to the second point – the serdab. As mentioned above,<sup>184</sup> rooms A and E and the serdab were constructed at the same time, and as such, each is potentially useful in dating the construction of room A. Room E sheds no obvious light on this as it lacks decoration, and was in any case substantially altered at some stage after the later construction of room F. The serdab, however, despite being demolished for room F, does not suffer from the same drawbacks. Importantly, its decoration bears a number of traits indicative of its having been the last part of the original tomb to be built.

Blackman, working on the assumption that room F was built as part of Pepyankh’s tomb, declared that Pepyankh ‘changed his mind’<sup>185</sup> about the serdab and ordered its destruction, and although the

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<sup>180</sup> Assman 2005: 336-7.

<sup>181</sup> Taylor 2001: 95.

<sup>182</sup> Taylor 2001: 95.

<sup>183</sup> Taylor 2001: 166.

<sup>184</sup> See page 38, above.



<sup>185</sup> Blackman 1916: 254.

basis for this is wrong, it is conceivable that work on the serdab was stopped in order to focus on the rest of the tomb.

This, however, does not seem to be the case. The decoration of the serdab displays a notable lack of consistency, which one would not expect in what is essentially a repeating pattern. Many instances of this are pointed out in the footnotes to the translation provided in appendix 1.

- The sign group *htm(ty) bity* is written with four different orientations – the south, east and west walls each contain two different writings of the group.
- *šmꜥw* in the title *imy-r3 šmꜥw* is written with 3 different signs: M23, M26 and a sign which seems to be a combination of M23 and M26.
- The title *sš n s3* which appears only twice, is written once with and once without an ideogram stroke.
- The title *hry-ḥb.t hry-tp* is written horizontally in all but one instance, where it is vertical.
- The name *Ppy-ꜥnh* is written vertically in all but one instance, in which the *Ppy* is horizontal.
- Three figures are not inscribed, but simply painted.
- One figure on the west wall was not given a head.
- A figure on the west wall and another on the bottom register of the east wall were omitted altogether.

In addition to these clear errors and inconsistencies we might add the fact that three names, *Hni.t*, *Hnni km* and *Hny.t km* each appear just once in the serdab. Indeed, the first two appear just once in the entire tomb, while the last appears just twice. The similarly rare *Hnn.t*, which appears twice in the serdab was unusual enough that Blackman felt compelled to reassure us that ‘the reading is quite certain.’<sup>186</sup> On a similar note, we should perhaps take into account the titles *imy-r3 šnw.t* and *imy-r3 pr-ḥd*, both of which are unique among provincial officials of the Old Kingdom. Strudwick<sup>187</sup> regards these as compressions ‘(for spatial reasons?)’ of the more usual dual forms (*imy-r3 šnw.ty* and *imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd*). This idea is demonstrably wrong, at least in the case of the granary, as 6 examples of the

dual form:  occur in the serdab, occupying exactly the same amount of space as the singular: . However, the occurrence of two unique titles in a single part of a single tomb is unlikely to say the least, and so these titles should perhaps be considered errors as well.

Taken individually, none of these errors or inconsistencies is of any real consequence – one or two mistakes are to be expected in any task of this nature. Collectively, however, they cannot reasonably be ignored. It is very difficult to excuse so great a number of mistakes as the inevitable consequence of a tedious job, or as the result of several different scribes working on the inscription. The most reasonable conclusion is that the decoration of the serdab was rushed and a slapdash job resulted.

<sup>186</sup> Blackman 1953: 47, note 1.

<sup>187</sup> Strudwick 1985: 266.

It is eminently unlikely that work on the serdab would have been rushed only to be cancelled so close to completion, simply to commence work on another part of the tomb. As such, the fact that it was never finished can best be explained by the death of Pepyankh ending work on the tomb. We can say with some confidence, therefore, that room A was built after room B.

In light of this, the reason for the connection between the two tombs can be understood more completely. As has already been discussed, the first two of our explanations cannot stand if room B was built first. This leaves two explanations

a) Niankh-Pepy's tomb was used as a ready-made tomb for Pepyankh.

b) The link was made because of a religious or sentimental desire for closeness to Niankh-Pepy. Incidentally, although the link was not created for this purpose, there is no reason to suppose that the main entrance of the tomb was not created for the removal of sand from rooms A, E and the serdab. This, however, is of no account regarding the rest of the argument presented here.

It is possible that both a and b were factors in the decision to create the link. Neither explanation can be conclusively invalidated, and both are reasonable. That said, however, under scrutiny it can be seen that the first option is a relatively weak argument, while the second is strong enough to stand alone.

On first glance, the idea that tomb A1 was used as a ready-made tomb is very attractive. A good tomb was of the utmost importance for an Egyptian nobleman, and building one was an expensive and time-consuming activity. To add rooms to a pre-existing tomb must have been a cheaper option, and, in the event of an early death, the needs of the deceased were more likely to have been met. We can see that this type of burial was a fact of ancient Egyptian life without looking further than room H of Pepyankh's own tomb.

However, though reasonable in theory, this argument does not apply to the tomb of Pepyankh. If the intention had been to piggyback on the tomb of his father, there is no reason for Pepyankh to have built so large a tomb himself. Excluding all the rooms constructed later, and even rooms C and D, which could conceivably have been designed after the excavation of room B, though before its decoration, we are still left with room B. This is an extravagantly sized room if it was intended as no more than an addendum to tomb A1 – indeed, if rooms C and D are included, it is nearly as big as tomb A1. This would have required a very great deal of work, and so the idea that a shared tomb was cheaper and easier cannot stand. Further, the fact that Niankh-Pepy's tomb is not finished seems to speak against the idea that Pepyankh was simply piggybacking on his father's tomb. It must have been an easier, less expensive task to complete the decoration of tomb A1 than to build the remainder of tomb A2. The fact that this was not done indicates that tomb A1 was never thought of as Pepyankh's main tomb.

This leaves us with just one explanation for the link between tombs A1 and A2 – a religious or sentimental desire for closeness with Niankh-Pepy. This is not without parallels during the Sixth Dynasty. The tomb of Djau and Djau Shemai at Deir el-Gebrawi is, according to Kanawati ‘a unique instance in the Old Kingdom of two nomarchs – father and son – who were buried in one and the same tomb.’<sup>188</sup> An inscription in the tomb describes the reason for this explicitly:

*‘In fact, I saw to it that I was buried in one tomb together with this Djau,  
particularly through the desire to be with him in one place,  
and not because of the lack of means to build a second tomb.’<sup>189</sup>*

*I did this from a desire to see this Djau every day,  
Through desire of being with him in one place.’<sup>190</sup>*

Such a desire cannot have been unique to Djau, and it is easy to see Pepyankh’s tomb in the same light. Although Pepyankh did not leave an inscription as forthright and explicit as Djau, one scene in the tomb fulfils much the same purpose, though in a quite different way. This is inscribed on the end of the stub of wall, roughly 1’6’ wide, between tombs A1 and A2.<sup>191</sup> The scene shows Pepyankh and Niankh-Pepy facing one another, the former faces west and the latter east. Niankh-Pepy wears a short wig, a large necklace and a long kilt, and stands with his arms by his sides. He is depicted as taller than his son who has a shoulder length wig, a beard, a cloak across his shoulders and a shorter kilt, as well as a bracelet on each wrist. In addition, both wear what Blackman describes as a ‘stole hanging over the breast from each shoulder.’<sup>192</sup> Pepyankh holds a censer in his right hand into which he is apparently dropping incense, though for some reason the pellets themselves are not depicted.<sup>193</sup> The caption between the two men reads ‘offering *sntr*-incense.’ Two columns of text above each man list their titles followed by their name and ‘good name.’ In each case the caption faces the same direction as the man to whom it is related. At the top of the wall there is a border consisting of 4 pairs of short vertical black lines, with a single black line at the western edge, between two horizontal lines which run the length of the wall.

### **Blackman Plate 14**

#### **Room B, Thickness of Partition Wall**

1. <i>h3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count
2. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
3. <i>smr wꜥty</i>	Sole Companion

<sup>188</sup> Kanawati 1977: 59.

<sup>189</sup> Alexanian translates this line ‘and not because I did not have a document for the erection of two tombs’ (Alexanian 2004: 4). For our purposes, however, this is not a significant change.

<sup>190</sup> Strudwick 2005: 365.

<sup>191</sup> See fig. 2.

<sup>192</sup> Blackman 1953: 7.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. the same offering as depicted in Blackman 1914: Plate 10, Top register.



4. <i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector Priest
5. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
6. <i>imy-r3 sm<sup>c</sup>w</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt
7. <i>N-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy</i>	Ni-ankh-Pepy
8. <i>rn.f nfr Hpi km</i>	Whose good name is Hepi the Black.
9. <i>s3.f mry.f hsy.f</i>	His son, his beloved, his favoured one
10. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
11. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	Sole Companion
12. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
13. <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	Pepyankh
14. <i>rn.f nfr Hny km</i>	Whose good name is Heny the Black.
15. <i>ir.t sntr</i>	Offering <i>sntr</i> -incense.

This scene was recorded by Blackman as belonging to the tomb of Niankh-Pepy, but clearly this is not the case as it is inscribed on a wall that was only created after Pepyankh's tomb was begun. The scene is a linking motif between the two tombs, created by Pepyankh during the decoration of his own tomb. Each man looks towards the tomb of the other, thereby visually rendering the continuity of the tombs. Further, it is the only scene in either tomb in which a substantial reference is made to the father or son of the tomb owner. In Niankh-Pepy's tomb, Pepyankh is mentioned only twice, each essentially passing references bearing his name and a single title. Niankh-Pepy is mentioned nowhere else in Pepyankh's tomb. This scene, on the threshold between the two tombs, gives each man recognition, and is so situated as to be a seamless link between the two tombs.

The importance of the scene, however, is in the offering made by Pepyankh. Incense has several functions in Egyptian belief. Most frequently, it is used apotropaically, to ward off impurities and evil, thereby purifying the subject.<sup>194</sup> It is used as a gesture of appeasement or capitulation,<sup>195</sup> or to propitiate favour from a superior.<sup>196</sup> In certain ritual texts, it is used to 'revivify the body of god or man by restoring to it its lost moisture.'<sup>197</sup> These uses do not appear to be mutually exclusive, and there seems no reason not to consider the scene as embodying a combination of them. Pepyankh, in offering incense to his father, is performing a protective, purificatory ritual, and at the same time can be said to be revivifying him with the 'exudations... of Osiris'<sup>198</sup> As this action is immortalised on the wall of the tomb, Pepyankh is performing this necessary offering in perpetuity, thereby providing a neat analogue to Djau's '*desire to see this Djau every day.*'

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<sup>194</sup> Haran 1960: 123.

<sup>195</sup> Donohue 1992: 83.

<sup>196</sup> Donohue 1992: 87.

<sup>197</sup> Blackman 1912: 75.

<sup>198</sup> Blackman 1912: 75.

In conclusion, it is clear that the most likely order of construction is as follows:

1. Tomb A1, consisting of rooms A, B, C & D, constituting the tomb of Niankh-Pepy.
2. Room B, with rooms C and D, and connection between tombs A1 and A2, constituting half of the tomb of Pepyankh.
3. Room A, with room E and the serdab, and main entrance to tomb, constituting the second half of the tomb of Pepyankh.
4. The destruction of the serdab, and construction of room F, constituting the tomb of Heny.
5. Rooms G and H, and extension to room E, all of which are of uncertain purpose.

As a result of this, it is also evident that the connection between tombs A1 and A2 was made principally, if not entirely, to establish a connection between Pepyankh and his father. In the words of Djau, it was built due to Pepyankh's 'desire to be with him in one place.'<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Strudwick 2005: 365.

## 8. Conclusion

The tomb of Pepyankh provides us with an unusual, if not unique, opportunity to understand the life and career of a provincial high official at the end of the Old Kingdom. Though he left no biography as such, we are able to trace his career, family relationships and possibly even his friendships.

Gillam, in her dissertation on the 14<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome, stated that ‘in all discussions of individual titularies, titles are assumed in the absence of any definite indications to have been held simultaneously with each other. This is not entirely satisfactory, but the nature of our data leaves us with no choice.’<sup>200</sup> The treatment of titles in Pepyankh’s tomb, however, allows us to understand his titulary entirely differently. By physically separating his main titles – the highest positions to which he attained – from the lesser roles written only in the serdab, Pepyankh has given us the chance to glimpse an outline of his personal history.

While many tomb owners record a great number of titles, the serdab inscriptions catalogue Pepyankh’s development from his early career to his peak. Through his serdab, we are able to discern the outline of a biography, or at the very least a CV, for Pepyankh. We are not given dates, or even the order of events, but, with some poetic licence, we are able to surmise a career along the following lines.

We can infer from the number of titles connected to the capital that at some stage earlier in his career, Pepyankh must have spent some considerable time as an official in Memphis. He must, moreover, have been relatively successful as an official in the capital, as he collected several titles before, presumably, returning to Meir to take up his familial titles.

We can see that despite inheriting his titles and responsibilities, Pepyankh was not simply dropped into the highest roles, but worked his way up from lower appointments. This sort of detail, though it is hardly surprising, is not usually recorded by high officials of the Old Kingdom. Almost all tomb owners record their highest positions, but very few make any reference to the fact that they once held a post as lowly as *shd hm-ntr*.

Finally, we can see the mature Pepyankh, holding the highest administrative posts, but holding the relatively lowly *imy-r3 hm-ntr* in higher regard - the worship of his local goddess evidently being of greater significance to him than overseeing Upper Egypt.

Through an examination of the layout of the tomb, it has been possible to see clear evidence of Pepyankh’s deep filial devotion, and, moreover, the same level of devotion in his son. Both Pepyankh and Heny wished to spend eternity with their fathers, and built their tombs accordingly. This principle is known elsewhere in Egypt – the tombs of Djau and Djau, and Tjeti-Iker and Shepsi-pu-Min were examples mentioned above. However, though the principle is known, the specific method is

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<sup>200</sup> Gillam 1991a: 133.

unusual, possibly unique. Both Pepyankh and Heny built their tombs as extensions of those of their fathers, and, moreover, included monuments to their fathers in the decoration of their tombs – an incense offering scene from Pepyankh, and an entire funeral from Heny. This close connection to one's forebears was not, so far as we are aware, particularly fashionable in tomb-building circles. As such, we should understand this as evidence of a strongly felt filial bond. Pepyankh's family was evidently a close one.

Apart from what we can see from the content of the serdab decoration, the very fact of its existence tells us a good deal about Pepyankh's life. The rarity of this type of tomb decoration, coupled with the impossibility of even seeing it after the serdab was sealed, is extremely suggestive of a personal relationship between the owners of the tombs in which it features. This relationship is certain in the case of the three tombs at Giza – they belong to a father and his sons. It is not certain where Pepyankh fits into this group, but it is plausible that he knew at least one of them. If Kanawati's dates are wrong,<sup>201</sup> it is even conceivable that Pepyankh started the trend, and the other three followed his lead. Regardless, though the details are unclear, this decorative scheme offers striking evidence concerning the transfer of ideas in ancient Egypt. In order for any of the tomb owners to have known of the decorative scheme of the others it seems likely that it was necessary to see it at first hand. It is possible, therefore, that the serdab demonstrates a friendship between two Egyptian officials of the Old Kingdom – a feature which is very rarely attested indeed.

In many cases, in the Old Kingdom particularly, a tomb is the only surviving record an individual has left, and it is therefore incumbent upon us, if we wish to understand the lives of individuals who lived so long ago, to examine these records as closely as possible. This essay has attempted to do just this, but its scope is very restricted. It would be of great interest to examine the remaining scenes in the tomb with a close eye to detail. More than this, however, further studies could profitably examine other tombs in a similar way. In particular, in light of what has been found here, it would be particularly intriguing to study the tomb of Pepyankh's father, Niankh-Pepy.

The similarity between the serdab of Pepyankh and those of Nekhebu and his sons warrants further study. It is impossible to believe that there is not a connection, and the nature of this connection is of great interest. I have hinted above at a possible explanation in the visit of Nekhebu to Meir, and this deserves investigation. It is possible that the date of Pepyankh's tomb must be revised to make them contemporary, but this cannot be ascertained until more information becomes available.

The close relationship evidenced within Pepyankh's family was not unique, as was mentioned above. However, relatively few examples are known, and it seems certain that a study which aims to research

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<sup>201</sup> This has been suggested by both Polet (2007: 16.) and Gillam (1991b: 85), but I was unaware of their articles until too late to include them.

familial relationships through an examination of tombs could be rewarding. Altenmüller has, for instance, recently highlighted an intriguing scene in the tombs of Seshemnefer II and Seshemnefer III at Giza, in which each tomb owner seems to be offering his father a lotus flower.<sup>202</sup> This sort of detail may well demonstrate a similarly close relationship as that seen in Pepyankh's tomb, and it deserves to be studied.

It was not possible for me to examine the tomb personally during the course of my study, partly due to the political situation in Egypt, but mostly due to the parlous state of my own finances. Blackman's report of the tomb is very good, but it would certainly be useful to examine the tomb in situ. For instance, in one of the few photos I have of the tomb,<sup>203</sup> I noticed what seems to be a hieratic inscription in the serdab, but I am not able to decipher it from the photo.

Overall, it should be understood that the tomb of Pepyankh Henykem is a monument of great importance to Egyptology. It provides the modern world with a chance to glimpse, however fleetingly, the life, career and relationships of a man who lived over four millennia ago. Without such glimpses of human experience, Egyptology is merely the study of pretty stones and paper.

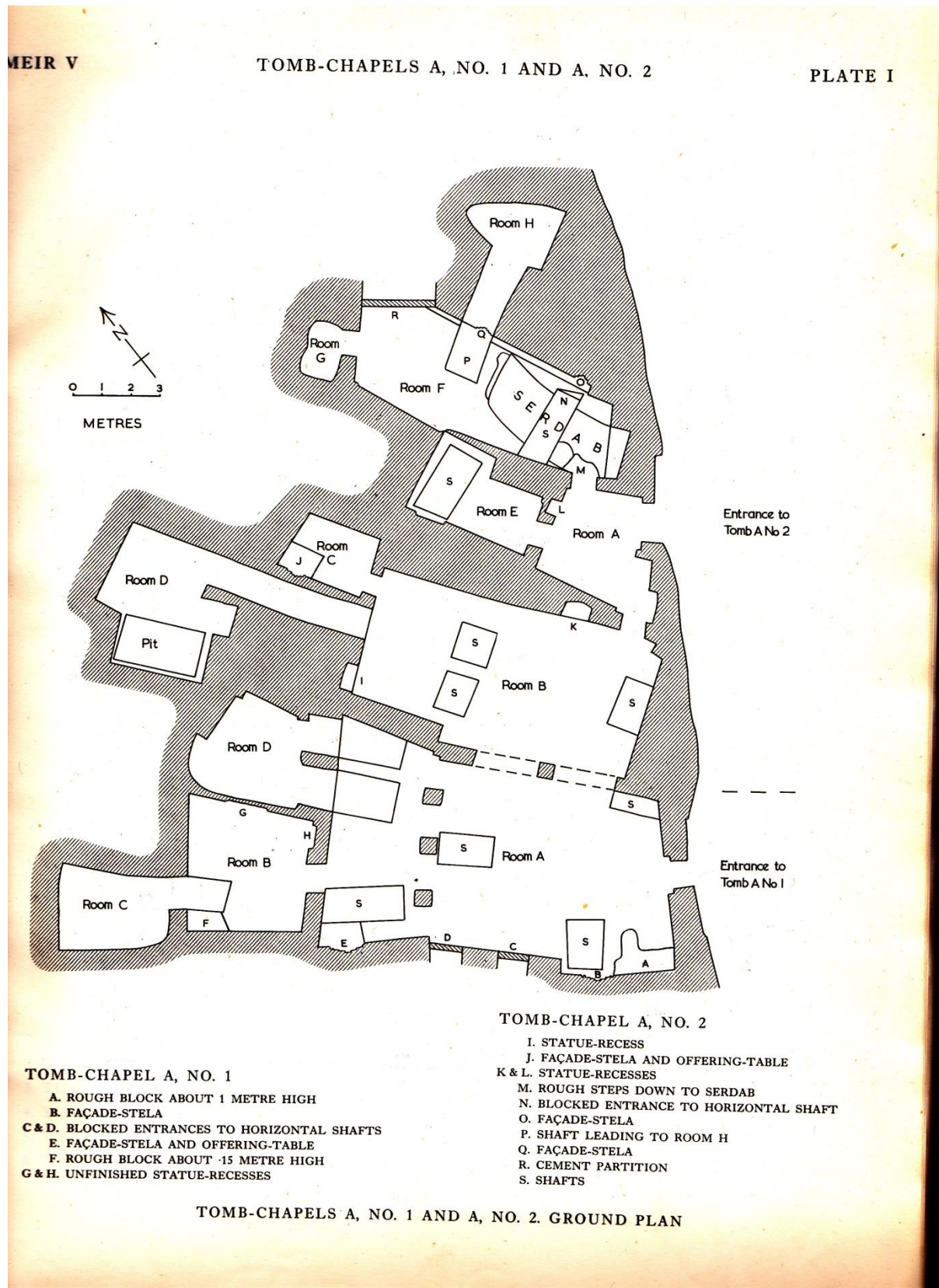
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<sup>202</sup> Altenmüller 2008: 155.

<sup>203</sup> See fig. 8b. Bottom right corner.

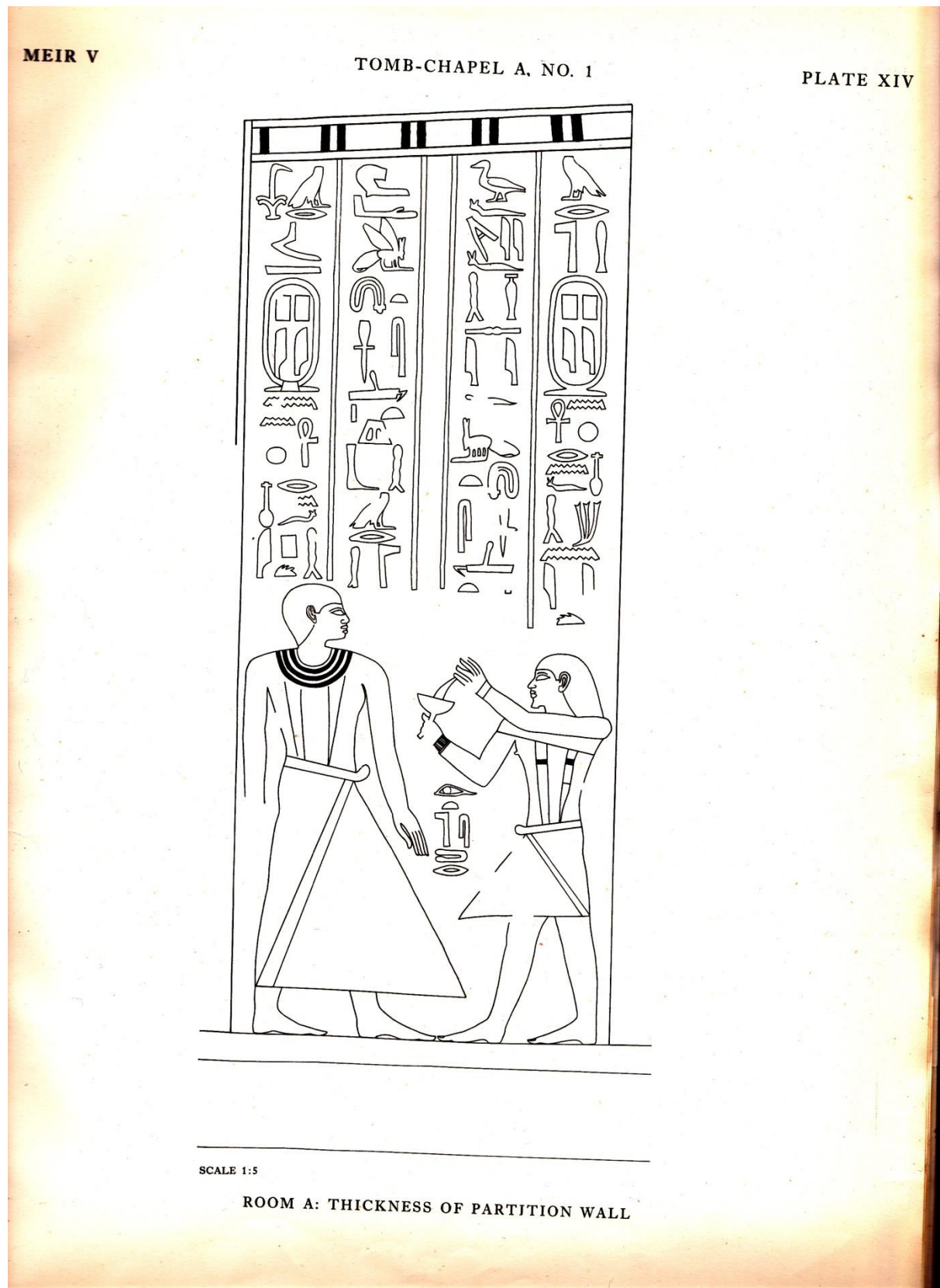
**9. Figures**

**Figure 1 – Map of the tomb**



Blackman 1953: Plate 1.

**Figure 2 – Pepyankh offering incense to his father, Niankh-Pepy**



Blackman 1953: Plate 14.



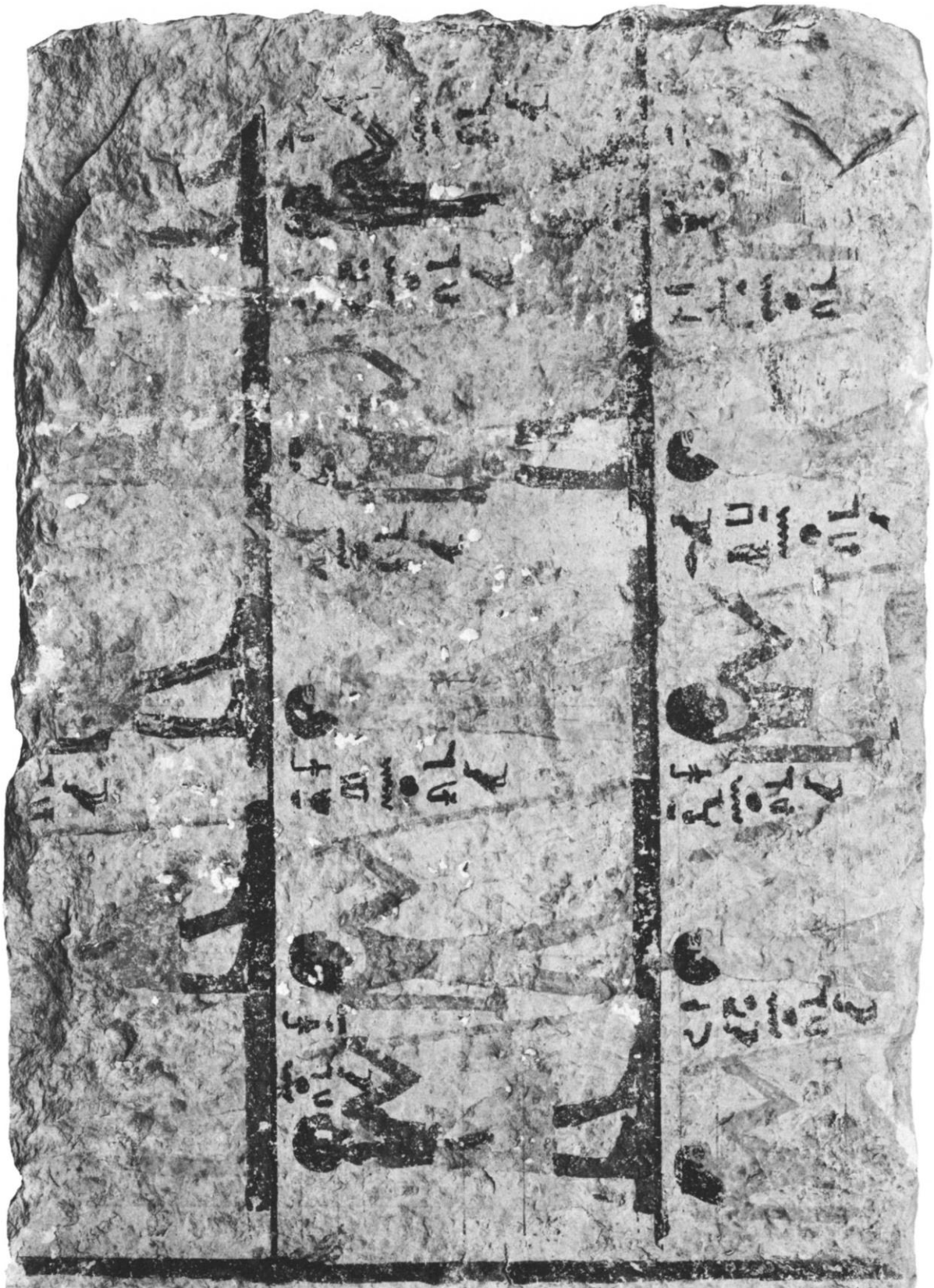
**Figure 3 – Block from the tomb of Nekhebu at Giza**



Fischer 1963: Pl. 1a



Figure 4 - Block from the tomb of Nekhebu at Giza



Fischer 1963: Pl. 3.

Figure 5 – Block from the tomb of Nekhebu at Giza



Fischer 1963: Pl. 2.



**Figure 6 – Block from the tomb of Sabu Ibebi at Giza**



MFA 13.4345.1 - <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-fragment-from-the-serdab-of-sabu-ibeby-466495> (accessed 18/8/13) Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

**Figure 7 – Block from the tomb of Sabu Ibebi at Giza**



MFA 13.4345.2 - <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-fragment-from-the-serdab-of-sabu-ibeby-141806> (accessed 18/8/13) Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



**Figure 8a – Serdab – Entrance and South**



**Figure 8b – Serdab – North**



Both Bommas, M. 2011: Personal communication.

## 10. Appendices

When I first began work on this dissertation, I produced as complete a transliteration and translation of the tomb as my abilities allow. It became obvious fairly quickly that there would not be space to discuss the entire tomb, and so much of this work was not used. I append it here (as appendix 3) principally because no other transliteration of the tomb exists in print. As it was not used in the body of this essay, however, I have not gone to great lengths to solve the trickier problems of translation. As such, a great deal more of the work than is preferable is simply a succession of question marks. In addition, such phrases as are not certain have been left a different shade to indicate this fact. All plate references are to Blackman 1953.

### Appendix 1 – Serdab Translation

#### South Wall, top register

1. <i>t3yty s3b t3ty</i> <i>Hny km</i>	He of the curtain, chief justice and vizier Heny the Black
2. <i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Overseer of the treasury Heny the Black
3. <i>imy-r3 hnw</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Overseer of the residence Henenit the Black
4. <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> <i>Hny</i>	Count Heny
5. <i>imy-r3 sm<sup>c</sup>w</i> <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt Pepyankh
6. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Sole companion Henenit
7. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black
8. <i>hry-hb.t</i> <i>Hny km/Hnny km</i> <sup>204</sup>	Lector Priest Heny the Black/Heneny the Black
9. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Sole companion Henenit the Black
10. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black

#### South Wall, 2<sup>nd</sup> Register





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<sup>204</sup> This is uncertain in Blackman's report. Pl. 40 shows *Hny km*. Blackman translates *Hnny km* (1953: 46.)

1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Ḥny km</i>	Count Heny the Black
2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i> <sup>205</sup> <i>Ḥnni.t</i>	Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt Henenit
3. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> <i>Ḥny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black
4. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t ḥry-tp</i> <i>Ppy-ꜥnh</i>	Lector Priest in Charge Pepyankh
5. <i>imy-r3 šnw.ty</i> <i>Ḥnni.t km</i>	Overseer of the two granaries Henenit the Black
6. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i> <i>Ḥny km</i>	Lector Priest Heny the Black
7. <i>s(t)m</i> <i>Ḥnni km</i>	S(et)em Priest Henedi the Black
8. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> <i>Ḥny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black
9. <i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i> <i>Ppy-ꜥnh</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt Pepyankh
10. <i>smr-wꜥty</i> <i>Ḥnni.t km</i>	Sole companion Henenit the Black

### South Wall, 3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. <i>mty n s3</i> <i>Ḥnni.t km</i>	Regulator of a Phyle Henenit the Black
2. <i>šḥd ḥm(.w)-ntr</i> <i>Ḥny km</i>	Inspector of the god's servants Heny the Black
3. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> <i>Ppy-ꜥnh km</i> <sup>206</sup>	Overseer of the god's servants Pepyankh the Black
4. <i>šps nsw.t</i> <i>Ḥnni.t km</i>	Noble of the king Henenit the Black
5. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i> <i>Ḥny km</i>	Lector Priest Heny the Black
6. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants

<sup>205</sup> The orientation of this title shows four variations. Most common is , which is seen 7 times.  is seen 3 times,  twice and  just once.

<sup>206</sup> This is written with an unusual orientation. It is the only example in the serdab of *Ppy* written horizontally rather than vertically.

	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
7.	<i>smr wꜥty</i>	Sole companion
	<i>Ppy-ꜥnh km</i>	Pepyankh the Black
8.	<i>h3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count
	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
9.	<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Hny.t km</i>	Henyt the Black
10.	<i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black



### **South Wall, Bottom Register**

1.	<i>h3ty-ꜥ</i>	Count
	<i>Hy km/Hny km</i> <sup>207</sup>	Hy the Black/Heny the Black
2.	<i>t3yty s3b 3ty</i>	He of the curtain, chief justice and vizier
	<i>Hny km</i>	Henyt the Black
3.	<i>hry-hb.t hry-tp</i> <sup>208</sup>	Lector Priest in Charge
	<i>Hny km</i>	Henyt the Black
4.	<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
5.	<i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
	<i>Hny km</i>	Henyt the Black
6.	<i>smr wꜥty</i>	Sole companion
	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
7.	<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Ppy-ꜥnh km</i>	Pepyankh the Black
8.	<i>sš gs-dp.t</i>	Scribe of Protection
	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
9.	<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Hny km</i>	Henyt the Black
10.	<i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt
	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black

### **East Wall, South of Break, Top Register**

1.	<i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt
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<sup>207</sup> This is uncertain in Blackman's report. Pl. 40 shows *Hy km*. Blackman translates *Hny km* (1953: 46.)

<sup>208</sup> This title, usually inscribed horizontally: , is here written vertically: 



	<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
2.	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Count Heny the Black
3.	<i>t3yty s3b 3ty</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	He of the curtain, chief justice and vizier Henenit the Black
4.	<i>hry-ḥb.t hry-tp</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Lector Priest in Charge Heny the Black
5.	<i>s(t)m</i> <i>Hny km</i>	S(et)em Priest Heny the Black
6.		Only a tiny remnant of the pedestal of the statue survives

### **East Wall, South of Break, 2nd Register**

1.	<i>ḥtm(ty) ntr.t(?)</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Sealer of the goddess(?) Henenit the Black
2.	<i>imy-r3 šnw.ty</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Overseer of the 2 granaries Henenit the Black
3.	<i>ḥtmty bity</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt Heny the Black
4.	<i>smr wꜥty</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Sole companion Henenit
5.	<i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black
6.		The title here is destroyed. Half of the pedestal, the staff, the tip of the sceptre and Pepyankh's hand remain. The name is also partially destroyed.
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny

### **East Wall, South of Break, 3rd Register**

1.	<i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i> <i>Hny km</i> <sup>209</sup>	Count Heny the Black
2.	<i>s(t)m</i> <i>Hny km</i>	S(et)em Priest Heny the Black
3.	<i>hry-ḥb.t hry-tp</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Lector Priest in Charge Heny the Black
4.	<i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black

<sup>209</sup> There is an unusual mark beneath the *km* sign in Blackman's plate (1953: Pl. 39 3).

- |    |  |          |
|----|--|----------|
| 5. | <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>  | Count    |
|    | <i>Ppy-ꜥnh</i>   | Pepyankh |
| 6. | The title here is destroyed. The pedestal, the staff, the tip of the sceptre and Pepyankh's legs remain. The name remains. |          |
|    | <i>Hnni.t</i>  | Henenit  |

**East Wall, South of Break, 4th Register**

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>   | Overseer of the god's servants               |
|    | <i>Hny</i>   | Heny   |
| 2. | <i>imy-r3 šmꜥw<sup>210</sup></i>   | Overseer of Upper Egypt                      |
|    | <i>Hnny</i>  | Heneny                                       |
| 3. | <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>  | Count  |
|    | <i>Ppy-ꜥnh</i>   | Pepyankh                                     |
| 4. | <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>   | Overseer of the god's servants               |
|    | <i>Hnni.t</i>  | Henenit                                      |
| 5. | <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>  | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt            |
|    | <i>Hny</i>   | Heny   |
| 6. | The title here is mostly destroyed. Half of the pedestal, the staff and Pepyankh's hand remains. The name is partly destroyed. |  |
|    | <i>ḥ[...]</i>  | Uncertain. Blackman translates Lector Priest |
|    | <i>Hnn(i?)</i>   | Heneni?                                      |

**East Wall, South of Break, Bottom Register**

- |    |  |                                   |
|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr<sup>211</sup></i>   | Overseer of the god's servants    |
|    | <i>Hny</i>   | Heny                              |
| 2. | <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>  | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt |
|    | <i>Hnni.t</i>  | Henenit                           |
| 3. | <i>smr wꜥty</i>  | Sole companion                    |
|    | <i>Hny km</i>  | Heny the Black                    |
| 4. | <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>  | Count                             |
|    | <i>Hnn.t</i>   | Henenet                           |
| 5. | The title here is destroyed. The pedestal, the staff, the front of the sceptre, the bottom of the kilt and Pepyankh's legs remain. The name remains. |                                   |
|    | <i>Hny</i>   | Heny                              |

<sup>210</sup> *šmꜥw* is written with M23:  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  instead of M26:  $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ .

<sup>211</sup> The first figure in the bottom register is offset by one, so that it is directly beneath figure two of the register above.

- All but the front half of the pedestal is lost.

### **East Wall, Under the Break**

- All but the back half of the pedestal and Pepyankh's back foot is destroyed
- The pedestal, most of the feet and the bottom of the staff remain.
- The pedestal, the base of the staff, the front foot and the back foot and leg remain.
- The pedestal, staff, back foot and front foot and leg survive, as does most of the name.

*Hny*

Heny

### **East Wall, North of Break, Top Register**

- Completely destroyed
- Completely destroyed
- Completely destroyed
- Completely destroyed
- Completely destroyed
- Completely destroyed
- Just the base of the pedestal survives.
- The pedestal and both feet survive.
- The pedestal, both feet, the staff and part of the name survive.

*...y km*

*...y the Black*

- The pedestal, both feet, the staff and part of the name survive.

*...nni.t*

*...nenit*

- The pedestal, both feet, the staff and part of the name survive.

*...y(?)*

*...y(?)*

- The pedestal, both feet and legs, the staff and most of the name survive.

*Hnni.t*

Henenit

- The pedestal, both feet and legs, the staff and most of the name survive.

*Hny km*

Heny the Black

### **East Wall, North of Break, 2nd Register**

- The back half of the pedestal, the back leg and foot, the torso, back arm, necklace and back half of the sceptre survive.

- imy-r3 šnw.ty*

Overseer of the 2 granaries

*Hnni.t km*

Henenit the Black

- s(t)m<sup>212</sup>*

S(et)em Priest

*Hny*

Heny

---

<sup>212</sup> The heads have been destroyed in figures 3, 4 and 5.

4. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Henenit
5. <i>hry-hb.t</i> <i>Hny</i>	Lector Priest Heny
6. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> <i>Hny</i>	Sole companion Heny
7. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Henenit the Black
8. <i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i> <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Overseer of the treasury Henenit the Black
9. <i>smr</i> <i>Hny</i>	Companion Heny
10. <i>hry-hb.t</i> <i>Hny</i>	Lector Priest Heny
11. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Henenit
12. <i>šps nsw.t</i> <i>Hny</i>	Noble of the king Heny
13. <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> <i>Hny</i>	Count Heny

#### **East Wall, North of Break, 3rd Register**

1. The back half of the pedestal, the back leg and foot, the torso, back arm, head, necklace and back half of the sceptre survive.	
2. <i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Overseer of the treasury Henenit
3. <i>šps nsw.t</i> <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nḥ</i>	Noble of the king Pepyankh
4. <i>hry-hb.t hry-tp</i> <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nḥ</i>	Lector Priest in Charge Pepyankh
5. <i>htm(ty) bity</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt Henenit
6. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hny km</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny the Black
7. <i>hry-hb.t</i> <sup>213</sup>	Lector Priest

<sup>213</sup> *H* and front of sceptre are damaged.

	<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
8.	<i>imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt
	<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
9.	<i>smr</i>	Companion
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
10.	<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
11.	<i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector Priest
	<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	Pepyankh
12.	<i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
13.	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	Sole Companion
	<i>Hnn.t</i>	Henenet

#### **East Wall, North of Break, Bottom Register**

1.		The back half of the pedestal, back arm, rear leg and foot and back of the sceptre survive.
2.	<i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i>	Count
	<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
3.	<i>hry-hb.t hry-tp</i>	Lector Priest in Charge
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
4.	<i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
	<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
5.	<i>smr</i>	Companion
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
6.	<i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector Priest
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
7.	<i>sš gs-dp.t</i>	Scribe of Protection
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
8.	<i>sš n s3</i>	Scribe of a Phyle
	<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
9.	<i>mty n s3</i>	Regulator of a Phyle
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
10.	<i>šps nsw.t</i>	Noble of the king
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny
11.	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	Sole companion
	<i>Hny</i>	Heny

12. <i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector Priest
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
13. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit

### North Wall, top Register

1. The front half of the pedestal is all that survives. Nothing else survives of this register.

### North Wall, 2nd Register

1. The title here is mostly destroyed. The pedestal, the staff, the sceptre and Pepyankh's legs remain. The name remains.

<i>(h3)ty-<sup>c</sup></i>	Count
<i>Hny</i>	Heny

2. The pedestal, staff, most of the back foot, the front foot and leg survive, as does most of the name.

<i>Hny</i>	Heny
------------	------

3. Completely destroyed.
4. Completely destroyed apart from the base of the pedestal.
5. Completely destroyed.
6. Completely destroyed apart from the back of the pedestal.
7. All but the pedestal, feet and base of staff are lost. Part of the name remains.

<i>...y</i>	<i>...y</i>
-------------	-------------

8. All but the pedestal, feet and base of staff are lost. Part of the name remains.

<i>...y</i>	<i>...y</i>
-------------	-------------

9. Completely destroyed.
10. Completely destroyed.
11. Completely destroyed.

### North Wall, 3rd Register

1. <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i>	Count
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
2. <i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i>	Overseer of the treasury
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
3. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
4. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit

- |     |  |                                  |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|
| 5.  | <i>šps nsw.t</i><br><i>Ḥnni.t</i>  | Noble of the king<br>Henenit     |
| 6.  | <i>ḥtm(ty) ntr</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>   | Sealer of the god<br>Heny        |
| 7.  | <i>imy-r3 pr-ḥd</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>  | Overseer of the treasury<br>Heny |
| 8.  | The title here is mostly destroyed. The pedestal, the staff, the front of the sceptre and Pepyankh's front hand and legs remain. The name remains. |                                  |
|     | <i>ḥry ḥ(b.t)</i><br><i>Ḥni.t</i>  | Lector Priest<br>Henit           |
| 9.  | The pedestal, bottom of the staff, and the front foot and leg survive, as does most of the name.   |                                  |
|     | <i>...(n)ni.t</i>  | ...nenit                         |
| 10. | The pedestal, legs, feet and base of the kilt survive.   |                                  |
| 11. | The pedestal, legs, feet and part of the name survive.   |                                  |
|     | <i>...y</i>  | ...y                             |

#### **North Wall, Bottom Register**

- |    |                                      |  |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>   | Overseer of the god's servants<br>Heny       |
| 2. | <i>ḥ3ty-ḥ</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>          | Count<br>Heny                                |
| 3. | <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i><br><i>Ḥnni.t</i> | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt<br>Henenit |
| 4. | <i>smr</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>             | Companion<br>Heny                            |
| 5. | <i>ḥry- ḥb.t</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>       | Lector Priest<br>Heny                        |
| 6. | <i>ḥry-tp nsw.t</i><br><i>Ḥnni.t</i> | King's liegeman<br>Henenit                   |
| 7. | <i>imy-r3 šnw.t</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>    | Overseer of the granary<br>Heny              |
| 8. | <i>wr id.t</i><br><i>Ḥny</i>         | Great of censuring<br>Heny                   |
| 9. | <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> <sup>214</sup>  | Overseer of the god's servants               |

<sup>214</sup> The head of this figure has been destroyed

<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
10. <i>imy-r3 pr-ḥd</i>	Overseer of the treasury
<i>Ppy-ḥnh</i>	Pepyankh
11. <i>ḥ3ty-ḥ</i>	Count
<i>Hny</i>	Heny

#### **West Wall, South of Doorway, Top Register**

1. Completely destroyed.	
2. Completely destroyed apart from the pedestal and feet.	
3. The staff and hand are lost, and the title is damaged.	
<i>(sm)r wḥty</i>	Sole companion
<i>Hny km</i>	Heny the Black
4. <i>ḥry-tp nsw.t</i>	King's liegeman
<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
5. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Hny km</i>	Heny the Black

#### **West Wall, South of Doorway, 2nd Register**

1. The pedestal, rear leg and arm, back of sceptre and back of torso are all that survive of this figure.	
2. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
3. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>	Lector Priest
<i>Hny km</i>	Heny the Black
4. <i>s(t)m</i>	S(et)em Priest
<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
5. <i>imy-r3 šmḥw</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt
<i>Hny km</i>	Heny the Black

#### **West Wall, South of Doorway, Bottom Register**

1. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
2. <i>ḥ3ty-ḥ</i>	Count
<i>Hny km</i>	Heny the Black
3. <i>s(t)m</i>	S(et)em Priest
<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 4. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i><br><i>Hny km</i> | Overseer of the god's servants<br>Heny the Black |
| 5. <i>hry-hb.t</i><br><i>Hny km</i>      | Lector Priest<br>Heny the Black                  |

**West Wall, Between Doorway & Break, top Register**

1. The pedestal, bottom of the staff, and the feet survive, as does the name.  
*Hny km* Heny the Black
2. The pedestal, bottom of the staff, and the feet survive, as does some of the name.  
*...i.t km* ...it the Black
3. The front of the pedestal and the bottom of the staff survive.
4. The back of the pedestal survives.
5. Only the front of the pedestal and base of the staff survive.

**West Wall, Between Doorway & Break, 2nd Register**

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>h3ty-c</i><br><i>Hnni.t</i>          | Count<br>Henenit                      |
| 2. <i>imy-r3 sm-cw</i><br><i>Hny</i>       | Overseer of Upper Egypt<br>Heny       |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 snw.ty</i><br><i>Hnny</i>     | Overseer of the 2 granaries<br>Heneny |
| 4. <i>smr</i> <sup>215</sup><br><i>Hny</i> | Companion<br>Heny                     |
| 5. Only the middle of the staff survives.  |                                       |

**West Wall, Between Doorway & Break, Bottom Register**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>h3ty-c</i><br><i>Hny</i>             | Count<br>Heny                             |
| 2. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i><br><i>Hnni.t</i>   | Overseer of the god's servants<br>Henenit |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 pr-hd</i><br><i>Hnni.t</i>    | Overseer of the treasury<br>Henenit       |
| 4. <i>smr</i> <sup>216</sup><br><i>Hny</i> | Companion<br>Heny                         |

<sup>215</sup> This figure is not inscribed but painted.

<sup>216</sup> This figure is not inscribed but painted.

5. The front of the pedestal, bottom of the staff and most of the name survive.  
*...(h)ny (km?)* Heny (the Black?)

### West Wall, North of Break, Top Register

1. Completely destroyed.
2. Completely destroyed.
3. Only the pedestal and back heel survive.
4. The pedestal, feet and base of the staff survive, as does most of the name.  
*...nni.t* ...nenit
5. The pedestal, legs, feet and bottom half of the staff survive, as does most of the name.  
*Hny* Heny
6. The pedestal, legs, feet and bottom half of the staff survive, as does some of the name.  
*...ny* ...ny
7. The pedestal, legs, feet and bottom half of the staff survive, as does most of the name.  
*Hny* Heny
8. The pedestal, legs, feet and bottom half of the staff survive, as does most of the name.  
*Ppy-ꜥnh* Pepyankh
9. The pedestal, legs, feet, sceptre, arm, kilt and most of the staff survive, as does some of the title and most of the name.  
*...hry-tp* (Lector Priest and) Chief  
*Hnni.t* Henenit
10. The pedestal, legs, feet, sceptre, arm, kilt and most of the staff survive, as does the name  
*Hny* Heny
11. The pedestal, legs, feet, sceptre, arm, kilt and most of the staff survive, as does the name and most of the title.  
*sh(d) (h)m(.w)-n(tr)* Inspector of the god's servants  
*Hnni.t* Henenit

### West Wall, North of Break, 2nd Register

1. Destroyed apart from the back of the pedestal and the rear leg.
2. *imy-rꜥ hm-ntr*<sup>217</sup> Overseer of the god's servants  
*Ppy-ꜥnh* Pepyankh
3. *sš n sꜥ*<sup>218</sup> Scribe of a Phyle  
*Hny* Heny

<sup>217</sup> The head of this figure is missing.

<sup>218</sup> The other example of this title differs from this as it lacks the ideogram stroke.

4. <i>smr</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Companion Henenit
5. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Henenit
6. No figure has been inscribed in this space, but it has been squared in ink.	
7. <i>smr</i> <sup>219</sup> <i>Hny</i>	Companion Heny
8. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hny</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Heny
9. <i>htm(ty) bity</i> <i>Hny</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt Heny
10. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Ppy-ꜥnh</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Pepyankh
11. <i>smr</i> <i>Hny</i>	Companion Heny

#### **West Wall, North of Break, 3rd Register**

1. The back of the figure survives complete, but the front, including all inscriptions, are destroyed.	
2. <i>imy-r3 šnw.ty</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Overseer of the 2 granaries Henenit
3. <i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i> <sup>220</sup> <i>Hny</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt Heny
4. <i>htm(ty) bity</i> <i>Hny</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt Heny
5. <i>smr wꜥty</i> <i>Hny</i>	Sole companion Heny
6. <i>htm(ty) bity</i> <i>Hny</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt Heny
7. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Overseer of the god's servants Henenit
8. <i>hry-hb.t</i> <i>Hnni.t</i>	Lector Priest Henenit
9. <i>šps nsw.t</i>	Noble of the king

<sup>219</sup> This figure is not inscribed but painted.

<sup>220</sup> *šmꜥw* is written with a modified version of M26. It lacks the line representing the ground and has petals only at the top of the stalk, not the end of each branch.

<i>Hnny</i>	Heneny
10. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Ppy-ḥnh</i>	Pepyankh
11. <i>ḥ3ty-ḥ</i>	Count
<i>Hny</i>	Heny

**West Wall, North of Break, 3rd Register**

1. The back of the figure survives complete, but the front, including all inscriptions, are destroyed.	
2. <i>imy-r3 šnw.ty</i>	Overseer of the 2 granaries
<i>hn(i?)</i>	Hen(i?)
3. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>	Lector Priest
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
4. <i>ḥ3ty-ḥ</i>	Count
<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
5. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Ppy-ḥnh</i>	Pepyankh
6. <i>hry-ḥb.t hry-tp</i>	Lector Priest in Charge
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
7. <i>s(tm)</i>	S(et)em Priest
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
8. <i>sš gs-dp.t</i>	Scribe of Protection
<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
9. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
<i>Hnni.t</i>	Henenit
10. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
<i>Hny</i>	Heny
11. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>	Lector Priest
<i>Hny</i>	Heny

## Appendix 2 – Room F

### Blackman Plate 41

#### Room F, South Wall

##### Above Pepyankh

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ᶜ</i>               | Count  |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>         | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt                |
| 3. <i>smr wᶜty</i>             | Sole Companion                                   |
| 4. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>             | Lector Priest                                    |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 šmᶜw</i>          | Overseer of Upper Egypt                          |
| 6. <i>imy-r3 šn.w(ty)</i>      | Overseer of the (two) granaries                  |
| 7. <i>imy-r3 sš.wy</i>         | Overseer of the two fowling pools <sup>221</sup> |
| 8. <i>imy-r3 pr-ḥd</i>         | Overseer of the treasury                         |
| 9. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>        | Overseer of the god's servants                   |
| 10. <i>Ḥny rn.f nfr Ḥnni.t</i> | Heny, whose good name is Henenit                 |

##### In front of Pepyankh

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>m33 k3.w ᶜw.wt nb m niw.wt.f</i> | Inspecting all the cattle, sheep and goats of his towns. |
|--|--|

##### Top Register

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 ts(.w)t</i>    | Overseer of herds of cattle, sheep and goats <sup>222</sup> |
| 2. <i>t3y/k3(.w) 32,400</i> | 32,400 males  |

##### Register 2

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 ts(.w)t</i>  | Overseer of herds of cattle, sheep and goats |
| 2. <i>rnn iw3 500</i>     | 500 young longhorns                          |
| 3. <i>ng3w.w(?) 1,400</i> | 1,400 longhorn bulls                         |
| 4. <i>ii(.k) ikr</i>      | Come along in good order.                    |
| 5. <i>id.wt 300</i>       | 300 cows                                     |

##### Register 3

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 ts(.w)t</i>  | Overseer of herds of cattle, sheep and goats |
| 2. <i>ng3w.w(?) 1,400</i> | 1,400 longhorn bulls                         |
| 3. <i>ng3w.w(?) 1,300</i> | 1,300 longhorn bulls                         |
| 4. <i>id.wt 500</i>       | 500 cows                                     |

---

<sup>221</sup> Jones 2000: 816.

<sup>222</sup> Jones 2000: 997.

Bottom Register

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 ts(.w)t</i> | Overseer of herds of cattle, sheep and goats |
| 2. <i>ks(i) ikr</i>      | Bow down excellently                         |
| 3. <i>rnn iw3 300</i>    | 300 young longhorns                          |
| 4. <i>rnn iw3</i>        | Young longhorns                              |

### Appendix 3 – Rest of the tomb

#### Blackman Plate 15

##### Room A, South Wall, Inscription

- |                         |                                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>        | Count                             |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>  | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt |
| 3. <i>smr wꜥty</i>      | Sole Companion                    |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> | Overseer of the god's servants    |
| 5. <i>Ḥny km</i>        | Heny the Black                    |

##### Room A, South Wall, West Scene

(Reading right to left)

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. <i>imy-rꜥ sšr</i> | Overseer of linen distribution <sup>223</sup> |
| 2. <i>imy-rꜥ sšr</i> | Overseer of linen distribution                |
| 3. <i>ḥtmw</i>       | Sealer <sup>224</sup>                         |

##### Lower Register

- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. [...y].n <i>tbwty</i>    | [Maker] of the sandals  |
| 2. <i>ḥn mt n.t n (?)</i>   | ...red jasper/carnelian |
| 3. <i>ir.t ḥt3</i>          | Sail-making (?)         |
| 4. <i>smr ...t (d)t mdd</i> | ???                     |

##### Upper Register

- |                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>šs3w</i>               | Skilled                     |
| 2. <i>...sw š(?) smd (?)</i> | Twisting <sup>225</sup> (?) |
| 3. <i>mḥ n ꜥd pw</i>         | 'Fill this reel             |
| 4. <i>mk ꜥd šw</i>           | Behold, the reel is empty!' |
| 5. <i>iry r ḥst.k</i>        | (I) am doing as you please. |

##### Room A, West Wall, Scene Above Doorway

- |                         |                                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>smr wꜥty</i>      | Sole Companion                 |
| 2. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>      | Lector Priest                  |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> | Overseer of the god's servants |
| 4. <i>Ḥnni.t</i>        | Henenit                        |

##### Lower Register

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>sš m ꜥ.wy ḥm.t n ḥr.t 3b.d 84</i> | Record from the hands of female slaves for the whole month: 84 |
|---|--|

<sup>223</sup> Jones 2000: 864.

<sup>224</sup> Jones 2000: 2763.

<sup>225</sup> Blackman's translation.

2. *htm*
3. *dmd n hr.t rnp.t 996*

Sealer  
Total annual allowance (?): 996

#### Upper Register

1. *...mnh.t 4000*

Clothing: 4000

### **Blackman Plates 16 & 17**

#### **Room A, West Wall**

##### Above Pepiankh

1. *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*
2. *htm(ty) bity*
3. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*
4. *hry-hb.t*
5. *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w*
6. *imy-r3 hm-ntr*
7. *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh*

Count  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Overseer of Upper Egypt  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Pepyankh

##### Behind Pepiankh

1. *in.t t n hm.wt*
2. *hry-hb.t imy-r3 pr w(?)ms3f*
3. *hry-hb.t pr-<sup>c</sup>3 pr-ntr-md3.t sš*  
*Ppy-ihy-m-hm<sup>226</sup> rn nfr iri*
4. *hry-tp nsw.t šd hm(.w)-ntr imy-r3*  
*pr nfrhr*
5. *sš sššn*
6. *šd hm(.w)-ntr sš n kis ntr htp.t sš*  
*kisms3f*

Bringing bread to the craftsmen  
Lector Priest, overseer of the house, Uemsaf  
Lector priest of the house of the sacred  
books of the great house, scribe, Pepy-ihy-  
emhem, whose good name is Iri.  
King's liegeman, inspector of the  
house, Neferher  
The scribe, Seshshen  
Inspector of the god's servants, scribe of  
Cusae, divine offerings' scribe, Qisemsaf

##### In front of Pepiankh

1. *sš nsw <sup>c</sup>(.w) imy-r3 sš(.w) 3h.t imy-r3 pr*  
*i...3i*
2. *m33 k3.t nb n.t hm(.w)t*

Scribe of the royal records, overseer of the  
land-scribes, overseer of the house, I(tj)ai  
Viewing all the work of the craftsmen

##### Top Register

1. *dw nby.t (?)*
2. *mnh nby.wt in sti rw(?) nby.t(?)*
3. *w3d sw(?) d3m*

Giving a necklace/collar (?)  
Costly necklaces by the stringer of collars<sup>227</sup>  
Green stone (?) and fine gold

<sup>226</sup> Definitely *hm* not *s3* sign.

<sup>227</sup> Jones 2000: 3625.



4. *sw šn(?) ... isn*
5. *n sti rw(?) nby.t*

Twisting thread<sup>228</sup>  
for the stringer of beads

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *imy-r3 k*
2. *ini n hm*
3. *ih3 ini m*
4. *iry r hst.k*
5. *di h3nš nw hr skbb*
6. *d ikr mk sw r-hr nfr*

Overseer of the hill  
Carry (this) away, assuredly  
Oho! Carry (this) away  
(I) am doing as you please.  
**Do ? making cool**  
**Great ?, behold it ? good.**

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. *hm.t*
2. *hm.t*
3. *ir(i) k3.t ikr mk tn srw hr hs.t tn*

Craftsman<sup>229</sup>  
Craftsman  
Do excellent work! Behold, you, the noble  
favours you!

#### 4<sup>th</sup> Register

1. *imy-r3 šsr s<sup>c</sup>nhy*
2. *htm rmtprs*
3. *? ihi*

Overseer of linen distribution, Sankhy.  
Sealer, Remetjperes  
**? Ihi**

### **Blackman Plate 18**

#### **Room A, North Wall, West End**

#### Bottom Register

1. *ndrw<sup>230</sup> h.t pw sin di tn n sw ir(i) k3.t im.f*
2. *hry-tp nsw.t Hnn.t*
3. *imy-r3 mdh*
4. *mk n hr ir.t r hs.t.k*

Chop<sup>79</sup> this wood quickly and give (me) it  
(that I may) do work with it.  
King's liegeman, Henenet  
Overseer of carpenters<sup>231</sup>  
Behold, we are doing as you please

#### 4<sup>th</sup> Register

1. *mnh šw.t tw n.t š3 sin*
2. *iry r hs.t.k mk wr di.t n.k s*
3. *dm n.t mib.t (?)*

Chisel this leaf (?) of the door quickly  
(I) am doing as you please. Behold! (I will)  
place it for you under your fingers.  
Sharpening an adze

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> Register

<sup>228</sup> After Brovarski 2003: 91.

<sup>229</sup> Jones 2000: 2179.

<sup>230</sup> This definitely reads chop, not grasp. The determinative is not A24, but a picture of a man chopping with an axe. In fact, it is simply a smaller version of the image the sentence accompanies.

<sup>231</sup> Jones 2000: 571.

1. *h3(i) ikr sdr.f ws(i)*
2. *ih3(i) mk nh.t ih3(i)*

(Place it) down skilfully that it might be lain  
(and) sawn.(?)  
O! (It is) down! Behold, (my) saw is  
down(?)!

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *ih mk sn<sup>c</sup>*
2. *mk r.k sn<sup>c</sup>*
3. *srw hr.t imy-r3 mdh(.w)*
4. *hry-tp nsw.t Hnni.t*

O! Behold! (It) is polished.  
Behold! You polish.  
??, overseer of carpenters  
King's liegeman, Henenit

### Top Register

1. *hry-hb.t pr-<sup>c</sup>3 pr-ntr-md3.t sš  
im3hw Ppy-ihy-m-s3 rn nfr iri*
2. *sš tw.t n imy-r3 hm-ntr Hnni.t km*
3. *(imy)-r3 gnw.ty(.w) (I)tjau*
4. *tw tn smr w<sup>c</sup>ty imy-r3 hm-ntr  
Hnni.t km*
5. *gnw.ty Sbk-m-h3.t*
6. *sš Sššn*
7. *t hkt n sš kdw.t<sup>234</sup> gnw.tyw*

Lector priest of the house of the sacred  
books of the great house, scribe, revered one,  
Pepy-ihy-emsu, whose good name is Iri.  
Painting a statue of the overseer of the god's  
servants, Henenit the Black  
(Over)seer of sculptors<sup>232</sup>, (I)tjau  
This statue of sole companion, overseer of  
the god's servants, Henenit the Black  
Sculptor<sup>233</sup>, Sobekemhat  
Scribe, Seshshen  
Bread and beer for the draughtsmen and  
sculptors

## **Blackman Plate 19**

### **Room A, North Wall, East End**

#### Top Register

1. *hry-hb.t pr-<sup>c</sup>3 pr-ntr-md3.t sš  
im3hw Ppy-ihy-m-s3 rn nfr iri*
2. *m33 sš kdh k3.t gnw.ty(?)*
3. *sty hb*
4. *hknw*
5. *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*
6. *htm(ty) bity*

Lector priest of the house of the sacred  
books of the great house, scribe, revered one,  
Pepy-ihy-emsu, whose good name is Iri.  
Viewing the work of the draughtsmen and  
sculptors  
Festival perfume  
Heknu oil  
Count  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt

<sup>232</sup> Jones 2000: 958.

<sup>233</sup> Jones 2000: 3700.

<sup>234</sup> Determinative T20 instead of Y1.

- |                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 7. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> | Sole Companion                 |
| 8. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>            | Lector Priest                  |
| 9. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>       | Overseer of the god's servants |
| 10. <i>Ḥny km</i>             | Heny the Black                 |
| 11. <i>Ḥny km</i>             | Heny the Black                 |

## **Blackman Plates 20 and 21**

### **Room A, East Wall**

#### Bottom Register

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>tw.twy nw ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm(ty) bity imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w<br/>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-ḥb.t imy-r3 ḥm-ntr Ḥny<br/>km r pr tw.t</i> | Two statues of the count, sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, overseer of Upper Egypt, sole companion, lector priest, overseer of the god's servants, Heny the Black at the statue house. |
|---|--|

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Register

- |                                    |                   |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>ir.[f]<sup>235</sup> irp</i> | ??? wine          |
| 2. <i>mḥ irp</i>                   | Filling with wine |
| 3. <i>irp snw</i>                  | Wine of Pelusium  |
| 4. <i>irp dšr</i>                  | Red wine          |

#### 3rd Register

- |                                 |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. <i>i3rr.t</i>                | Vine        |
| 2. <i>3mi<sup>236</sup> irp</i> | Mixing wine |

#### Top Register

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i>  | Count   |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>   | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt   |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>   | Overseer of Upper Egypt   |
| 4. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>  | Sole Companion  |
| 5. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>   | Lector Priest   |
| 6. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>  | Overseer of the god's servants  |
| 7. <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nḥ rn.f nfr ḥn...</i>  | Pepyankh whose good name is Hen...  |
| 8. <i>m33...</i>   | Viewing...  |
| 9. <i>hry-ḥb.t pr-<sup>c</sup>3 pr-ntr-md3.t sš<br/>mry-r<sup>c</sup>-ihy-m-s3</i> | Lector priest of the house of the sacred books of the great house, scribe Meryra-ihy-<br>emsa |

<sup>235</sup> Blackman reads 'if.

<sup>236</sup> Determinative is not A24 but D41.

10. *iri*
11. *rh-nsw n [...w] sfnw*
12. *sfnw*
13. *hrty-ntr<sup>237</sup> iwḥi*
14. *hrty-ntr štw*
15. *hrty-ntr ḥmi*

Iri  
 King's acquaintance of...? Sefnu  
 Sefnu  
 Stonemason Iuhi  
 Stonemason Shetu  
 Stonemason Hemi

## **Blackman Plate 22**

### **Room B, South Wall, East End**

North side of angle

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *...sh nfr...*

? good...

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. *smr ...rš.t<sup>238</sup>*
2. *imy-r3 n ḥ3*

Companion ...reshet  
 Overseer of a thousand<sup>239</sup>

#### 4<sup>th</sup> Register

1. *swnw pr-<sup>c</sup>3 Ppy-mr*

Physician of the great house<sup>240</sup>, Pepymer

#### 5<sup>th</sup> Register

1. *shd ḥm(.w)-ntr*
2. *ḥtm.ty-ntr*
3. *sš*
4. *s3b*
5. *imy-r3 sš(.w)*
6. *ḥnhy*

Inspector of the god's servants<sup>241</sup>  
 God's sealer<sup>242</sup>  
 Scribe  
 Judge<sup>243</sup>  
 Overseer of scribes  
 Ankhy

West side of angle

#### 5<sup>th</sup> Register

1. *i3s*

Ias

### **Room B, South Wall, East Scenes**

#### Bottom Register

<sup>237</sup> This and the following two titles show an unusual writing. As well as the usual R8 atop T28, there is an additional stroke. Perhaps it is intended that the *ntr* sign be recognised as combined with T20, for a reading implying not just mason, but sculptor as well.

<sup>238</sup> Blackman reads *ḥryp.t*.

<sup>239</sup> Jones 2000: 692.

<sup>240</sup> Jones 2000: 3021.

<sup>241</sup> Jones 2000: 3437.

<sup>242</sup> Jones 2000: 2791.

<sup>243</sup> Jones 2000: 2932.

1. *ir imy-wr.t ikr*
2. *t3w nfr pw*
3. *iw ʕ f3.t sk t3w k3*
4. *iry r hs.t.k*
5. *imy-wr.t ikr*
6. *im.k h3 hmw.w*

Hard to starboard!  
 This wind is good.  
 ????? wind is high.  
 (I) am doing as you please.  
 Hard to starboard  
 Do not ? Steersman.

#### 4<sup>th</sup> Register

1. *di ht<sup>244</sup> s3.t t[w] mw ikr ish<sup>c</sup>.t(?)*

Place down this rope to the water skilfully

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. *i t3y.t wb3 mh.w.f*
2. *ink pw ir.t.f mtr*
3. *dm3 hrw.t ...nw n mhy sin*
4. *iw hr ir.t r hs.t.k*
5. *di di iw.t n.k t3y w<sup>c</sup>*
6. *nfrw tw wr.t mhy pn*
7. *ir wni di tn wnm h3w pn t*
8. *... mhy 6,200*

O Vizier! To open his fruit.  
 That is me! He who does (everything) on time.  
 Bind together today... to the cut flax.  
 I am doing as you wish  
 (I) cause one man to come to you  
 You are beautiful stuff. This flax is great!  
 Do it quickly that you may allow these neighbours to eat bread  
 ... Flax: 6,200

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *? ... h...n*

Illegible

#### Top Register

1. *h3.k*

Ha, you (donkeys)!

### **Blackman Plate 24**

#### **Room B, South Wall, West Scene**

##### In front of Pepiankh

1. *sti.t mhy.t ʕ3 wr.t m sš.w nw šm<sup>c</sup>w t3-mhw*
2. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty imy-r3 hn.ty(.w)-š pr-ʕ3  
sš gs-dp.t Hnni.t*

Spearing a very great number of fish in the marshes of Upper and Lower Egypt  
 Sole companion, overseer of land tenants of the great house,<sup>245</sup> scribe of protection,  
 Henenit

##### Above Pepiankh

<sup>244</sup> Blackman postulates that X1 may be a mistake for D54, rendering *h3i*.

<sup>245</sup> Jones 2000: 710.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>                            | Count   |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>                      | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt                                 |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i>                       | Overseer of Upper Egypt   |
| 4. <i>smr wꜥty</i>                          | Sole Companion  |
| 5. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>                          | Lector Priest   |
| 6. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>                     | Overseer of the god's servants                                    |
| 7. <i>im3ḥw ḥr wsir-ḥnti[mntiw nb 3bdw]</i> | Revered with Osiris Khenti[mentiu, Lord of Abydos] <sup>246</sup> |
| 8. <i>Ḥny rn.f nfr Ḥnni.t km</i>            | Heny, whose good name is Henenit the Black                        |

Behind Pepiankh

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>sš nsw(.t) ꜥ(.w) imy-r3 sš(.w) 3ḥ.t imy-r3 (pr) it3i</i> | Scribe of the royal records, overseer of the land scribes, overseer (of the house), Itjai |
|--|---|

**Blackman Plate 25**

**Room B**

West Wall, South End, West side of angle

- |                         |                                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>        | Count                             |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>  | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt |
| 3. <i>smr wꜥty</i>      | Sole Companion                    |
| 4. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>      | Lector Priest                     |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> | Overseer of the god's servants    |
| 6. <i>Ḥnni.t km</i>     | Henenit the Black                 |

West Wall, East Face of Pillar 4

- |                         |                                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>  | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt |
| 2. <i>smr wꜥty</i>      | Sole Companion                    |
| 3. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>      | Lector Priest                     |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 šmꜥw</i>   | Overseer of Upper Egypt           |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> | Overseer of the god's servants    |
| 6. <i>Ḥnni</i>          | Henedi                            |

West Wall, Architrave

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>         | Count                                       |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>   | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt           |
| 3. <i>smr wꜥty</i>       | Sole Companion                              |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 šmꜥ m3ꜥ</i> | True overseer of Upper Egypt <sup>247</sup> |

---

<sup>246</sup> Jones 2000: 102.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 5. <i>hry-hb.t hry-tp</i>                            | Lector Priest in Charge   |
| 6. <i>s(t)m</i>                                      | Setem Priest  |
| 7. <i>hrp šnd.t nb.t</i>                             | Director of every kilt <sup>248</sup>   |
| 8. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>                              | Overseer of the god's servants  |
| 9. <i>im3hw hr ntr.f</i>                             | Revered with his god <sup>249</sup>   |
| 10. <i>Ppy nḥ rn.f nfr Hny km rn.f nfr Hnni.t km</i> | Pepy-ankh whose good name is Heny the Black, whose good name is Henenit the Black |

East Wall, Above Statue Recess

- |                         |                                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>h3ty-ḥ</i>        | Count                          |
| 2. <i>imy-r3 šmḥw</i>   | Overseer of Upper Egypt        |
| 3. <i>smr wḥty</i>      | Sole Companion                 |
| 4. <i>hry-hb.t</i>      | Lector Priest                  |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> | Overseer of the god's servants |
| 6. <i>Hnni.t km</i>     | Henenit the Black              |

North Wall, Above Statue Recess

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>...smr wḥty</i>                 | ...Sole Companion                               |
| 2. <i>hry-hb.t</i>                    | Lector Priest                                   |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>               | Overseer of the god's servants                  |
| 4. <i>Ppy-ḥ nḥ rn.f nfr Hnni.t km</i> | Pepy-ankh, whose good name is Henenit the Black |

**Blackman Plate 26**

**Room B**

West Wall, South Scene, Above Pepiankh

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>h3ty-ḥ</i>                     | Count                                  |
| 2. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>               | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt      |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 šmḥw</i>                | Overseer of Upper Egypt                |
| 4. <i>smr wḥty</i>                   | Sole Companion                         |
| 5. <i>hry-hb.t</i>                   | Lector Priest                          |
| 6. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>               | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt      |
| 7. <i>...Ppy-ḥ nḥ rn.f nfr Hnn.t</i> | ...Pepyanh, whose good name is Henenet |

Behind Pepiankh

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Ppy-mr</i>  | Pepy-mer                                    |
| 2. <sup>250</sup> <i>mry.f smr wḥty hry-tp ḥ3 ndf.t</i> | His beloved, sole companion, great chief of |

<sup>247</sup> Jones 2000: 898.

<sup>248</sup> Jones 2000: 2737.

<sup>249</sup> Jones 2000: 151.

*Hnny.t rn.f nfr nfrk3*

the Nedjjet nome, Henenyt, whose good name is Neferka

In front of Pepiankh

1. *m33 mnḥ.t sšr(?) mnḥ.t*
2. *sš nsw ʕ(.w) imy-r3 sš(.w) 3ḥ.t mry nb.f  
ir ḥss.t.f rʕ nb imy-r3 pr imy-ib n nb.f it3i*

Viewing clothing and linen clothing (?)  
Scribe of the royal records, overseer of land scribes, beloved of his lord, doer of what pleases him every day, overseer of the house, favourite of his lord,<sup>251</sup> Itjai.

Bottom Register

1. *nfrw sḏ3 mnḥ.t r is Hnni.t*
2. *ih mnḥ.wt ḥs.t n nb.s*

Happy (is he) who conveys clothing to the tomb of Henenit  
O, clothing favoured by its lord.

3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. *ih mnḥ.t ḥs.t Hnni.t nb*

O! The clothing pleases lord Henenit!

2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *iw sšp nb m33.w pʕ.t srw m knḥw<sup>252</sup>  
ḥf.t mnḥ.t*
2. *imy-r3 sšr nd-ḥm-ib*

Any brightness which the nobles see is as darkness compared to the clothing<sup>253</sup>  
Overseer of linen distribution, Nedjhemib

Top Register

1. *ih mnḥ.wt ḥs.t n nb.s*
2. *shḏ wt(yw) ʕnh.w*
3. *ḥrp sh iḥw*

O! The clothing is pleasing to its lord.  
Inspector of embalmers, Ankhu  
Director of the dining hall<sup>254</sup>, Ikhu

West Wall, North Side of Angle

Bottom Register

1. *iw hrhy*
2. *sḏ3 ikr*
3. *iw srw m3 mnḥ.wt*

?  
Convey (the clothing) carefully!  
The noble is to inspect the clothing.

3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. *s3b*
2. *rʕ ʕ*

Judge  
Mouth of the book

<sup>250</sup> Blackman asserts that ‘s3.f’ (his eldest son) is written faintly before the rest of this text.

<sup>251</sup> Jones 2000: 231.

<sup>252</sup> Determinative F28 instead of N3.

<sup>253</sup> After Fischer 1996: 271.

<sup>254</sup> Jones 2000: 2682.



3. *ir(.y) r ḥss.t srw.f*
4. *sš nsw.t ʕ.w*
5. *Ḥny*
6. *ḥm-k3*
7. <sup>255</sup>
8. *ddi*
9. *sš sššn*

Who does what is pleasing to his noble  
Scribe of the royal records  
Heny  
Ka servant  
  
Djedi  
The scribe, Seshshen

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *ih mnḥ.wt ḥs.t n nb.s*

O! The clothing is pleasing to its lord.

### Top Register

1. *ih mnḥ.t*
2. *nfrw sd3 mnḥ.t*
3. *imy-r3 sšr ḥm-k3 ihi*

O! The clothing!  
Happy (is he) who conveys the clothing.  
Overseer of linen distribution, Ka servant<sup>256</sup>,  
Ihi

### Blackman Plate 27

#### Room B, West Wall, Middle Scene

##### Above Pepiankh

1. *ḥ3ty-ʕ*
2. *ḥtm(ty) bity*
3. *smr wʕty*
4. *ḥry-ḥb.t*
5. *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*
6. *im3ḥw ḥr inpw tpy dw.f*
7. *Ḥny km*

Count  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Revered with Anubis, the one upon his  
hill.<sup>257</sup>  
Heny the Black

##### Behind Pepiankh

1. *s3.f srw*
2. *mry.f*
3. *smr wʕty*
4. *ḥry-tp ʕ3 ndf.t*
5. *ḥn[y]*

His eldest son  
His beloved  
Sole companion  
Great chief of Nedjjet  
Heni

##### In front of Pepiankh

1. *imy-r3 sšr s...*

Overseer of linen distribution S...

<sup>255</sup> Blackman (1953: 34) claims this line reads 'treasurer,' presumably *imy-r3 pr-ḥd*, but this is not recorded in the plates.

<sup>256</sup> Jones 2000: 2167.

<sup>257</sup> Jones 2000: 72.

- |                          |                                     |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2. <i>imy-r3 sšr sni</i> | Overseer of linen distribution Seni |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 pr</i>      | Overseer of the house               |
| 4. <i>imy-r3...</i>      | Overseer of ...                     |

**Blackman Plate 28**

**Room B, West Wall, North Scene**

Above Pepiankh

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>                 | Count                                      |
| 2. <i>ḥtm(ty) bity</i>           | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt          |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 šmꜥ m3ꜥ</i>         | True overseer of Upper Egypt               |
| 4. <i>smr wꜥty</i>               | Sole Companion                             |
| 5. <i>ḥry-ḥb.t</i>               | Lector Priest                              |
| 6. <i>imy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i>          | Overseer of the god's servants             |
| 7. <i>Ḥny rn.f nfr Ḥnni.t km</i> | Heny, whose good name is Henenit the Black |

Behind Pepiankh

- |                             |                                       |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 sšr sni</i>    | Overseer of linen distribution, Seni. |
| 2. <i>smr ḥry-tp nsw.t</i>  | Companion, King's liegeman            |
| 3. <i>sš nsw.t ꜥ.w Ḥnni</i> | Scribe of the royal records, Heneni   |

In front of Pepiankh

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>ḥns š3.w sš.w pḥ nb</i>  | Traversing swamps, marshes and every marshland                       |
| 2. <i>ꜥmꜥ(3) ḥnm sšy 3pd.w</i> | Throwing the throwstick and entering the nesting place of the ducks. |
| 3. <i>ḥm.f</i>                 | His wife   |
| 4. <i>(m)ry.t.f</i>            | His beloved  |
| 5. <i>ḥ(kr.t) nsw.t</i>        | Ornament of the king <sup>258</sup>                                  |
| 6. <i>Ppy-stn.t</i>            | Pepysetnet   |
| 7. <i>srw in(i) n gnw pn</i>   | 'Prince, fetch this Genu-bird'                                       |
| 8. <i>iry in.t n tw sw</i>     | 'I will bring it to you.'  |

**Blackman Plate 29**

**Room B, North Wall**

Above Pepiankh

- |                  |       |
|------------------|-------|
| 1. <i>ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i> | Count |
|------------------|-------|

---

<sup>258</sup> Jones 2000: 2899.

2. *h̄tm(ty) bity*
3. *imy-r3 h̄m-ntr*
4. *Hny km*

Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
 Overseer of the god's servants  
 Heny the Black

In front of Pepiankh

1. *m33 nd.t-hr inn.t n.f m niw.wt... (i)n*  
*hk3w.f*
2. *shp.t stp.t in ms.w.f(s)n.w.f k3-h̄m.w n*  
*d.t.f*
3. *sš nsw.t ʕ(.w)*
4. *hry-h̄b.t*
5. *... srw nb*
6. *...n k3 n Hny*

Viewing the gifts brought to him from towns... (b)y his subjects(?).  
 Bringing meat and fowl offerings by his children, his brothers and the Ka-servants of his body  
 Scribe of the royal records.  
 Lector priest  
 ... all the noble ones(?)  
 ... for the Ka of Heny

Around doorway

1. *iw sw.wy(?) wʕb h̄s(i) Hny km im3h̄w*  
*hr ntr ʕ3*
2. *hrp sh̄ iry h̄nk.t<sup>259</sup>*
3. *hrp sh̄*
4. *hrp sh̄ iry h̄nk.t*

These(?) are pure (who) praise Heny the Black, revered with the great god.  
 Director of the dining hall & Keeper of beer  
 Director of the dining hall  
 Director of the dining hall & Keeper of beer

**Blackman Plate 30**

**Room B, East Wall, North Scene**

Above Pepyankh

1. *h̄3ty-ʕ*
2. *h̄tm(ty) bity*
3. *smr wʕty*
4. *hry-h̄b.t*
5. *imy-r3 h̄m-ntr*
6. *Ppy-ʕnh*

Count  
 Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
 Sole Companion  
 Lector Priest  
 Overseer of the god's servants  
 Pepyankh

Behind Pepyankh

Register 1

1. *smr*
2. *hry-tp nsw.t*
3. *imy-r3 tnt.t<sup>260</sup>*

Companion  
 King's liegeman  
 Overseer of the Tchentet cattle

---

<sup>259</sup> Jones 2000: 1198.  
<sup>260</sup> Jones 2000: 990.

4. *Hnn.t*

Henenet

Register 2

1. *hry-hb.t*

Lector priest

2. *pr md3.t ntr pr-3 sš*

Scribe of the house of sacred books of the great house

3. *iri*

Iri

4. *imy-r3 sšr s<sup>c</sup>nhy*

Overseer of linen distribution, Sankhy.

Register 3

No inscriptions

Register 4

1. *s3.f*

His son

2. *mry.f*

His beloved

3. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*

Sole Companion

4. *hry-hb.t*

Lector Priest

5. *hpi*

Hepi

In front of Pepyankh

1. *m[33] k3.t nb.t nfr.t ir.t m sh.wt n.t*  
*šm<sup>c</sup>w t3-mhw*

Inspecting all of the good work that is done in the fields of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Top Register

1. *...i*

Illegible

2. *nmt.t nmt.t hr...*

Gee up! Gee up!

3. *nmt.t*

Gee up!

4. *ini n.k n k3 n...*

(I) bring you ... for the Ka of ...

5. *iry r hs.t.k*

(I) do as you please!

6. *hm-k3*

Ka servant

7. *hm-k3*

Ka servant

8. *h3.k im ink r sšd wny*

????

9. *dw hrp*

The stick is driving

10. *sk3 ? k3.w*

The bulls are ploughing

11. *iw hr.t hprs*

and (I) am doing ??

12. *iw hn... h(r) (m)3 sk3*

Hen... is inspecting the ploughing.

2<sup>nd</sup> Register

1. *iw sw.wy dd3 n wšn sh.t n k3 n Hny km nb*

These fat (fowl?) of the poultry marsh are for the Ka of Henykem, (my) lord.

2. *iti nw k3 n Ppy ʿnh km nb sin*

Take these, quickly, for the ka of Pepyankhem, (my) lord.

3. *iw hb nfrw r ʿ*

It is a beautiful catch ??

4. *ini.n.n wšn iti n srw*

We have brought poultry captured for the noble

5. *šsp nw m ʿ sin in.t 3pd*

Take these from (my) hand quickly that (I) may fetch (another) bird.

6. *rdi hpr nw nis.k r h3.w r wnm t*

Get to work! ? that you may summon the neighbours to eat bread

7. *iry*

(I) will!

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Register

1. *w3.t n mhy.t n k3 n srw*

Prepare a way for the fish for the ka of the noble

2. *hii ikr t3y*

Heave ho! Good man!

3. *iry*

(I) will!

4. *wr wr ikr is mh.t*

?? excellently (it) is very full!

5. *imy-r3 wh3.w*

Overseer of fisherman<sup>261</sup>

6. *...w n k3 n Hnni.t km*

... for the ka of Henenitkem

7. *sti m dbw ?r t3-mhyt.t*

???

8. *is s3.t hr rm.w*

(It) is fully sated with fish

9. *hii r.k h...r*

Really heave ?

10. *hb nfr pw*

This is a beautiful catch

### Bottom Register

1. *n [k3].k Hnn.t nb rnn i[w3]*

For your ka, (my) lord Henenet, a young longhorn

2. *mniw pw ʿnh hr.k r šy pw š.t hr mw*

This herdsman! ??? for this crocodile ??? upon the water

3. *ir.n dy.t...*

Totalling... papyrus stems

4. *hry-hb.t sš pr-ʿ3 ntr pr-ʿ.w sš iri*

Lector priest, Scribe of the sacred books of the great house, Scribe, Iri

5. *hbs šn.t/š3.t 10 m h3tyw šm3y.t*

(He) who is clothed in 10 thread quality h3tyw cloth and Upper Egyptian linen

6. *r.k h w3 sd.t w3 h3b rw*

???

7. *(i)d.wt.f*

His cows

8. *k3 nh.t*

Strong bull

<sup>261</sup> Jones 2000: 421.

9. *mk wn nfr*
10. *??? m hr n k3 h3 pw*
11. *Iry*

Behold! Life is good!  
 ?? in the underneath of the bull. This ??  
 (I) will!

### **Blackman Plate 31**

#### **Room B, East Wall, Middle Scene**

##### Around Pepyankh

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>h3ty-ꜥ</i>            | Count   |
| 2. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>      | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt                 |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>     | Overseer of the god's servants                    |
| 4. <i>Hnni.t km</i>         | Henenit the Black                                 |
| 5. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>      | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt                 |
| 6. <i>hry-hb.t hry-tp</i>   | Lector Priest in Charge                           |
| 7. <i>Hny.t</i>             | Henyt   |
| 8. <i>imy-r3 sšr</i>        | Overseer of linen distribution                    |
| 9. <i>mry nb.f</i>          | Beloved of his lord                               |
| 10. <i>iry hss.t.frꜥ nb</i> | Who does what is praiseworthy to him<br>everyday. |
| 11. <i>sꜥnhꜣy</i>           | Sankhy  |

##### Behind Pepyankh

##### Register 2

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>sš nsw.t ꜥ.w</i>      | Scribe of the royal records |
| 2. <i>s3b<sup>262</sup></i> | Judge                       |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 sš(.w)</i>     | Overseer of scribes         |
| 4. <i>hꜣi</i>               | Hepi                        |
| 5. <i>hry-hb.t whhwn</i>    | Lector Priest, Ukhkhun      |

##### Register 3

- |                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>sš nsw.t</i>              | Scribe of the King <sup>263</sup> |
| 2. <i>r3 ꜥ</i>                  | Mouth of the book                 |
| 3. <i>s3b</i>                   | Judge                             |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 sš(.w)</i>         | Overseer of scribes               |
| 5. <i>Ppy-ꜥnhꜣ rn.f nfr Hny</i> | Pepyankh whose good name is Heny  |
| 6. <i>tm3i</i>                  | Tjemai                            |

<sup>262</sup> Jones 2000: 2932.

<sup>263</sup> Jones 2000: 3148.

7. *imy-r3 sšr ndhmib*

Overseer of Linen Distribution, Nedjhemib

Bottom Register

Under Pepyankh

1. *hr hr š<sup>c</sup>(y)*
2. *m rdi.w rdi.w Hny km*
3. *ir mi mrr*
4. *mr(i.i) s(t?) mh.t r wnn s(t?) šw.t*
5. *ih 3r mk(i) ?*
6. *mk(i) r.k snb*

Horus upon the sand  
??? Heny the Black  
Do as is wished.  
(I) like it(?) full rather than empty  
O! ????  
Protect – all of you - the healthy one.

In front of Pepyankh

Bottom Register

1. *hrp šh mry nb.f ir hss.t.f r3 nb ipw*
2. *mi ikr dr(?) ii.t srw*
3. *iry r hs.t.k*
4. *Wdn pw*

Director of the dining hall, beloved of his lord, who does what is praiseworthy to him every day, Ipu  
Tread carefully until(?) the noble comes.  
(I) will do as you please.  
This is heavy!

Register 3

1. *?*
2. *šhd htm(.w)t ndhmib*
3. *imy-r3 isw.t*
4. *Hnni.t*
5. *imy-wr.t w<sup>c</sup>.t nfr.t pw*

?  
Overseer of sealbearers<sup>264</sup>, Nedjhemib  
Overseer of crews  
Henenit  
This western road is beautiful

Register 2

1. *hrp šh hns3i*
2. *smt<sup>n</sup>*
3. *htm smt<sup>n</sup>*

Director of the Dining Hall, Hensai  
Semtjen  
Sealer, Semtjen

Top Register

1. *w3.t nfr.t c<sup>n</sup>h.t iw.t*
2. *hmi*
3. *tm3i*
4. *imy-r3 ...*

A beautiful road! May (one) live and return.  
Hemi  
Tjemai  
Overseer of ...

**Blackman Plate 32**

**Room B, East Wall, South Scene**

---

<sup>264</sup> Jones 2000: 3507.

Right of door

Top Register

- |                         |                                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>h3ty-ꜥ</i>        | Count                             |
| 2. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>  | Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt |
| 3. <i>smr wꜥty</i>      | Sole Companion                    |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i> | Overseer of the god's servants    |
| 5. <i>Hny.t km</i>      | Henyt the Black                   |

Register 2

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>s3b r3 ꜥ Hny</i>           | Judge, mouth of the book, Heny          |
| 2. <i>(imy)-r3 pr(-ꜥ?) i(Bi)</i> | (Over)seer of the (great) house, Itjai. |

Register 3

- |                            |                                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>sš nsw.t ꜥ.w hpi</i> | Scribe of the royal records, Hepi |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Bottom Register

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>tnw.t mnmn.w ꜥ.wt nb</i> | Census of all the cattle, sheep and goats. |
|--------------------------------|--|

Above door

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>m33 ir.t irw m k3 ꜥ.w.t nb.t</i> | Viewing the levying of the tax on all cattle, sheep and goats. |
|--|--|

Left of door

Bottom Register

- |                |      |
|----------------|------|
| 1. <i>k3</i>   | Bull |
| 2. <i>id.t</i> | Cow  |
| 3. <i>k3</i>   | Bull |

Register 4

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>rnn iw3</i>         | Young longhorn         |
| 2. <i>ng3w.w(?) 1,000</i> | 1,000 longhorned bulls |

Register 3

- |                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>rnn iw3</i>       | Young longhorn              |
| 2. <i>id.wt (1,000)</i> | (1,000) <sup>265</sup> cows |

Top Register

- |                             |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>ꜥ3</i>                | Ass       |
| 2. <i>id.t ꜥ3</i>           | Large cow |
| 3. <i>1,300</i>             | 1,300     |
| 4. <i>id.t ꜥ3.t</i>         | Large cow |
| 5. <i>nb<sup>n</sup>266</i> | Neben     |

<sup>265</sup> This is present in Blackman's text, not the Plate.

<sup>266</sup> This is present in Blackman's text, not the Plate.



## **Blackman Plate 33, 1**

### **Room C, West Wall, South of False Door**

#### Top to bottom

1. <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i>	Count
2. <i>htm(ty) bity</i>	Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt
3. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	Sole Companion
4. <i>imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>	Overseer of Upper Egypt
5. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
6. <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
7. <i>t 1,000</i>	1,000 loaves of bread
8. <i>hnk.t 1,000</i>	1,000 jars of beer
9. <i>k3.w 1,000</i>	1,000 oxen
10. <i>3pd.w 1,000</i>	1,000 fowl
11. <i>šs 1,000</i>	1,000 of alabaster
12. <i>mnh.t 1,000</i>	1,000 of clothing
13. <i>n smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty</i>	for Sole Companion
14. <i>imy-r3 hm-ntr</i>	Overseer of the god's servants
15. <i>Hnni.t km</i>	Henenit the Black
16. <i>dbh.t-htp</i>	Funerary meal
17. <i>shp.t stp.t</i>	Bringing meat, fowl, bread and beer offerings
18. <i>shd hm(.w)-ntr</i>	Inspector of the god's servants
19. <i>hry-tp nsw.t</i>	King's liegeman
20. <i>imy-r3 pr</i>	Overseer of the house
21. <i>wh-nfr-hr</i>	Ukhneferher
22. <i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector priest
23. <i>pr-<sup>c</sup>3 pr-ntr-md3.t sš<sup>267</sup></i>	Scribe of the house of sacred books of the great house
24. <i>Ppy-ihy-m-s3 rn.f nfr iri</i>	Pepy-ihy-emsu, whose good name is Iri

## **Blackman Plate 33, 2**

### **Room C, West Wall, False Door**

#### Upper Lintel

<sup>267</sup> This is written in solid black. Blackman states that the name *iri* is possibly written here as well, but it is uncertain. Blackman 1953: 55.

1. *ḥtp di nsw inpw pr-ḥrw ḥ(r?) n imy-r3  
ḥm(.w)-ntr Ḥnni.t km*

A boon which the king and Anubis give:  
(namely) invocation offerings to overseer of  
the god's servants, Henenit the Black

#### Right Outer Jamb

1. *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*
2. *imy-r3 šmꜥw*
3. *ḥtm(ty) bity*
4. *smr wꜥty*
5. *ḥry-ḥb.t*
6. *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*
7. *im3ḥw*
8. *Ḥny km*

Count  
Overseer of Upper Egypt  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Revered one  
Heny the Black

#### Left Outer Jamb

1. *(ḥ3ty)-ꜥ*
2. *(ḥtm.ty) (b)i.ty*
3. *s(mr) wꜥ.(ty)*
4. *ḥry-ḥb.t*
5. *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*
6. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ꜥ3<sup>268</sup>*
7. *Ḥnni.t*

Count  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Revered one with the great god  
Henenit

#### Offering slab

1. *t 1,000*
2. *ḥnk.t 1,000*
3. *k3.w 1,000*
4. *3pd.w 1,000*
5. *šs 1,000*
6. *mnḥ.t 1,000*
7. *n ḥ3ty-ꜥ*
8. *ḥtm(ty) bity*
9. *imy-r3 šmꜥw*
10. *smr wꜥty*
11. *ḥry-ḥb.t*
12. *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*
13. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr ꜥ3*
14. *Ḥny km*

1,000 loaves of bread  
1,000 jars of beer  
1,000 oxen  
1,000 fowl  
1,000 of alabaster  
1,000 of clothing  
for Count  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Overseer of Upper Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Revered with the great god  
Heny the Black

---

<sup>268</sup> Jones 2000: 142.

### Lower Lintel

1. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*
2. *hry-ḥb.t*
3. *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*
4. *Hnni.t km*

Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Henenit the Black

### Right Inner Jamb

1. *htm(ty) bity*
2. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*
3. *imy-r3 ḥm-ntr*
4. *Ppy-(<sup>c</sup>nh) (r)n.f nfr Hnni.t km*

Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Overseer of the god's servants  
Pepyankh whose good name is Henenit the Black

### Left Inner Jamb

1. *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>w*
2. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*
3. *hry-ḥb.t*
4. *Ppy-(<sup>c</sup>nh) (r)n.f nfr Hnni.t km*

Overseer of Upper Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest  
Pepyankh whose good name is Henenit the Black

## **Blackman Plate 33, 3**

### **Room C, West Wall, North of False Door**

#### Top Register

1. *shp.t stp.t in ms.f(s)n.f*

Bringing meat and fowl offerings by his children and his brothers.

#### Register 2

1. *shp.t stp.t*

Bringing meat and fowl offerings

#### Register

1. *shp.t stp.t*

Bringing meat and fowl offerings

## **Blackman Plate 34**

### **Room C, North Wall**

#### Above Pepyankh

1. *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>*
2. *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>*
3. *htm(ty) bity*
4. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*
5. *hry-ḥb.t*

Count  
True overseer of Upper Egypt  
Sealer of the king of Lower Egypt  
Sole Companion  
Lector Priest

6. *imy-r3 hm-ntr*

7. *Ppy-ᵑnh km*

Overseer of the god's servants

Pepyankh the Black

Beneath List of Offerings

1. *t 1,000*

1,000 loaves of bread

2. *hnk.t 1,000*

1,000 jars of beer

3. *k3.w 1,000*

1,000 oxen

4. *3pd.w 1,000*

1,000 fowl

5. *šs 1,000*

1,000 of alabaster

6. *mnh.t 1,000*

1,000 of clothing

7. *n imy-r3 hm-ntr*

for Overseer of the god's servants

8. *Hnni.t km*

Henenit the Black

9. *rdi.t kbhw*

Giving libation

10. *hm-k3*

Ka Servant

11. *ir.t sntr*

Burning incense

12. *šd.t sš in hry-hb.t*

Reciting the book by the lector priest

13. *hry-hb.t*

Lector Priest

14. *hry-hb.t*

Lector Priest

15. *hry-hb.t*

Lector Priest

16. *ir.t s:3h.w ᵑš3 in hry-hb.t*

Performing of many recitations by the lector priest

17. *šd.t sš*

Reciting the book

18. *in.t rd in hry-hb.t*

(The rite of) removing the foot(print performed) by the lector Priest

19. *sš nsw.t ᵑ(w) imy-r3 sš(w) 3h.t  
it3i*

Scribe of the royal records, overseer of the land scribes, Itjai

Bottom Register

1. *shp.t stp.t*

Bringing meat, fowl, bread and beer offerings.

2. *swnw pr-ᵑ3 mry.f Ppy-mr*

Physician of the great house, his beloved, Pepymer

3. *hry-hb.t*

Lector priest

4. *pr-ᵑ3 pr-ntr-md3.t sš<sup>269</sup>*

Scribe of the house of sacred books of the great house

5. *Ppy-ihy-m-s3 rn.f nfr iri*

Pepy-ihy-emsu, whose good name is Iri

<sup>269</sup> This is written in solid black. Blackman states that the name *iri* is possibly written here as well, but it is uncertain. Blackman 1953: 55.

**Blackman Plate 35****Room C, East Wall**Register 3

1. *di(.i) pr(i) (hpš).f pn*
2. *pns(.k) k3.f*
3. *sšm dm*
4. *s<sup>c</sup>b pn*
5. *iry(.i)*
6. *ndr(w) ikr*
7. *mk wy hr.s*
8. *di(.i) mn hpš pw*
9. *iw hr(h)wy(?) wr.t*

- (I) will cause this its (**foreleg**) to come out  
Cut off its head  
The blade is sharp  
Cut this off  
(I) am doing so.  
Grasp (it) firmly  
Behold, I'm upon it  
**(I) will cause this foreleg ??**  
It is very ready(?)

Bottom Register

1. *iti ikr im n.t hn<sup>c</sup>*
2. *iry(.i)*
3. *di(.i) pr(i) hpš.f*
4. *di(.k) pr(i) iw.f n h3.t dr ii.t hry-hb.t*  
*r ir.t h.t*
5. *iry(.i) r hs.t.k*
6. *k3sw(.k) sin*
7. *di(.i) ? stp.t*
8. *iry(.i) r hs.t.k*
9. *ndr(.k) ikr di(.i) pr(i) hpš.f*
10. *iry(.i) r hs.t.k*
11. *iti(.k) hpš pn*
12. *iw hrhwy(?) wr.t*
13. *iry(.i)*

- Seize it firmly ??**  
(I) am doing so  
I will cause this foreleg to come out  
Cause meat to come away from the forepart  
before the lector priest comes to do things.  
(I) am doing as you wish  
Bind (it) quickly  
**(I) will cause (it) ? meat offerings**  
(I) am doing as you please  
Grasp (it) firmly. (I) will cause its foreleg to  
come away.  
(I) am doing as you please  
Seize this foreleg  
It is very ready(?)  
(I) am doing so.

**Blackman Plate 36****Room C, South Wall**Beneath List of Offerings

1. *rdi.t kbhw in hm-k3*

Giving libation by the Ka servant

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 2. <i>ir.t sntr</i>                  | Burning incense                                |
| 3. <i>šd.t sš</i>                    | Reciting the book                              |
| 4. <i>ir.t s:šh.w šš in hry-ḥb.t</i> | Doing of many recitations by the lector priest |
| 5. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>                   | Lector Priest                                  |
| 6. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>                   | Lector Priest                                  |
| 7. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>                   | Lector Priest                                  |
| 8. <i>in.t rd</i>                    | (The rite of) removing the foot(print)         |

Bottom Register

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>šḥd ḥm(.w)-k3 ʾšs</i> <sup>270</sup> | Inspector of the god's servants, <sup>271</sup> Ias |
| 2. <i>sššn</i>                             | Seshshen  |

**Blackman Plate 42**

**East Wall, Bottom Register**

(Reading left to right)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 ʾsw.t</i>                          | Overseer of crews                        |
| 2. <i>dr.t</i>                                  | Wailing woman                            |
| 3. <i>w.t(y)</i>                                | Embalmer                                 |
| 4. <i>hry-ḥb.t smsw</i>                         | Senior lector priest                     |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 w.t(yw)</i>                        | Overseer of embalmers                    |
| 6. <i>dr.t</i>                                  | Wailing woman                            |
| 7. <i>imy-r3 ʾsw.t</i>                          | Overseer of crews                        |
| 8. <i>mḥ sš3.t</i> <sup>272</sup> <i>tw sin</i> | Finish this dragging (towing?) in haste. |
| 9. <i>mk wy ḥr ir.t r ḥs.t.k</i>                | Behold, I am doing as you please.        |
| 10. <i>iri imy-wr.t ikr</i>                     | Make skilfully for the west              |
| 11. <i>i škdy ikr</i>                           | O! An excellent voyage!                  |
| 12. <i>ir.n.n w3.t</i>                          | We have completed the journey!           |
| 13. <i>mk ḥw.w ii</i>                           | Behold, the ships are come!              |
| 14. <i>imy-r3 ʾsw.t</i>                         | Overseer of crews                        |
| 15. <i>w.t(y)</i>                               | Embalmer                                 |
| 16. <i>iri ir ḥs.t.k</i>                        | (I am) doing as you please               |
| 17. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>                             | Lector priest                            |

<sup>270</sup> The determinative for Ias' name is not A1, but a seated man apparently holding a large flat shape above his head.

<sup>271</sup> Jones 2000: 3475.

<sup>272</sup> For *sš3.t* or *sd3.t*?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 18. <i>w.t(y)</i>   | Embalmer  |
| 19. <i>imy-r3 isw.t</i>                                     | Overseer of crews   |
| 20. <i>i iti m nwh.k pw ikr</i>                             | O! Take this rope of yours firmly!  |
| 21. <i>šms r tp ibw</i>                                     | Escorting to the foremost(?) of the purification hut.   |
| 22. <i>ih mk šms im3hw pw<br/>sp sn i3w(t) nfr(.t) wr.t</i> | O! Behold, the escort of this revered one for the second time (after?) a very happy old age. <sup>273</sup> |

### **East Wall, Upper Register**

(Reading right to left)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>wt(y)</i>                             | Embalmer                                 |
| 2. <i>hry-hb.t</i>                          | Lector priest                            |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 wt(y)</i>                      | Overseer of embalmers                    |
| 4. <i>dr.t</i>                              | Wailing woman                            |
| 5. <i>dr.t</i>                              | Wailing woman                            |
| 6. <i>wt(y)</i>                             | Embalmer                                 |
| 7. <i>hry-hb.t</i>                          | Lector priest                            |
| 8. <i>šms r w<sup>c</sup>b.t n.t wt(y)</i>  | Escorting to the pure place of embalmers |
| 9. <i>i3w(.t) nfr wr.t</i>                  | A very good old age                      |
| 10. <i>dr.t</i>                             | Wailing woman                            |
| 11. <i>w.ty</i>                             | Embalmer                                 |
| 12. <i>hry-hb.t</i>                         | Lector priest                            |
| 13. <i>šms r w<sup>c</sup>b.t n.t wt(y)</i> | Escorting to the pure place of embalmers |
| 14. <i>dr.t</i>                             | Wailing woman                            |
| 15. <i>w.ty</i>                             | Embalmer                                 |
| 16. <i>wdn h.t</i>                          | Offering things                          |
| 17. <i>nīs r h.t</i>                        | Summoning things                         |
| 18. <i>h3.w</i>                             | Male mourner                             |
| 19. <i>dr.t</i>                             | Wailing woman                            |
| 20. <i>sš sššn</i> <sup>274</sup>           | The scribe Seshshen                      |

### **Blackman Plate 43**

#### **West Wall, Top Register**

<sup>273</sup> After Lashien 2010: 6.

<sup>274</sup> This is written in 'heavy black hieroglyphs' Blackman 1953: 53.

(Reading left to right)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-ḥb.t</i>                            | Sole companion and lector priest  |
| 2. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>  | Lector priest   |
| 3. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>  | Lector priest   |
| 4. <i>pr md3.t ntr pr-ʕ3 sš<sup>275</sup></i>                     | Scribe of the house of sacred books of the great house  |
| 5. <i>Ppy-ihy-m-sš<sup>276</sup></i>                              | Pepy-ihy-emsā   |
| 6. <i>dr.t</i>  | Wailing woman   |
| 7. <i>šms r ibw</i>   | Escorting to the purification hut.  |
| 8. <i>i3w(t) nfr(.t) wr.t m-m im3ḥw<br/>ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb imn.t</i>    | A very happy old age among the honoured ones near the great god, lord of the west.                            |
| 9. <i>imy-r3 wt(y)</i>  | Overseer of embalmers   |
| 10. <i>(hry)-ḥb.t smsw</i>  | Senior lector priest  |
| 11. <i>smr</i>  | Companion   |
| 12. <i>šms r-tp ibw n hrw-tp<br/>i3w(t) nfr(.t) wr.t ḥr ntr.f</i> | Escorting to the purification hut on the first day (after?) a very happy old age with his god. <sup>277</sup> |
| 13. <i>mk šms im3ḥw pw</i>  | Behold! Escorting this revered one.   |
| 14. <i>w.t(y)</i>   | Embalmer  |
| 15. <i>w.t(y)</i>   | Embalmer  |
| 16. <i>w.t(y)</i>   | Embalmer  |

### West Wall, Middle Register

(Reading right to left)

- |                           |                                    |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>šḥd (wt(yw))</i>    | Inspector of embalmers             |
| 2. <i>dr.t</i>            | Wailing woman                      |
| 3. <i>hry-ḥb.t smsw</i>   | Senior lector priest               |
| 4. <i>šḥd wt(yw)</i>      | Inspector of embalmers             |
| 5. <i>mk šms im3ḥw pw</i> | Behold, escorting this revered one |

<sup>275</sup> This is written in solid black. Blackman state that the name *iri* is possibly written here as well, but it is uncertain. Blackman 1953: 55.

<sup>276</sup> This is written in solid black and apparently refers to the holder of the preceding title.

<sup>277</sup> This reads 'Noch während des ersten Tages.' (Theis 2011: 113) for *i3w(t) nfr(.t) wr.t*



6. <i>sš sššn</i> <sup>278</sup>	The scribe, Seshshen
7. <i>nfrs.t</i> <sup>279</sup>	Nefersetch
8. <i>shd wt(yw)</i>	Inspector of embalmers
9. <i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector priest
10. <i>sš sššn</i>	The scribe, Seshshen
11. <i>imy(-r3 w)t(y)</i>	Over(seer of em)balmers
12. <i>wdn h.t</i>	Offering things(?)
13. <i>šd sš in hry-hb.t</i>	Reciting a document by the lector priest
14. <i>iri</i>	Iri
15. <i>sššn</i>	Seshshen
16. <i>h3w</i>	Male mourner
17. <i>dr.t</i>	Wailing woman
18. <i>w.t(y)</i>	Embalmer
19. <i>šms r ibw</i>	Escorting to the purification hut
20. <i>imy-r3 w.t(y)</i>	Overseer of embalmers
21. <i>mk šms im3hw pw</i>	Behold! Escorting this revered one.

### **West Wall, Bottom register**

(Reading left to right)

1. <i>imy-r3 wt(y)</i>	Overseer of embalmers
2. <i>shd wt(y)</i>	Inspector of embalmers
3. <i>dr.t</i>	Wailing woman
4. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-hb.t</i>	Sole companion and Lector priest
5. <i>šms r š3b.t</i>	Escorting to the coffin boat <sup>280</sup>
6. <i>smn tbw.t tw</i>	Making firm the gangplank <sup>281</sup>
7. <i>shd wt(y)</i>	Inspector of embalmers
8. <i>hry-hb.t</i>	Lector priest
9. <i>dr.t</i>	Wailing woman
10. <i>dr.t</i> <sup>282</sup>	Wailing woman
11. <i>imy-r3 isw.t</i>	Overseer of crews

<sup>278</sup> According to Blackman, this is a ‘mere scribble and obviously inserted in the wrong place’ Blackman 1953: 54.

<sup>279</sup> This and line 10 are both written in ‘solid black hieroglyphs’ Blackman 1953: 54.

<sup>280</sup> After Theis 2011: 44.

<sup>281</sup> After Theis 2011: 106.

<sup>282</sup> This is the first instance in which the *dr* sign is written with the vertical lines.

12. <i>shḏ wt(yw)</i>	Inspector of embalmers
13. <i>shḏ wt(yw)</i>	Inspector of embalmers
14. <i>imy-r3 isw.t</i>	Overseer of crews
15. <i>dr.t</i>	Wailing woman
16. <i>dr.t</i>	Wailing woman
17. <i>hry-ḥb.t</i>	Lector priest
18. <i>w.t(y)</i>	Embalmer
19. <i>imy-r3 isw.t</i>	Overseer of crews
20. <i>imy-wr.t</i>	West
21. <i>...(ib)w</i>	...(purificat)ion hut

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